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Beyond Diplomacy
*Perspectives on Dag
Hammarskjöld*

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Beyond Diplomacy
*Perspectives on Dag Hammarskjöld
from the papers of George Ivan Smith
and the Ezra Pound case*

With contributions by
Manuel Fröhlich
Marie-Noëlle Little

Dag Hammarskjöld Foundation
Uppsala

The Dag Hammarskjöld Foundation pays tribute to the memory of the second Secretary-General of the UN by searching for and examining workable alternatives for a socially and economically just, ecologically sustainable, peaceful and secure world.

In the spirit of Dag Hammarskjöld's integrity, his readiness to challenge the dominant powers and his passionate plea for the sovereignty of small nations and their right to shape their own destiny, the Foundation seeks to examine mainstream understanding of development and bring to

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Preface

In parallel with its work on development alternatives for a sustainable and peaceful world, the Dag Hammarskjöld Foundation (Travellers in Two Worlds: Dag Hammarskjöld and Alexis Leger) focuses on Hammarskjöld's correspondence with the French poet and Nobel laureate Saint-John Perse. It has emerged over the decades as an international centre for the study of different aspects of Dag Hammarskjöld's life and person.

It has initiated a number of original studies. In this second issue of *Critical Currents*, these authors present interesting new material on Dag Hammarskjöld. While the earlier essays that have been published in the Foundation's publications such as *Development Dialogue* (1980 and 1985) and the *Dag Hammarskjöld Lectures*, particularly those by Ko Annan and Hans Blix held in the anniversary years of 1980 and 1985 respectively.

The issue of *Development Dialogue* highlighted the important part that culture in all its forms played in Dag Hammarskjöld's life.

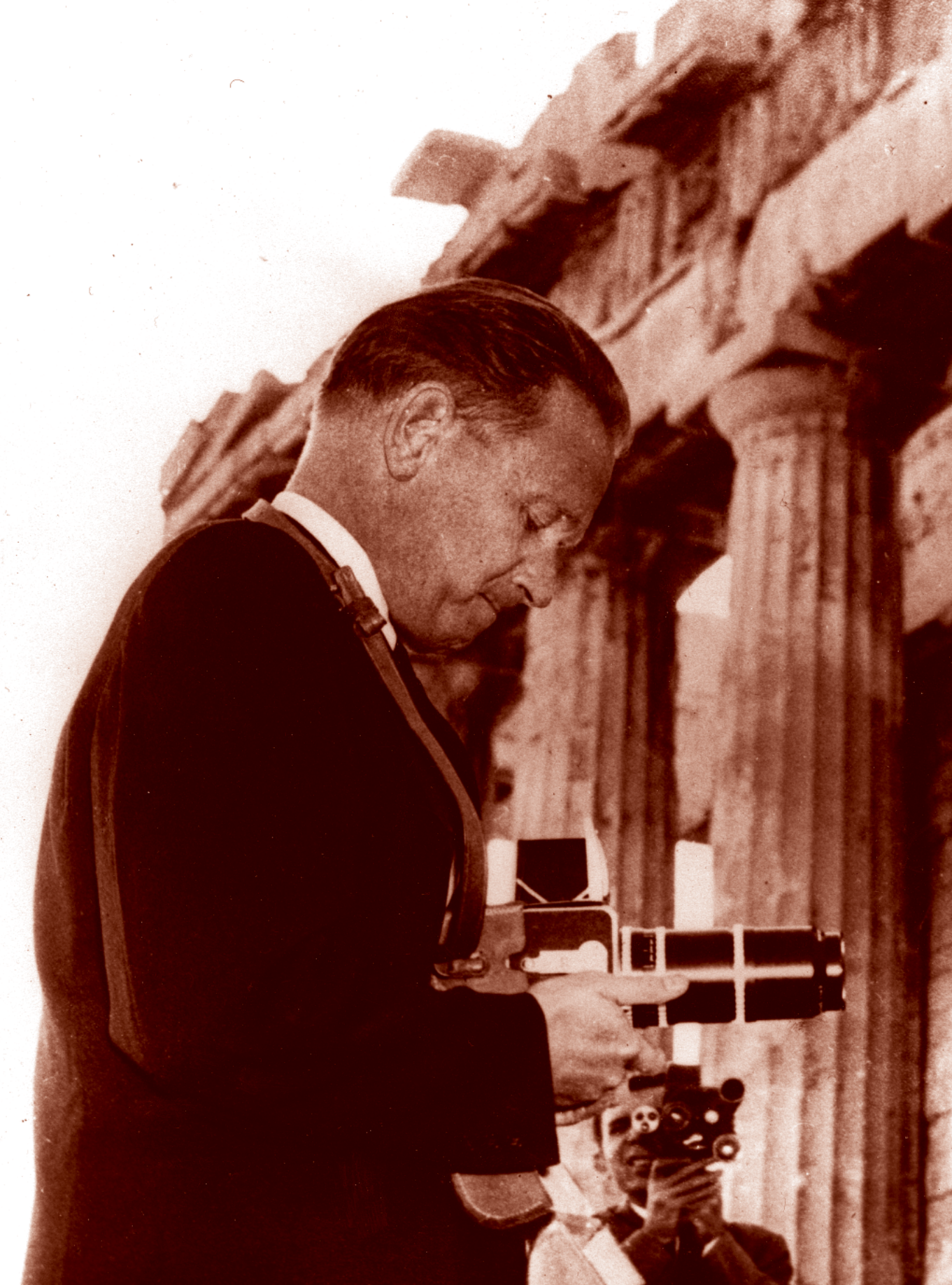
The Unknown Assignment: Dag Hammarskjöld and documented his passionate devotion to it. Sir Brian Urquhart writes in his introduction to that issue (Dag Hammarskjöld: A Leader in the Field of Culture): One of the most impressive, and unusual, features of Dag Hammarskjöld's way of life was the integration into one scheme of activity of all his interests and pursuits. ... Literature, music, the visual arts, and nature were both his recreation and an important and sustaining part of his routine. They were true companions of his bachelor life. They refreshed him and lightened the burden of his very public office.

The issue also published articles by Manuel Frölich and Marie-Noëlle Little. The former wrote about Hammarskjöld's correspondence with the British sculptor Barbara Hepworth (A Fully Integrated Vision: Politics and the Arts in the Dag Hammarskjöld Correspondence); the

Marie-Noëlle Little, in her essay on Ezra Pound, and Dag Hammarskjöld's *Quiet Diplomacy*, studies the relationship between Hammarskjöld and the world-famous American poet. Dag Hammarskjöld was an avid reader of poetry, both classical and modern, in many different languages and from many continents. He was a member of the Swedish Academy of Letters and was influential in the selection of the Nobel Prize Winners in literature. Ezra Pound, who lived in Italy between the wars, had expressed sympathies for the fascist regime. At the end of the war in 1945 he was brought to the United States and locked up for more than three years at St Elizabeths Federal Hospital, an asylum in Washington. It was not surprising that colleagues and admirers of Pound reacted to his difficult situation; but it was striking that Dag Hammarskjöld had the courage and energy to engage himself in the efforts to secure Pound's release. He did so despite his position as Secretary-General, all the more sensitive after his confrontation with the FBI over its involvement in and infiltration of UN staff matters in 1948. Marie-Noëlle Little carefully elucidates the story in her essay, and will do so more fully in a forthcoming book.

We believe that these two essays genuinely expand our knowledge of Dag Hammarskjöld and his time, reveal important aspects of his personality, and contribute to a more complete picture of a highly creative world leader with an important legacy in our times.

Olle Nordberg
(Executive Director, 1994-2006)





The Unknown Assingation : Dag Hammarskjöld in the Papers of George Ivan Smith

*Manuel Fröhlich**

Joseph Conrad's novel *Heart of Darkness*, published for the first time in the spring of 1899, opens with the thoughts evoked in the minds of a group of seamen watching the Thames. The river, for them, represents the continuing stream of history not only connecting faraway places and people but also linking the fate and experiences of past generations across centuries: Hunters for glory or pursuers of fame they all had gone out on that stream, bearing the sword, and often the torch, messengers of the might within the land, bearers of a spark from sacred fire. What greatness had not ebbed on the ebb of that river into the mystery of the unknown earth? The dreams of men, the seed of commonwealths, the germs of empires.

* The author wishes to dedicate this article to Olle Nordberg on the occasion of his formal retirement as Executive Director of the Dag Hammarskjöld Foundation, a position in which he successfully translated Hammarskjöld's ideas into concrete projects for today's world.

Conrad, Joseph. *Heart of Darkness. An Authoritative Text, Backgrounds and Sources, Criticism*, ed. by Robert Kimbrough, New York and London, 1st ed. 1972, p. 1.



Manuel Fröhlich is Junior Professor at the Department for Political Science, Friedrich-Schiller-University, Jena. His fields of research include international organisations, peace and conflict, and globalisation, as well as contemporary political philosophy.

His book *Political Ethics and the United Nations: Dag Hammarskjöld as Secretary-General* deals with the connection between Hammarskjöld's concern with ethical questions and a number of the political and legal innovations in UN action and diplomacy, which he established as the special potential for international leadership by the UN Secretary-General.

Dag Hammarskjöld and George Ivan Smith during their climb of Mount Ruapehu, New Zealand

The drama of human aspiration and the spirit of adventure to work close to Hammarskjöld and of exploration thus resonate in the majestic so to speak look over his shoulders during waters of the river. Streaming in permanent motion it carries with it the debris of fortune and many of the events that shaped the tenure of the Swedish UN Secretary-General. Sec- nate as well as fateful adventures. The end, his perspective on Hammarskjöld is not sailing the sea, at least for Conrad, were totally determined by professional necessities bearers of this wisdom about the human but also by a deep mutual understanding condition and the tidal waves of destiny. In- and even by admiration for Hammarskjöld. vited by a director of trade companies, the Sharing thoughts about works of art and lit- group at the beginning of *Heart of Darkness* erature, as in this case Conrad's novel, was also included Marlow, the protagonist of the a key component of their relationship and metaphoric journey into the Congo and the inspired much of their work for the UN. abyss of human behaviour. Third, although neither Hammarskjöld nor

Smith could have foreseen it in , Con- George Ivan Smith, international civil ser- rad's dark depiction of the Congo would vant for the United Nations who had trav- become reality in the troubles that both the elled widely and worked in many crisis spots UN and the Congolese were to experience from the s to the s, recalls this open- after the country gained independence in ing scene from Conrad in a letter to his boss . Hammarskjöld would lose his life in a and personal friend, Dag Hammarskjöld plane crash in Ndola and Smith would never Remember on the first pages of *Heart of Darkness* trying to solve the mystery surround- darkness, when the Director of Compa- ing the death of the Secretary-General who nies is leaning over the rail ... he resembled a se- en route to negotiate with the leader of a navigator and was therefore trustworthi- secessionist Katanga, Moïse Tshombe, after ness personed. I thought of that often as I serious re- ghts had broken out between watched you at the window looking down the UN blue helmets and the mercenary-led the East river, at Suez, Gaza and the other Gendarmerie of Katanga.

distant places that are laced together by the river and the sea. This recollection from Two years before his death in , Smith is quite telling for the story of George had decided to give his personal papers to the Ivan Smith and Dag Hammarskjöld. First, Bodleian Library in Oxford. They were ar- it pays tribute to the fact that Smith had the e- changed and ordered by the Library and

the catalogue was completed in . The papers consist of several thematic groups from Smith's BBC career to his work as an inter- national civil servant. Apart from these more

George Ivan Smith, Letter to Dag Hammarskjöld, April . The letter is with the Dag Hammarskjöld Samling at the Kungliga Biblioteket in Stockholm (hereinafter cited as KB DHS). The original Conrad text reads: The Director of Companies was our Cap- tain and our host. We four actionately watched his back as he stood in the bows looking to seaward. On the whole river there was nothing that looked half so nautical. He resembled a pilot which to a seaman is trustworthiness personed. It was difficult to realise his work was not out there in the luminous estuary, but behind him, within the brooding gloom. Cf. Conrad, *Heart of Darkness*, op.cit, p. .

Cf. Brian Urquhart, *Hammarskjöld*, New York and London, / , pp. - . See Lucy McCann, *Catalogue of the Papers of George Ivan Smith*, - . Bodleian Library, University of Oxford, Oxford (available at <http://www.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/dept/scwmss/>). Papers from the collec- tion will be cited as OX [Shelfmark, folio number].

or less professionals there are some papers (either containing politically sensitive relating to personal and family life and a considerable amount of Smith's literary papers). A big part of the Hammarskjöld section These contain both published material and is concerned with Smith's private investigations – example, newspaper articles and a booklet of reflections into the Ndola air crash. This is largely his Boyer Lectures as well as unpublished accessible without restrictions (including some material: numerous letters, drafts and other tapes with dictation by George Ivan Smith and manuscripts of texts and speeches (including Claude de Kemoularia dating from the late a statement for the United Nations Career's or early's). There may, however, Records Project) Special mention has to be made of pieces of information that remain made of a draft manuscript for an autobiography entitled 'The Unknown Assignment' with his one-time colleague Conor Cruise which was never completed before Smith's death. The Brien is partially closed and together with death. In the papers covering the UN there is a sub-section exclusively devoted to Dag Hammarskjöld and this section alone consists of some 100 leaves or pieces of paper, which accounts for the prominence that Dag Hammarskjöld holds in Smith's collection. At the same time there are also cross-references to Hammarskjöld in other sections – for example the letter form a threefold motivation in his correspondence with some prominent figures ranging from Ralph Bunche and Andrew Cordier from the UN to a number of artists such as Barbara Hepworth and Henry Moore and, last but not least politicians, including Sir Roy Welensky, the former Prime Minister of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland. Access to most of the papers is restricted, with some exceptions for papers af-

E.g. his obituary one year after Hammarskjöld's death: George Ivan Smith, Epitaph for Dag Hammarskjöld, *The Observer*, September 1960 (OX MS. Eng. c. 10, fols. 1-2).

George Ivan Smith, Along the Edge of Peace: Recollections of an International Civil Servant. Australian Broadcasting Commission. The Boyer Lectures, Sydney (OX MS. Eng. c. 10, fols. 1-2).

George Ivan Smith, Transcript of Interview for the United Nations Career Records Project in (OX MS. Eng. c. 10, fols. 1-2).

George Ivan Smith, *The Unknown Assignment. Sketch Outline for a Book in Two Parts*, no date (OX MS. Eng. c. 10, fols. 1-2).

