Israel's Birth May Cause U.S. To Shift Middle East Policy
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'Third Force' in Palestine Is Asked to Counter Rising Support for Communist Doctrines

By C. L. SULZBERGER
Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

ATHENS, July 26—United States foreign policy in the Middle East, which is still in an infantile state, faces the necessity of careful reconsideration and recasting as a result of the Palestine war and the de facto establishment of the independent state of Israel.

Establishment of Israel by the Zionist movement can now be considered a permanent factor in the Middle Eastern political situation. There appears hardly any doubt that, despite the present lack of agreement on its geographical frontiers, the second United Nations truce in Palestine completes effectively the process whereby the new nation has been born.

Prior to the birth of Israel, United States policy had been crystallizing slowly into one of promoting friendly relationships with the Moslem states of the region. This had been done in order to protect and expand the United States petroleum development under private aegis and to prepare the way for obtaining air base rights and other strategic advantages.

Middle Eastern oil was calculated as a vital raw-material necessity in the maturing of the European Recovery Program as well as an immediate supply for United States naval and air force requirements, permitting the husbanding of the shrinking resources of Western wells.

The gradual unfolding of a parallel pro-Zionist policy in Washington for idealistic, sentimental and political reasons has worked against this original and basically strategical trend.

At this particular historical moment, Washington has lost considerable influence in the Arab world, where the United States is regarded as a pro-Zionist whipping boy. Simultaneously, it has not gained sufficient compensatory influence in the fledgling state of Israel.

On the contrary, United States Army planes are now stationed in Nicosia, Cyprus, for the possible necessity of evacuating United States citizens from Arab countries should angry mobs menace them. The petroleum pipelines to Haifa not only are not pumping oil to the huge refineries there owned by the British but they have been taken over and are being operated by Israel. Instead, crude oil is being secretly transported from Western lands by tanker, to be processed at this terminus of a Middle Eastern overland supply source.

For years the Soviet Union's attitude was plainly anti-Zionist, and the small, illegal Palestine Communist party, made up of both Arabs and Jews, worked against that movement. Since the termination of World War II, Moscow's plain shift in policy has been consistent and has worked logically. The Soviet attitude toward partition has been outspoken, and it has furthered four Muscovite objectives as a result.

It unquestionably has popularized the Soviet Union among Zionists everywhere. The Russians furthermore have supplied arms, especially from Czechoslovakia—to Israel by an underground railway. They have encouraged and abetted immigration.

The Russians have placed difficulties before the Marshall Plan—whose obstruction has been a primary objective of the Communist Information Bureau—by blocking off important petroleum resources.

The Russians have opened the possibility that the Soviet Union might gain eventually some form of a military toe hold in the Middle East through the United Nations.

The Russians have fairly well insured that chaos and unrest would exist for some years in the Middle East because of the permanent hostility of the Arab states to an independent Israel. This weakens the United States strategic position.

Against Granting Bases

Israel is against granting bases to any outside nation, Israeli Foreign Minister Moshe Shertok has revealed, and the Arabs are far less acquiescent than they were. Ahmed Mahmoud Khachaba Pasha, the Egyptian Foreign Minister, has stated that Egypt had intended to abstain from any Western grouping in case of another war. This is also the policy of Israel. At the moment, therefore, Moscow has managed to some degree to neutralize the Middle East, an area formerly extremely hostile to her.

The backwardness of the Arabs of the Middle East, with extreme poverty of huge masses contrasted to the extreme wealth of a tiny minority in control, leaves a dangerously revolutionary situation. Mob action occasioned by anti-Jewish demonstrations can easily be turned into broader social protests—as the Cairo Government knows and fears.

Neither Britain nor the United States has ever done much to insure that economic benefits accruing to the Middle East from trade and leases were ever distributed for broad popular benefits.

The necessity of a positive and carefully calculated United States policy to meet the new situation occasioned by Israel's existence is therefore evident. This applies both in Israel and in the Arab states.

Arab-Israeli Cooperation

The first cardinal point is the need to work slowly but surely for Arab-Israeli cooperation on economic and eventually political lines so that Israel does not become an isolated island but can employ its vigor for regional benefits.

Some diplomats have talked unofficially of the wisdom of sponsoring eventually a Middle Eastern Marshall Plan to foster this. Such a plan, they say, would insure furthermore that the discontented masses of the Arab world were gradually removed from potentially revolutionary instincts, and that feudalism was buried.

The second point is to encourage forward-looking democratic elements in both the Arab states and in Israel, just as a "third force" has been encouraged in France. This has never been done in the Arab world. It is equally necessary that such support be given in Israel, where extremist elements—some of them potentially friendly to the Soviet Union—are a danger whose full force is still untested.

Some Middle Eastern experts predict an effort by extremists led by the Irgun Zvai Leumi and the Fighters for Freedom of Israel (the Stern Group) to overthrow the Government of Prime Minister David Ben-Gurion, whose philosophy is basically a combination of democracy and Western socialism.

The exact strength in arms and men of these groups is unknown. They are exhibiting a gradually developing anti-Western bias—spearheaded by their traditional hatred for Britain—and Soviet propaganda actively encourages this.

The Communist party in Israel is itself very small, with only one member on the thirty-seven-man State Council. But since it shifted, on orders from Moscow, from fighting Zionism to supporting it strongly, it has gained popularity.

But the Communist doctrine is being mirrored increasingly by "front" groups of persons previously pro-western. The new United Workers party, made up of the Hashomer Hatzair (left-wing unionist) and the left-wing schismatic group from Premier Ben-Gurion's Socialist "Mapai" are increasingly anti-western.

All "fellow traveler" groups are strongly working for the sound and inevitable line of eventual Arab-Israeli cooperation.

At present Soviet policy can afford to be crystal clear and on the offensive in Israel while concurrently vague and for general social reform in the Arab world.

United States policy requires adroit readjustment on parallel lines. This will not only favor forward-looking social and economic developments in both Israel and Islam but, by consistently doing so, will eventually regain the complete respect of both. This is difficult at present but is inevitably possible.

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