

## *Every Man An Ambassador*

WILLIAM HARLAN HALE

MANY YEARS AGO, the late Miguel Covarrubias painted for the magazine *Vanity Fair* a celebrated series of "Impossible Interviews," of which one of the most diverting was a hypothetical meeting on a settee between Greta Garbo, then at her languorous prime, and a flushed, apprehensive President Calvin Coolidge.

Today there exists in real life a confrontation that would seem hardly more likely. It finds personalities as assorted as the abstruse poet Marianne Moore, the unpredictable Nobel Prize winner William Faulkner, the rhapsodic conductor Eugene Ormandy, and the earthy cartoonist Al Capp, creator of Li'l Abner and the "Shmoo," rallying around President Eisenhower to assist in carrying out a project close to his heart. They are just a few of the five-hundred-odd men and women of distinction in many walks of life who have banded together in a mass of newly formed citizens' committees—forty-one in all—in the service of what the President calls his international "People to People Program." Among their fellow committeemen, rounding out a spectrum of American life, are industrialists such as ex-President Charles E. Wilson of General Electric and Board Chairman Harry A. Bullis of General Mills, lawyers such as General William J. Donovan, educators such as Dr. George N. Shuster, advertising men such as Sigurd S. Larmon of Young & Rubicam, hotel men, ministers, publishers, airline presidents, Hollywood entertainers, Rotary and Lions chieftains, and, serving as chairman of the "Hobbies Committee," President H. L. Lindquist of the National Federation of Stamp Clubs.

These people are engaging in one of the most-farflung civic undertakings ever launched—a self-steered effort by individuals and groups outside the government to communicate with the peoples of foreign countries in the interest of our national aims. The forty-one committees, now leagued together under a roof organization set up in February under the name "The People to People Foundation, Inc." (Honorary Chairman, Dwight D. Eisenhower), are only part of an upsurge of energy in the people-to-people movement that has seized hundreds of other foundations, trade associations, clubs, councils, conferences, study centers, and institutes. In this effort professional do-gooders, foundation bureaucrats, foreign-affairs experts, and public-relations men are inextricably intermixed.

### What to Co-ordinate

Never, in fact, has the American predilection for "grouping" in multitudes of bodies been so pronounced—or, to foreigners at the other end, perhaps quite so astonishing. It has been estimated that there are more than five thousand separate *national* organizations in the United States concerned in some way with international affairs, ranging from Women United for the United Nations and the Children's Plea for Peace to the General Motors Corporation and the AFL-CIO. Today so many different groups and steersmen are involved as often to obscure just what is being steered and to create a demand for co-ordinating bodies—which in turn means setting up more groups. Thus we now have, quite apart from the People to People Foundation, the new World Affairs Center for the United States (doors

to open on its auditorium and lecture rooms in New York this spring), set up with aid from the Ford Foundation, the Rockefeller Brothers Fund, and the Carnegie Endowment. Its executive director, Philip Woodyatt, remarks of it, "Our Center is based on the recognition that there should be co-ordination—but we're still working on just what should be co-ordinated and how."

THE American people-to-people impulse is evidently a multiple response to a multiple challenge. Its unifying force is clearly the realization that the day of American isolation is gone and that we have entered a new one of interdependence and responsibility abroad. "There is also a certain hunger at work," one of the President's committeemen adds; "a desire, maybe only half-conscious, to hurdle the barriers that still set us apart with our conspicuous wealth." When the Creole Petroleum Corporation, operating in Venezuela, tore down the company fence that had long insulated its American personnel from local contact and launched a program of immersing itself in the Venezuelan community and its problems, it was responding on its own to the people-to-people urge.

The urge also reflects the enormously increased personal experience of foreign lands by Americans in our time. Some seven million overseas war veterans have been followed by the masses of troops now stationed abroad plus a hundred thousand or so American civilians working there at this moment either for government, business, international organizations, eleemosynary bodies, or their own education—plus the two million-odd American travelers who go abroad each year. "Say that each returning tourist talks to ten people at home about what he saw and felt," remarks People to People committeeman Ralph T. Reed, president of the American Express Company. "That makes a total of twenty million people annually who get the foreign impact."

