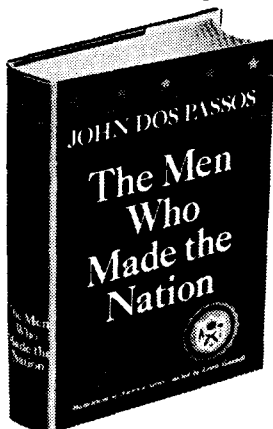


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## WHO— WHAT— WHY—

AS A NOTE (March 7) pointed out, the President recently repeated the words "United Nations" fifty-three times in a twenty-two minute speech—and once got mixed up and caught himself in time to correct what sounded like "United Stations." Max Ascoli's editorial analyzes how far this tendency to confuse the U.N. and the U.S. has gone and argues that the confusion is more than verbal. Harlan Cleveland scarcely needs an introduction because of his long association with our magazine. At present he is Dean of the Maxwell Graduate School of Citizenship and Public Affairs at Syracuse University. In this issue he examines the World Bank, and discusses a little-known project now under study by the Bank. Should this project come to fruition, a number of goals would be reached at one and the same time. The Arab nations would join together for mutual help, and would dedicate their energies to promoting their peoples' welfare. A goodly part of the \$200 million recently voted by Congress could contribute to the economic development of the Middle East region as a whole. Eventually, the non-Arab nations in the Middle East could join the club. To the whole setup the World Bank would contribute the invaluable benefit of its experience. Our Washington Editor, Douglass Cater, describes its present head, a solid citizen who has done an outstanding job running it. Of course Mr. Black has his critics. He is said to be too conservative a banker. But the Bank's success shows that he has probably learned more about the economic affairs of the world than has Mr. Humphrey about the economic affairs of our nation.

TITO and Titoism have managed to remain very much in the public mind ever since the famous break with Stalin in 1948. Claire Sterling, our Mediterranean Correspondent, traveled to Belgrade and sends us a firsthand report.

The Yugoslav people are still having a hard time, and Titoism is more than ever a sore spot in the Communist world. . . . Here in New York there is so much talk about the poor quality of the public schools that we are happy to publish an article on a rather unusual public school that is doing an exceptionally good job. May Natalie Tabak's children's book, *A Fish Is Not a Pet*, will be published this year by Whittlesey House. . . . Although every metropolitan area must face problems of its own, much can be learned from the solutions that Toronto has worked out for itself in a region that presents many of the same problems that face any metropolitan area in the United States. Robert Bendiner, Contributing Editor, has just returned from a visit to Toronto, where he talked to the most qualified people. What he says about the success of Toronto's Metro authority is striking because that organization got started only three years ago.

TOM ARMSTRONG came to Westport, Connecticut, where he draws and writes, from Texas via California, where he worked in the Disney Studios. He has driven the four-wheeled monsters he writes about all over the United States. . . . Christine Weston, short-story writer and novelist, gives us a second installment of her "Excerpts from an Indian Journal." . . . Lois Phillips Hudson is a young California housewife. . . . Roland Gelatt is New York editor of *High Fidelity*. . . . Gordon A. Craig is now on leave from Princeton at the Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences at Stanford, California. . . . Ralph Russell is a New York freelance writer and editor. . . . Gore Vidal, author of the Broadway hit *A Visit to a Small Planet*, wrote the screen play for MGM's forthcoming movie on the Dreyfus case.

Our cover, an impression of public buildings in Belgrade, is by Carol Hamann.

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THE MAGAZINE OF FACTS AND IDEAS

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# It's More Than a Freudian Slip

BY now it has become much more than a habit or a Freudian slip: People in high places from the President down think "United States" and say "United Nations." Or vice versa. The first word, "United," seems to invite the casual use of either "States" or "Nations," and the names of the two institutions have become somewhat interchangeable, as if there were a similarity both of name and of substance between the United Nations and the United States.

For more than six months, ever since the Suez crisis started, our government has been acting as if its capacity to conduct foreign affairs had been crippled by some extreme Bricker Amendment. Whenever there is a crisis in the Middle East the President quickly tells us not to worry, for Dag Hammarskjöld is taking care of it. Only in the realm of general principles are our leaders eager to take a stand. But as far as the Middle East is concerned, and assuming the Red Army stays put so as not to set the Eisenhower Doctrine in motion, it is up to the world organization to decide the course of American diplomacy. We have come full circle: The U.N. acts for the U.S., and the U.S. is the custodian of universalism-at-large.

AS A RESULT we now have the United States exposed to a serious loss of prestige, and the United Nations to irreparable damage. The power of our country gives its leaders a large margin for error. The flying trips of John Foster Dulles can end in failure, and actually there have been so many flights and so many failures that one gets tired of keeping the score. Yet our nation is still a great nation, rightly respected and feared by Soviet Russia, and Secretary Dulles is forever ready to embark on new journeys and parleys. But there is no

such safety net beneath Dag Hammarskjöld's adventures in peace-making. He is just a brave lonely man, the nominal head of a nominal organization whose nature is at best symbolic.

Symbolic—it scarcely need be added—does not, by any stretch of the imagination, mean phony. Certainly a great deal of empty universalism and empty talk goes on at the U.N. under the sponsorship of the U.S. But what the U.N. actually symbolizes is something extraordinarily real and vital. The most deep-rooted, long-cherished hopes of men to find some measure of security and peace are compelling now as never before in history because all nations and races have become unprecedentedly close to each other and dependent on each other, while the political and technical skills, once available to the few lucky ones, have turned out to be accessible to all.

Of this reality the institution called U.N. is the symbol. To make the best use of this, as of any other symbol, we must first of all know the span and the limits of its effectiveness. This is no abstruse matter, for what is money—to all of us a sure token of reality—if not a symbol of wealth?

What threatens the United Nations now may truly be called a wanton credit inflation, largely determined by our government's policy of giving blanket underwriting to all promissory notes of the U.N. General Assembly. This is why this very serious, very real institution whose structure is still so frail, is now exposed to mortal peril.

Ever since it was founded at San Francisco, it has been known that the U.N. could not survive a war recklessly started by any major power. But until the Suez crisis it was difficult to imagine that the U.N. could be put in the greatest

jeopardy by the tendency of those who lead the most powerful democracy to use it as a shield for their indecisiveness.

IT is somewhat consoling to learn, from the two articles that follow, that there is an independent agency of the U.N.—the World Bank—that is doing good work, and bringing solid, concrete improvement in the condition of too long underprivileged peoples. Indeed, the World Bank might even help the leaders of the Arab League to do something sensible in the interest of their own nations and ultimately of the Middle Eastern region.

Probably one of the main reasons why the World Bank has done so well is its freedom from the principle of "one nation, one vote" that is bedeviling the General Assembly. Or it may just be that the internationalism of bankers, engineers, and economists has proved to be more effective than that of the politicians.

Eugene Black, who is from Wall Street and has never stopped thinking and acting like a banker, has no use for prospective creditors who are likely to remain hopelessly insolvent. As a banker to the world he wouldn't dream of submitting his credit policies to the majority opinion of predominantly bankrupt governments.

YET Mr. Dulles has fallen into the habit of doing exactly this through his reliance on the General Assembly of the U.N.—an assembly where a large number of governments represented lack either the support of popular will, or solvency, or the capacity for self-defense. In fact, several of these governments lack all three aptitudes. But our Administration has decided that at least on Middle Eastern affairs the Assembly is a co-equal branch of the U.S. government and its decisions are the law.