

Sadatism has been adhered to: support of the Reagan plan, the Israeli-Lebanese agreement, US military bases and joint maneuvers with the Rapid Deployment Force and NATO; special relations with the US, supporting its aggressive policy, or remaining silent as in the case of Lebanon and Grenada; increasing dependence on US aid, and hostility towards the Soviet Union and the socialist camp; forming a new reactionary axis with Jordan and Iraq, after their role in implementing the US plans emerged in this period; broad alliance with Arab reaction with increased opportunities for developing this alliance and making it official through the «Palestinian envoy», who took the initiative to break the blockade and official boycott; transforming Sudan into an «Egyptian protectorate» and making official the sending of mercenaries from the Egyptian Armed Forces to support reactionary regimes.

-There is a theory which talks about the «independent Palestinian decision». This is a legitimate right which all progressive nationalists support. Yet this does not lessen the responsibility of those parties that work to impair this independence. Here a question arises: By what logic can we conceive of the separation from the anti-imperialist front in the Arab East, which is headed by the tripartite alliance of the Palestinian-Lebanese national liberation movements with Syria? By what logic can we conceive of the transition to meeting with Camp David Egypt and , via Jordan, having a diplomatic dialogue with America? By what logic will such a relationship protect the independence of the Palestinian decision?

-There is the argument of «saving what can be saved as opposed to the Israeli bulldozers' daily ravaging of the Palestinian territories in the West Bank and Gaza», and the call for a rapid solution before Israel implements its decision to Judaize the West Bank and Gaza after the US elections. Without underestimating the danger of the land being swallowed, we must be alert to the deliberate exaggeration of these dangers. In spite of the immense efforts to consolidate the settlements, the number of settlers has not exceeded 30,000. All signs indicate that the Israelis aim to increase this number to 100,000 by the end of 1985, but this is difficult to implement. This difficulty increases with the mounting internal economic and political crisis and the long-term budget deficit that leads to cuts in the settlement budget. Moreover, it leads to emigration from Israel. In the beginning of this January, the Deputy Minister of Immigration anticipated an increase of emigration this year to 50,000 Israelis - triple the 1984 figure.

Undoubtedly, there are changes in the Arab and international arena that require modifications in tactics, methods and forms of activities, but not in the basic strategy of the Arab liberation movement or its components, or a renunciation of its modest objectives. A hard defeat was inflicted on the Palestinian resistance in Lebanon on the military level; then there was the tragic antagonism that reached the point of combat among the factions of the Palestinian national movement, and the crisis of its leadership. Yet, on the other hand, we find that the counterrevolutionary camp also suffers from difficulties, con-

tradictions and defeats that are certainly not less and perhaps more than those in the camp of the revolution.

Soon after the victories of the Israeli war machine, points of weakness were revealed. The objectives it achieved were at a high price, while Israeli inability to resist guerilla warfare that has a popular depth was confirmed. Added to their failure to conquer Beirut, the Israelis are now exposed to daily attrition which inflicts greater losses than ever before. This has reflected on the internal economic and moral structure, and created a strong opposition to the expansionist policy. Israel is no longer feared as the «strong arm» after it sank in the quagmire. It is still licking wounds that bleed profusely due to the heroic actions of the popular resistance that became real guerilla warfare. Thus, Tel Aviv's main concern has become how to escape from the Lebanese trap.

The NATO armada, led by the US fleet, was powerless to stop hundreds of Marines and Multinational Forces from being swallowed. They are having a profoundly new experience confronting small people, light weapons and the humble militias of parties and sects - «human bombs». The New Jersey's canons, the most modern aircraft and the most destructive rockets and bombs, the genocidal war waged against unarmed people, are all to no avail. All this elicited a response inside the western societies, creating the beginning of a «Lebanon complex» even before the effects of the «Vietnam complex» are dispelled.

Volunteering a solution to the enemy crisis

It is erroneous to underestimate the Egyptian bourgeoisie, especially after it has overcome its period of worry, wherein it liquidated the system of national state capitalism. Moreover, it succeeded in deepening the capitalist relations in the present subordinate system. It succeeded in confronting the growing opposition, popular anger, and the pressure exerted by factions that were hurt by capitalism... While searching for methods to secure capitalist relations in the face of these requirements and pressures, the role of the most intelligent sectors and elements of the establishment emerged; they made modifications in the form and methods of their practices, without any essential changes.

The above-mentioned considerations, i.e. the dilemma of US policy and the Israeli crisis, added to the limitations of the «Saudi bag» (the idea that Riyadh could lead Arab reaction), helped the Egyptian bourgeoisie to realize its «golden opportunity» to become the political agent of imperialism in the area, playing the leading role in coordinating and directing the moves of Arab reaction, close to the reliable Israeli agent as the military strike force, all on the basis of strategic consensus.

In this particular condition, any reconsideration of the subordinate Egyptian regime becomes a policy with grave dangers, through which imperialism, Israel and Arab reaction can find a way out of their dilemma and lighten the weight of their crises.