At the start of this month, some forty leading experts met at Syracuse University's Maxwell Graduate School for a conference on the education and training of American citizens working abroad. Last De-

ember the Institute of International Education, pioneer in the field of "exchange of persons" in which more than twenty thousand foreigners were brought to America in 1956, from teen-age students to national leaders, held a full-dress national conference on that, in which almost a hundred groups participated.

All told, with such a flourish of congresses, committees, and subcommittees (the Hobbies Committee of the People to People Program alone has no fewer than sixty of the latter), we seem to be witnessing what amounts to a progressive internationalization of American life under the principle of management by many. But above all we are seeing the inspirational effect at home of just one man at the top, President Eisenhower himself. His predecessors launched massive government programs of foreign information, propaganda, cultural exchange, and technical assistance. It remained for Mr. Eisenhower, while continuing and sometimes enlarging these programs, to tell the American people in his own hearty way that this alone couldn't do the trick and that they had better move in themselves and do the job on their own.

### Problem of Leadership

The President first voiced this publicly in an address last spring at Baylor University, where he took as his theme "the truth that all peoples of the free world must learn to work together more effectively in the solution of our common problems." America's part in this, he said, couldn't be done just "through paper work in a governmental bureau." The responsibility must rest on the people as a whole, and particularly on those with recourse to means outside government. "You," he told his listeners, "can join with like-minded men and women in the many voluntary associations that promote people-to-people contact around the world. By means of them . . . solutions are approached by many avenues. Creative thinking is sparked. Mutual understanding is furthered."

To provide a spark, a White House conference was called in September at which several score leaders in American business, pro-



fessions, and the arts assembled to hear the President encourage them to go ahead. The cast of characters, along with their agenda, had been drawn up largely by the U.S. Information Agency, though with advice from private organizations. "If we are going to take advantage of the assumption that all people want peace," the President told them, "then the problem is for people to get together and to leap governments—if necessary to evade governments. . ." The implication of this last clause, thrown out extemporaneously, was that they might well also evade our own. As to leadership, he said, gazing about the room, "Here are people that we hope will lead us." "It is up to you," chimed in John Foster Dulles, greeting all these potential private ambassadors of good will.

"Sometimes I don't understand your President," privately remarked a European diplomat in Washington, shaking his head some time after this session. "He is the head of the world's greatest power, yet observe how he hands away leadership. Just as he yielded the initiative to the United Nations over the Middle East, so here he tells a mass of undirected private persons to go out and conduct American foreign relations on their own around the globe. In my country, such abdication would be unheard of."

In struggling to fathom the Eisenhower mind and the domestic response to it the diplomat was missing an essential point. It is that the President, in the very act of seeming to yield leadership to those outside of government, was actually attracting and enlisting groups normally suspicious of government—groups that may now serve him as a kind of diplomatic second force all the more effective just because it remains independent of government. The President, himself a ser-

vant of government virtually all his life, is prone to be greatly fascinated by men in successful private enterprise—sometimes even uncritically so—and by what they can accomplish. But when he derogates the overriding potentialities of government, he is speaking a language all Americans understand and an extraordinary variety of them welcome. This, of course, puzzles the visiting diplomat, who thinks it most paradoxical that our top official today should be the one to stress the limitations of officialdom. In his own old-world country, foreign affairs are by definition official affairs. Its private businesses active abroad are intimately tied to government policy, while such things as free-wheeling, private foundations are unknown. Yet signs exist that in his country as in others, America's plural, non-official, original approach is bringing responses such as he hadn't expected.

### 'On Our Own'

"The main thing about this people-to-people scheme, as I see it, is that it stays free of our friends in Washington," remarks one of the President's leading committeemen, Edmund S. Whitman of the United Fruit Company, talking across his desk at a Hudson River pier. Chairman Al Capp of the President's Cartoonists' Committee adds over his drawing board, "We wouldn't have bought this program if it had tied us to government."