A first reconstruction of the information in the papers was published by Matthew Hughes, *Diary (The Death of Dag Hammarskjöld)*, in *The London Review of Books*, August 1960, pp. 1-2. See also Matthew Hughes, The Strange Death of Dag Hammarskjöld, in *History Today*, October 1960, pp. 1-2. Hughes' article led to various comments. See Bengt Rösiö, Letters: Hammarskjöld's Death, in *The London Review of Books*, September 1960, p. 1; Michiel Wijnberg, Letters: Hammarskjöld's Death, in *The London Review of Books*, September 1960, pp. 1-2. and Rolf Rembe, Letters: Hammarskjöld's Death, in *The London Review of Books*, November 1960, p. 1. Four cassettes containing dictation by Smith and an interview concerning Hammarskjöld's death, around 1960 (OX MS. Eng. E. 10).



in the Pacific. After the war, Smith joined the still fledgling United Nations Organization in 1945 as Director of External Affairs. The life of George Ivan Smith is colourful and diverse, beginning in Australia and international radio programmes of the UN, bringing him into intense contact with all continents of the globe. His media expertise was mixed with a more political role when Trygve Lie appointed him director of the UN Information Centre for his unfinished autobiography, writes: 'In London in 1947. For some ten years he have spent more than fifteen years in Australian prisons. But it was hardly my own or channel of communication between the UN and Britain but also responsible once that he committed, but rather the consequence of his father, George Franklin Smith, being a prison governor in Australia. The family has Irish and Scottish roots but the post, but involved him in various diplomatic missions as his personal spokesman of settlers. It is in the context of this humorous and press officer. Among other events, this Australian background that Conor Cruise O'Brien described Smith as having in Geneva in 1948 and also put him on the face like a sunset over a sheepfold. George Ivan Smith was born in Sydney. His Egyptian soil as part of the UN Emergency studies soon brought him into contact with the Force during the Suez Crisis in 1956. These the media, and he started out as a newspaper assignments also led to very close contact per journalist. In 1957 he became one of the youngest staff members of the Australian Broadcasting Commission and his claim to London to New York where he first headed the External Relations Division of the UN's Office of Public Information and then became Director of Press and Publications. the task of setting up a new overseas broadcasting service, Radio Australia. This, it may have been inevitable that the cosmopolitan Smith with his experience in the Pacific where he was appointed Head of Pacific Service in 1958. In this capacity, he was primarily concerned with covering the warring with former British colonies or members of the Commonwealth. Various shorter missions to the Congo were followed by a complete switch in his work in order to become chief

For the following see Lucy McCann, *Catalogue*, op. cit., as well as Smith, *Unknown Assignment*, op. cit. and Smith, *Edge of Peace*, op. cit. Smith, *Edge of Peace*, op. cit., p. 1. Conor Cruise O'Brien, *Memoir. My Life and Themes*, London, 1981, p. 1.

of the civilian operations in Katanga after Dag Hammarskjöld's death in September .

Under U Thant, Smith represented the UN

Technical Assistance Board on the continent. The first step in approaching Smith's papers and was later appointed Personal Representative from an interest in the UN and Dag Hammarskjöld inevitably leads to their correspondence and Southern Africa. Working from Dar es Salaam and Lusaka, Smith managed to establish a majority of them written by Smith. While the British himself as an important figure and point of contact amidst the ongoing transformations of political structures caused by various movements towards independence and the end of colonial rule. This also brought him the nomination for the post of Secretary-General of the Commonwealth a bid supported by four African countries but, rather symptomatically, not successful since he was regarded as already

being too Africanised . Smith then engaged in academic teaching and research as visiting lecturer at the Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Affairs in Princeton as well as the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy in Boston. He prepared a number of studies on current international problems and advised both governments and international corporations.

In 1961 he returned to London as head of the UN Information Centre, a position he held until his retirement in 1965. After that he worked as an author and journalist and published a highly acclaimed book on the rise and fall of Idi Amin under the title *Ghosts of Kampala*. Smith had three children with his first wife Madeleine Oakes; in 1966 he married Mary Douglass who also brought two daughters to the family. They adopted Edda Mutzawelo.

George Ivan Smith, *Ghosts of Kampala. The Rise and Fall of Idi Amin*, London, 1968.

See also Urquhart, *Hammar*, op. cit., p. 10.

Even before these special assignments were written of November he wrote: In a letter to George Ivan Smith, press officer to Dag Hammarskjöld, on a lighter vein, I send you herewith the ultimate evidence of its [i.e. UNEF's] acceptance of its place alongside the other Regiments of the Line in the defence of the United Nations. It now takes its place alongside the other Regiments of the Line in the defence of the United Nations. It is a topic obviously dear to Smith who every English nursery which is the sub-soil of all political life. You may not wish to take it up at a lecture for the National Book League that did not, however, come about. I felt you would wish to see what certain silly little boys are about to play with. The fact that the manufacturer is called Britain provides an unfortunate political connotation on the lid of the box, but once opened and you will find our men neutralised by blue bonnets and armbands.

All lines when projected will meet at infinity. At that stage, he suggested that we should send Mr. Hammarskjöld out into the UN's role in international affairs that space to negotiate. I should like to be involved in some of the aspects of Hammarskjöld's philosophy of world organisation. I may. Smith also took care to send Hammarskjöld the first toy soldier representing a UN Blue Helmet. In the accompanying letter, Smith illustrates this by identifying some of the paradoxes underlying the UN Secretariat's work: A whole series of paradoxes reveal themselves, e.g. when we cease to

think of ourselves as protagonists of a cause, and instead concentrate on effective servicing within the spirit of the cause, we shall be effective. Or again, our disinterested skills will have political influence when we have learned that political influence is not our aim.

See also the reply by Dag Hammarskjöld, Letter to George Ivan Smith, August 1948: You have branched off in the direction of mathematics and philosophy. My tendency was to be at another tangent, psychology and ethics. This is noted in the double title with which I now toy in the best Victorian way: *The Decadence of Distance or the End of Exotism*. One of the poles would be the cheap triumph over distance which in Jules Verne's books got what I still consider to be charmingly naïve expressions, affecting somehow the childish optimistic materialism of the world exhibitions of our grandfathers. The other pole will be the extreme spiritualism which found its first mature expression in for example the Psalms (If I Took the Wings of Dawn etc.). Somewhere along the line between those two poles I cross the line you are tracing, but I don't think that I would ever come in touch with science fiction and space travelling as anything but symptomatic examples of escapism. (OX Eng. MS. c. 1, fol. 10v)

George Ivan Smith, Letter to Dag Hammarskjöld, November 1948 (OX Eng. MS. c. 1, fol. 10v).

George Ivan Smith, Letter to Dag Hammarskjöld, November 1948 (OX Eng. MS. c. 1, fol. 10v).

This is dealt with in more detail in Manuel Fröhlich, *Dag Hammarskjöld und die Vereinten Nationen. Die politische Ethik des UNO-Generalsekretärs*, Paderborn et al., 1994, as well as *Political Ethics and the United Nations. Dag Hammarskjöld as Secretary-General*, London and New York, 1994. See also Manuel Fröhlich, 'The Quest for a Political Philosophy of World Organization', in Sten Ask/Anna Mark-Jungkqvist (eds), *The Adventure of Peace. Dag Hammarskjöld and the Future of the UN*, New York and Houndmills, 1994, pp. 1-10.

A third obvious paradox is that we shall have sent Buber's essay collection *Pointing the Way* to Smith, who answered: How typical of you to send Buber at that moment. Many responsive chords were struck especially in *Abstract and Concrete* where of letters and memoranda on the policies of the UN, something that eventually was realised in various assignments.

The whole correspondence is permeated by references to literature, theatre and the arts. The list of authors referred to range from Aristotle to William Butler Yeats and from Albert Einstein to Martin Buber to name just a few. The latter held a special position for Hammar skjöld and Smith. Hammar skjöld

George Ivan Smith, Letter to Dag Hammar skjöld, November (OX MS. Eng., fol.).

An alphabetical list of authors whose work is discussed by Smith and Hammar skjöld would include: Aristotle; Bradbury, Ray; Bragg, William; Buber, Martin; Cantwell-Smith, Wilfried; Carlyle, Thomas; Carson, Rachel; Church, Richard; Conrad, Joseph; Cooper, James Fenimore; da Vinci, Leonardo; Descartes, René; Dickens, Charles; Einstein, Albert; Eliot, Thomas Stearns; Emerson, Ralph Waldo; Euclid; Goethe; Johann Wolfgang von; Hakluyt, Richard; Hamilton, Thomas; Hilton, James; Holinshed, Raphael; Homer; Joyce, James; Kafka, Franz; Kingsley, Charles; Kipling, Joseph Rudyard; Lippman, Walter; Maeterlinck, Maurice; Marryat, Frederick; Maugham, William Somerset; Middleton, Drew; Mill, John Stuart; Milton, John; Newton, Isaac; O'Neill, Eugene; Osborne, John; Plato; Pope, Alexander; Pound, Ezra; Priestley, John Boynton; Roper, Trevor; Shakespeare, William; Smuts, Jan Christian; Socrates; Stein, Gertrude; Stephens, James; Toynbee, Theodore Philip; Verne, Jules; Virgil; Wells, Herbert George; Whistler, Charles; Whitehead, William; Whitman, Walt; Wilder, Thornton; Williams, Tennessee; Wilson, Colin; Yeats, William Butler. Smith was also instrumental in Hammar skjöld's efforts to release Ezra Pound. See the article by Marie-Noëlle Little in this volume.

him understand our philosophy on Israel it might be of value beyond the human and personal sphere. Here the relation between political, literary and philosophical concerns becomes very obvious. Smith and Hammar skjöld also shared an appreciation of Saint John Perse whose *Anabase* Hammar skjöld had probably sent to Smith.

George Ivan Smith, Letter to Dag Hammar skjöld, April (KB DHS).

See Fröhlich, *Hammar skjöld*, op. cit., pp. - as well as Manuel Fröhlich, *Vom Vorposten internationaler Verantwortung und der Einsamkeit des Geistes*: Dag Hammar skjöld und Martin Buber in Martha Friedenthal-Haase/Ralf Koerrenz (eds), *Martin Buber: Bildung, Menschenbild und Hebräischer Humanismus*, Paderborn et al., , pp. - .

There is a hint in George Ivan Smith, Letter to Dag Hammar skjöld, January (KB DHS): The book is delightful. The character of primitive passion and the bewildered thought of the pioneer in a wide Biblical world comes out strongly (). For the background see Marie-Noëlle Little, *Travellers in Two Worlds*. Dag Hammar skjöld and Alexis Leger, in *Development Dialogue* / , pp. - .

When the English version of *Vägmärken* (Markings) was published in 1953, Smith Boyer Lectures for 1953. Recalling the experience showed himself disappointed by Auden's presence of the Second World War and the Holocaust he said: Our claim to culture and to work with the text and recalled the special occasion he said: Our claim to culture and to place St John Perse and Buber had for Hamarskjöld. Writing to Max Ascoli, editor of *The Reporter*, who had just written a review like a light in every dark corner. It is some- of *Markings*, Smith stated: [Auden's] essay is something to be used, not just boast about. This (it was not an introduction in the strictest conviction was definitely shared by Hammar- sense) angered me. As a prelude to a work which went so far as to directly compare that concerned itself with self-surrender, the role of the artist and the politician and to jerked over the surface of life and lost itself highlight the similarities in poetry and poli- in the superciality and the crust of sur- tics. A special manifestation of this com- face and theories. [] Privately and frankly mon belief of Smith and Hammarskjöld is the Auden scarcely knew Dag at all. They dined contact between the Secretary-General and together very occasionally. I believe I may British sculptor Barbara Hepworth whom have been present on the majority of occasions. Smith had introduced to Hammarskjöld. Dag enjoyed the crackle of Auden's mind, his imagery and his concern withsion in the unveiling of Hepworth's sculpture words and forms. [] But not by the wild- Single Form in front of the UN building in est stretch of the imagination would I have New York. Another concrete artistic project turned to [him] to write an introduction to that Hammarskjöld and Smith pursued con- such a book. My choice would have been Hepworth's colleague Henry Moore. Martin Buber or St. John Perse.

Smith, in his draft autobiography, recalls:

We had many things in common including For both Hammarskjöld and Smith, litera- a love of literature and the Arts in general. ture was no distraction from what they per- I introduced him to Barbara Hepworth and ceived to be their ocial duties. Literature, to Henry Moore. As a result of our mutual the arts and philosophy infused the sphe friendships onends in front of the UN to- of the political with innovative insights and day, the huge monument to Hammarskjöld gave sound orientation beyond the short by Barbara Hepworth and, more recently, I sightedness of ideology, pure self-interest was able to persuade Henry Moore to place and skirmishes for prestige Speaking for

George Ivan Smith, Letter to Max Ascoli, June (OX MS. Eng. c. 10, fol. 10).

This attitude is illustrated quite nicely in a short note that Smith sent with a copy of T. S. Eliot's essay collection *On Poetry and Poets* / : The Prescription. To be taken in small doses and regularly during long watches of the Assembly. DO NOT SHAKE, because the prose structure is in a weak precipitate and might dissolve. (Note attached to George Ivan Smith, Letter to Dag Hamarskjöld, April KB DHS).

Smith, *Edge of Peace*, op. cit, p. 10.

See i.a. his Address at the Inauguration of the Anniversary of the Museum of Modern Art October 1953, in Andrew W. Cordier/Wilder Foote (eds.), *Public Papers of the Secretaries-General of the United Nations. Volume II: Dag Hamarskjöld 1953-1956*, New York and London, 1978, pp. 10-11.

For their contact and correspondence see Manuel Fröhlich, *A Fully Integrated Vision: Politics and the Arts in the Dag Hamarskjöld-Barbara Hepworth Correspondence*, in *Development Dialogue* 1, 1979, pp. 10-11.

in the garden of the UN New York one of his famous reclining Figures. It had been Hammar-skjöld's last sentence to me before he left on the flight which caused his death. Working at the UN even before Hammar-George, this garden will not be complete until there is a Henry Moore over there. A view on the internal perspective on the new There is now. In Smith's papers there is a Secretary-General and the feelings of his pre-further letter to Tristram Powell, producer and predecessor Trygve Lie. Tor Gjesdal, long-time BBC TV who was preparing a programme or companion of Lie and Principal Director Dag Hammar-skjöld for which he had inter- for Public Information, had informed some viewed Smith in . Smith again stresses of his colleagues at the Office of Public In-Hammar-skjöld's interests beyond politics and information (Smith being one of them) about administration. Speaking of the renovation of the new Swedish Secretary-General coming of the UN's meditation room that Hammar- to New York and the election process that skjöld supervised, Smith explains: The fact preceded his nomination. Smith kept this that it was not just a hobby or a relaxation, in a note dated April in which Gjesdal was a work that mattered as a further project writes: You will probably have learnt from tion of his central concept. And in a note to the papers that the election came as a surprise Brian Urquhart he summarises: Thus to him both to Mr. Hammar-skjöld personally and to music, painting, literature, diplomacy and the Swedish authorities. I might add that the million other facets of life were not separate surprise was equally evident here, since his departments to which he became addicted came only came up in the very last round. They were united as expressions of Mind, Gjesdal then points to the fact that Swedish they were Mind's ideas at different levels candidates, coming from a neutral country, and in forms clear or distorted. Smith and obviously emerged as a possible compro-Hammar-skjöld congenially shared this out-mise between East and West in the Security look on human endeavours and this holistic Council. Before Hammar-skjöld, the names approach was the background for their close of Swedish ambassador Erik Boheman and cooperation. Gunnar Myrdal had been discussed, with Boheman declining the offer despite strong British and French support for the former Swedish Ambassador in Washington and Permanent Under-Secretary at the Foreign Office in Stockholm. Hammar-skjöld then appeared on a list that the French delegate gave to his Soviet colleague. In a line that reminds one of Lie's alleged resentments against

Smith, *Assignment*, op. cit. (OX MS. Eng. c. , fol.).

