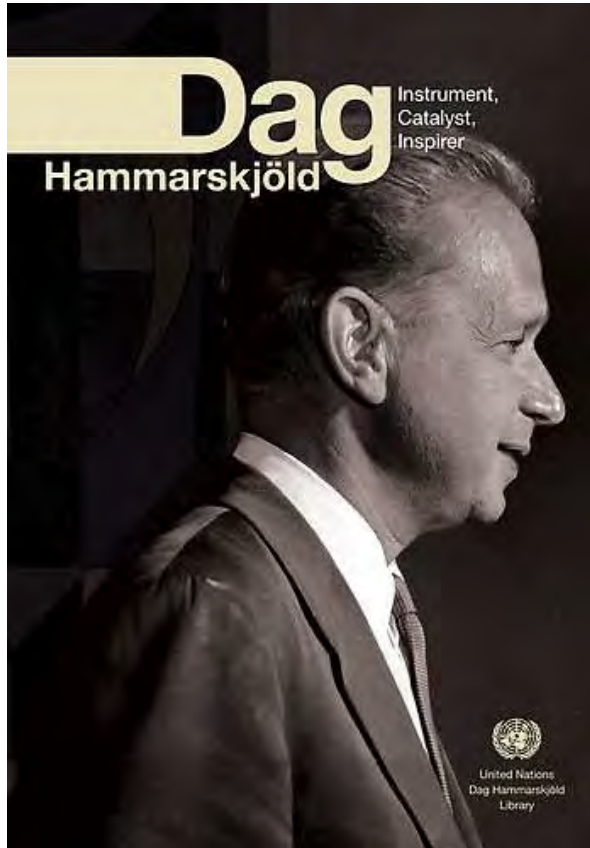


Remembering Dag Hammarskjöld, Apostle of Mediation and Secular Pope (1905—1961)

Laurent Ladouce
August 14, 2025



Dear all

As we mark the 80th anniversary of the creation of the UN, we may remember the life of UNSG Dag Hammarskjöld (born 120 years ago in 1905)

Remorsefully and not without exaggeration, President Kennedy presented him as "the greatest statesman of the 20 th century"

It is more appropriate to see Dag Hammarskjöld as a tormented person, and as a typical Paulinian figure, obsessed by man's longing for goodness and weaknesses in front of evil. A man of integrity, Dag Hammarskjöld was also a master of self-criticism and thus a model of what a public figure should be.

This idealist was also a figure who loathed illusions, a Scandinavian anti-Don Quixote.

Dag Hammarskjöld was obsessed by purity and a strong sense of sacrifice, human responsibility, faith in the the Word. He constantly minded about maturity and growth. Yet, he suffered from solitude, remained single, was often thinking about death. He was exceptionally mature, yet incomplete.

He lived an inspiring life, but also carried a heavy burden. He knew he was born under a good sign, with many privileges, but was in existential anxiety most of the time. In this way, he remained a symbol of some European heroes until the end. Even when we reach the top level, we should remember how small we are.

Dag Hammarskjöld always challenged his peers who felt proud of their achievements. He was like a pastor for heads of States

A man of courage and virtue, he also detained huge powers, and tried to attend God in the most secular institution. He once described himself as the "secular pope"

Martin Buber constantly challenged him. They had very deep conversations on several occasions.

If you want to know more about him, here are some good reads.

Laurent Ladouce

A Reader's Guide
to Dag Hammarskjöld's
Waymarks



by Bernhard Erling

A READER'S GUIDE

TO

DAG HAMMARSKJÖLD'S

Waymarks



BERNHARD ERLING

A Reader's Guide
to Dag Hammarskjöld's
Waymarks

by

Bernhard Erling

Waymarks was originally published in Swedish as *Vägmärken*

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*To Marilyn
in gratitude
for eleven lustrums
of love and companionship*

Abbreviations

DH - Dag Hammarskjöld

JB - The Jerusalem Bible

KJV - King James Version

NEB - The New English Bible

NRSV - New Revised Standard Version

RSV - Revised Standard Version

S-G - Secretary General

UN - United Nations

Where the Bible translation is not indicated,
it is from the NRSV.

Introduction

I. The Translation

After Dag Hammarskjöld's death in September 1961, a manuscript was found in his New York apartment entitled "Vägmärken" (Waymarks). Attached to the manuscript was the following undated letter, addressed to the Swedish Permanent Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs, Leif Belfrage:

Dear Leif,

Perhaps you remember that I once told you that I was after all keeping a kind of journal which I wanted you some time to take charge of.

Here it is.

It was begun without the thought that anyone else would ever see it. But in view of what has since happened in my life, all that has been written about me, the situation has changed. These notations give the only correct "profile" that can be drawn. And therefore during recent years I have reckoned with the possibility of publication, though I have continued to write for myself and not for the public.

If you find these notations worth publishing, you have my permission to do so – as a kind of "white book" concerning my negotiations with myself – and with God.

Dag

The original manuscript consists of a collection of brief typewritten statements placed in a loose leaf folder. Hammarskjöld, it appears, from time to time typed out his journal entries and placed them in the folder. Nothing indicates that he considered the journal completed, or that he was not intending to continue it.

The manuscript was published in its entirety in 1963 by Alb. Bonniers, Stockholm, with nothing changed or excluded. The rubrics and dates, accordingly, are Hammarskjöld's own.

An English translation, in the preparation of which W. H. Auden and Leif Sjöberg collaborated, appeared in 1964 entitled *Markings*, published by Alfred A. Knopf, New York, and Faber and Faber, London. Given Auden's distinguished literary reputation, the question may be asked as to why another

vii | English translation should be attempted. The chief reason is to achieve a more accurate English translation. Auden acknowledged that he knew no Swedish and therefore needed a collaborator to give him a literal word by word translation, to which he gave fair form and for which final version he took sole responsibility. He also stated that there were passages which both he and Sjöberg found obscure. In some such cases Auden claimed the translator's right to write intelligible English sentences, even if this meant alteration of the original meaning.

This translation was for the most part completed at Kansai University of Foreign Studies, Osaka, Japan, where during 1980 I was teaching a seminar on Hammar skjöld's *Markings* to Japanese students. As I found more and more passages (which shall hereafter be called waymarks and identified by the year and number of the waymark during that year) that I felt needed revision, I finally decided to attempt a new translation.

An example of a waymark that was apparently thought to be obscure and which has been given an altered meaning is 25-30:13. With the words for which there is no basis in the Swedish text in italics, the Auden-Sjöberg translation reads as follow: "To be sure, you *have to* fence with an *unbuttoned* foil: but, in the loneliness of yesterday, did you not toy with *the idea of* poisoning *the tip?*" (*Markings*, New York: Knopf, 1964, 8). A foil by definition has a flat guard. If this protective device is removed the weapon ceases to be a foil. In the Swedish text, furthermore, the foil and the poison are kept separate, and the waymark may be interpreted as contrasting the relative safety of the one with the danger of the other, rather than, as in the Auden-Sjöberg translation, the two being brought together, so that the no longer blunt fencing sword becomes not only dangerous but treacherous.

Other waymarks that in this translation differ significantly from the Auden-Sjöberg translation are: 20-30:5, 41-42:14, 45-49:13, 50:35, 50:42, 50:44, 51:19, 55:1 (the second line has been added from the hymn Hammar skjöld quotes to make the waymark intelligible to the non-Swedish reader), 56:39 (the following sentence has been omitted in the Auden-Sjöberg translation: "It is this idea that demands your blood -- not the defective creation in which it in this historical period has been incarnated"), 56:47, 57:6, 57:13, 57:46, 58:8, 59:81-82, 60:3.

There are, of course, many waymarks in this translation that do not differ greatly from the Auden-Sjöberg rendering. There would be little point, for

viii | example, in trying to find another way of translating “Not I, but God in me” (53:6). Generally, though, this translation is somewhat more literal than the Auden-Sjöberg translation. Hammarskjöld’s often elliptical style has also more often been retained.

This translation is being called “Waymarks,” which is a literal translation of *Vägmärken*. While “waymark” is not a common English word, it is to be found in unabridged dictionaries and it does significantly appear in Jeremiah 31:21 in both the King James and the Revised Standard versions of the Bible. The 1917 translation of the Swedish Bible also has *vägmärken* in this verse. An additional reason for literal translation at this point is that it introduces “way” into the title. Hammarskjöld has much more to say about “the way” than about the marks or markings he makes along that way.