"We are on our own with our own tool, which I think of as truth, understanding and brotherly love," declares massive Charles E. Wilson of General Electric.

Early this February, with Mr. Wilson as its guiding spirit, the People to People Foundation came into being in New York as a Presidentially sponsored holding company for the program of private initiative agreed on at the White House conference. The assorted Washington conferees now emerged as committee chairmen and *ex-officio* trustees of the new institution, complete with by-laws—with one major casualty. President George Meany of the AFL-CIO let it be known, through his stand-in, that his organization could not participate. "Our unions have been doing their own people-to-people work abroad

through their own internationals for half a century," is the AFL-CIO position, "and when the President's program was converted into a money-raising foundation enlisting everybody, we wanted no part of it." In other words, labor must go its own uncontaminated way.

Despite this defection, the organization meeting went ahead, electing General Donovan its chairman and Mr. Wilson its president and adopting a program calling for the promotion of "closer understanding and co-operation among the peoples of the world and between them and the people of the United States of America."

The Foundation is to aid, correlate, and try to finance the activities of its many autonomous member groups—to be, in short, a middleman or clearinghouse of ideas and money in the people-to-people effort. Significantly, the words to "assist the United States government," originally drafted into its articles of incorporation, were stricken out at its February meeting by unanimous vote.

**T**HE FOUNDATION's present headquarters in New York bear little physical resemblance to those of the two great bodies from which it is particularly hopeful of getting funds—the deep-carpeted, plant-banked retreat of the Ford Foundation on Madison Avenue, and the stratospheric floors of the Rockefeller headquarters.

They consist of just a pair of long bare rooms among the studios above soon-to-be-demolished Carnegie Hall, where the sound of a tenor practicing Wagner obostrudes from one side and mingles with advanced Chopin exercises on the other. The whole atmosphere, with its plain walls, scattered folding chairs, and hand-outs piled upon desk edges, suggests a campaign center in the first stage of formation. Two People to People vice-presidents—George V. Denny, Jr., for many years the moderator of radio's "Town Meeting of the Air," and Richard Salzmänn—are on hand to explain what the organization is setting out to do. "Governments make wars, but people have to fight them," Mr. Denny says at the outset. "As the President says, we're here to try to help build peace." "What we hope to do," adds

Mr. Salzmänn, "is to give identity and physiognomy to many people's ideas . . . and raise cash."

### Some Assorted Committees

A Fine Arts Committee, for instance, consisting of some thirty-five museum directors and art collectors, including Mrs. Henry Ford II, has met under the chairmanship of Dr. David E. Finley of the United States Commission of Fine Arts and come up with a request for \$120,000 to arrange exchange exhibits of American and foreign work as well as to supply our embassies abroad with some good pictures at last. (It has also appointed five subcommittees.) A Radio and TV Committee headed by President Frank Stanton of CBS is devising plans for exchange of technicians and the deeding over of American surplus equipment to aid foreign electronics development—and the next step may be exchange of programs here and abroad. It isn't asking for any financing outside the industry. An Advertising Committee chaired by President Theodore Repplier of the Advertising Council is proposing to bring twenty or more foreign admen here to work in American agencies studying American marketing techniques, and is also projecting a documentary TV film on world-wide Soviet propaganda for showing here. A Music Committee under Eugene Ormandy is looking for money to enable it to aid and coach American composers entering international competitions. A Letters Committee is out to increase the two-way flow of what is sometimes called "pen-pal" correspondence between here and abroad—an exercise in which possibly two hundred thousand Americans of all ages are already engaged. Colonel Edward P. F. Eagan, chairman of the Sports Committee, is proposing a greatly increased program of international athletic contests, on the ground (sometimes disputed) that these establish greater friendship. "Our Nationalities Committee," says Foundation President Wilson, "has ambitious plans for facilitating visits to this country of relatives of the thirty-five million foreign-born Americans."