George Ivan Smith, Letter to Tristram Powell, May (OX Eng. c. , fols. -).

For a background see Hammar-skjöld's text for a visitor's leaflet to the Meditation Room. Dag Hammar-skjöld, *A Room of Quiet*, in Andrew W. Cordier/ Wilder Foote (eds) *Public Papers of the Secretaries-General of the United Nations. Volume III: Dag Hammar-skjöld 1956-1957*, New York and London, , pp.

George Ivan Smith, Letter to Max Ascoli, June (OX MS. Eng. c. , fol.).

On this see Brian Urquhart, *The Secretary-General Why Dag Hammar-skjöld?*, in Ask/Mark Jungkvist (eds) *Adventure*, op. cit., pp. - .

Tor Gjesdal, Note, April (OX MS. Eng. c. , fol.).

Hammar skjöld, Gjesdal writes: I must say the report is a good illustration of Ham- that most people here feel very sorry for the marskjöld much-quoted empathy and ability man, for the trials and tribulations ahead of engage in genuine dialogue: The trip to him and for which he has not asked. HamGaza was also fascinating. I've seen Dag set a marskjöld, in contrast to Lie, is portrayed as a very hard pace during a number of missions being more technical and cautious, but at this time he excelled even his own high least courageous. Gjesdal adds: [W]e are far standards. A political negotiation is one thing. ing a period in world history when construc- Then there is time to judge the weight and tive international cooperation in fields re- character of the persons with whom you are ally gets its chance. If that should be so, dealing and take a gentle hold of the ideas put can be taken that the Secretariat will have far forward before deciding how to come to grips very highly qualified leader who will leave with them. However, on this trip he went no stone unturned to get practical results, like a typhoon across the countryside shak- the best Swedish traditions. The superally ing hands and talking with hundreds of men. balanced words for Smith could not conceal. Sometimes he had only a few minutes in the reservations Lie and Gjesdal had about which to make contact with an individual and Hammar skjöld. In a background note to them which to get across to him as an individual. BBC's Tristram Powell in Smith referred His performance was quite fantastic. Always to Gjesdal's analysis and wrote: The letter the right word and comment and always done protests too much. Lie did not want to give with such inner sincerity as to make the men up the post and did not want to give it up to feel the genuineness of purpose behind his an unknown Swede. [The letter] kills D. visit. Time and time again, Smith stresses the H. with faint praise and wrongly states that human factor in international relations and D. H. would play a cautious role and not pro-instances like this one strengthened his view vide the political leadership of Trygve Lie that mere institutions and procedures alone How wrong and bitter can one get, and it cannot account for successful politics. This was the writer of this letter who spread early perspective also determines his recollection of whispers about D. H.'s personal life Gjesdal another event during the Middle East trip that left his post one month after Hammar skjöld he conveys to the Belfrages: And just to cap took over in order to become Head of Mass it all we had dinner on Christmas night with Communications at UNESCO. Dr. Fawzi. The room was decorated with a

Despite these early judgements, Hammar and other traditional dishes. Then in the pres-
 skidd established himself as an indispensable force of his Egyptian compatriots Fawzi paid
 personality at the helm of the world organi-Dag the most sincere and moving tribute that
 sation. In a letter to Greta and Leif Belfrageyou could imagine. Having praised his integ-
 from January Smith recalls a visit to the rity he asked all Egyptians present to drink to
 Middle East together with Hammarskidd. a true Christian.

George Ivan Smith, Letter to Tristram Powell,
May (OX MS. Eng. c. , fol.).

Smith also offers a number of observations on Hammar skjöld's particular political and diplomatic style. A first element of this style emphasises the importance of Alfred Katzin would be Hammar skjöld's reliance upon a small circle of close advisors. Smith, in his successful role in the clearance of the Suez Canal New York days, was a member of that circle but who already in 1945 took over special tasks for the Secretary-General when he regularly joined Andrew Cordier and Ralph Bunche for an informal lunch at Hammar skjöld's apartment nearby restaurant in between Saturday hours at UN headquarters or even more exclusively at dinners in Hammar skjöld's apartment and much else not consistent with people whose tasks were to work in the or at Long Island. Smith underlines the special place of Cordier: Cordier had the next principles of the Charter. Hammar skjöld had to see [to Hammar skjöld's] and he was smart enough never to rush into DH with every paper unless the matter needed immediate attention, so he devised a scheme which worked well. Any papers about issues which he thought DH might wish to see were left on Cordier's table and when D.H. had a free moment, he would wander into the room and casually go through the papers giving decisions or suggestions as he went. Recalling a moment on a Middle East trip with Hammar skjöld, Smith further writes to Cordier him [Hammar skjöld] if he conceived of a some years later that Hammar skjöld said: particular diplomatic style for a U.N. Secretary-General. He had. It was to be a classical Swedish style, not because that was his country. I need send him only a brief message knowing that he will not only immediately try never anything as simple as that. He re-interprets its political and diplomatic essence but he will call in the heads of all delegations capable of playing some part in the development and he will give each of them precisely the ingredient needed for their role. While this pattern; the British in that pattern. The Swedes throughout recent centuries found

George Ivan Smith, Letter to Tristram Powell, May (OX MS. Eng. c. 12, fol. 10v).

George Ivan Smith, Letter to Brian Urquhart, no date (OX MS. Eng. c. 12, fol. 11v).

George Ivan Smith, Letter to Tristram Powell, May (OX MS. Eng. c. 12, fol. 12v).

George Ivan Smith, Letter to Andrew Cordier, February (OX MS. Eng. c. 12, fol. 13v).

For an overview of the working routine in the Secretariat see also Frölich Hammar skjöld, op. cit., pp. 10-11.

See also Urquhart Hammar skjöld, op. cit, p. 12.

George Ivan Smith, A Trouble-Shooter for the UN, in *Manchester Guardian Weekly*, June 1946, p. 1.

themselves in danger of being ground beneath an echo here and is supplemented by two gigantic millstones of power. The naïve Hammar skjöld's careful cooperation with, nature of the power complexes kept changing for example, the AMOCO-businessman Jacob Blaustein as a channel of communication at one point it is a Czarist regime, at another a communist regime. Types of German with Ben Gurion and with newspaper mogul William Randolph Hearst Junior as his prime pressures changed character. The positions in Britain and France in relation to each other, contact with the media. Added to that there the scramble for colonies and so on and were individual arrangements like, for example, made it necessary for a small Scandinavian, the practice of fully bringing the Israeli vian country to develop and maintain an active neutrality repeat, active. If by accident or design another power infringed that neutrality, they could expect a barrage of reports, legal opinions, public protests. The size of power did not matter. This testimony is a variation of Hammar skjöld's general conviction that true internationalism does not exclude but rather builds on a well-grounded awareness of one's own origins.

Hammar skjöld's concept of the international civil service. One of these innovations, A third element of Hammar skjöld's political style would be his integrative approach which Smith coined the orchestral idea: Any relevant element was brought into play. It was not only individuals or officials or otherwise but also different organs of the U.N., World Bank, private sector, the arts, accompanying the Secretary-General on a trip to Jordan which had become entangled with its neighbours (especially Egypt and Syria) complicated further detailed and quite brilliant scoring. The already mentioned use of literature and the arts pondered over the question of how the UN could help in this situation: [He] discussed

George Ivan Smith, Letter to Tristram Powell, May (OX MS. Eng. c. , fol.).

See, for example, Dag Hammar skjöld, Know Yourself, Know Your World Address at the Seventy-fifth Anniversary Meeting of the Swedish Tourist Association, February , in Andrew W. Cordier/Wilder Foote (eds) *Public Papers of the Secretaries-General of the United Nations. Volume IV: Dag Hammar skjöld 1958-1960*, New York and London, pp. - .

George Ivan Smith, Letter to Tristram Powell, May (OX MS. Eng. c. , fol.).

On this see also Kay Rainey Grey, United Nations Notebook. The Relationship of Dag Hammar skjöld with the Press, in *Development Dialogue* 1 , pp. - .

See George Ivan Smith, Obituary Letter, in *The Guardian*, April , p. .

On the concept of UN presence see Frölich-Hammar skjöld, op. cit, pp. - .

Cf. Urquhart, *Hammar skjöld*, op. cit, pp. - .

the problem as we paced up and down on India. Hammarskjöld visited India at the at roof of that crummy hotel. It is at the beginning of and Smith was in nice touch of history, because while he was in his team. During their trip, Indian Prime searching for some kind of diplomatic method Minister Jawaharlal Nehru proposed that od, we could see over the road the ruins of a Hammarskjöld should visit a Punjab vil- old Greek theatre and chickens were jumping in order to get first-hand impression up and down on the stone balconies. So he of local development and culture in India. said, You see, if we bring military people Hammarskjöld, together with Smith and in, the surrounding Arab states will take that as his bodyguard William Ranallo, followed to mean that they were in fact regarded as his advice. Smith recalls: As soon as our the threat to Jordan. But something has to have arrived, the villagers began to strike done. (A long pause). Perhaps just a chap or cymbals, to deck us in garlands of flowers, kicking around here Later that day at my and to march. It was not a march in unison Press conference, I interpreted that as U.N. in line. It was a massive manifestation of presence. Wish I had not. It began to be human energy. Within a minute one was used for every future event [] an ointment caught up in the spirit of the event and I saw suggested for every wound The chap was Hammarskjöld's shoulders go back and his to be Piero Spinelli, Head of the UN's Gene-arms began to catch the rhythm. It was the va o ce, who conducted a mission in Jordan same with Bill and myself. It was all-per- and thus established the basis for what today is. We felt that we were people on the is rmly established as a system of personal march with them. This moment of emo- and special representatives of the Secretariat onal understanding, in Smith's view, was General. The personal and the political, for also a special moment for Hammarskjöld. Hammarskjöld, formed a symbiosis that was an appreciation of the kind and genuine en- typical of his philosophy and diplomacy. counter with the people at the village he later on would send their chief some tall, ele- gant and simple chairs especially crafted by a Danish designer whom Hammarskjöld very much liked. But the coincidence of cul-

IV

In his recollections, Smith keeps coming back to two events that, for him, best ex- mar skjöld found a further illustration in the pressed Hammarskjöld's personality and dancing to poetry by Tagore which Nehru perspective. These two events, incidentally, had arranged for Hammarskjöld's delegation tally, had to do with a shared experience in the evening. These two events shaped

George Ivan Smith, Letter to Tristram Powell, May (OX MS. Eng. c. , fols. -).

See Connie Peck, Special Representatives of the Secretary-General, in David M. Malone (ed.), *UN Security Council. From the Cold War to the 21st Century*, Boulder and London, , pp. - .

See, for example, Smith, *Assignment*, op. cit. (OX MS. Eng. c. , fols. -) as well as George Ivan Smith, Transcript of Interview for the United Nations Career Records Project in (OX MS. Eng. , fols. -).

Smith, *Assignment*, op. cit. (OX MS. Eng. c. , fols. -).

Smith, *Assignment*, op. cit. (OX MS. Eng. c. , fol.).

Hammarskjöld's outlook when he was to decide to react upon the work of the United Nations by giving the inevitable speech before his host and audience. Smith writes: The next evening Christian trias of faith, hope, charity: [I]n Hammarskjöld was to give a major speech in simple human terms the United Nations before an audience of thousands, organised as a symbol of faith. It is also an instrument for action inspired by hope, and faith. He had a prepared speech about some many corners of the world it stands as a aspect of the United Nations' role in the framework for acts of charity. Hammar- ing to achieve harmony in international affairs, he did not want to lecture his mainly Hindu audience on Western ideology; quite the contrary: He referred to the Christian through the text. He then put it aside and did not speak from that text at all. He spoke from the work of the United Nations therefore builds the heart about the experience of being with this commonality of human conduct and the people in the villages. It was by far the best speech I have ever heard him give. With respect to the United Nations as a symbol of faith, it may in this per- had an eloquence because it was free from spec- tations as to the ability of man to form the qualifications and the safety devices a kind of yes to the ability of man to form that the U.N. Secretary-General normally his own destiny, and form his own destiny must use in public speeches. The audience so as to create a world where the dignity caught the echoes of the feelings that had and man can come fully into its own. This been aroused for us in their own villages already implies a solidarity beyond local and There was a yearning, shared by the speaker and international communities: [T]he United Na- and his audience, to do more to elevate the nations also appears as a framework for char- human race, to consider and help with leadership. It is no news to anybody, but we ership, those human beings in the deprived sense it in different degrees, that our world areas in which they were born to eke out of today is more than ever before world. their lives in quiet despair.

The weakness of one is the weakness of all, and the strength of one not the military

The text of this, mainly extemporaneous strength, but the real strength, the economic speech can be found in the public papers and social strength, the happiness of people the Secretary-General. Hammarskjöld had is indirectly the strength of all. Through

various developments which are familiar to all, world solidarity has, so to say, been forced upon us. This is no longer a choice of enlightened spirits; it is something which those whose temperament leads them in the direction of isolationism have also to accept.

Dag Hammarskjöld, *The United Nations: Its Ideology and Activities. Address before the Indian Council of World Affairs* February 1955, in Andrew W. Cordier/Wilder Foote (eds) *Public Papers of the Secretaries-General of the United Nations. Volume II: Dag Hammarskjöld 1953-1956*, New York and London, 1966, pp. 1-2. Starting his speech, Ham- marskjöld claimed that he did not have the chance to carefully prepare a manuscript during his recent travels and asks his audience to accept today a speech without text, a rather rambling speech, from notes which I made on the plane coming here ().

Hammarskjöld, *The United Nations*, op. cit., p. 1.
Hammarskjöld, *The United Nations*, op. cit., p. 1.
Hammarskjöld, *The United Nations*, op. cit., p. 1.