In the notes that accompany this translation Hammarskjöld’s quotations have been identified insofar as possible. Hammarskjöld does identify some of the sources he quotes (53:8, 55:2, 55:21, 56:30, 56:39, 56:53, 59:94, 59:95, 59:101, 59:112, 60:3, 61:15), but does not identify others. Use has been made of source identifications in the Swedish edition and the Auden-Sjöberg translation. In waymarks 53:8 and 55:21 Hammarskjöld refers only to “Thomas.” It was incorrectly assumed by the Swedish editors and Auden-Sjöberg that this was Thomas Aquinas, but the attribution should be to Thomas à Kempis. Where the source of a quotation has not yet been found, this is indicated in the notes. Hammarskjöld quoted the Psalter from a 1762 edition of the Anglican *Book of Common Prayer*. Auden stated that, while German quotations should be translated, it could be assumed that the average American reader would have no difficulty with the French quotations. In this translation all non-English quotations are translated. In the waymarks, where one finds words in parentheses, they are in the original Swedish text. Words in brackets have been added by the translator.

II. The Reader’s Guide

When Dag Hammarskjöld’s posthumously discovered journal was first published in 1963, the Swedish publisher, Bonniers, found within months that additional printings were needed. The following year the publishers of the English translation by Leif Sjöberg and W. H. Auden, *Markings* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1964), had the same experience. The book was published on October 15. In November there had already been a seventh printing. In 1983

ix | *Markings* finally appeared in a paperback edition (New York: Ballantine Books) and again within the year five printings were needed. There has also been extensive distribution of translations of *Vägmärken* in several other languages, among which are Dutch (1965), French (1966), German (1965/2005), Italian (1966), and Japanese (1967).

Though DH's (in what follows the initials "DH" will be used to refer to Hammar skjöld) journal has been widely sold and is now being called "a modern spiritual classic" (*Markings*, Ballantine edition, 196), many who have found in the book inspiring meditations have been puzzled by other passages. As a result some have placed the book on the shelf after a partial initial reading and thereafter rarely consulted it. It is to help such readers rediscover DH's journal and to introduce new readers to this important text that this reader's guide has been written.

Two extremely helpful interpretations appeared shortly after the publication of *Markings : Dag Hammar skjöld: The Statesman and His Faith* by Henry P. Van Dusen (New York: Harper & Row, 1967) and *Dag Hammar skjöld's White Book: An Analysis of Markings* by Gustaf Aulén (Philadelphia: Fortress: 1969); *Sw Dag Hammar skjölds vitbok* (Stockholm: Bonniers, 1970). This Reader's Guide differs from these previous studies in that it is based upon my own new translation of *Vägmärken*, in which I have attempted to remove the translation errors in *Markings* to which Aulén called attention (Aulén, viii). This study of DH's journal also differs from previous studies in that it is a commentary in which, in addition to brief introductions to the waymarks of each year, each individual waymark is discussed.

It would seem that there are many waymarks that are in no need of comment. However, in discussing waymarks with students both in Japan at Kansai University of Foreign Studies and at Gustavus Adolphus College, I have found that several statements that seemed perfectly clear to me were puzzling to at least some students. Rather than trying to determine which waymarks needed comment and which did not, I have written about all of them. Where I offer little more than my own paraphrase, this may stimulate the reader to attempt a similar restatement of the waymark, which may contribute to better understanding.

x | Since the waymarks are numbered, I have been able to provide many cross references. This makes it possible to compare DH's thoughts over the thirty-six year period that the journal spans. The numbering of the waymarks has also facilitated the making of an index. It can be illuminating to examine waymarks throughout the journal dealing with the same subject, as well as the way in which DH alludes to or cites scripture.

In addition to interpreting each waymark, I have tried to identify insofar as possible the sources upon which DH drew in writing this journal. If the reader wonders why DH did not provide this information, it must be remembered that he never finally prepared his journal for publication. He had apparently himself typed the manuscript, which is to be found in the Swedish Royal Library in Stockholm. Since he did not regularly clean the type on his typewriter, there are groups of pages where the same unclarity of some letters suggests that those portions of the manuscript were typed at about the same time. Uno Willers, a friend of DH and director of the Royal Library, thinks that much work on the manuscript may have been done during May and June of 1957, with the undated letter to Leif Belfrage having been written later during the period of the Congo crisis. When DH completed a portion of the manuscript, he must have destroyed all earlier drafts, since no such material is found among his collected papers (*Perspektiv på hemlandet* [Stockholm: Bonniers, 1965], 84-85). Though the manuscript was in this sense completed, it is likely that had he given the manuscript a final editing for publication he would have indicated more of the sources that he had used.

In the original 1963 Swedish edition of *Vägmärken*, which is a reproduction of the typewritten manuscript with no changes or additions, only twelve waymarks include names or initials indicating possible sources (53:8, 55:2, 55:21, 56:30-32, 56:39, 56:53, 59:95-94, 59:101, 59:112). There were, however, waymarks in quotation marks and others in English, French, and German, which suggested that they were also quotations. W. H. Auden in *Markings* provided additional information on some of the twelve waymarks in which there were names or initials, he identified twenty-two Bible citations, most of them, from the Psalms, where DH had used the version to be found in *The Book of Common Prayer* (cf. 54:26), and he also identified sources and allusions in twenty-seven other waymarks. Other translators, as well as those who prepared the 1966 annotated Swedish edition, have made use of Auden's notes and added to them. I have drawn upon all of this information, completing it where possible, correcting it where necessary.

xi | Willers has pointed out that it is possible that some Swedish entries in DH's journal may be unacknowledged translations of foreign authors. DH's father, Hjalmar Hammarskjöld, especially in the years of his retirement, in order to develop his literary style translated on small slips of paper short selections from his favorite authors. Since this was for his own use, he did not indicate the names of the authors. DH recognized the value of such literary exercises and made similar translations. Willers thinks DH may have included some such material in *Vägmärken* (Willers, 85-86). Two such waymarks were identified by Auden, 61:1-2, translations from *Chronique* by St.-John Perse and *The Antiphon* by Djuna Barnes, respectively. In these cases, however, DH had translated the entire work in question (in the case of *The Antiphon* this had been done together with Karl Ragnar Gierow). Had he prepared his manuscript for publication, it is unlikely that DH would have failed to indicate the sources of those two waymarks. It is possible, however, that some other such waymarks, where DH had translated only that passage, remain to be discovered, though thus far I, at least, have found none.

In addition to interpreting waymarks and identifying sources, I have tried to acquaint the non-Swedish reader with the Swedish context that is presupposed in several waymarks. That DH enjoyed hiking in the mountains of Lapland helps explain the mountain climbing imagery in 25-30:1, 25-30:5, 25-30:7, 56:5, 56:62, 57:45, 59:114, 61:12, and 61:19. That DH served on a government commission studying unemployment casts light on 41-42:2 and 41-42:17. Though 51:9 is undated, it may reflect the old Swedish folklore that each Maundy Thursday the witches of Scandinavia gather at a certain mountain. That Midsummer is an important festival in Sweden makes 57:21-22 and 61:18 more intelligible. In the haiku poems written during 1959 (59:7-116) are many references to flowers, insects, trees, and birds. This is not surprising when one notes that DH chose in his 1957 presidential address to the Swedish Academy to speak on "The Linnaeus Tradition and Our Time" (*Public Papers of the Secretaries-General of the United Nations*, eds. Andrew W. Cordier and Wilder Foote [New York: Columbia University Press, 1973], 701-709).

Auden has noted DH's lack of participation in the liturgical and sacramental life of a church and finds no evidence in his journal of any desired commitment to a particular Christian body (*Markings*, xxii). If this were the case, it is hard to explain not only the many waymarks that take note of Christian festivals (e.g. 50:1, 55:50, 56:8-10, 56:58, 60:1, 60:3, 61:4-5), but DH's reflection on the evil in human nature in 57:6, written on the Church of Sweden's First Day of Prayer in 1957, devoted to the theme of repentance.

xii | At points comment is needed due to DH's elliptical style of writing. This can be illustrated by reference to two citations DH makes. In 61:4 Auden and Anton Graf Knyphausen in the German translation (*Zeichen am Weg* [München: Knaur, 1965]) both agree that the lines cited from Henrik Ibsen's *Brand* become more intelligible if introduced by the line that I have translated, "God, answer me, in the jaws of death!" These translators did not, however, see the need of including in 55:1 more than the one line of the Swedish Lenten hymn stanza DH has cited ("-- ty intet finns som inte vinns --"). This has posed problems in the translation of the line. Auden has made of it two lines: "Naught is given 'neath the sun, Naught is had that is not won." Quite a different meaning, however, is found in this citation if the final line of the stanza is also included: "For naught is found that can't be won *By the love that suffers.*"

Auden opens his foreword to *Markings* by stating that DH does "not make a single direct reference to his career as an international civil servant, to the persons he met, or the historical events of his time in which he played an important role" (*Markings*, vii). It is true that persons and events are not named, but the dated waymarks are at times eloquent witnesses to how DH felt and thought as he carried out his duties as UN Secretary-General. It is helpful to know that 54:26-28 were written as he prepared to leave for conversations with Chou En-lai and that 55:22 and 55:25 express his reaction to the announcement that the imprisoned American fliers were being freed by the Chinese. 56:44 and 55:48 relate to the Suez crisis and 55:57 expresses his gratitude to God for the way in which the crisis was resolved. 58:7 records his reflections as he entered his second term, recalling 53:4-13, written as he began his first term. Almost all the waymarks written during 1960 and 1961 are dated, many of them reflecting his thinking during the development of the Congo crisis. I have sought in comments on dated waymarks to relate to the extent this is possible what DH has written to the significance of that date. Two sources have been especially helpful in gathering this information, volumes 2-5 of *Public Papers of the Secretaries-General of the United Nations* (New York: Columbia, 1972-1975) and *Hammar skjöld* by Brian Urquhart (New York: Knopf, 1973). For some details about DH's private life during his years as Secretary-General I have drawn upon *Dag Hammar skjöld: Strictly Personal* by Bo Beskow (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1969).