A Foreign Affairs Committee—rather oddly titled, since all the committees seem concerned with affairs

abroad—is asking for just \$18,000 to enable it to act throughout its first year as a corresponding center with serious study groups abroad resembling our own Council on Foreign Relations. "Today there are some 125 regional or smaller groups of this sort in our own country," remarks chairman Dr. Brooks Emeny, "but there's no coordination of heterogeneous elements." Al Capp's Cartoonists' Committee, meanwhile, wants to reach foreign millions and has launched elaborate schemes. "Usually it's impossible to get a cartoonist to draw any picture he doesn't have to in order to survive," says Mr. Capp, "or to go anywhere except to a musical comedy or a golf course." Yet almost forty of them, including such renowned figures as Milton Caniff, journeyed to Washington at their own expense for their first committee meeting. What aroused their enthusiasm, as Capp puts it, was that "this was the first time the government had recognized that the most influential group of entertainers in America are cartoonists—the best of them reaching an audience of fifty or sixty million a day, plus huge followings abroad."

The cartoonists are projecting a "giant comic book" for low-priced foreign consumption, in which an all-star cast of characters famous across the continents will for the first time be brought together under one cover in stories especially designed to treat areas of American life sometimes misunderstood abroad. The plan is "to show what we are really like—not a predatory folk but one of friendly, peaceable and neighborly attitudes." Then the committee also wants to bring prominent foreign cartoonists over here, turn them loose, and publish the results of their view of us. "Imagine showing side by side what the top Spanish and Japanese cartoonists, say, see in Detroit in the same week." Finally, the group wants to put out a pamphlet for American tourists designed to alert them to the twisted image that Soviet propaganda abroad is trying to implant of us as loud, rude, and contemptuous folk, and by indirection warn them not to live up to that. The device is to be that of having such familiar, beloved strip personalities as the mild Dagwood step out of character and act for the



occasion as the Soviets say we act—leaving it to the reader to get the point.

### Mr. Faulkner's Idea

If the cartoonists' group is one of the most dedicated, William Faulkner's writers' group is the most original—no one in it more so than chairman Faulkner himself. Last fall, after attending the White House talent caucus, Faulkner sent out to some hundred fellow writers a letter unique even in the catalogue of Faulkneriana. It began:

"The President has asked me to organize American writers to see what we can do to give a true picture of our country to other people.

"Will you join such an organization?

"Pending a convenient meeting, will you send to me in a sentence, or a paragraph, or a page, or as many more as you like, your private idea of what might further this project?

"I am enclosing my own ideas as a sample.

"1. Anaesthetize, for one year, American vocal cords.

"2. Abolish, for one year, American passports.

"3. Commandeer every American automobile. Secrete Johnson grass seed in the cushions and every other available place. Fill the tanks with gasoline. Leave the switch key in the switch and push the car across the Iron Curtain.

"4. Ask the Government to establish a fund. Choose 10,000 people between 18 and 30, preferably Communists. Bring them to this country and let them see America as it is. Let them buy an automobile on the installment plan, if that's what they want. . . ."

The response was instantaneous. Comments and counterproposals came in from every side, ranging from "Won't be associated with anything sponsored by the Republican Party" and "Futile: We are barbarians anyway" to "Free Ezra Pound!" "Free and untampered exchange of books," and even "Abolish literary agents!" Thirty well-known authors, ranging from Edna Ferber to the usually cloistered William Carlos Williams, met in New York last December to hear Faulkner pursue in seriousness his idea of bringing in

our enemies to see us ("Let the Communist Party ticket be their passport," he declared) and discuss the need of sending better American works abroad and in cheaper editions. Finally, after some abstentions, a group of twenty-five accepted a statement drawn up by Faulkner, John Steinbeck, and the young poet Donald Hall emphasizing the need of bringing here "people from all over the world who do not agree with us," and on the other hand the need of our own government to "disseminate books, plays, and moving pictures . . . at least to match what the Russians are doing." However, the writers declared, "when communication becomes propa-



ganda, it ceases to communicate." Just how our government could conduct such dissemination without giving it an air of propaganda they did not say.