In such a world it is impossible to maintain that kind of confidence in ourselves and in the status of haves and have-nots, just as the wisdom of man which makes us brave impossible as it has grown to be inside the enough to break through and leave a national state. These words of human kinship, real solidarity and a common purpose may be regarded as a direct echo of Hammar-skjöld's experience in the Punjab village where he judges it to be the best speech I have ever heard him give, it was absolutely from the heart.

for the second time, I longed to have an occasion to establish a contact – a contact of mind, and I may add perhaps, of spirit. For yet another shared experience. During the Suez crisis Smith was asked by the BBC to give his personal evaluation of Hammar-skjöld as a kind of background information for a feature programme. Smith, in a note to a raptly attentive audience by Brian Urquhart, writes: It went along to the cultural evening at the Prime Minister's house and to the dance. He then quoted the lines from Tagore's poem that "that you can take for granted. Still less do I mean well integrated in the sense that psychiatrists and psychologists use the phrase. The integrity I refer to is of a universal character. He seems to believe in the existence of one Mind and to see all natural activity as the consequent expression of that mind. To illustrate the point I quoted Tagore: Thou hast made me endless such as thy pleasure. Thy frail vessel thou emptied again and again, and it ever with fresh life. This little reed thou leavest to me, as a European, seem typical of deep trends of thought in this people, except at the immortal touch of thy hands while we heart loses its limits in joy and gives birth to new Nations. We may listen to the rumbling of the clouds, but we can never lose mine. Ages pass[,] and still thou pourest[,]

Hammar-skjöld, *The United Nations*, op. cit., p. .
 Smith, *Assignment*, op. cit. (OX MS. Eng. c. , fol.).
 Hammar-skjöld, *The United Nations*, op. cit., p. .

Hammar-skjöld, *The United Nations*, op. cit., p. .
 George Ivan Smith, Transcript of Interview for the United Nations Career Records Project in (OX MS. Eng. , fol.).

and still there is room toll. My letter Tagore (The unknown assignation) as the went on to say that it was in this context that title for his autobiography. Needless to say, in I judged Dag s integrity to be uppermost. In Smith s autobiography one out of chapters was integrity of an instrument. He did not was designed to deal exclusively with Dag x himself about the derences between Hammarskjöld: A Personal Assessment of the painting, literature, religion, politics. They Man and his Achievements . were manifestations at different levels, and with different values of Mind. I ventured the This assessment clearly would not have view that he found a great deal of his tireless been con ned to Hammarskjöld, the po- energy by seeing himself as an instrument. In his letter to Urquhart, Smith the manner described by Tagore Tagore, gave his colleague some impressions on his in other words, stands for a variation of the view of Hammarskjöld, stating that the orchestral idea described above. closest links I had with Dag stemmed not from the professional side and OPI [the Of-

After Smith had sent this note to the BBC ce of Public Information] (even though he did, however, have second thoughts about that went fairly well in the Middle East it and feared that it might have intruded too and over Suez) but in a curious way it came much on Hammarskjöld s personality. So he from the kind of background rected in showed the draft of the letter to Hammar-Markings. Smith even says that he was skjöld in order to nd out if he should with- close to Hammarskjöld only for a fairly draw his already delivered information to the short time because there obviously were BBC. Smith recalls: At the risk of sounding some administrative (not personal) di melodramatic, I tell you that the letter had æulties after he changed over to OPI (he terri c impact on him. After he read it he sa states that he was seen as DH s man in the silently for what seemed to be an intermi arguments about the controversial Expert nable length of time. I thought I was about Committee Report). The event that Smith to be red but he turned to me and said you then uses to illustrate his relationship with are the rst person that has ever understood Hammarskjöld goes back to the Secretary- this about me . This little anecdote clearly General s rst visit to London where he shows the unique kind of relationship that was also invited to Smith s private home. George Ivan Smith and Dag Hammarskjöld Hammarskjöld went through the books in shared. Nothing could better illustrate this Smith s private library and found an anthol- common point of reference than the fact that ogy of poetry with some texts that Smith Smith had wanted to use the notion from had written years before. Smith recalls: [T]

wo of the poems attracted Dag s attention. Luckily for you, I cannot remember them in full and the anthology s in storage some- where. However, one of them was called

The lines are from Rabindranath Tagore, *Sitanjali. A Collection of Prose Translations. Made by the Author from the Original Bengali. With an introduction by W. B. Yeats, New York, 1912, p. 1. The text won Tagore the Nobel Prize for Literature in 1913. Insertions were made according to the original text in Poem No. 1.*

George Ivan Smith, Letter to Brian Urquhart, no date (OX MS. Eng. c. 10, fol. 10).

See the draft table of contents in Smith, *Assignment*, op. cit. (OX MS. Eng. c. 10, fol. 10).

George Ivan Smith, Letter to Brian Urquhart, no date (OX MS. Eng. c. 10, fol. 10).

Meditations and the general idea was He never gave the faintest inkling that he was that prayer in the real sense was only power writing a diary but I now recall books that he sible when human will and sense are still was studying at a particular time anding there in the quiet to pray. One of the subsequently a relationship between them other poems was concerned with the curiand some entry in *Markings*. This corre- ous riddle that man destroys the essencelation between *Markings* and actual political what he loves by trying to possess it. Os developments in Hammarskjöld s tenure of car Wilde [] said it more bluntly all men o ce was rst explored by Henry van Dusen kill the things they love . [] I cannot re- in his Dag Hammarskjöld: *The Man and member the whole poem but some of thehis Faith* . Talking about van Dusen s book phrases were along the lines that holding in a letter to Ann Barber from , Smith is sadness, losing is gladness but oh it is sites: As mentioned on the telephone, I was bitterness too. Dag said and I did not a Visiting Professor at Princeton University understand the phrase until I read Mark where van Dusen was Professor of Theol- ings you too . ogy. I tried to discourage him from writing a book of this kind because Hammarskjöld al-

Markings is indeed another topic that one carways told me that there was no such thing as nd in Smith s papers. As his letter to Urqu-international morality and therefore I nev- hart states, Smith was not aware of the fact expected that he would relate his Christian that Hammarskjöld kept this sort of diary.principles on a mystical level to mundane Later on, he would recall that he had wit-a airs like Suez or Congo. However, van nessed Hammarskjöld reading from a bookDusen, very receptively, read *Markings* of psalms during the Suez crisiit was, and related entries to events. In some cases, however, also during a visit to the Middleit works. I know that on various trips, Dag East, that Hammarskjöld had confessed hwas reading this or that concerning ari- deep spiritual yearning to Smith: I recall ant religions. I now see how those readings long walk with him at Jerusalem. We werelated to the entries of that dateThe going up and down inside the compoundBelfrages, who were in charge of deciding because diplomatically he could not easily whether they should publish*Markings* were go into Israel or Jordan. On one side there was the clear sight of Jerusalem and on the other side the hills of Moab and of the vil- lage where Lazarus was raised from the dead. It was probably under the impact of the sur- roundings that he revealed to me for thret time the intense strength of his Christianity.

George Ivan Smith, Letter to Brian Urquhart, no date (OX MS. Eng. c. , fol.).
 George Ivan Smith, Transcript of Interview for the United Nations Career Records Project in (OX MS. Eng. , fol.).

George Ivan Smith, Letter to Brian Urquhart, no date (OX MS. Eng. c. , fol.).
 Cf. Henry P. van Dusen *Dag Hammarskjöld: The Man and his Faith*, New York/Evanston/London, .
 George Ivan Smith, Letter to Ann Barber, May (OX MS. Eng. c. , fol.).

in close contact with Smith. His criticism of Auden has already been mentioned and he further argues: Incidentally I think Auden was wrong to avoid *Waymarks* as a title. Smith continued to be influenced and inspired by Hammar skjöld for the rest of his life and his continuous efforts to search for the way. I think it is used in The Bible but an explanation of the Ndola air crash are I can't quote the reference without research. part of the special relationship that they I am quite certain it was used in the last century. His investigations cover some thirty years and are rich with detail and content. The shortcomings of traces that he followed. Essentially, Smith the English translation of *Markings* have recently been highlighted by Kaj Falkman and his theory every ten years after Hammar Bernhard Erling. Smith obviously felt a responsibility for the authentic remembrance of Hammar skjöld a feeling that also inspired his investigations into the Ndola air crash.

See, for example, Greta and Leif Belfrage, Letter to George Ivan Smith, September (OX MS Eng. c. 1945, fols. 1-2). The letter conveys the Belfrage's decision to publish *Vägmäken*. It gives a remarkable introduction into Hammar skjöld's notes (mainly in the words of Greta) addressed to Smith:

It is shattering reading, of his struggle with himself, of the strong belief he has in himself as having been chosen, of his never-faltering will to be led in his life and his work only by this God, who once spoke to him and called him. Aphorisms, ethical reflections, but also nature descriptions and lyrics of, sometimes, such a beauty and so loaded of meaning, that it will go to the heart to even the coldest reader. [] This profile that Dag thinks himself is the only adequate one will add something to your picture of him, but it certainly is not the whole truth, impossible as it is for us all to see ourselves from all angles, sincere though we may be. [] I look at your photos from Ndola and of course we know, even if we will never say so to anybody else, that he was a saint.

George Ivan Smith, Letter to Brian Urquhart, no date (OX MS. Eng. c. 1945, fol. 1).

See Kai Falkman, Signposts in the Wrong Direction. W. H. Auden's Misinterpretations of Dag Hammar skjöld's *Markings*, in *Times Literary Supplement*, September 1985, pp. 1-2 and Warren Hoge, Swedes dispute Translation of U.N. Legend as Book, in *The New York Times*, May 1985, p. 1 as well as the alternative and the new translation by Bernhard Erling, *A Reader's Guide to Dag Hammar skjöld's Waymarks*, St. Peter, 1985.

Smith also kept a collection of further hints and theories in his papers. These include information on Major Joseph Delin, a Belgian mercenary pilot (Lone Ranger) who flew the Fouga jet in Katanga. Another story that came up was the testimony of Francis Bodenan who had kidnapped Tshombe and brought him to Algeria. Bodenan claimed that Tshombe was behind the plane crash. According to this theory, one of Tshombe's agents, dressed as a technician, had boarded the plane of the Secretary-General and removed the right map for Ndola. When the plane later needed help from the air traffic controller at Ndola it was given deliberately false information on altitudes etc., that led to the plane crash. See Harry Debelius, Tshombe linked with Hammar skjöld death, in *The Times*, February 1960 (OX MS Eng. c. 1960, fols. 1-2). Smith even had a correspondence with the lawyer Bernard Fensterwald who headed a Committee to Investigate Assassinations and was involved in the investigations after the assassination of John F. Kennedy. See George Ivan Smith, Letter to Bernard Fensterwald, October 1960 (OX MS. Eng. c. 1960, fols. 1-2). See the Transcript of Tape from 1960 Hours (BBC) Programme, September 1960 (OX MS. Eng. c. 1960, fols. 1-2).

stedt and in a report for the *Observer* and finally in together with Conor Cruise O'Brien in an article for the *Guardian*. Although there have been variations and sometimes contradictions within this Terrain, a phenomenon that led to the evolving theory, the core of it can be de-tablishment of Ground Proximity Warn-scribed as a kidnapping that went wrong Systems not yet common in . This theory has been dismissed most nota-bly by Bengt Rösio who was commissioned Although its nal conclusion has been dis-by the Swedish Foreign Ministry to look-mitted, the papers of Smith allow for a de-into the case after Smith and O'Brien came-tailed reconstruction of his argument and out with their story. On the basis of inten-

See George Ivan Smith, *Mercenaries Accused of Killing Hammarskjöld*, in *The Observer*, May (OX MS. Eng. , fols. -).

O'Brien, being a direct actor in the events in the Congo of September had previously published a controversial account of his perspective blaming various UN colleagues – see Conor Cruise O'Brien, *To Katanga and Back. A UN Case History*, London, . In George Ivan Smith: *True Believer in Role of UN*, in *The Guardian*, November , p. , an obituary for his friend and colleague, O'Brien re-called the erce debate about his book and Smith's symptomatic reaction: George was, at this time, head of the UN Information Oice in London and he was, of course, asked about my book. His reply, to which he added nothing, was simply: Wonderful Irish poetry! When I read that reply I laughed aloud. George had done it again. He had retained the con dence of his institution, without giving of-fence to his friend.

See David Pallister, *Mercenaries Killed UN Chief in Air Crash*, in *The Guardian*, September (OX MS. Eng. c. , fol.) and George Ivan Smith, *My Evidence to Show How Dag Died*, in *The Mirror* (Lesotho), October (OX MS. Eng. c. , fol.) as well as George Ivan Smith/Conor Cruise O'Brien, *Hammarskjöld plane crash no ac-cident*, in *The Guardian*, November , p. , and Conor Cruise O'Brien, *Foul Play on the Al-bertina*, in *The Guardian*, September , p. . O'Brien also saw a connection between the British Government of Harold Macmillan, the Rhodesian Government and diverse commercial interests in the Congo: They did not conspire against Hammar-skjöld, but I believe they conspired to cover up the conspiracy. He further stated his view in his auto-biography: O'Brien, *Memoir*, op. cit., pp. .

ive research and also several conversations with Smith Rösio concluded that the crash was most probably a consequence of what is know as CFIT or Controlled Flight Into Terrain, a phenomenon that led to the es-Although its nal conclusion has been dis-mitted, the papers of Smith allow for a de-tailed reconstruction of his argument and The story has its origins in a night in January at a Paris opera house, when Claude de Kemoularia, another member of the UN sta during Hammarskjöld's time, was approached by the UPI journalist Rob-ert Ahier who had made the acquaintance of some Belgian mercenaries claiming they had killed Hammarskjöld. Kemoularia agreed to meet these people in order to nd out more about the trustworthiness of their story. Although there was always the suspicion that the mercenaries were out for money in selling a big story, Kemoularia decided to meet with these mercenaries who introwduced themselves as de Troye (or de Croix) and Grant (or Grent). Their argument was that one of their colleagues involved at Ndola in September , a pi-lot called Beukels, wanted to rid himself of

Cf. Bengt Rösio *Searching the Sky*, in *The Guard-ian*, March , p. . For an overview regard-ing the various theories about the Ndola plane crash see i.a. Bengt Rösio *The Ndola Air Crash and the Death of Dag Hammarskjöld*, in *The Journal of Mod-ern African Studies* 1 , pp. - , Hughes, *The Strange Death of Dag Hammarskjöld*, op. cit., Hughes, *Diary*, op. cit., and Frölich *Hammar-skjöld*, op. cit., pp. - with further references. The o cial inquiries by Rhodesia and the UN tend-ed to conclude that the crash was due to an accident and maybe a pilot error, although especially the UN report would not rule out other explanations.

the events in Africa when he unintentionally shot that according to his own testimony mistakenly hit the plane at the rear General. According to their story Beukels and caused it to crash. Beukels said that he had been given the order to intercept and stood on some kind of trial for this when redirect Hammar-skjöld's plane en route to the returned to Kolwezi and feared that his his meeting with Tshombe. Instead of go-principals would kill him. Even in he ing to Ndola he was to bring the plane to seemed to have suffered from ill health and land at Kolwezi where a strange group of alcohol problems.

people representing various European political and business interests were assembled. The problem with such a theory, apart from in order to meet the Secretary-General and some unresolved technical questions, is of convince him of their perspective on the course that trusting mercenaries some time rightful secession of Katanga. The group after the event is a rather risky thing. The was represented by an even more dubious second objection is even more important: ous Mr. X who, as a mercenary, is said the logic of planning to hijack the UN to have been the effective governmental Secretary-General, talk to him and hope authority in Katanga behind and above to see his attitudes changed when he was Moise Tshombe. Intercepting Hammar-skjöld for them was a kind of last resort self was confronted with this objection also since they saw their influence shattered by ready in when he answered in a BBC the prospect of a peaceful mediation between Hammar-skjöld and Tshombe. According to the mercenaries they had two they are not clerics. As often as not they are planes in the air in order to spot Ham-psychotics or soldiers of fortune and you marskjöld's plane, the Albertina, and they would expect acts of lunacy from them. pilots were constantly informed about the But this seems to be a rather weak line of confidential flight route. When Beukels defence. With these objections stated, one spotted the Secretary-General's plane nonetheless has to stress that the amount of directed his search lights to it, established detail that Kemoullaria and Smith gathered radio contact with the pilot and asked him is really astonishing. Their written report to y to Kolwezi. Then, however, Beukels gained the impression that the aircraft they taped their thoughts and Kemoullaria wanted to continue its landing manoeuvre recollections of his meetings with the mercenaries covers some pages and includes a number of very specific points on altitude,

There is also reference to Kamina air base which was, however, held by the UN and not by mercenaries. See letter by Bengt Rösiö to the author, November .