Why should *Waymarks* be read now when soon fifty years will have elapsed since the death of its author? One important reason is that the book has

xiii | become recognized as a modern spiritual classic. The *Lutheran Book of Worship* has included DH in its calendar of commemoration (Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1978, 11). The basis for this inclusion is not only DH's labors for justice and peace as UN Secretary-General but also what *Waymarks* reveals about the way in which he related his personal faith to his public responsibilities (see Bernhard Erling, "Discipleship at the United Nations: Hammarskjöld's Religious Commitment, *The Christian Century*, 98 [Sept. 16, 1981], 902-906). DH was not unwilling to indicate the nature of his faith. Shortly after becoming Secretary-General he stated his basic beliefs on Edward R. Murrow's radio program "This I Believe." His statement, which he called "Old Creeds in a New World" (see Appendix A), was published in 1954. He also planned and supervised in every detail the creation of the United Nations Meditation Room and wrote the text to the leaflet that is given to those who visit the room (see Appendix B). It is in *Waymarks* that DH's faith is more fully articulated.

The importance of the medieval mystics for DH has become apparent as the sources of DH's citations in *Waymarks* have been determined. It is now known that he cites Meister Eckhart (1260-1327) at least nine times (see 51:l) and Thomas à Kempis (1380-1470) seven times (see 53:8). While these men spent their lives in the service of the church, one of them living in a cloister, DH wrote, "The way to sanctification in our time necessarily passes through the world of action" (55:65). How he understood this essential interrelation between faith and action is spelled out in *Waymarks*. At a time when the urgent need to bring together into fruitful interrelationship personal faith and the common life in an increasingly pluralistic world is becoming ever more clearly recognized, DH's journal merits careful study. This reader's guide has been written to help those who would engage in such study.

Waymarks should also be read because of its importance for those who would support the United Nations. DH said of the UN that it is an idea "that must conquer if a humanity worth the name is to survive" (56:39). Many criticize the UN because of its inability to enforce its decisions. This, however, is to fail to understand the way in which nations must begin to learn how to relate to each other, now that weapons have been developed so destructive that they must never be used. The great powers must provide leadership in resolving controversies through negotiation, on the assumption that if they work at it long enough relatively just resolutions can be found that both sides of controversies are willing to accept until even more just solutions are found.

xiv | DH can serve as a model to indicate the kind of international civil servant that is needed to facilitate such multilateral diplomacy. It should not be forgotten that during his eight year tenure as Secretary-General the UN was relatively successful in resolving two serious crises, one affecting the Suez Canal and the other related to formation of the Republic of the Congo. Much can be learned from volumes 2-5 of the *Public Papers of the Secretaries-General of the United Nations*. In this connection *Waymarks* should also be studied, for it is an honest portrayal, with little conceit or self-indulgence, of the inner life of a man with extraordinary ability and opportunities for leadership, who sought to dedicate himself wholly to the service of his fellow human beings.

Finally, would DH have wanted his journal to be the subject of a commentary? From a conversation in the fall of 1983 with DH's friends, Leif Belfrage (to whom DH had entrusted the manuscript in an undated letter, (see above v) and Per Lind, I concluded that they would almost have preferred that *Vägmärken* had remained in the form in which it was first published, with no introduction or annotation whatsoever. In the letter to Belfrage, however, DH did say that his notations drew a "profile" of himself, revealing his negotiations with himself and with God. In 56:6 (cf. 52:23) he acknowledged, furthermore, that if his journal at the outset may have been written primarily for himself, his life had now changed to the point that he reckoned that it would have readers. There are readers who will need little assistance, yet even they may find some waymarks where it can be of interest to them to compare their interpretation with the one proposed in this guide. Even a close associate of DH, such as Uno Willers acknowledges that DH's journal contains extremely difficult passages and says that it would be desirable that a commentary be written (Willers, 83-84, 86). Interpretations of the journal have been written. This one, by virtue of the fact that the comments on the waymarks are numbered, will permit the reader to concentrate his/her attention only on those where the guide may prove helpful.

It is a pleasure to express my appreciation to those who have assisted and encouraged me in this venture. I am grateful for interviews at an early stage of the project with Assistant Secretary-General Brian Urquhart and later with Ambassador Leif Belfrage, and Ambassador Per Lind. With Ambassador Peder Hammarskjöld I had both an interview and an extended correspondence. Students both at Kansai University of Foreign Studies, Osaka, Japan, and at Gustavus Adolphus College have stimulated me in my interpretation of the waymarks. The Bernadotte Library staff, especially Mr. Howard Cohrt, have helped me gain access to the books I needed. For the sources of some

xv | citations I have been aided by Manuel Fröhlich's newly revised edition (2005) of Knyphausen's German translation *Zeichen am Weg*. My daughter, Birgitta, drew the frontispiece. The printing has been supervised by Brad Johnson and Eileen Holz. My wife, Marilyn, to whom the book is dedicated, has assisted in typing and has been unfailing in her support ever since the project was begun in Japan in 1980 to the present day.

St. Peter, Minnesota
November 19, 2009

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“Only the hand that erases can write the true account.”

A quotation attributed to Bertil Malmberg, a Swedish poet (1889-1958), which states that if writing is to be done correctly, some of what has been written must be stricken out. DH's use of the quotation implies that he has edited his journal in this way.

1925-1930 So it was

These entries come from the period when DH was 20 to 25 years of age. He was living with his parents in Uppsala, where his father was governor of the province of Uppland. His home was the Uppsala Castle on a hill overlooking the city, built in the 16th century in Swedish Gothic style by the Vasa kings. During these years DH was a student at the University of Uppsala. In 1925 he had already completed the *filosofi kandidat* (bachelor of arts) degree. The next three years were devoted to the study of economics. After two more years devoted to the study of law he received the *juris kandidatexamen* (bachelor of laws degree). An important event during these years was the Universal Christian conference on Life and Work, which met in Stockholm in 1925. Delegates had come from most Protestant and Orthodox communions. Nathan Söderblom, archbishop of Uppsala, had organized the conference. Hjalmar Hammarskjöld, DH's father, welcomed the conference to events held in Uppsala. DH attended the conference as a “steward” or usher. In 1930 Hjalmar Hammarskjöld retired from his duties as governor and moved with his wife to Stockholm. DH accompanied his parents and engaged in graduate study in economics at the University of Stockholm. The heading “So it was” was most likely added when the manuscript was edited.

1. I am being driven farther
Into an unknown land.
The ground becomes harder,
The air more sharply cold.
Moved by the wind
From my unknown goal
The strings quiver
In expectation.
Still questioning,
Shall I arrive,
Where life rings out --

DH enjoyed hiking in the mountains of Lapland and he compares life as he is experiencing it to climbing a mountain. As one climbs higher one walks on rock, the air becomes colder, and there may be a wind. He shifts to musical imagery to describe his expectations. Life's goal is defined in terms of clarity, simplicity, silence, all positive terms for DH.

For other waymarks containing mountain climbing imagery, see 25-30:5, 25-30:7, 56:5, 56:62, 57:45, 59:114, 61:12. Remarkably the final entry in *Waymarks*, 61:19, also contains this imagery. In 51:47 the imagery of depth is used to refer to the unknown toward which DH feels himself both drawn and driven.

2. Smiling, open, incorruptible --
The body disciplined and free.
The man who became what he could be
And was what he was --
Ever ready to gather everything
Into one single sacrifice.

An ideal figure is here described. Despite DH's tendency to be a very private person, "openness" is part of his ideal (cf. 41-42:11, 52:8, 53:7, 56:19). The importance of becoming what one can be (25-30:8) and the necessity of being prepared to sacrifice everything (50:46, 55:23, 59:81) are recurring themes in *Waymarks*. The person DH has in mind could be Bertil Ekman. See 51:24.

3. Tomorrow we shall meet,
Death and I --.
He shall thrust his rapier into a man fully awake.

But how painful is not the memory
Of each hour I frittered away.