### Vital Spontaneity

They were touching on but skirting a problem that lies at the very core of the whole people-to-people impulse. No fact about governmental efforts at persuasion is more apparent in this day of a surfeit of persuasion than the diminishing returns they produce. Not even truthfulness banishes suspicion so long as an official purpose can be detected behind it. Nor does it banish boredom. Spontaneity and high-level directives just do not go together.

Close to a decade ago, cultural-affairs experts at the State Department, anxious to demonstrate to the world our interest in modern art, assembled at government cost a brilliant traveling collection of contemporary American paintings. The then Secretary, General George C. Marshall, however, learning that the exhibit going out under his name included a number of frank nudes,

exploded and cashiered the whole project. Ever since, American cultural attachés have been as wary of nudes as of their own necks. Dr. Finley's private fine-arts group, and the Foundation above it, can do what nervous government officials cannot—namely, not worry about nudes unless they are also bad art.

### Business's Part

One day in late 1955 the President, when first becoming interested in the people-to-people concept, called in his friend and golfing companion, Board Chairman Sigurd S. Larmon of Young & Rubicam, to explore what American business might do on its own. The outcome was the formation of the Business Council for International Understanding, whose membership now embraces some seventy-nine top companies functioning in the international field, from Johns-Manville and Goodrich Tire to Time, Inc. Among its objectives are "to encourage business concerns and individuals to do things that will furnish evidence to other peoples of our friendliness toward them and our desire to understand their point of view; create better understanding of our political and economic system . . . ; convince the peoples of other nations that their own interests will be best served by working with us for world freedom, progress and peace." All this sounds somewhat like a government directive, but it was drawn up by private public-relations men. The Council became in effect a pilot project for the People to People Program as a whole, of which it is now an integral part. Now it is deep in its own pilot operation, which takes place in Mexico.

There the Council (through a subcommittee) has conducted a detailed study of what American businesses and other groups are doing or failing to do in the way of cultivating harmonious close relationships with Mexicans, and has come up with a ten-point program of what more could be done by Americans and Mexicans working together. The projects (to be sponsored by local joint committees, under American and Mexican co-chairmen) range from providing U.S. executives with a manual on Mexico to providing Mexican migratory workers with

briefings on conditions they may confront north of the border. Even a safe-driving campaign—much needed in Mexico—is to be launched through the co-operation of Mexican traffic officials and American automobile manufacturers. As of the beginning of March, all Mexican government Ministries consulted, along with the Mexican Chamber of Commerce and other business and professional groups, are reported to have declared themselves unanimously favorable to the plan, their chief source of gratification being that it bears every earmark of being genuinely public-spirited, not just an intrusion of outside interested parties, and, above all, joint.

"If the plan succeeds," says the Council's Mr. Whitman, "we're thinking of using it as a model for other countries as well—forming other subcommittees for the purpose." "Think of what we could do in Jordan, say," another committeeman added last week, "or in Syria!"

It is still too early to report responses from many countries to what in large part is still a program on paper. But enough has happened in "pilot stages" over the years to indicate a chain of reaction. In Venezuela, for instance, the activity of companies like Creole Petroleum in building community relationships and sending increasing number of local employees to America for study has helped stimulate a program by the Venezuelan government of sending other students here on its own. Here at home the National Planning Association, whose governing board includes many men now swept up in the People to People Program, was able to declare over a year ago in a detailed study of Creole Petroleum that the company's local relations "are good in the fundamental sense that the Venezuelan people think of Creole as a real asset in the country, and not as a foreign entity interested only in taking away the nation's wealth."

In West Germany, the response to American initiative in privately-sponsored student, professional, and businessmen's exchange has been such as to flood the corporations and institutes offering hospitality. In Italy, firms like Fiat, Olivetti, and the Banca Nazionale del Lavoro of

Rome have reacted to the rising people-to-people enthusiasm at this end over several years by putting up dollar funds of their own for dispatch of trainees to the United States, Olivetti doubling its stake just last month. Recently a French cultural-affairs official in America remarked, "I do not know what all this American initiative and activity portends. It may mean simply that Washington has some new political aim in mind. But I am reporting to Paris that it may possibly be a good one."