In this context see also George Ivan Smith, Tshombe, the Congo's troublemaker, *The Herald* (Melbourne), January (OX MS. Eng. c. , fols. -).

Transcript of Tape from Hours (BBC) Programme, September (OX MS. Eng. c. , fols. -).

Four Cassettes Containing Dictation by Smith, no date (OX MS. Eng. e.).

ight directions, equipment etc. Their theory ties in with a slightly different version reconstructed by the operational head of Transair, the company from which the Albertina was chartered, Bo Virving, and further speculation on possible aircrafts used in the kidnapping. It is also compatible with the claims of various eye witnesses that were not properly considered by the Rhodesian Commission of Inquiry in

See, for example, the Witness Statement of Timothy Jiramda Kankasa (later a state minister in Zambia), no date (OX MS. Eng. c. , fol.) and the Transcript of Interview with Timothy Kankasa, October (OX MS. Eng. c. , fols. -).

Kankasa testified that he saw two planes in the sky. In addition to Kankasa's testimony a European District Commissioner pledged to know that a pilot with the name of Beukels was indeed operating in the Ndola area at the time (this is contrary to Rösiö's intensive research which did not bring up the name Beukels in available records; see letter to the author November) and a British naval commander whose car was hit by some sort of bullet on a road near the crash site. Smith's theory may also tie in with the report of Harold Julien, the sole survivor for some time after the crash, who spoke of a flash in the sky (presumably the search lights) and Hammar-skjöld's order to turn back. Smith himself listened to the tape of Julien's interrogation and claims that he cannot be dismissed as being in a kind of feverish trauma but that just before his recollections of the last minutes on board he was able to give correctly his name, address, telephone number, etc. See George Ivan Smith, Letter to Sir Roy Welensky, November (OX MS. Eng. c. , fol.).

In a letter to Andrew Cordier he reports the scene with the officer at the Ndola control tower: I asked him how it was that they couldn't have seen the from the crash. I put this question while we were in the control tower and he seemed to recall that after he had been contacted by Dag's plane he was very busy in other parts of the tower and was not specially looking out beyond the airport. He also made the point that in any case it was the time of the year for bush fires and burnings. But after we had gone through all of the courtesies and as I was about to leave, he said: You know, it is very mysterious. We may never know what happened to that aircraft. I couldn't press him, but in the context of our conversation I was given the impression that he didn't believe in the story of the pilot error. George Ivan Smith, Letter to Andrew Cordier, June (OX MS. Eng. c. , fol.).

Transcript of Dictation by Smith, no date (OX MS. Eng. c. , fols. -).

Virving had also claimed that the plane of the Secretary-General had been intercepted and upon or even bombed by hostile aircrafts. In Smith's papers there is a report by Virving dated November that is in fact a rewritten manuscript of Virving's original report from January (Bo Virving, Report on Reconstruction of Probable Sequence of Events Leading up to the Crash on September th, of Aircraft SE-BDY at Ndola November (OX MS. Eng. c. , fols. -). With the manuscript there are also some photos and maps (Miscellaneous Material (OX MS. Eng. c. fols. -)) showing a plane at Kolwezi airport in August/September, the presumed flight routes of the planes involved as well as a photo of the radar dome of SE-BDY which Smith or someone else marked as possibly penetrated by a bullet. Virving also attaches great importance to the witness statements that he claims have been suppressed by the Rhodesian Commission of Inquiry. Among Smith's papers one can also find the copy of a report from an ONUC intelligence team whose task was to examine all remaining Katangese aircraft on a visit to Kolwezi and Jadotville in January (Report ONUC Intelligence, February (OX MS. Eng. c. , fols. -)). The implied message of this report is that the Katangese airforce, via Angola, South Africa and Rhodesia, possessed not only the Fouga jet but also some De Havilland Doves and Vampires. Explosives found at Kolwezi gave further ground to the suspicion that there were tools to equip and reconstruct these aircrafts for transport and use of specially constructed bombs.

est in the actions of Katangese mercenaries meeting-point for various mercenaries. ies at the time since he himself, together Against all this detailed knowledge one is with Brian Urquhart, was kidnapped and struck by the fact that he would not have beaten in November a plot which been able to hear or even identify the sup- he attributes to the sinister workings of posedly almighty Mr X behind the alleged a certain mercenary called van Rooy kidnapping at Ndola.

Smith obviously knew a lot of the people

in Katanga at the time and even had con- Another avenue Smith tried to explore was tacts with various mercenaries: he names his contact with Sir Roy Welensky, the Prime various colonels in charge of foreign mer- Minister of the Federation of Rhodesia and cenaries (Colonel Faulques, Jan Zumbach Nyasaland, whom he suspected of at least (a Polish arms dealer) as well as Colonel knowing more than he said. His con- Lamoumine, a former Belgian Army major Welensky is symptomatic, since the former in charge of military technical assistance Prime Minister seems to be open and even in Katanga) and visited the infamous El- friendly but gives only so much detail, leav- ephant and Castle Bar in Ndola, a populā

ing Smith in limbo between suspicion and veri cation. For example, Smith also asked Welensky speccally about the possibility that an aircraft hitherto unaccounted for (a Havilland Dove) could have tuned into the radio contact between the Albertina and the Ndola control tower. Such a further aircraft would in fact have broadened the possibility of interception since the only known air- craft of the Katangese airforce in the region, a Fouga jet, most probably did not have the range for such an undertaking. In a letter from Smith argued: It was straightfor- ward mercenary business and I have built up a very substantial amount of data. For his- torical reasons I think it most important that I leave in my records every detail possible to emphasise that it was the mercenaries, act- ing on their own, who brought this about.

Even Moise [Tshombe] had little or no con- trol over many of their actions because in point of fact they, the mercenaries, did not want a ceasefire. Some of them wanted to

Cf. Brian Urquhart, *A Life in Peace and War*, New York, , pp. - as well as O'Brien, *Memoir*, op. cit., pp. - . Smith kept a Confidential Note on Conversation with Roger Asonong, no date (OX MS. Eng. c. , fol. -) in which he reports from a meeting with Asonong, an opaque press cor- respondent who had contacts to various parties in Katanga and who supported Smith's theory that a Belgian group of right-wing interests opposed to Spaak working closely with the mercenaries led by a certain van Rooy had a major share in the beating and kidnapping.

See also Knut Hammarskjöld, Letter to George Ivan Smith, February (OX MS. Eng. c. , fol.): In one of your earlier letters [] you mentioned that during the fatal month of September a more or less permanent helicopter liaison was kept between Katanga elements in Ndola and Elizabethville and other places in the province. I now under- stand that during all this time a psychological war- fare commando, led by the famous French Colonel Faulques, was stationed at Ndola. This commando is said to have consisted of mercenaries. It is also said to have directed Tshombe's external propaganda, specially to the West. I wonder if you ever heard about this during your visits to the place, and, if this is the case, the names of the other three are known to you. It would also be of great interest to me to know anything about their professional quali- ties, radio- and electronic equipment etc.

See also the information from a letter by Rösiö to the author, November , as well as Hughes, *Diary*, op. cit., p. .

George Ivan Smith, Letter to David Owen, June (OX MS. Eng. c. , fol.).

Sir Roy Welensky, Letter to George Ivan Smith, October (OX MS. Eng. c. , fol.).

go on shing in muddy waters fomancial attack on the Post Oce and really brought gain but there were others from the OASabout the bloodshed that developed, were in Algiers who had a political motive, albeithe attitudes of two men C. C. O Brien and one that was both crazy and unobtainable.Kahari the Indian representative. Neither In a further draft letter to Welensky, SmithTshombe or I had any reason for wanting wrote: Dear Roy, please help me solve the death of Hammarskjöd.

this. I now have everything except the last

links and it has become a point of personalThe ambivalence of information from Rho- importance as a close friend of Dag s, tdesia, for Smith, can be further seen in a let- set the record straight. Welensky sug- ter to David Owen, Executive Chairman of gested that Smith should go to the police the UN s Technical Assistance Board, dated if his and Kemoularia s story about the June . Smith reports a story about the Belgian mercenaries was rightThe for- events in Ndola from a conversation with H. mer Prime Minister continuously tried to N. Parry, Permanent Secretary to Welensky refute Smith s suspicions and especially histhe time: The Ndola plane crash was also theory that Rhodesia might have helped still on everybody s mind. Parry repeated the Katangese government and mercenawhat a number of other ocials told me, ies in a plot. He wrote: I never made anyWe completely underestimated the extent secret of the fact that my sympathies were to which world opinion might associate us with Tshombe but I would say that if theredirectly or indirectly with having in some were two men in Central Africa, who had way caused the disaster . He told me how he need for Hammarskjöd to stay alive, it was had been waiting at Salisbury for the talks Tshombe and myself, because I have always begin. At some stage of the proceedings believed that the thing that sparked the he was with Lord Alport. Whether it was in the early hours of the morning of the crash or towards or a.m. before the search began I am not sure but he described how he and the group of ocials were all terribly puzzled as to where the Secretary-General had gone and why. He said that the idea of a crash just hadn t occurred to them. You will recall from the evidence at the enquiry that the Airport Manager srst faint fears about the plane having failed to land were relayed when he heard Lord Alport express the view that there had been some doubt as to whether Hammarskjöd was going to have the talks and that he d probablyn to somewhere else. It seems that this same

George Ivan Smith, Letter to Sir Roy Welensky, November (OX MS. Eng. c. , fols. -).

George Ivan Smith, Draft Letter to Sir Roy Welensky, no date (OX MS. Eng. c. , fol.).

See Sir Roy Welensky, Letter to George Ivan Smith, June (OX MS. Eng. c. , fol.): I will not repeat what I said to you in an earlier letter. The odds of dropping a bomb from one plane to another at or o clock on a black African night, are fantastic [] I must admit I nd it intriguing for you to refer to someone who says the gentleman possesses a le in support of the fact that the plane was attacked in the air and that he has met two of the pilots that were involved. George, if he is an honourable man, he ought to go straight to the authorities because there is any truth in the statements that these people made, then they are party to murder, and as far as I know, murder is a crime in almost every country of the world, and it certainly was under Federal Jurisdiction and Northern Rhodesia was part of the Federation at that time.

Sir Roy Welensky, Letter to George Ivan Smith, May (OX MS. Eng. c. , fol.).

kind of thinking was going on at Salisbury and it was only after they'd got a negative response to a check on other ~~and~~ which they'd sent to find out where and why the George Ivan Smith and Dag Hammarskjöld S.G. had gone, did they think of a disaster. I told him that when the story first broke I heard far more suggestions that the disaster had been caused by the direct action of the Fougat jet rather than by any Rhodesian action. He said, I can tell you something interesting on that. After we'd learned that the plane was missing there was, of course, a terrible state of tension here. And I remember Tshombe suddenly telling us that it couldn't conceivably have been the Fougat jet because it was out of commission. Almost immediately afterwards he was distressed having said that obviously because he had given away a military secret of some importance. He looked embarrassed and then implored us not to mention that fact to anybody. (I must say that Tshombe is such an actor that he revealed this story highly revealing. I interpreted it absolutely in another way from Parry. I take it to mean that Tshombe was afraid that the Fougat might have been responsible and he registered a quick defence with his usual histrionics). Hammarskjöld Smith relates Ndola continued to be on Smith's mind right until the end of his life and he stood to his unshinching conviction that it was not a mere accident.

George Ivan Smith and Dag Hammarskjöld were companions on a journey full of unknown assignments in Tagore's words and known assignments in Tagore's words and reminiscent of the challenges described by Conrad. Hammarskjöld, for his part, was unusually outspoken in naming the mercurial things of George Ivan Smith when on May 1960 he wrote: I should have written to you long ago first of all in order to thank you for invaluable assistance on all levels: as political adviser, as an incredibly skilled public relations man, as general caretaker of the sometimes somewhat helpless group, and as a very fine, understanding and stimulating personal friend. They did share a common view on the role of the United Nations which Smith, referring to Hammarskjöld, also summarised under the necessity for a diplomacy of reconciliation. In November 1960 he had given a speech on this topic before a sceptical British audience at the Oxford Union and described the reaction as incredible and supportive. In another draft for a speech at a seminar at the Dag Hammarskjöld Foundation Smith relates the rationale for a diplomacy of reconciliation to the Biblical stories of reconciliation to the prodigal son or of Joseph sold by his brothers. In other words, Smith, much the same as Hammar-

George Ivan Smith, Letter to David Owen, June 1960 (OX MS. Eng. c. 10, fols. 1-2).

In that effort he at times was inclined to embrace dubious information as Bengt Rösiö who met Smith several times and entertained a cordial relationship with Smith witnessed on a number of occasions. See his statement in a letter to the author, November 1960.

Dag Hammarskjöld, Letter to George Ivan Smith, May 1960 (OX MS. Eng. c. 10, fol. 1).

George Ivan Smith, Letter to Dag Hammarskjöld, November 1960 (OX MS. Eng. c. 10, fol. 1).

The response was incredible. In Smith's papers there are, however, no records of the speech before the Oxford Union. See a letter dated March 1961 from Archivist Graeme C. Hall to the author.