There are many waymarks in which DH reflects on death (e.g., 50:2, 50:4, 51:1, 52:19, 55:18, 57:42, 57:46). Here death is described as coming to someone in the midst of life, not as a result of the infirmities of old age. Such a death may be one way of understanding the sacrifice to which the previous waymark refers. If one's life may be terminated at an early age, the thought of wasted hours becomes extremely painful.

4. Beauty was a note which, as it flew by, set the soul's stretched strings quivering. It was the shimmer of blood beneath a skin translucent in the sun.
Beauty was the wind that refreshed the traveler, not the suffocating heat in dark shafts where beggars sought riches.

The "soul's stretched strings" suggest the strings referred to above in 25-30:l. In contrasting beauty as a cooling, refreshing wind with the suffocating warmth in a mining shaft, DH indicates that he prefers climbing mountains to digging into them. In 50:39, however, he associates such digging with damp, dripping cold. Though very few passages in *Waymarks* contain explicit sexual references (cf. 50:21, 50:28, 51:50, 58:10), there may be some slight adumbration of sexual imagery in the three descriptions of beauty.

5. Do not test each and every step as you go along. Only the one who looks far ahead finds the right way.

In hiking in the mountains one must look at the path and make sure that one is stepping on firm ground, but one need not do this with every step. One must also see the far horizon. In life also it is essential to have well defined goals and keep them in sight.

6. Never accept what you win through making concessions or through appeasement. You live on stolen goods and your muscles get flabby. Life yields only to the conqueror.

In opposing attempts to succeed through making concessions or appeasement, DH presupposes that such compromises are made at the cost of abandoning one's principles. In 41-42:8 he will criticize the person who insists that everyone must meet his conditions.

7. Never measure the mountain's height until you have reached the top. Then you will see how low it was.

What one hopes to achieve should not be measured until it has been accomplished. DH's goals for himself were such that he was never able to relax in self-satisfaction (cf. 50:42, 50:47, 57:40).

8. "Better than others." Sometimes: I am that in any case.
More often: Why should I be? -- You either are or are not
what you can be -- like the others.

Two kinds of comparison are here touched upon. In some respects DH admits that he is better than others, academically perhaps, or in terms of physical abilities of various kinds. But if each person is tested according to the extent to which he/she realizes his/her own potentiality, then the comparison is with this standard, not with other persons. One either realizes one's own potentiality or one does not. At this point all are alike and it is this comparison that is most important. Cf. 59:4.

9. What you must dare -- to be yourself. What you could
achieve -- that life's greatness might be mirrored in you
according to the measure of your purity.

This is the first time the word "self" appears, an important word for DH. The theme of being oneself, being measured according to one's own standard, is again affirmed. The linking of "life's greatness" with "purity" indicates how DH understands the former. On purity, see 41-42:10, 50:46, 55:3, 55:5, 55:27, 59:114. On mirror imagery, see 41-42:10, 56:45, 57:1.

10. Silence is the space around every act and every human
relationship. Friendship needs no words -- it is a solitude
freed from the anguish of solitude.

Positive, supportive relationships with other people need not be verbal. Simply being with another person can be sufficient. It is strange, however, that DH can equate silent being with another person with solitude. Cf. 50:19.

11. If your goal is not hallowed by your most inner passion,
even a victory will make you painfully aware of your own
weakness.

There must be congruence between one's goals and one's most inner passion. If the latter, however, is to "hallow" the former, it must have an appropriate character. In later waymarks (55:23, 61:5), DH emphasizes that the goal cannot be self-enhancement but must consist of self-surrender.

12. Your own ability is the only measure of life's demand. And your only possible achievement -- not to have deserted.

Here, as in 25-30:8 and 25-30:9 the emphasis is on one's own ability, one's own potentiality. There is no way that one can do more than is required and thus receive praise (cf. 57:40), which suggests Luke 17:7-10. The phrase "not to have deserted" refers to military discipline.

13. To be sure, you fence with a foil. But in yesterday's loneliness -- did you not play with poison?

The foil is a fencing sword so made that it cannot inflict injury. DH may be saying that in competing with others the weapon he is using is such that he need not fear hurting either them or himself. In his loneliness, however, he is exposed to a greater danger. One thinks of "the anguish of solitude" mentioned in 25-30:10 (cf. 50:4, 52:19, 52:24), which can be overcome through friendship, though when such a relationship is absent there can be real danger. "Poison" need not be taken literally, but can refer to patterns of thinking that are later recognized as destructive of the self.

14. We carry a nemesis within us: yesterday's self-admiration is the legitimate father of that day's guilt.

Nemesis in Greek mythology is the goddess of retribution. The term is used more generally for the notion that penalties for wrongdoing are interwoven in the very nature of things and thus inescapably function to punish the transgressor. DH is saying that yesterday's self-admiration was the legitimate father of that day's guilt. The point is not that he feels guilty today, but he passes such a judgment upon his behavior of yesterday. Other waymarks strongly critical of self-admiration are 55:27 and 56:24.

15. He bore the defeat without self-pity and the success without self-admiration. If he knew that he had paid the last penny, it did not matter to him how others judged the result.

A Pharisee? Our Lord knows that he has never been righteous in his own eyes.

6 | DH is critical of both self-admiration and self-pity (cf. 56:40). While he could rejoice over success (56:18), he also knew its emptiness (50:47) and could even feel guilt because of it (50:39). There are two scriptural allusions in this waymark. One is to Matthew 5:25-26: "Come to terms quickly with your accuser, while you are on the way to court with him, or your accuser may hand you over to the judge, and the judge to the guard, and you will be thrown into prison. Truly I tell you, you will never get out until you have paid the last penny." The mention of the Pharisee refers to Luke 18:9-14, where the Pharisee in contrast to the tax collector is righteous in his own eyes. DH appears to be saying that one can know that one has paid "the last penny" as far as one's relations to other persons are concerned and thus be unmoved by their opinions, without incurring the charge of self-righteousness.

1941-1942 Middle years

After the first entries dated 1925-1930, there are no entries until 1941. Upon arriving in Stockholm in 1930, in addition to studying economics, DH was appointed secretary of the Royal Commission on Unemployment. The appendix he wrote to the report of this commission, *Konjunkturspridningen: en teoretisk och historisk undersökning* (The Fluctuations of the Market: a Theoretical and Historical Examination, Stockholm: Nordiska bokhandeln, 1933), which dealt with the dispersion of prices during the business cycle and the influence of prices abroad on prices internally, also served as his doctoral dissertation. His public defense of his dissertation took place Nov. 4, 1933. For three years thereafter while remaining in government service he also taught political economy at the University of Stockholm. He thereupon joined the Swedish civil service as permanent undersecretary in the Ministry of Finance, in which ministry he served until 1947. In 1941 DH is 36 years of age and has just been elected chairman of the board of the Bank of Sweden. One factor that might have led him to begin writing entries in his journal again in 1941 could have been the death the previous year of his mother, Agnes Almquist Hammarskjöld, to whom he had been deeply devoted.

1. He stood erect -- like a whip top as long as the lash is swishing. He was modest -- by virtue of robust feelings of superiority. He was not demanding: what he strove for was only freedom from anxiety, and the failures of others delighted him more than his own victories. He saved his life through never risking it. -- And complained when he was not understood.

This may be a description of someone with whom DH had worked. The reference to a whip top may have been derived from Søren Kierkegaard ("The doubter is like a whipped top; he stands upright exactly as long as the lashes continue. He can no more stand erect by himself than can a top." *Either/Or*, vol. I, trans. David F. and Lillian Marvin Swenson [Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1959], p. 24). DH's critique is rather devastating. There are four pairs of statements. In the first two pairs he appears to compliment the man, then takes the compliment away. The man stood erect, but it was pressure from other sources that enabled him to stand. He was modest, but his modesty was coupled with unwarranted superiority feelings. The remaining statements are

8 | wholly negative. The man had no high goals for himself, taking satisfaction chiefly in the failures of others. He sought to save his life through adopting a no-risk strategy. DH's work must have required him from time to time to evaluate other people. This is an example of a wholly negative evaluation.

2. "The army of misfortune" -- why should it always be "the others"?

DH is calling for more identification with those who suffer misfortune. Why do we so sharply distinguish between ourselves and those who have suffered failure for one reason or another, thinking of them as "the others"? This waymark and 41-42:17 may reflect some of DH's thoughts about the problem of unemployment.

3. The human animal's vital demands do not become a prayer just because you make God their addressee.

Some theologians (e.g., Martin Luther in his *Small Catechism*) say that one should feel free to speak to God, just as children speak freely to their parents. One will presumably discover in the conversation with God whether or not what one is saying is appropriate. DH, however, is saying that there are standards which prayer must meet in order for it to be prayer at all, though he does not at this point specify what those standards are. Other waymarks that set forth DH's understanding of prayer are 41-42:6, 50:29, 52:14, 55:16, 58:7.