### Dispelling Suspicion

The suspicion that all this may simply be another government-directed scheme using private "cover" persists in certain minds abroad accustomed to dealings between governments and their agents, but not between peoples acting on their own. It was a Viennese conditioned in the school of Metternich who raised an eyebrow and remarked to this reporter, when being told of all the things the Rockefeller Foundation and the Rockefeller Brothers Fund were now doing abroad, "What . . . and you mean to tell me the Rockefeller brothers aren't in league with the Dulles brothers—or at least with John Foster's brother Allen?"

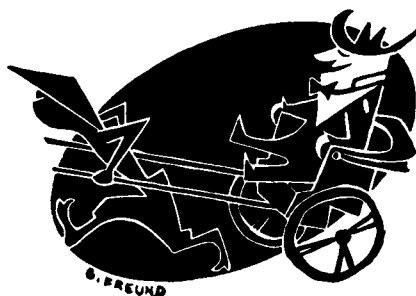
It is true that government originally suggested the people-to-people approach. Nor was President Eisenhower himself its only creator. As far back as mid-Truman days, the State Department's huge Public Affairs establishment (later converted into the U.S. Information Agency) began seeking out private groups to do abroad what government could not do anywhere near so well. An Office of Private Cooperation was set up which over the years has stimulated projects such as international letter writing, getting American colleges to affiliate themselves with foreign ones and asking Rotary and the Veterans of Foreign Wars to present thou-

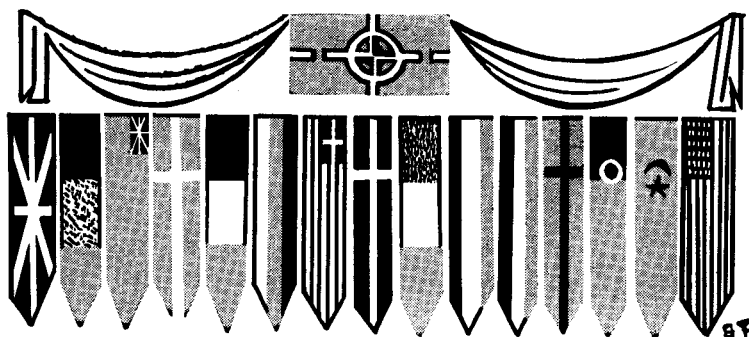
sands of kits of American best books to foreign libraries. But from the start the government was sensible enough not to advise what books, or what to say in letters. It merely proposed the general ideas.

Moreover, the Truman era was not one in which any idea emanating from Washington was grasped with particular eagerness by the business community. Today, with General Eisenhower there, the rate of acceptance has enormously increased. And his forthright words make patent what all along was implicit—that in this field Washington only proposes; it does not dispose.

The crux now is whether the American way of responding to official prodding will be understood abroad. On this hangs the success of the entire People to People Program. It is true that USIA's Office of Private Cooperation, running on a budget of about \$500,000, is providing some passing aid to Mr. Wilson's Foundation and its committees. But this is minuscule and hardly able to cover clerical costs until such time as the Foundation can get financially off the ground. As it does, it will be performing something for which there are no government appropriations in any case—a two-way give-and-take program, as against the government's own prescribed one-way undertaking of "projecting America" abroad.

**I**F DOUBTS REMAIN in foreign minds about the sincerity and spontaneity of this program, perhaps they can best be dispelled by its very multiplicity, its typically American combination of all sorts and kinds of people getting into the act, with a bit of confusion, overlapping, and naïveté. The chairman of one Person to Person committee uses athletic Madison Avenue language to describe the task ahead as simply "an all-out public-relations battle" with the Soviets. On the other hand, a professor influential in exchange-of-persons circles lectures loftily about "special-problem centered research," "formally programmed people," and "building accessibility into the structure"—whatever these things may be. All this is part of the variety. If the program can convince other peoples that each American is wholeheartedly on his own when he talks to them, that will be triumph enough.