Cf. George Ivan Smith, Draft Manuscript of a Speech Given at the Dag Hammarskjöld Foundation, no date (OX MS. Eng. c. 10, fols. 1-2).

skjöld, underlined the spiritual and ethical that had to overcome the short-sightedness basis for constructive politics. In this context of national interest in order to cope with the it is remarkable that it was Smith who confronted a myriad of problems that the twentieth century veiled. Hammar skjöld's last sentences before he died brought with its scientific progress, its heading for Ndola to Martin Buber, the philosopher of dialogue whom both cherished and violent conflicts. The international By a series of chances I was not with him in a civil servant, for example in the form of a [Hammar skjöld] on his last trip to Africa. In UN blue helmet for Smith as well as Hammar skjöld represented a hope for the future. Dr Linner told me that before Dag boarded the aircraft, almost the last conversation he had with Linner concerned your work. He was translating some of it into Swedish while he was at Leopoldville and, almost certainly, in the aircraft on the way to Ndola. Linner said that the last words he remembered Dag's time with Hammar skjöld, Smith, even saying before the aircraft took off referred to your work and to medieval mystics. Love, engaging himself in contemporary debates for them, he said, was a surplus of power which they felt completely lled them when they began to live in self-forgetfulness.

Smith advocated and was indeed the prototype of a new species of International Man

George Ivan Smith, Letter to Martin Buber, October (OX MS. Eng. c. 12, fols. 1-2): I have just returned from Stockholm and Uppsala. The service in the cathedral was magnificent, but the walk through the cobbled streets of Uppsala and through the ranks of university students who lined the route to the graveyard was quite the most moving experience of all. The utter simplicity, the quiet dignity and the intense depth of feeling in the audience made thenal moment at the church-yard the most memorable of my life. At the very end, when the representatives of kings and governments were dispersing, I caught sight of a man in highly coloured folk dress standing under the shadow of the nearby chapel from where he had watched the service. I made my way to him and through an interpreter discovered that he was a guide from northern Lapland who had been with Dag in many northern journeys. He had made his own way south for the funeral. The sorrow expressed in that man's face is something else I shall not forget.

Smith, Edge of Peace, op. cit., p. 10.

of *The Independent* Smith argued: There are cases of human need that call for the world to brush aside any opposition based on the sacred cow of national sovereignty. The interplay of national sovereignty and international organisation has in fact occupied his mind throughout his whole professional life. But Smith was surely not politically naïve since he knew very well about the problems and obstacles for a peaceful conduct of international affairs. This, again, brought him together with Hammar skjöld. In a letter to Max Ascoli, just after Hammar skjöld's death, Smith wrote: In the light of what is happening now it is of no small interest to re-read Dag's introduction to his annual report. He showed it to me as soon as

Smith, Edge of Peace, op. cit., p. 10.

George Ivan Smith, Letter: More Power to the UN if it is to Put Blue on the Map, in *The Independent*, September 1958, p. 1.

he had finished writing it only a few weeks ago. I made some comment after reading it and he said well, these are matters that perhaps may not be decided within a decade, but at least I have tried to set the stage. Smith definitely played his part in the setting of that stage.

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George Ivan Smith, Letter to Max Ascoli, October (OX MS. Eng. c. , fol.).



Ezra Pound, and Dag Hammarskjöld's Quiet Diplomacy

Marie-Noëlle Little

It stands on a lovely hilltop near Clinton in the State of New York; stands in a noble park still marked out with the treaty stones of the Indians, placed there as a pledge of sanctuary when first the school was built. Men whose business takes them to all universities, both in this country and Europe, have told me that, except for the University of Upsala¹ in Sweden, the Hamilton campus is the most beautiful in the world.

This is how American journalist Alexander Woollcott described his Alma Mater, Hamilton College, in his famous radio programme *The Town Crier* in the 1930s. Even though he often portrayed himself as 'an old grad of the most virulent type', he thought of the campus as a 'Sacred Grove'. Woollcott certainly was not alone in this perception, as I used the same Clinton-Uppsala quote to introduce my own work at a Hamilton College conference in April of 2009, commemorating the centennial of the graduation of one of their most controversial alumni, the American poet Ezra Pound. That anniversary was a



Marie-Noëlle Little, Professor of French at Utica College of Syracuse University in Utica, in Western New York, has also taught at Mount Holyoke College, Amherst College, the University of Massachusetts in Amherst where she received her doctorate, and at

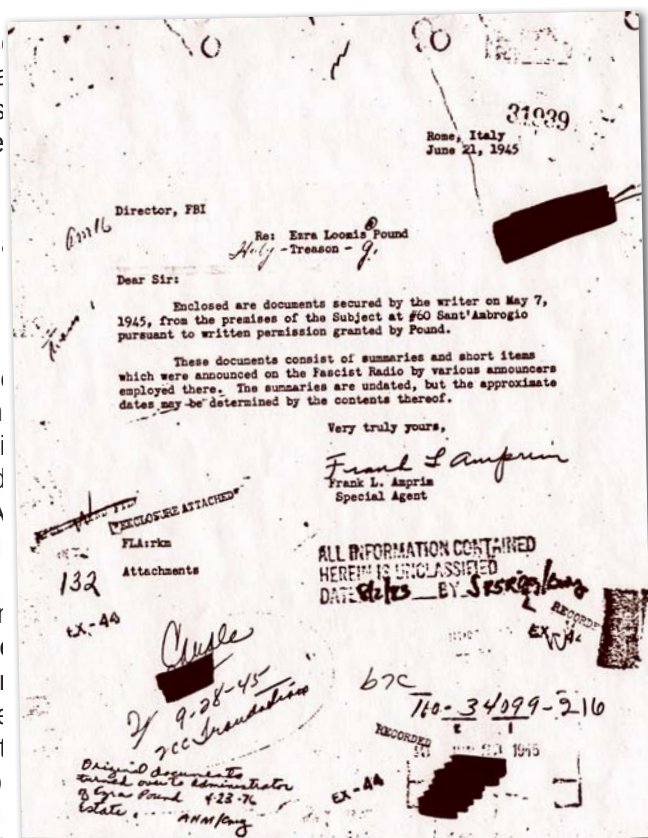
Indiana State University. She was born and raised in Sweden, then lived in France and Lebanon, and arrived in the United States in 1969 after completing her undergraduate studies at the French École des Lettres and the American University in Beirut. Most of Professor Little's research has been on Francophone literature and interdisciplinary studies. She has published works in French and English on Dag Hammarskjöld and French poet and diplomat Saint-John Perse, and is now writing a book on Dag Hammarskjöld and the American poet Ezra Pound.

¹Uppsala (old spelling).

As quoted by Samuel Hopkins Adams in *The Sacred Grove*, a chapter in *A. Woollcott, His Life and His World* (New York: Reynal & Hitchcock, 1931), p. 1. (Woollcott graduated from Hamilton College in 1900.)

few days shy of another one, some sixty years ago, when on May 7, 1945, on a hillside near Rapallo, a group of Partisans arrested Ezra Pound and brought him to the United States. I had a chance to read the FBI documents that I had a chance to read and brought them to read, as so many pages are still censored or classified. One should also keep in mind that the mood and, again, the timing of the arrest was not the best, as both Francis Biddle and Henry Stimson were about to wear the leather boots Pound was wearing, which made the Partisans suspicious. Pound was arrested on June 7, 1945, and the Nuremberg Trials, which started only two days after Pound arrived in Washington in November of 1945. Pound was in fact wanted by the FBI, as he had already been indicted in July of 1945 on several counts of treason because of his pro-Fascist short wave radio broadcasts from Rome. Things, of course, might have been quite different had he spoken from home, from America, had the timing been different. Pound made his first broadcast soon after the attack on Pearl Harbor and his last one day after Mussolini fell.

I have for years believed that the American people should be better informed by men who are not tied to a special interest or under definite control. Pound wrote from Rapallo to United States Attorney General Francis Biddle on August 7, 1945. The Attorney General never replied. To him Pound was a traitor. And in January of 1946, Francis Biddle wrote to Secretary of War Henry Stimson requesting that if and when Pound was arrested, he be thoroughly interrogated and also that an effort be made to locate and interview persons, particularly American citizens, having information



Letter to the Director of the FBI, J. Edgar Hoover

I located that secret agent in Florida thanks to a local newspaper article sent by a friend. Pound loved to change the pronunciation and spelling of words.

See Humphrey Carpenter, *A Serious Character: The Life of Ezra Pound* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1957), pp. 100-101.



Disciplinary Training Centre cages in Pisa, Italy

After his arrest, the disruptive Town Crier and would never really be free again. In the was put in a cage in the Disciplinary Trainlast years of his life, silence slowly became a ing Centre in Pisa, where, during his sixsafe haven and also his last cage, with the months of connement, he wrote*The Pisan* di erence that he could open it and talk (on *Cantos*. In November of , Pound was the rare occasions when he felt like it). When nally own to Washington, and after hisPound, who had been so vocal in at lawyer pleaded that he was mentallytuto the award ceremony for his honorary degree stand trial, Pound was locked up in acti from Hamilton College, returned to the ent kind of cage: St Elizabeths Federal Hos- pital, where he spent the following twelve and a half years. It was not until May of that he was nally released and allowed to return to Italy, and later on to his beloved Rapallo. But, was Rapallo really Paradise, just another prison? Even though his psych

atrist in Rapallo, Dr Romolo Rossi main- tains, to this day, that Pound was not insane, one must admit that in he was not the same man who had been arrested thirteen years earlier. But was he sane? While there was slippage, declared his publisher, James Laughlin, at the Pound Centennial, Ezra never lost his marbles.

It may very well take another hundred years before we realise that even if Pound never lost his marbles and never had his trial somehow he had already been condemned



Left to right, Elihu Root jr (son of Elihu Root, Nobel Peace Prize, 1912), H. V. Kaltenborn and Ezra Pound at Hamilton College in 1939

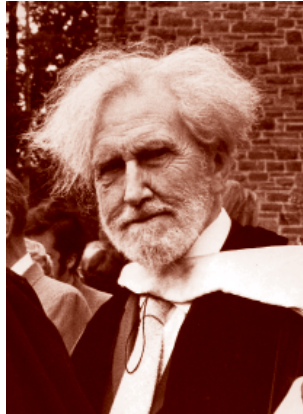


St Elizabeths Hospital, Washington, DC

Quoted by William C. Chace in *Ezra Pound: In- sanity, Treason, and CareCritical Inquiry* (Vol. , No. ,), pp. - .

Pound got into a heated argument, after the cere- mony, when another honoured guest and well- known journalist, H. V. Kaltenborn, made some anti-Fascist remarks.

*Ezra Pound at
Hamilton College
in 1969*



nial of Pound's graduation, gathered again in Rapallo in early July of 1969 for the 1st International Ezra Pound Conference, to explore the poet's Language and Persona and to discover the beautiful region that had been so important in the poet's life before the war and after his American exile. Pound's daughter, Mary, and his granddaughter, Patrizia, came to my session, perhaps intrigued by *The Noble Mask*, the title of my paper; even though they both knew that the man behind that mask was not Ezra Pound, but Dag Hammarskjöld, or

campus thirty years later, on the occasion of James Laughlin's honorary degree, he did not say a single word. And when Pound finally died in 1972, his Alma Mater made no comment, either. His picture, bordered in black, appeared in the campus newspaper with no obituary. Back in Italy, Pound was to take his last voyage on a Venetian gondola, and be buried on Axel Munthe's small island of San Michele. There are only two words on his gravestone: *Ezra Pound*, but as we say in French, the words *are* *un poème*, a poem in themselves.



Pound's daughter, Mary de Rachelwiltz, on her 80th birthday, July 2005, in St Ambrogio (where Pound was arrested in May 1945)



Rapallo, Italy (view from Hotel Italia, where Pound often stayed)

Noble Dag as Pound liked to call him. The Secretary-General and the poet never met, but on stage, Hammarskjöld, playing the role of the diplomat, embodied the complexity of poetry and politics intertwined, in brokering Pound's release from St Elizabethe's, truly a feat of quiet diplomacy.

If it were not already the title of my book *The Poet and the Diplomat*, Many of us who had participated in the Dag Hammarskjöld and the French poet Hamilton College conference, Ezra Pound and diplomat Alexis Leger, and Education, and celebrated the center

story I am now writing, about Ezra Pound of lost friends, who never even bothered to and Dag Hammarskjöld. The most striking visit Pound at St Elizabeths. Hemingway difference, however, between Alexis Leger and Robert Frost never came, and it took and Ezra Pound is that the former was both MacLeish ten years to visit Pound, but what a poet and a diplomat, and the latter was about the others? What about Alexis Leger, great poet, but not a great diplomat. Diplomacy is certainly a skill and even a mask, all these years? Impossible! Although their times but isn't a pseudonym also the ideal paths may have crossed in Paris, politically mask? Such was the case for French Foreign Minister Leger, who went (and, I am sorry to say, Leger didn't even left France in 1940 for America, soon after like Pound's poetry). During the controversy the Vichy government stripped him of his French nationality. His pseudonym of Saint-Prize to Pound in 1940, MacLeish alluded John Perse was to become his new kingdom to the Pound fracas and the Pisan Cantos in exile, which lasted seventeen years, until 1955 in his letters to Leger, but the two men, when he finally returned to France, discussed the Pound case only when Leger And a year later, it would be Ezra Pound visited his friend MacLeish, in the peace and turn to end his American exile and return to the quiet of the small New England village of to Italy. What Pound and Leger did have in common, besides being expatriates before being exiled, were friends and friends who at times could be their good fortune. In 1940, Alexis Leger luckily met the American poet Archibald MacLeish, who helped him find a position at the Library of Congress, a position that perhaps Pound would have liked to have had in 1940, when he visited the Library of Congress, and MacLeish in Massachusetts.