4. Is not the emptiness when the noise ceases the just reward for a day devoted to hindering others from neglecting you?

DH is critical of himself, of his tendency to be self-centered in relationships with others, preoccupied with the concern that he not be neglected. This, he says, leaves emptiness. For other negative references to emptiness, see 45-49:13, 50:55, 52:11. In 51:6 and 57:1 emptiness has a positive meaning.

5. That which gives life value you can attain -- and lose. But never own. From first to last this applies to "the truth about life."

The fact that one can attain that which gives life value, but never own it, indicates that life is a process. It follows that the "truth about life" can never

9 | be finally defined. DH does not even find the expression very useful. Only in 50:30, 56:35, and 57:12 are the words “truth” and “life” (or an equivalent term) linked in the same waymark.

6. How will you be able to retain the ability to hear, when you will never listen? That God should have time for you, you seem to regard as equally self-evident as that you can't find time for God.

It is important to be able to listen. Those who do not listen may not actually become deaf, but they may become unable to hear what other persons are saying. The second sentence of the waymark in the Swedish text follows a colon, which indicates that DH is thinking about listening to God. In 41-42:3 he is concerned about speaking to God, here about listening to God. He goes on to imply that it takes time to listen to God. Prayer must be understood as a conversation, so that God responds to what we say, but we must develop the capacity to hear what God says. For other waymarks that stress the importance of listening, see 41-42:10, 54:8, 55:19, 55:24, 55:58.

7. The demons come unbidden when the house stands empty. For other guests you must politely open the door.

In this waymark there is an allusion to the parable of Jesus recorded in Luke 11:24-26 in which what has been called “the peril of the empty soul” is described. The empty life will be filled by evils that enter unbidden. We must, on the other hand, make an effort to see that good guests enter the soul. At this point DH may be thinking of Revelation 4:20: “Listen! I am standing at the door, knocking; if you hear my voice and open the door, I will come in to you and eat with you, and you with me.”

8. “On my conditions.” To live under that sign is to buy knowledge about life's journey -- at the price of loneliness.

DH is commenting on a quotation from Vilhelm Ekelund (1880-1949), a Swedish poet and aphorist. “On my conditions” could seem to be equivalent to “life yields only to the conqueror” in 25-30:6. However, while one must hold to one's principles, one must also be able to adjust to the needs and concerns of others. If one does not, what one will learn about life is that it is a lonely affair.

- 10 | 9. There is only one path out of the steamy, dense jungle, where the struggle goes on for glory and power and privileges -- among ensnaring hindrances which you yourself have created. And that is: to accept death.

Three things are to be noted in this waymark: 1) the jungle imagery used to describe the place where the struggle for glory, power, and privileges occurs; 2) the recognition that one has oneself created ensnaring hindrances that impede the path; 3) the identification of acceptance of death as the way of escape. What does it mean to accept death? It could mean that the struggle will not end until one's death occurs and that one must therefore learn to live in the jungle and perhaps seek to make fewer ensnaring hindrances for oneself. But accepting death can have another meaning. It can mean living according to another principle, losing one's life, as in Mark 8:35-36, and thereby saving it. DH will develop this theme in 45-49:5, 55:43, 57:42, and 59:81.

10. The more faithfully you listen to the inner voice, the better you will be able to hear what is sounding around you. And only the one who hears can speak. Is this the way that leads to the union of the two dreams: in clarity to be able to mirror life -- in purity to be able to mold lives?

This waymark returns to themes of two previous waymarks, 25-30:9 and 41-42:6. DH here makes it explicit that there is a voice within to which one is to listen. Hearing this voice enables one to hear more generally and to speak. One of the dreams to which DH refers has already been touched upon in 25-30:9. "Clarity" and "purity" probably mean about the same thing. It is not clarity of mind that DH is thinking about, so much as clarity of character, like clear water which for that reason can serve as a mirror. The second dream, to be able to mold lives, has not been specifically referred to before. DH recognizes that the person who aspires to do this must himself/herself be pure. For other references to dreams, see 51:44, 55:20, 55:47, 55:55, 61:19; to mirror imagery, 25-30:9, 56:45, 57:1.

11. Openness to life grants a lightning-swift insight into the life situation of others. One requirement: to push from emotional discomfort to a clearly conceived intellectual formulation of the problem -- and to act accordingly.

II | If one is open to life (cf. 25-30:2, 53:7) one will again and again become aware of the problems of others and feel deeply about these problems (cf. 55:39). In order to help, however, one must think through these problems so that they are clearly understood and then act on the basis of that understanding.

12. It makes one's heart ache when one fully realizes how someone has staked his whole soul on some end, the hopeless imperfection and futility of which only he does not immediately recognize. But is this not merely a question of degree? Is not the pathetic grandeur of human life in part bound precisely to the eternal disproportion between the honesty of the striving and the nullity of the result -- in this world where self-delusion is necessary to life? That we all -- every one of us -- take ourselves seriously is not only ridiculous.

In DH's opinion "the honesty of the striving" is more important than the perfection of the result. Since so much of our striving, however, is motivated by anticipated results, it is almost essential that the nullity that so often occurs at this point should be hidden from us. In this sense self-delusion appears necessary to life. We must take ourselves with sufficient seriousness so that the honesty of our striving can be sustained.

13. He tends a garden the boundaries of which have, apart from his knowledge, been determined by his own ability. His feeling that he tends the garden well and his blindness to everything that lies beyond its boundaries make him a bit self-satisfied. But is this failing any greater than the easily aroused contempt for him which one who cannot deceive himself and therefore has chosen to fight outside the walls can be tempted to feel?

This waymark can be compared with 41-42:1. In both there is negative critique of others, but here DH goes on to criticize himself. It is wrong, he suggests, to feel contempt for a person whose failing is related to a limitation over which he has no control. What does DH mean by fighting outside the walls? Is he perhaps referring to the need to think not only in terms of Sweden, but also in terms of the larger world? Is he suggesting that there are some who, by reason of the limitations of their abilities, are incapable of responding to this challenge, or even recognizing its existence?

14. "... but do not have love." If the fulfillment of duty toward others is not an expression of our innermost will, then let it be: why torture ourselves -- in order to hurt others?

DH quotes and interprets the recurring theme of 1 Corinthians 13:1-2. Only if the requirement that what we do for others is an expression of a basic disposition of love is met is such behavior worthwhile. DH holds that apart from this disposition, not only do we torture ourselves, but we also hurt others. Certainly it is preferable that good deeds be linked to a loving motive. It can also be extremely difficult to do the right thing if one doesn't want to do it. (See the reference in 41-42:22 to "altruism as a thinly disguised masochism.") It does not follow, however, that others will necessarily be hurt if the good deeds they encounter from us are prompted by other than loving motives. Perhaps in the intimacy of the family there can be such hurt, but the larger social structures are designed precisely so that needed duties will be performed whatever be the innermost will of those who perform them.

15. Praise nauseates you -- but woe to that person who does not recognize your worth.

DH speaking in judgment upon himself describes two sides of his personality, one that finds praise nauseous, but another that insists that his worth be recognized. Or, no praise satisfies him, but he is also offended by its absence and can be hard on those who neglect to offer it (cf. 50:16).

16. The narrow way -- to live for others in order to save one's self. The broad way -- to live for others in order to save one's self-esteem.

There is a slight play on words in the Swedish text. The Swedish word for "soul" is *själ* and for "self" is *själv*. In the 1917 Swedish Bible that DH used, one finds the words *själ* and *själv* closely related in Matthew 16:24,26 (cf. Luke 9:25). Since "soul" and "self" are somewhat equivalent, I have used the latter word twice to convey the word play in the translation. The distinction between the narrow and broad ways is drawn from a saying of Jesus in Matthew 7:13-14. How does one save one's self (soul) in living for others? It must be out of love for them rather than concern about one's own self-esteem. See above, 41-42:14.

17. That it should be so, that misfortune should be considered the fault of those it strikes -- a fault which develops into full-blown crime if the unfortunate one does not silently accept his fate!

13 | This waymark relates to 41-42:2, where DH calls for identification with those who suffer misfortune. They are not to be simply “the others.” Here he attacks what he regards as a perverse kind of thinking. Those who suffer misfortune are regarded as to blame for their own sad lot. Furthermore, their blame increases to the stature of a full-blown crime if they do not quietly accept their fate. DH had some years earlier served as secretary of a government commission studying unemployment. He may have been distressed by the attitude of many, who regarded their own security as their own achievement and who opposed efforts on the part of the poor to better their situation.

18. You cannot play with the animal within you without becoming wholly animal, play with falsehood without forfeiting the right to the truth, play with cruelty without losing sensitivity of mind. He who would keep his garden clean does not reserve a plot for weeds.

