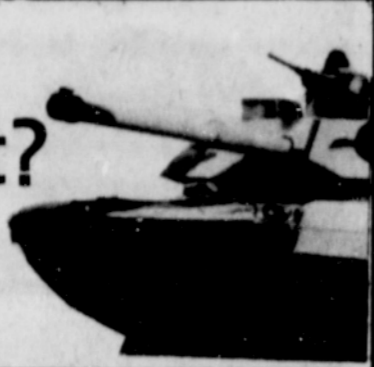


War in the Middle East?

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Golan takeover: War in the Middle East?

by Catherine Siegner

The Israeli government's recent annexation of the Golan Heights represents one more example of Prime Minister Begin's increasingly militaristic policy in the West Bank area of the Middle East.

Under Israeli army occupation since the 1967 war, the Golan Heights, along with the occupied West Bank and Gaza, has existed as a politically amorphous entity—neither "occupied" nor "annexed," in legal terms.

There are some very specific diplomatic reasons why the Israeli government has continued to keep the Golan Heights in this state of legal limbo, and their explanation should further illustrate why last week's annexation is provoking such an international outcry.

First, the failure to establish the status of the Golan Heights left the occupying forces considerable room to govern the area in any way they saw fit.

Calling it an "occupied" territory would mean that provisions of international law, such as that embodied in the Geneva and Hague Conventions, would apply to residents of the Golan Heights, and the Israeli government's authority consequently would be reduced.

Second, the Israeli government has been successful in avoiding direct annexation, and its inevitable subsequent criticism, by declaring the area "administered territory." This moniker avoided the legal requirements of the "occupied" status as well as continuing the government's free hand in disposing of land, water, natural resources and public property—meaning in most cases, for the benefit of the Israeli economy.

And, as "administered territory" the Golan Heights' residents, especially Palestinians, were left without any definitive status, and the question of self-determination, never one the Israeli government has been eager to face, was indefinitely ignored.

As Johnathan Kuttub writes in *Arab Perspectives* magazine, this state of affairs allowed the Israeli government to "have their cake and eat it, too," and "...free to exercise all the prerogatives of a sovereign without incurring any of the responsibilities that are usually commensurate with these powers."

The question then posed is, why, after arriving at such a neat disposition of the Golan Heights status problem, would the Begin

by T.D. Allman
Pacific News Service

Contrary to much of the immediate reaction in the West, General Wojciech Jaruzelski's imposition of martial law may be remembered as the moment when Poland at long last freed itself of the suffocating oppression of the Polish Communist Party and its petty bureaucrats—if all goes well.

Though Moscow seems delighted, and Washington gravely alarmed, the imposition of martial law may also have forever foreclosed the possibility of a Soviet invasion, and of Poland becoming another Hungary or Czechoslovakia—if all goes well, and if all does not go well? Not just Poland and not just all of Europe, East and West, but the Superpowers themselves will be face to face with one of the watershed crises of the post-World War II world.

Whatever its results, Jaruzelski's attempt to resolve the current crisis in Poland has brought Poland and the rest of the world face to face with the internal and external realities of Poland today—realities which many in the West have ignored for too long.

First, for more than a year, the likelihood of a Soviet invasion has been overestimated in the West. Since late 1980, when the Polish national upheavals produced the first great triumphs for Solidarity, it has been clear that a direct Soviet invasion could only achieve a strategic reversal of awesome proportions for the Soviet Union itself. Western intelligence sources estimate that it would take at least 50 divisions to occupy Poland, and that the Soviets would have to withdraw troops

from Afghanistan and the Chinese frontier to mount such an operation.

Additionally, a Soviet invasion, at the least, would eliminate the Polish army as a factor in the military balance between NATO and the Warsaw Pact.

The Soviet leadership at least a year ago therefore opted for a waiting game in which direct military intervention was the last option Moscow wished to emphasize.

But there is another, equally important reason a Soviet invasion has been unlikely. This is that patriotic Poles were prepared to do almost anything to deny the Soviets cause for invasion. Thus Lech Walesa for months has toured the mines and factories of Poland, urging his supporters to moderate their demands and curtail their strikes. And General Jaruzelski has made it clear repeatedly that the one thing he would not do—either as Prime Minister or party secretary—was to deliver the Polish nation to the Russians on a silver platter. By imposing martial law, the General may have curtailed many of Poland's newly won freedoms, but he has also checked any immediate possibility of Soviet intervention.

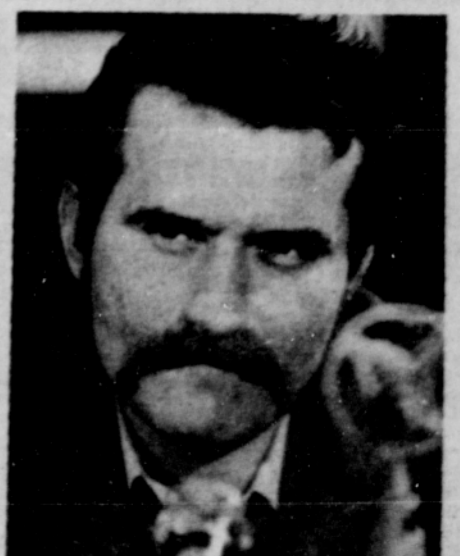
Another common misunderstanding about Poland is that the real drama is not the possibility of Soviet intervention, but whether the Poles themselves could define their new freedom in terms that bear any realistic relationship to the internal and external realities of Poland.