Archibald MacLeish in Conway, circa 1956

Pound and MacLeish had also belonged to the Lost Generation in the Paris of the Twenties, and their circles of friends included Ernest Hemingway, James Joyce, T. S. Eliot, and of course Sylvia Beach, among others (because, who was not in Paris at that time?). Some of them became a generation apart on the floor of the UN, I

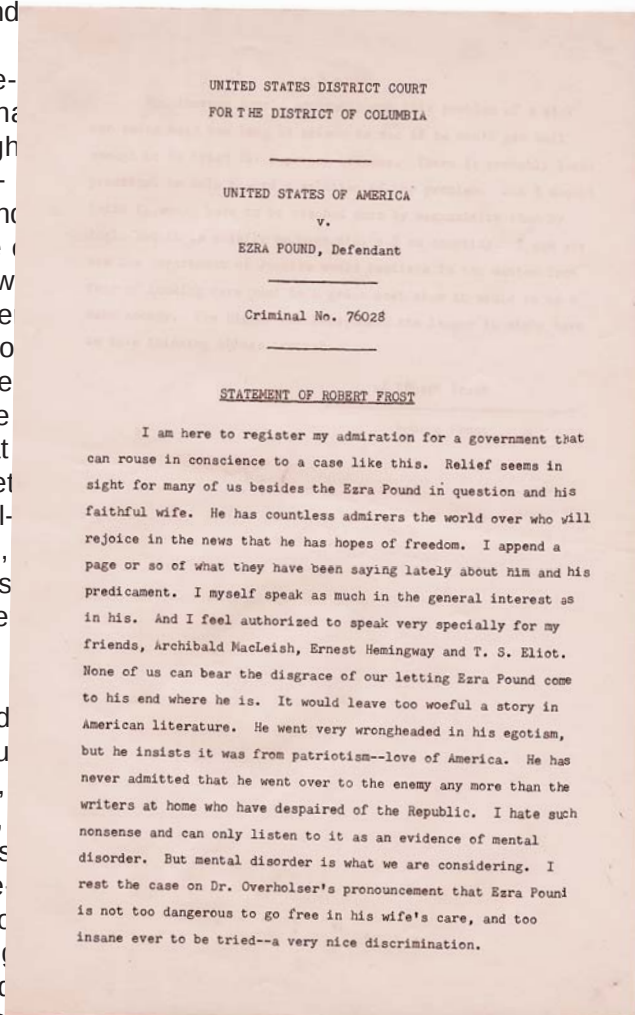
Leger was born in Guadeloupe and always felt like an expatriate after leaving the island in 1920. And Pound had already lived in Europe for over 10 years when he was arrested and taken back to Washington in 1940.

A few years later, in a much less bucolic setting, when Alexis Leger visited Dag Hammarskjöld on the floor of the UN, I very much doubt that they discussed the Pound case, for the simple reason that between December of 1945 and April of 1946, the quiet diplomacy deployed by the Secretary-General to liberate Pound was to re-

main hidden from the public eye, and perhaps even from his UN staff. Hammar skjöld's involvement in Pound's release was so well hidden, in fact, that for years I, like everyone else, thought that Hammar skjöld could not have intervened, and that he mentioned Pound in his correspondence only because of a possible Nobel Prize. I did not know that the Nobel Mask was yet another shield to protect Pound. If one were to remove that mask, one would discover the truth that Pound had no chance of being nominated for the Nobel, at least as long as he was at St Elizabeth. Avoiding the bitter battles that had already followed the Bollingen Prize, was yet another of the reasons for postponing Pound's candidacy for an even more prestigious prize.

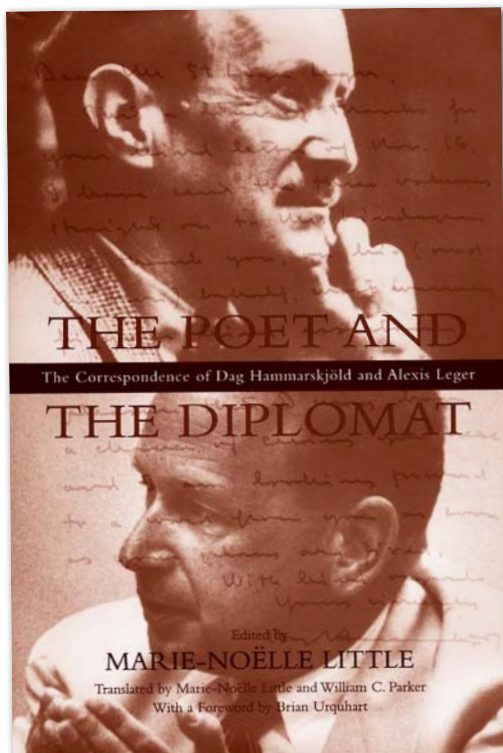
If you ask Pound scholars about Pound's release, you will invariably hear about Archibald MacLeish or Robert Frost, but never about Dag Hammar skjöld, a name absent from the index of most Pound studies, or just mentioned because of a possible Nobel Prize, or because Hammar skjöld was among those whose names were mentioned following Robert Frost's statement to the Court, in a document in support of the motion to dismiss charges against Pound. But, when Pound was finally free on

April 1958, it was to Archibald MacLeish, and not Robert Frost, that Hammar skjöld asked the UN to celebrate the event, and sent a telegram saying, "Congratulations again, most of all, poetry. Alexis Leger had to you, common sense and poetry. And in secret he addressed his acceptance speech to when Alexis Leger was awarded his Nobel Prize, there were no telegrams from de Gaulle or even the French government, but there was one from the Secretary-Gen-



First page of Robert Frost's statement in support of the motion to dismiss treason charges against Pound in 1958

One could then understand that the Uppsala conference commemorating the 100th anniversary of Dag Hammarskjöld's death would also address aspects of his legacy outside the boundaries of politics and diplomacy, thus allowing some of us to explore his interests in nature, the arts, and of course, literature. Bengt Thelin showed how Nature, Landscape, Literature were already part of Hammarskjöld's childhood and youth. Manuel Frölich analysed politics and the Arts in the correspondence of Dag Hammarskjöld and Alexis Leger, and I presented my newly published book, *The Poet and the Diplomat: The Correspondence of Dag Hammarskjöld and Alexis Leger*, and I deliberately placed the names in that order in the title, as the poet was, of course, also Hammarskjöld, for whom there really were no boundaries between poetry and diplomacy. It is the same line from the last entry in Hammarskjöld's journal *Markings* was the title of my paper, which ended with an inscription for Hammarskjöld by Alexis Leger in exile, the first long poem he wrote in America:



Book cover for the Dag Hammarskjöld and Alexis Leger correspondence

*At the crossroads of my life,
the most unexpected of men,
whose encounter, for me,
remains a delightful surprise.¹¹*

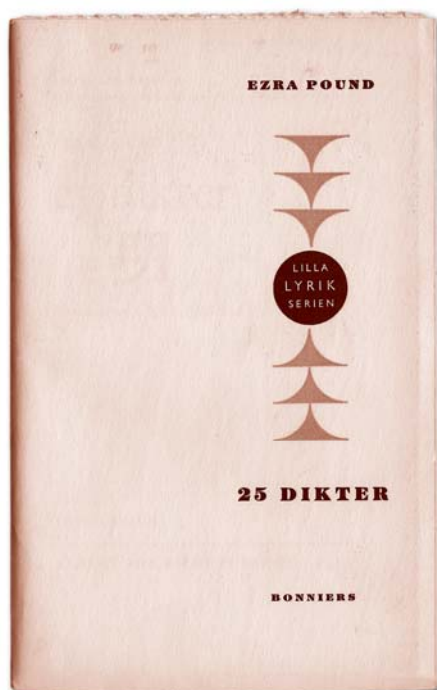
My own conclusion was that the Linnaeus of poetry had met the Linnaeus of diplomacy. The Swedish poet Erik Lindegren used to call Alexis Leger, who was a naturalist at heart, the Linnaeus of poetry. Hammarskjöld himself was, of course, a great admirer of Carl von Linné, and his speech on the Swedish naturalist's 200th anniversary was read not only by Alexis Leger and Archibald MacLeish, but also by Ezra Pound. So, when the conference was over, I was very eager to finally visit the Linné garden. But I never did. I was invited instead to have lunch with Per Lind, Hammarskjöld's assistant at the UN, and Bengt Nirje, an old friend of Erik Lindegren. Yes, how could one refuse? Linné would wait, but what could not wait was the fascinating story Bengt Nirje was about to tell me.

¹¹ See the Dag Hammarskjöld and the 21st Century issue of *Development Dialogue*, 2000, 1: 1.

¹² Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 1997.
Au croisement des routes de mon temps,/ le plus inattendu des hommes,/ et dont la rencontre demeure pour moi /une heureuse surprise.

Since then, I have often compared my own discovery of the documents related to Bengt Nirje's story with the discovery of the Lascaux cave by those young boys in France in 1940. Consulting Nirje's thick folders over-owing with detailed outlines, notes, and unpublished correspondence and documents, all related to the Pound case, was like discovering a treasure. And if I needed the talents of a speleologist to bring to light a story that otherwise would have remained buried in library archives, I was soon to call it a Northern light, mostly because of Hammarskjöld's role, but also because of the role played by Nirje and his circle of friends, which included Erik Lindegren and Lars Forssell. It was, in fact, Forssell who had first introduced Pound's poems to his friend Bengt Nirje.

In 1925 Lars Forssell, then only in his early twenties, wrote a long essay on Pound in *Bonniers Litterära Magasin* soon after – and perhaps thanks to – the Bollingen Prize controversy which had reached Sweden. In 1926, Bonniers published Forssell's first translations of Pound's poems, *25 Dikter*. The small book of twenty-five poems, which was a success, was followed by a second edition that same year, and a third in 1928. By translating Pound's poems into Swedish, Forssell introduced the American poet to Swedish readers, especially those in literary circles, and to members of the Swedish Academy.



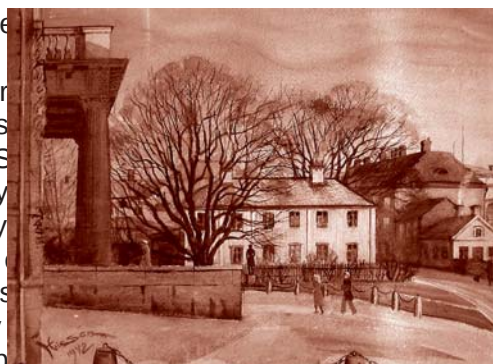
*Book cover and first page of 25 Dikter,
Lars Forssell's translation of Pound poems*

As for Bengt Nirje, he had a chance, while he was a student at Yale University, to study American literature, to meet American writers, to visit him at St Elizabeths. During that visit, Nirje also met Pound's daughter, Mary, and he promised her that he would do everything he could to help liberate her father. Nirje did keep his promise. He immediately wrote to his friend Lars Forsell, who alerted Hammar skjöld, who in turn later met with Nirje at the United Nations, and even sent him back to St Elizabeths to discuss the situation with Pound. However, if Bengt Nirje kept his promise to Mary, he also kept this story to himself for almost half a century. (The same was true of those young boys, back in the Lascaux discovery to themselves.)

What did help me in my own later battles, though, was having Hammar skjöld's name attached to my project title, almost as a shield or an appeasement. It is certainly not a surprise, then, that most of the support needed for the project came from Sweden, from a Sacred Grove in Uppsala: the Dag Hammar skjöld Foundation. The Northern light mentioned earlier is indeed also a Nordberg light, and I should thank Olle

When I agreed to help Bengt Nirje with what has now become a book project, little did I know how fascinating it would be to untangle the invisible threads of Hammar skjöld's quiet diplomacy, as well as those threads that indirectly tied Pound to the OSS, the CIA and the FBI, and led all the way to the White House. When one skims my rough outline, one sees the names not only of writers and poets such as Archibald MacLeish, T. S. Eliot, W. H. Auden, Ernest Hemingway, and Robert Frost, but also of the famous spies, James Angleton, Under Secretary of State Christian Herter, Assistant Secretary of State Francis Wilcox, Director of the FBI Edgar Hoover, Attorney General William Rogers, and even President Eisenhower.

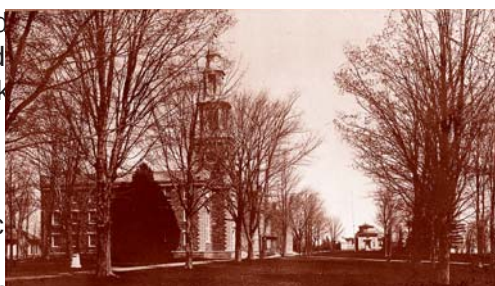
It is a fascinating story, but disturbing as well, as I was soon told that Pound is still a controversial figure, especially in the United States. Ezra Pound has probably inspired more fanatical loyalty and vigorous



'Geijersgården', now home of the Dag Hammar skjöld Foundation, and the steps of Carolina, Uppsala University Library

At the end of his dissertation on Pound, "What Thou Lovest Well Remains," Ezra Pound and America, - (Univ. of Pennsylvania,), p. . In Literature and Politics: The Case of Ezra Pound Reconsidered, in John A. Hague, ed., American Character and Culture: Some Twentieth Century Perspectives (Westport: Greenwood Press,), p. .

Nordberg for his patient diplomacy and continuous support over the years, including a chance to return to Uppsala to work with Bengt Nirje and at last of course, to visit the Linnø garden.



Hamilton College in the late 19th century

The talents of a troubadour are now necessary to tell this story, dormant for half a century, of the brave Swedish knight who helped liberate the troubadour also known as the caged panther. As in the *Cançons*

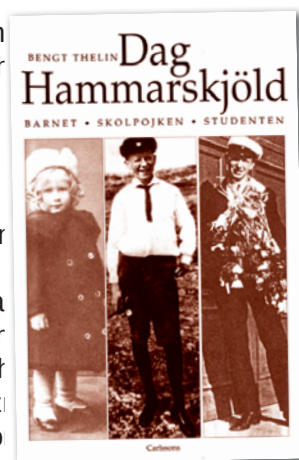
de gestes, there are indeed numerous stories, although not directly related to Pound. The to tell, and several of them have alternative ends in September of in North- tive versions. So, where does one start? Then Italy, on another hill, at Brunnenburg Hamilton and Uppsala centennials gave me the idea to start one hundred years ago and troubadours, and overlooking a peaceful in that peaceful Upstate New York college valley as well; but this time overshadowed also called the Hill, where the young Ezra Loomis Pound was a student; and not to death.

far from the Nine-Mile Swamp, the hideout of the famous Loomis Gang horses thieves

Bengt Thelin's own journey into Dag's youth and students years, his book *Dag Hammarskjöld, Barnet, Skolpojken, Studenten*,¹⁵ and Hammarskjöld's description of Uppsala in *Castle Hill*, also helped me compare the Uppsala and Hamilton campuses, and then interests the young Ezra and Dag had in common for languages and literature (and later on, also for the art of translation); even if the rest of their lives would take quite different turns. Reading



Ezra Pound (left) playing chess with his classmates (Hamiltonian 1905)



Book cover showing Dag Hammarskjöld as a child, a young man and a student

This is still the home of Pound's daughter, Mary de Rachewiltz.
Stockholm: Carlssons, 1991.