DH discusses the meaning of purity to which reference has been made in 25-30:9 and 41-42:10. It is not possible to intend to retain just a little evil in one's life, for this will have a corrupting effect upon the whole. “The animal within you” and “weeds” appear to be equated. In several waymarks DH tends to view “the animal” and animals negatively, especially wolves. See 41-42:20, 41-42:22, 45-49:11, 50:6, 50:10, 57:45. A more positive evaluation of the human relationship to the animal world is found in 52:9. In 58:8 there is the suggestion that only at the level of the human are the adjectives good and evil in a moral sense appropriate. For another use of the imagery of a garden, see 41-42:13.

19. If you do not speak more ill of others than you do, it is not from any lack of will to do so. But you know that slander gives you elbowroom only if it is used in carefully measured doses.

In this waymark DH admits to a desire to speak ill of others. By calling the ill he is tempted to speak “slander,” he suggests that it is also unjust. But though the injustice of speaking ill of others does not restrain him, the utility of doing so does. If one satisfies the desire to speak ill of others too often, such speaking will prove counterproductive and lose its value. For another reference to slander, see 55:28.

20. You are your own god -- and are surprised that the wolfpack pursues you over the dark desolation of the wintry ice fields.

14 | One can make oneself into a god by recognizing nothing that transcends one's own self-interest, but the cost of worshipping oneself is an utter loneliness and the sense of being hunted in desolate spiritual wastes by others similar to oneself (cf. 41-42:22). God is for DH the basis for human fellowship and thus the god who is worshiped must be a god who can be shared.

21. "Hallowed be your name." Where your strength should be concentrated into a ray of light piercing the darkness, you let it be dissipated in a peat bog fire in which nothing is consumed but all life is smothered.

DH cites the first petition of the Lord's Prayer (Matt. 6:9). Though he has just criticized himself for making himself his own god, in this waymark he affirms what he feels his faith ought to be. God's name is hallowed by lighting a light and focusing it in the darkness. Other waymarks in which the imagery of light and fire appear are 50:27, 57:16, 57:16, 57:28, 58:10, and 61:7.

22. When it becomes silent around you and you stop in terror: you see that your work has become a flight away from suffering and responsibility, your altruism a thinly disguised masochism; you recognize within you the steppe wolf's malicious, cruel heartbeat -- then do not desensitize yourself by returning again to the chase. But hold fast the vision until you have plumbed its depths.

This waymark relates to 41-42:20 and reveals how strict DH could be in his judgment of himself. He even interprets his attempts to do good deeds as a form of masochism (cf. 41-42:14). No effort must be made to escape this harsh vision. He must gaze at it until he has seen it to the very bottom. A more positive vision is described in 52:14.

23. God is a comfortable formula on the bookshelf of life -- always at hand, but seldom used. In the cleanwashed peace of the hours of birth he is a jubilation and a fresh wind -- whose nearness the memory is unable to retain. But when we are compelled to look ourselves in the face -- then he rises above us in awful reality, beyond the parameters of all discussion and "feeling," stronger than all protective forgetfulness.

15 | There are three images of God in this waymark. The first is the comfortable, taken-for-granted concept of God, always at hand, but seldom used. In the second, God in moments of high experience is near and a source of joy, but this felt nearness cannot be retained. The third is God encountered as a condemning judge. This occurs when we must face ourselves, as in the previous waymark. When God is so experienced neither arguments, nor feelings of salvation we may previously have had, nor efforts to forget at all avail.

24. The way to insight does not pass through faith. First through the insight we gain by pursuing the fleeting light in the depth of our being do we reach the point where we can grasp what faith is. How many have not been driven out into the darkness by empty talk about faith as holding something to be true.

DH distinguishes between insight, faith, and “holding something to be true.” He strongly opposes identifying faith with the latter. Insight, on the other hand, must precede faith and appears to have to do with “pursuing the fleeting light in the depth of our being.” A more detailed account of DH’s understanding of faith is to be found in 54:7, 55:15, 56:63, and 58:7.

25. Our innermost creating will intuit its counterpart in others, experiences its own universality -- and thus opens the way to knowledge of the power of which it itself is a spark within us.

Here DH may be saying more about what in the previous waymark he calls “the fleeting light” within us. If it can be identified with “our innermost creating will,” it is shared with others and thus has universality (cf. 56:14). Through it we gain knowledge of the power of which this creating will is a spark. The next step is to have faith in that power, not in ourselves.

1945-1949 Towards new shores --

Two years have passed (1943-1944) for which there are no waymarks, the concluding years of World War II. DH is undersecretary in the Ministry of Finance and chairman of the board of the Bank of Sweden. He leaves the Ministry of Finance in 1947, moving to the Foreign Ministry. In 1948 he leaves the Bank of Sweden. In that year he becomes the Swedish delegate to the Organization for European Economic Cooperation charged with the implementation of the Marshall Plan. He serves as vice-chairman of the OEEC's executive committee, spending much of his time in Paris while carrying out this assignment, returning to Sweden on weekends to visit his father. While DH was leading the Swedish delegation to the Organization for European Economic Cooperation, he was also being given larger responsibilities in the Swedish Foreign Ministry. After having been special advisor for financial affairs he became on April 22, 1949, the ministry's Secretary-General.

During the four-year period these waymarks represent DH is 40-44 years of age. He moves in 1945 to his own apartment, for the first time in his life living apart from his parents, since he had continued living with his father for five years after the death of his mother in 1940. In editing his journal DH has inserted the heading "Towards new shores --?" to identify these years. He may be referring to the many changes that occurred in his life and the new opportunities they presented.

Dashes are significant punctuation marks for DH. He often divides sentences this way. Dashes provide occasions to pause and reflect and as the thought continues it often takes a slightly different direction. Or what follows may be dialectically related to what came before, stating an opposing, contrasting idea. Another possibility is that the dash is inserted to emphasize what follows it. In the heading "Toward new shores --?" DH suggests that he is moving towards new shores, but he also inserts a question mark after the dash. Will that really be the case, or to which new shores is he headed?

This group of waymarks differs from all of the others by reason of their length. They also have a common theme which has to do with what one does with one's life. One must find and properly use the talent with which one has been entrusted (45-49:1). There are moments when one can recognize those persons who have succeeded in living good lives (45-49:2). Those who have administrative responsibilities must at times signal the failure of those under

17 | their direction (45-49:3, 10). Some persons will react to their failures by suicide (45-49:4, 6, 7). Very few have dared to find through self-surrender the richness that life can bring (45-49:5). The failure of one generation can be passed on to the next (45-49:8). One must struggle to overcome childishness and weariness if one is to live responsibly (45-49:9, 12). DH finally thinks of two models, the gull, a well-fed bird of carrion, comfortably at home among us all (45-49:11), and Jesus, who is willing as he accepts his calling also to accept condemnation as its fruit and presupposition (45-49:13). Perhaps in these waymarks we have some indication of the new shores to which DH alludes.

1. In every moment you choose your self. But do you choose -- your self? The body and the soul have a thousand possibilities from which you can build many selves. But only one of these gives congruence between the chooser and what is chosen. Only one -- which you find only if you choose to exclude all the chances to be something else which you in curiosity, lured by wonder and desire, toy with, too shallow and too fleeting to preserve anchorage in the experience of life's deep mystery and the consciousness of the entrusted talent which is "I."

DH emphasizes that whereas a thousand possibilities lie before the individual as he/she chooses, only one set of choices enables one to choose one's true self. Thus choosing means excluding possibilities that would prove too shallow and too fleeting. One must seek life's deep mystery and preserve one's anchorage there. One must become aware of the entrusted talent which defines one's self.

The reference to the entrusted talent is an allusion to one of Jesus' parables (Matt. 25:14-30). In this parable a master entrusts his servants with various amounts of money, each sum adapted to the servant's ability, to be used while the master is away on a long journey. When he returns the servants must give an account of how they used what was entrusted to them. All who have used their talents and thus gained more talents are rewarded, but the servant who has done nothing with his talent is punished. "Talent" thus has come to mean the gifts and endowments which each of us has. It is important that we should know what our abilities are and use them well.

What DH does not discuss in this waymark is what a person can do who is conscious of having made many wrong choices. Is there any way of

18 | developing one's self if one has gotten off to a bad start in life? Some choices are irreversible. It may not be possible to go back and find the course that one should have taken. There is no suggestion in this waymark that one can begin where one is and build a new life, in this way also finding one's true self, even if there have been many bad choices in one's past life. That such a possibility exists is what the Christian gospel of repentance and forgiveness proclaims. DH has not yet expressed awareness of this aspect of the Christian message. For later waymarks dealing with the theme of forgiveness, see 56:6, 57:6, 57:9, 57:30, 60:1.

2. Wet dark wool. Waiting averting glances. Tired mouths. It is late --

The work proceeds with business-like indifference. At the polished black marble tombstone of the counter many are still waiting.

The sexless light from white fixtures is reflected in glass and enamel. Outside there is darkness. The door slams -- and a draft of raw dampness cuts against the dryness of the chemical-saturated air.