## *The United Nations: High-Level Hearsay*

MARYA MANNES

AT EVERY SESSION of the General Assembly there is a pervasive buzz in the corridors and the Delegates' Lounges; a buzz that might be called gossip if it did not come from men of such knowledge, authority, and—for the most part—integrity. This is the talk that precedes and accompanies historic events. Much of it is lost in the daily reporting of these events; some of it deserves to be. But a certain amount of it can help clarify action and sharpen understanding. What follows is an account of this kind of talk, heard by this reporter during the last week of the Eleventh Assembly when the Arab-Israeli crisis was moving into its third act. It was mainly about the leading actors: Dag Hammarskjöld and David Ben Gurion; Lodge, Dulles, and Eisenhower; Krishna Menon.

### **The Israeli and the Swede**

"The real confrontation has been between the Man on the 38th Floor and old B. G.," said a delegate. "Dag and Ben Gurion have had a long and painful history together, by meeting and by letter, and if you know what they are like you will see why."

Dag Hammarskjöld is an aesthete, a lawyer, a man of extraordinary intellectual grace, an aristocrat in civilized living, an inexhaustible worker. The only terms of criticism leveled at him here were "overlegalistic" and "difficult to communicate with." When he worked in govern-

ment in Sweden, the complexity of his utterances was the butt of many jokes. His colleagues not only found him sometimes impossible to decipher; they suspected at times that Hammarskjöld's complexity had become a blanket for evasion, for the turnings of a too labyrinthine mind.

As a man of reason, the Secretary-General has a mistrust of passion that is not far from abhorrence. This alone would have made his dealings with the Israeli Prime Minister falter. "Ben Gurion's scholarship is formidable," said the delegate [it is also largely self-taught]—"history, languages, philosophy—almost a match for Dag's. But there are other things about him that tend to pull the two men apart. For one thing, B. G. has the passion of an Old Testament prophet and a new-state nationalist. He has the guile and stubbornness of a trade-union leader, which he used to be. And on top of that, he has the intuitive impulse of a visionary.

"Ben Gurion," the delegate went on, "is profoundly indifferent to the arts of living that are indispensable to Dag. He thinks the gadgetry of comfort quite irrelevant. He couldn't live without his three rooms lined from floor to ceiling with books, but a pile of dirty dishes in the sink doesn't bother him in the least."

In spite of these deep disparities, he said, the first meeting between Dag and B. G. could have been

termed a success. This was, of course, before the triple invasions, when the Secretary-General went to Egypt and Israel in the role of diagnostician. "B. G. was enormously impressed by Dag's stature as a statesman, and I think the Secretary was equally impressed by B. G.'s knowledge and candor. Ben Gurion really put his cards on the table, face up. He believed that the same candor had been exacted of Nasser. That was one time the trade-union bargainer took a back seat."

But after the results of Hammarskjöld's preceding visit with Nasser became apparent—the Egyptian *quid*, according to the Israelis, far short of their own *quo*—the trade-union leader felt betrayed. And when next the Prime Minister met the Secretary-General, the barriers were up to such an extent that neither would trust himself to speak on any plane but the wholly abstract.

"Ben Gurion gave a lengthy dissertation on the history of Zionism, and Hammarskjöld talked of global concepts. They parted with more than a gulf and a strip between them. From then on B. G. became to Dag an obstructive and headstrong nuisance, and Dag seemed to B. G. a sort of legalistic labyrinth with no direct access."

To those who know the Israeli Prime Minister, this loss of faith in the U.N. power of mediation was the last of the progressive disillusionments that led to invasion. Let down, as he believed, by the United States in its refusal to send arms, intolerably harassed by the Arabs, threatened by Soviet arms, he saw Israel faced with two imminent and equal perils: that of passivity and that of action. Being the man he was, he chose the second.

### **Cairo Practice**

What actually happened between Hammarskjöld and Nasser is still a mystery to many. Few have doubted the Secretary-General's scrupulous efforts at the fairness and impartiality his position demands; and the few who know him are acquainted with the agonies of maintaining this impartiality against the natural sympathies of a profoundly European man. "I think," said one statesman, "they may have forced him to fall over backwards in the attempt