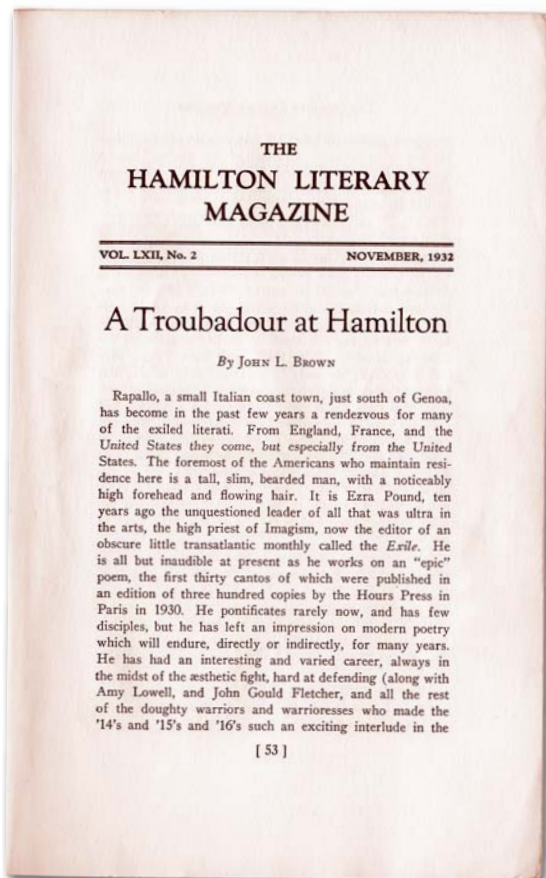
was certainly one of Dag's favourite occupations while growing up, and one could even say that books became his best companions later in life and until he died. The books that were found in the Secretary-General's briefcase and on his night-table after the Ndola plane crash, are always mentioned in great detail, as if we were surprised that literature would be so much part of Hammar skjöld's daily life.

An article in *The Hamilton Literary Magazine*, describing Pound as 'A Troubadour at Hamilton', also inspired me in my attempts to find out where it all started. I am not

referring to Ezra's eccentricities in speech, clothing, or even hairstyle, but rather to his favourite Hamilton professors and to the twenty-three out of thirty-six courses he took in languages, and especially French and Old French Provençal. His study of the French Troubadours and his love of poetry were to influence him for years to come, and in turn influence others, whether in London, Paris, Rapallo, and even at St Elizabeths Hospital. And Pound's own talents as a troubadour and his love for music are, of course, reflected in the many voices and languages of his *Santos*.

One could then say that real danger came only when the troubadour spoke with his own highly political voice, at a time when too much freedom of speech could lead to prison. When he did so, in the distance one could hear the horsemen of a new Loomis Gang closing in on Pound. In fact, there were several gangs involved, including the FBI, all the lawyers, and many a psychiatrist. But this time there were no horse thieves, except for some old friends and fellow poets who renounced their friendship, and the journalists and critics who either loved or hated the old Seer locked up in his Ivory Tower at St Elizabeths.

However, some of Pound's supporters, such as Lars Forssell, were shocked and concerned about the wellbeing of a great poet. Forssell had read in the press about Hammar skjöld's interest in literature and poetry, and especially the T. S. Eliot generation of poets. In his long letter to Hammar skjöld in December of 1963, Forssell very diplomatically mentioned *The Waste Land*, a poem that Hammar skjöld particularly liked and had even campaigned to make better known,



Ezra Pound as a student, 'A Troubadour at Hamilton'

back when he was a student at Uppsala University. Forssell was, of course, alluding to Eliot's debt to Pound. However, Forssell's main concern was not so much for Pound's literary status as it was for Pound himself and his living conditions. One should also realise that if it had not been for this letter, Hammarskjöld might never have been involved in the Pound case. And when Forssell asked Hammarskjöld:

I thought that you could in some way draw attention to the American opinion or perhaps, rather to the opinion of influential individuals that one of their greatest poets has already been sitting in some kind of prison for the last nine years now, and that his person and his personal situation are being forgotten while his reputation as a poet is growing more and more.

Hammarskjöld immediately asked his assistant, Per Lind, to contact Sven Backlund at the Swedish Embassy in Washington. Backlund's reply confirmed that Pound was indeed at St Elizabeths mental hospital, but that there was no way found out if he was mentally ill or not, although most people concerned thought that he was not sick. Backlund's recommendation was for Hammarskjöld to respond as soon as possible to Forssell's letter which he did, as soon as the holidays were over, with the following letter:

January

Dear Mr. Forssell,

Thank you for your letter regarding Ezra Pound and for kindly sending me the booklet of your new translations of his poems. I was aware that Pound's situation was difficult, but I had not fully realised the extent of his tragic fate until I read your letter, and I understand more than ever that you feel a strong need to shift your interest from Ezra Pound, the poet, to Ezra Pound, the human being. Unfortunately it is not easy to find the proper way to intervene in this complicated and in many ways sombre case. The preliminary inquiries I have had a chance to make, up to now, have in fact only led to a confirmation of your information that Pound resides at St Elizabeths mental hospital in Washington and that many Americans visit him. That these people have not found ways to address his situation, is quite surprising, especially as there seems to be a common understanding among those who have some knowledge of the case that Pound is not sick.

I will, of course, welcome any opportunities that might present themselves for me to find out more about this situation and what we can come up with to help him. This letter is just meant to assure you that I share your concern about this tragic human fate and that I will not let it out of my sight.

[carbon copy, not signed]

My translation.
My translation.

This is the only letter Dag Hammarskjöld wrote to Lars Forssell, but not the last one he would write regarding Ezra Pound. Standing by his words, as always, Hammarskjöld never did let it out of [his] sight. For four years and four months, in spite of his demanding post, Hammarskjöld's concern for Ezra Pound always remained in the background. Each year that followed was important, but 1954 was definitely the most crucial one. It marked a new turn of events, finally gave new life to the various attempts to liberate Pound, and marked a striking new beginning in Hammarskjöld's own career.

Another important and seldom mentioned connection between the Secretary-General and the famous St Elizabeth's inmate can be found in Hammarskjöld's address on October 10, 1954, on the occasion of the 10th anniversary of the Museum of Modern Art when he said:



Dag Hammarskjöld at the UN, standing near a Fernand Léger painting, 1954

Modern art teaches us to see by forcing us to use our senses, our intellect and our sensibility to follow it on its road to exploration. It makes us seers like Ezra Pound when, in *Pisan Cantos*, he senses the enormous tragedy of the dream in the peasant's bent shoulders. Seers and explorers these we must be if we are to prevail.

On Modern Art, the published version of that speech, ended with the Pound quotation (although the original text delivered that day was much longer), but few Pound scholars seem to have even noticed that particular passage.

Two months after delivering his speech at the Museum of Modern Art, Hammarskjöld gave another important speech in Stockholm, but a more personal one, about his own father, when he took Hjalmar Hammarskjöld's seat at the Swedish Academy on December 10, 1954. It was the first time in the history of the Academy that a son had been elected to succeed his father.

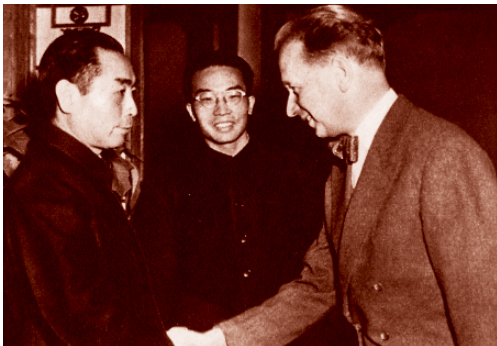
Hammarskjöld's December visit to Sweden was significant for other reasons as well. While in Stockholm, arrangements were made with the Ambassador of the People's Republic of China to plan for Hammarskjöld's upcoming trip to Peking. The General Assembly had agreed to send the Secretary-

Wilder Foote, *Servant of Peace* (New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1964), p. 10.

After Hammarskjöld's death, the poet Erik Lindegren took his seat at the Academy.

General to China to negotiate with For-bothered Hammarskjöld, who always pre-
 eign Affairs minister Chou En-lai on the ferred the spotlight to fall on others. Archi-
 fate of fifteen US Air Force personnel shot down and taken prisoner in and joined forces in , never mentioned the
 in Korea. After several days of direct talks Secretary-General sorts, even in his mem-
 between Hammarskjöld and Chou En-lai, oirs, or *Reflections*, many years later, in the
 negotiations went on for several months. Neither did Robert Frost, who
 eventually leading to the liberation of the also forgot to share publicly his own vic-
 prisoners. The success of this, his such tory with MacLeish, when charges against
 mission, was very important for Hammar-Pound were nally dropped in . As for
 skjöld, because it strengthened the role of Thurman Arnold, he simply disapproved of
 the UN as a mediator, and from then on the Hammarskjöld s intervention, and wrote in
 term Peking formula was used to describe his *Dissenting Lawyer's Life*: What right had
 the Secretary-General s personal interven-a-foreigner to interfere with our own do-
 tions. There is also a less known political aesthetic affairs? But with Robert Frost it was
 connection between Hammarskjöld s Chi-di erent. Frost instinctively knew the right
 na mission to liberate the airmen, and his political action to take. Really? Well, Frost
 mission to liberate the American poet; but did get all the credit, didn't he? However,
 with the di erence that the former made the when he was congratulated for his do-
 headlines and the latter did not.

Frost should not have forgotten to at least mention MacLeish.



Dag Hammarskjöld and Chou En-lai, Peking, 1955

Although it may be difficult to know exactly what was said or not said, and who did what, when and why, it seems that MacLeish had some mixed feelings about the Pound case, and for many years. When Robert Corrigan (mentioned earlier) asked MacLeish if he could consult his closed collection of documents at the Library of Congress, regarding the Pound case, he asked Corrigan not to pursue that matter, and he preferred that he not insist, either. In fact, it took MacLeish

That historians, biographers, and critics lat-who was also a lawyer some thirty years
 er on did not acknowledge his involvement to admit that [Pound s] indictment by the
 in the Pound case would not at all have Department of Justice was an error of law

One cannot help mentioning Brian Urquhart s surprise when noticing that Eisenhower later on in his memoirs, *Mandate for Change*, never even acknowledged Hammarskjöld s involvement in the release of the prisoners. See *Dag Hammarskjöld* (New York: Harper & Row, Publishers,), p. n.

In the chapter "The Criminal Trial as a Symbol of Public Morality" *Fair Fights and Foul: A Dissenting Lawyer's Life*. (New York: Harcourt Brace & World, Inc.,), pp. - .

Unpublished letter from Robert Corrigan to Bernard Drabek, Oct. , (MacLeish Collection, Greenfield Community College, Greenfield, MA).

and his attorney's plea of insanity an error in also one of the founders of the famous literary circle at the Hotel Algonquin in New York. Strangely enough, my last and only miscarriage of justice What had happened? The Vietnam War. MacLeish also visited to the Algonquin was in the company of a Swedish diplomat to discuss the then general who did in Hanoi precisely what upcoming Uppsala conference. What Ezra Pound had done in Rome and was not as strange was not the company, but rather even arrested. Why? Because of the right the answer to the last question I asked; Who to dissent, the right to criticize.

It is perhaps not a surprise that the most heated discussions around Pound's pro-Fascism took place not on the Hamilton campus in April, during the Pound conference, but in July, in the small Teatro delle Clarisse at Rapallo, and not necessarily among my Italian or French colleagues but among American ones, as if naturally free to speak their mind. They dared to criticise their own Charles de Gaulle, of course, was not particularly fond of the United Nations and its free in Italy? Was this not what happened to Pound in Rome in the early 1950s, when he thought that he was free to criticise his own country, over the air waves? Whether right or wrong, Pound was, in his own way, trying to stop the war, or at least trying to prevent America from participating in the war, and as early as 1940. And as we know too well, one man alone cannot stop a war even if this time around, our man, Hans Blix, was right. There really were no weapons of mass destruction.

Sometimes, neither the Town Crier nor the Quiet Diplomat can win. Alexander Woollcott, the original Town Crier, was sometimes neither. They also show his impartiality and courage in dealing with any crisis, whether political, diplomatic, or in the arts.

The Venetian Grave, a chapter in *Riders of the Earth* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin & Co., 1964), p. 10.

Attorney General Ramsey Clark, recipient of the Gandhi Peace Award, also became a supporter of Slobodan Milosevic, of the leader of the Rwandan genocide, and of Saddam Hussein, among others.

Hammar skjöld wrote in the letter that was found with the manuscript of his journal: These entries provide the only true prole that can be drawn.

One of the most moving tributes at the July Memorial Ceremony in Backåkra, was that of the talented actress Lena Endre who read passages from *Markings*, and managed to convey not so much the spirituality but rather the extraordinary strength of character of the person we were honouring that day, Noble Dag. When we gathered again in Uppsala in September, there was another memorable moment. Among the dignitaries who paid their respects in front of the Hammar skjöld family grave were Hans Blix and Bo Sundqvist, Vice-Chancellor of Uppsala University, standing side by side, almost as symbols of Hammar skjöld's diplomatic and academic talents.



Hammar skjöld family grave, Uppsala cemetery, September 2005

The story of Ezra Pound and Dag Hammar skjöld's quiet diplomacy is in itself the perfect illustration of how politics and poetry can at times be intertwined, for good or for ill. The legend of *The Knight and the Troubadour* may also finally bring some closure to the Pound case, and at the same time, allow readers to perceive the caged panther in clear light, just as we now see the painting of the wounded bison in the Lascaux cave for what it is – the origin of art.



Bo Sundqvist and Hans Blix, paying their respects, Uppsala cemetery, September 2005

Both a Noble Day (*Dag* meaning day in Swedish), and Noble Dag (as Pound liked to call Hammar skjöld).

Photo credits

p. 38

Ezra Pound Collection, Hamilton College Library

p. 39, top left

Photo: US Signal Corps (Courtesy of Humanities Research Center, Univ. of Texas at Austin)

p. 39, bottom left

Photo: St Elizabeths Hospital

p. 39, right

Photo: Ezra Pound Collection, Hamilton College Library

p. 40 top left

Photo: Ezra Pound Collection, Hamilton College Library

p. 40 bottom left

Photo: M. N. Little

p. 40 right

Photo: M. N. Little

p. 41

Photo: Al Daigle (Courtesy of the MacLeish Collection at Greenfield Community College, and the Recorder)

p. 42

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Photo: Saint John Perse Archives and United Nations (Courtesy of Syracuse University Press)

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Book cover by Herbert Lindgren (Courtesy of Bonniers Förlag and Hamilton College Library)

p. 45

Painting: artist unknown

p. 46, left

Courtesy of Ezra Pound Collection, Hamilton College Library

p. 46, top right

Courtesy of Ezra Pound Collection, Hamilton College Library

p. 46, bottom right

Courtesy of Carlssons Förlag

p. 47

Courtesy of Ezra Pound Collection, Hamilton College Library

p. 49

Photo: United Nations

p. 50

Photo: United Nations

p. 52

Photo: M. N. Little

These two essays by authors who have undertaken long-term research on Dag Hammarskjöld offer fascinating new insights into the second UN Secretary-General through two very different relationships he cultivated.

One essay is based on the archives of George Ivan Smith, who was among Hammarskjöld's closest companions at the United Nations. The narrative allows us an intimate look into the work and collaboration of these two men, both of whom held central positions in world politics in the 1950s and early 1960s.

The other essay highlights more cultural dimensions, which are also personal and political. It explores and documents the advocacy role Hammarskjöld was prepared to play in support of the US-American poet Ezra Pound.

In different ways this publication brings us much closer to the life and legacy of an international leader. It adds important pieces to the picture of a man who did not talk a lot about himself.

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