"Life, you embracing rich, warm, blessed word --"

Then he looks up from behind the scales on one of the high desks: wise and friendly, absent in his concentration. Deep wrinkles in a gray skin witness to experience's gentle irony and a long life within four walls.

Here and now --. Only this is real:

An old man's good face,
Naked for an unguarded moment
Without past and without future.

DH is describing an experience in a pharmacy. It is late in the day and apparently raining outside. Many are standing at the counter waiting for their prescriptions. DH cites a line from a poem, "Jairi dotter" (Jairus' Daughter), by Verner von Heidenstam (1859-1940) [*Samlade verk*, vol. 6, *Dikter*, Stockholm: Bonniers, 1944, p. 168]. A wandering begging Bacchus priest is encouraging the daughter of Jairus (Mark 5:22-43), unhappy about having been called back from paradise, to return to life again. DH has altered the line somewhat. The priest says, "Live! Embracing rich, warm, blessed word!" As DH cites the line it has become an apostrophe to life. There is, however, nothing in the preceding

19 | description of the scene in the pharmacy that suggests such an affirmation of life. Yet what follows does support the citation. DH sees for a moment the pharmacist, lost in thought, and he rejoices in the old man's good face. The line from the poem, given the goodness that DH has seen, embraces also the whole of the pharmacy that late afternoon, with its wet dark wool garments, tired waiting customers, clerks doing their job, a tomb-like counter, and all the traces of past prescriptions mingled in the air. Another possible interpretation is that since DH can think of life as embracing in a rich and warm way the scene in the pharmacy, he is able to see the significance of the unguarded moment as the old pharmacist looks up.

3. She knew that nothing would improve, that it would never be otherwise. He no longer did anything, had lost interest in his work. He said it was because they wouldn't give him a free hand. And now she sat here and begged for his freedom, begged because she wanted to believe that he was unreasonably bound and really would become a man again if only he received his freedom. Wanted to believe, in order to be able to preserve her faith in him. She knew the answer, but still had to force herself to hear it: he was as free as anyone can be in a modern society's economic labyrinths, and each external change would only give him new disappointments, only lead to a recurrence, when he discovered that all was as before.

Yes, yes --. And she knew more: that there was not and could not be any way out. Because behind his talk about freedom was hidden a child's wish to overcome death, an indifference for any work the result of which should not be his even long after his death. -- And yet she sat here and begged.

Here is another negative estimate of a person (cf. 41-42:1), perhaps a subordinate who was under DH's supervision. The man's wife has come to plead her husband's case. The man has lost interest in his work and no longer does anything, because, he says, he has not been given a free hand. His wife is begging that he be given the freedom he wants, so that he might become a man again. Yet, DH says, she really knows that this will not help. Her husband is as free as anyone can be in our modern society. His problem is that he is unwilling

20 | to accept the kind of world this is, where one must be willing to lose oneself (in this sense die, cf. 41-42:9) in an enterprise larger than oneself, where one's own contribution becomes a part of a larger whole, where no individual will be remembered for what he/she accomplished. The wife knows her husband's faults and yet she begs, for she wants to believe in her husband. This DH understands.

4. Before what had happened was clear to us he was already far out. We could do nothing. We saw only how the undertow was faster and faster drawing him away from land. We saw his fruitless, tiring efforts once again to touch bottom.

It was only instinct that drove him to defend himself. In his consciousness he isolated himself from reality. When, however, momentary glimpses of his actual situation forced themselves upon him, he told himself that we others were in a worse condition. And when we nonetheless took it all so calmly --! He would certainly still be firmly clinging to that thought when he was pulled down in the final gurgling whirlpool.

It had always been that way. Childishly dependent on admiring affection, he had presupposed uncritical friendship even among the indifferent and hostile. He had acted on this basis -- though often with an instinctive yielding to the interests of others, at the same time also out of fear of collision with reality, which could tear apart his web of illusion, and in an unreflective striving to develop the friendship that perhaps did not exist. When words he had spoken were quoted against him, he in good faith denied having said them. And when this denial was called by its right name, he interpreted this as a symptom of the critic's mental imbalance; in time psychosis became a more and more common word in his mouth.

What was it that we felt, when for the first time we realized that he had gone too far out ever to be able to regain foothold?

This is the first of a series of waymarks in this section that deal with death. In this waymark a man is drowning. It may be accidental but it is more

21 | likely a case of suicide. Apparently several are observing him but notice his predicament when it is too late to rescue him. DH knows the victim and sees in the manner of his death an illustration of the pattern of the man's life. DH reflects, "What was it we felt, when for the first time we realized that he had gone too far out . . . ?" This had first happened in his tangled personal relationships. Finally it happened, probably by the man's own choice, in the watery current that drew him to his death.

A theme to which DH will return is the thought that the strong have responsibility for the weak. When a person makes shipwreck of his life by his wrongful behavior, others are also to blame. It is not easy to say, however, what ought to have been done in such cases.

5. What is one to do on a bleak fall day but stroll for a while through the streets -- drifting with the stream?

Slow, with the weight of an inanimate object, with stoppages and listless lazy gyrations where currents meet. Slow -- and gray. The November day has reached that hour when the light has retired beyond the low, frozen cloud cover, but twilight has not yet brought reconciliation.

Slow and gray --. He searches every face. But the people who aimlessly flow through the gray ditches of the streets are all like himself: atoms in whom the radioactivity is extinguished and the energy has bound its eternal circuit around nothing.

"... to be enabled to disappear in light and become song" (Erik Blomberg). To let go of the image which before the world bears a name, built up in the consciousness, through social ambition and under the restraints of the forming will. To let go in order to fall, fall -- in the trust of blind devotion. To something else, to someone else --.

To dare --

He searches every face, but sees in the niggardly light only endless variations on the theme of his own niggardliness. So Dante might have imagined the

punishment for those who never dared. -- Into the fulfilling death of self-surrender each one goes alone. And on this side of it one will never find the way to anyone who has gone through it.

The setting for this waymark is a November afternoon very likely in Stockholm. There is a saying that in Sweden October, November, and December are gray. There is very little sunshine, which does affect the mood of the people. DH compares himself and the people he meets to inanimate objects slowly drifting on a stream through the gray ditches of the streets. He thinks of a line from a poem by Erik Blomberg (1894-1965) which suggests that human life can become light and song. But this, DH is convinced, requires self-surrender, a willingness to give up the self-image and the name that one has tried so hard to build up over the years (in this waymark "social ambition" is in English). One gives it up through falling in blind devotion to something else, to someone else, the latter expression suggesting a personal God (cf. 61:5).

This, however, requires daring. DH sees very little of this daring in the faces of those he encounters. Their self-centered narrowness is very similar to his own. They are almost in his imagination walking dead persons, already suffering the punishment that Dante might have prescribed for those who had never dared, Nor is it likely that anything they encounter as they drift along through life will help them, for each must go alone into the fulfilling death of self-surrender. DH seems to be implying that one will never understand what this self-surrender means until one has experienced it oneself. Even if one should meet a person who had dared in this way, unless one had oneself also so dared one would fail to recognize this quality in the person one was meeting. This waymark casts light upon 41-42:9. The death that DH insists one must accept is not suicide. It is daring to lose one's life in the service of others. This is what DH feels called to do but which he finds it so hard to will to do.

6. It was no doubt a bit early for snake's head fritillaries. But the May sky stood high over the plain. The warbling of larks and light were bound together in a cool ecstasy. And the river's clay brown water was still flowing with the spring thaw's rapid freshness.

Out in the stream a dark bundle turns slowly. A glimpse of a face, a whimper, a willed movement that again presses the face under the surface.

No cloud obscured the sun. The song of the lark was not silenced. But the water is suddenly dirty and cold -- the thought of being pulled to the bottom by the heavy body which out there is fighting for its death gives rise to a raw nausea. And this nausea paralyzes, more than the feeling of fear. Cowardly? The word must still be said.

She went to the end of the esplanade and then waded out in the mud until it was deep enough and the current pulled her along. But she did not sink. The water pushed her back. With open mouth she pressed her head again and again, ever wearier, under the surface. It must not fail again this time. She heard cries from the shore. If they should --

During efforts at resuscitation they have uncovered the upper part of her body. There she lies stretched out on the river bank -- beyond all human nakedness, in the inaccessible loneliness of death. The pale, firm breasts are lifted in the white light, a heroic torso of blonde marble stone in the tender grass.

DH describes a suicide by self-chosen drowning that he himself witnesses. It is May, one of the most beautiful times of the year in Sweden. As DH views the scene of a woman struggling to drown, the day loses its beauty for him. He thinks of diving into the river to rescue her, but has mingled feelings of disgust (for what she is trying to do in the dirty, cold water) and fear. Is he a coward? He grants that at least that possibility must be mentioned. Others apparently also notice what is happening and manage to bring the woman to shore, but are too late in their efforts at artificial respiration. The waymark ends on an aesthetic note. DH is impressed with the woman's beauty in death.