For months, the internal realities of Poland have been elastic in the extreme. The chances are that the country could have withstood another winter of strikes, economic

Poland: Another view



GENERAL W. JARUZELSKI



LECH WALESA

stagnation and social discontents—so long as at the end of that long winter Poland would have been somewhat closer to a solution to its problems. It seems no exaggeration to state that there were virtually no internal question on which the government might not compromise. The sole source of inflexibility was the question of Poland's strategic and international, not economic and domestic, relations.

On these external issues, Gen. Jaruzelski stood firm. Poland's strategic commitment to the Warsaw Pact, he repeatedly made clear, was non-negotiable. He, like Lech Walesa, realized that to tamper with the Warsaw Pact was not merely to provoke the Soviet Union. It would be to tamper with the entire balance of power that since the end of World War II has given Europe and most of the rest of the world and epoch of general peace. The breakdown of that order might not neces-

sarily lead to World War III. But certainly any such breakdown could only bode tragedy for Poland itself—the inevitable victim of every general European war, no matter how limited others may choose to regard it.

The third thing many in the West, especially in America, have ignored about Poland is that although democracy is a wonderful thing, it, too, can lead to tragedy when the exercise of freedom drags a country "to the edge of an abyss," as Jaruzelski put it recently.

Last week Poland, in general, and Solidarity, in particular, plunged closer to the edge of that abyss than ever before when Solidarity radicals urged a referendum intended, in effect, to overthrow not merely the Polish system of government but to eliminate Poland's strategic relationship with the Soviet Union.

It would be difficult to judge who (Please turn to page 2 column 1)

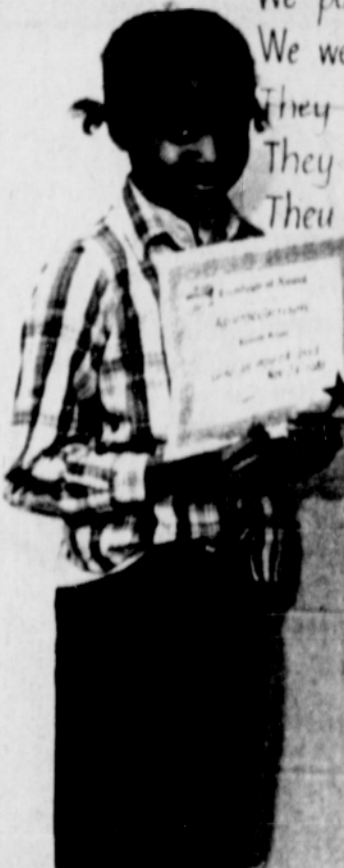


M. BEGIN

A Bird Was Hurt

I saw the bird on the field
Its leg was hurt. I went to Mrs. O.
We put the bird in the box.
We went to the Audubon Society in the car.
They will help the bird
They will put a splint on its leg.
They will give it raw egg, bread and
ood to eat.
I felt sad when I came to
but happy when I took care of it!

by Adrienne



Adrienne Garrison, student at Humboldt School, was awarded honorary membership in the Audubon Society after she saved a wounded seagull and took it to the Society for medical care.

(Photo: Richard J. Brown)

The true meaning of Christmas

Grassroot News, N.W.—In these days and times the true meaning of Christmas can get lost in the commercialization of the images of Christmas, and in the alienation of people who are caught up in the depression of 1981. In all this confusion Mrs. Viola Webster, 72, stands as a beacon with the true meaning of Christmas.

"It means love. It's a time of giving. When you give your family and friends cards to say you love them and you want them to know it. Christmas only comes once a year and I celebrate it. You see, I love God and he gave his only son. Jesus came down and was born by the virgin Mary. For 33 years he was teaching and healing. Doing things for human beings. Then he gave his life on the cross. Someone who goes through all that for me I can't help but love them."

Mrs. Webster holds fast to this religious interpretation of Christmas. The birth of Jesus Christ. She says she has called upon this religious base many times for strength throughout her 72 years.

"You gave different gifts because it's a time for giving." Mrs. Web-

ster doesn't feel there is anything wrong with buying one thousand dollars worth of gifts or one dollar's worth as long as they're given in the spirit of love. Also she doesn't believe that people should celebrate Christmas by getting drunk.

"When I was a child we didn't get apples, candies or oranges until Christmas. But today children get that year around. And I'm glad my children didn't have to go through what I did. I thank God that he let me live to enjoy some of the good things, like washing machines. You just push a button. I remember the winters when I was young that I went into the woods to get Pine Knots. That's a stump that you cut up to start fires. Now, you just press a button."

Mrs. Webster will spend Christmas with other Senior Citizens and will eat dinner with her children and grandchildren. "I really enjoy Christmas," Mrs. Webster concludes her thoughts with holiday cheer beaming from her face. "I even enjoy the lights from the small tree I put up in my front window. I celebrate Christmas because I believe in Christmas. I believe in love."