The waymark raises a number of questions. To what extent are we obligated to risk our own lives to save those who are seeking to end theirs. Are there different kinds of courage? Are we required, in order to avoid the charge of cowardice, to be able to display all of them. Does a person have the right to die if that person chooses to end her/his own life? Is that right the same whatever one's age? Can a person become so defeated in life that no return to an acceptable quality of life is any longer possible?

7. When the shot was fired, he fell on his side in the gravel under the maples.

The air stands still in the late July day's rainy gloom, which is increased in the heavy leafy shadow. The head lies in profile, with features finely chiseled, but still immature -- pale against the gray sand, with a little sore in the temple. Only the dark blood which slowly flows out of the nose has color in this dead light.

Why --? Over the growing pool of blood no questions can reach into the land you have sought. And no words can any longer call you back. -- This eternal "beyond" -- that can separate us from those chosen by death long before the bullet hits the temple.

In yet another suicide, a young man takes his life. It is late in July, the vacation month in Sweden, toward evening, under some maple trees. One wonders how DH happened to be there. He asks why this happened and expects no answer, for no communication is possible with one who has entered the eternal beyond. His reference to a suicide victim being "chosen by death" long before the death actually occurs seems to imply that death has a power over some people. DH may be saying that if one would save a suicide victim one must begin long before that person's situation has become so desperate that death begins to choose him.

8. It must have been late in September. Or perhaps the situation in my memory has itself created the atmosphere which fits its nature.

"We sisters and brothers were so happy at home. I remember the Christmases when we all gathered. Who could then believe that life would become so tattered --?"

I remember the words and the silenced voice, when -- thirty years later -- her daughter writes the same epitaph over her childhood and her life.

Each of the last four waymarks has indicated the time of the year. We have passed from gray November to sunny May to late July, and now to late September. DH isn't sure it was just then, or if late September simply was suggested by his memory as the appropriate atmosphere for what he recalls. Someone has told him of a happy childhood, especially at Christmas when

25 | everyone gathered together. But life later became so tattered, so ragged and torn. This DH says he remembers having heard 30 years earlier. Now the daughter of the unfortunate woman (very likely deceased) says much the same about what has happened in her life. The waymark seems to suggest that such failure, such a tearing apart of what at the outset appears so promising, can be passed on from one generation to another.

This waymark poses problems. Even if it were written in 1949, DH would have been at most 14 years old when the first conversation he remembers took place. The 30 years are almost necessary, however, if the daughter is to tell the same story. It does seem strange that DH should have had such memories from his early teens. He may, however, have been the kind of young lad who could receive such confidences and also remember them. Another problem concerns the repetition of the same experience in two successive generations. How could the daughter have had a happy childhood if her mother's life had become so tattered and torn? Perhaps, though, children can be shielded from such sadness.

9. In the last curve down toward the valley he lost control of the car. When it plunged out over the edge of the road his only thought was: So then I have done my bit --
His only, tired, happy thought.

It was not to be so: he was to continue his life. But not this journey. When the world again took shape around him he found it hard to keep back the tears -- of self-pity and disappointment that his vacation plans had been shattered.

The one reaction was no less genuine than the other. We can be ready to turn our backs on life, but still complain like children if it does not fulfill our wishes.

It is not clear as to whether DH himself experienced this automobile accident, or whether someone else described it for him. We have no other information about any such accident in which DH was ever involved. The driver, as the accident is occurring, thinks it may prove fatal and reflects with mingled weariness and happiness that his life's work is now over. When he finds that he is going to live, he feels sorry for himself because his vacation plans are ruined.

26 | DH compares the two reactions, an almost grateful readiness to have one's life end; complaint, when life does not end, that one's immediate wishes have been frustrated. He regards the latter reaction as childish. Those who are ready to die should have attained greater maturity than this.

10. He was impossible. Not in the sense that he didn't do his work: on the contrary he devoted endless pains to the tasks one gave him. But his manner brought him into conflict with everyone and began at last to harm the whole enterprise.

When the crisis came and everything had to be brought to light he blamed the rest of us. In him there was nothing, absolutely nothing to criticize. Clearly his self-respect was so strongly bound to the thought that he was without fault, that one felt it repugnant to demonstrate step by step contradictions in his defense, piece by piece to uncloth him before his own eyes. But justice to others required it.

When the last rag of deceit was taken from him and we knew that there was nothing more to say, out it came with convulsive sobs:

"But why have you never helped me, why did you not correct me --? I have had the feeling that you were against me. And the fear and the uncertainty has driven me farther and farther in the direction that you now condemn. It has been so hard, everything. One day, I remember, I was so happy: one of you had said that something I had accomplished was very good --"

So in the final analysis the fault was still ours. We had kept silent with our criticism -- but let it hinder us from giving him the slightest recognition, and in this way barred all the roads to recovery.

So it is always the stronger one's fault. We lack life's patience. We seek instinctively to eliminate a person from our sphere of responsibility, as soon as the outcome of this experiment of life appears in our eyes to be a failure. But life continues its experiments far beyond the boundaries of our valuations. For this reason also life at times appears to be so much more difficult than death.

27 | This painful waymark presupposes a situation in an office where it is finally necessary to call one of the workers to account. The problem is not that he doesn't work hard enough, but his way of doing his work creates conflict and has produced a crisis which makes this confrontation necessary. The man defends himself but his defenses are finally broken down. In tears he reproaches the others for not having helped him and laments the isolation he has felt for so long.

DH reflects that in the final analysis it is the strong who are to blame (cf. 45-49:4). When one withholds criticism, that may also lead one to withhold encouragement and in this way to bar the way to improvement. There is a tendency to try to eliminate from our sphere of responsibility those whom we consider to be failures. But such people go on living and we must find ways to relate creatively and redemptively with them. This makes it even for the strong at times more difficult to live than to die.

- II. It stands alone in the fog on the moist black stone embankment along the water, fat and heavy in the rump, with feathers padding the rounded curves of the body and the reptilian musculature of the arched neck. Shameless amber eyes without the expression for anything else than naked voracity. A yellow powerful bill made for prey, but without predator's spare, fierce elegance.

I have seen them float with the current fighting over rotting food remnants. Seen them sweep down to investigate the condoms which after the holidays have drifted round in the backwaters by the wharves. I recall them heavily swaying on the clayey plowed furrows on raw autumn days -- clumsy worm pickers on the broad earth slices, whose cut wet sides were shiny, oily, slippery.

How far away it is:

Shrill gull cries tear apart the last of the night darkness's skin-soft, thin film of stillness --. Cries interwoven with swift, white play over the swell, with the saltness and the awakening breeze.

The rest had been light -- like an animal's in freedom. And in sleep the senses had stretched themselves toward the new day.

Not until I am very close does it move with an indolent flap of the wings a few meters to the side -- a well-fed bird of carrion, who feels comfortably at home among us all.

This is a waymark about the seagulls DH sees as he walks to work along an embankment in the Stockholm harbor. DH has mixed feelings about the gulls. They represent a shameless appetite. They live on rotting food, worms picked in the fields, and carrion. Yet their shrieks in the early morning mark for the light sleeper the beginning of a new day, with all that it may promise. DH notes how the gulls are not afraid of him, moving just a few meters to get out of his way. These birds of carrion have learned to live well with the people of Stockholm. DH implies that perhaps the people among whom the gulls live share some of their characteristics.

12. Silent -- as when a long bitterness has been broken by tears. Bare ground. The wide water's moist glitter in the soft light --

Around me the soft walls of the mist and the low cloud cover with the mauve shimmer from the setting winter sun.

In the water's mirror world, between pale olive against pewter, the bare branches of the alder are slowly swaying in the slow wind of the imperceptible waves.

And later:

Around the single flame a womb of warm light in the soft darkness. The hyacinth's white cloud above the mirror's deep well of darkness. Glimpses of stems in the whispering forest of books.

Not for us, perhaps never for us:

The silence is always broken by the ringing telephone calling us to a conversation from which we fled, but from which we shall not escape. When quiet returns memory whispers promises of the peace of conscience a shared burden brings.

No rest which is not everyone's, no stillness until all has been accomplished.

29 | In this impressionistic waymark DH tells of enjoying the out-of-doors on a late winter afternoon as the sun is setting. He describes the water, the mist, the setting sun, and the way the trees are reflected in the water's gently rippled surface. Later he is in his room. One flame creates a warm circle of light. White hyacinths are reflected in the mirror surface of the table. Books in the bookcase look almost like tree trunks. Just as forests are thought to whisper as the wind blows lightly through them, so the books give promise of conversation. But the silence is broken by the ringing telephone. DH is unable to escape from the duties to which it calls him. He concludes that there is to be no rest until all will be able to rest, no silence until all that should be done is finished. It is possible that the last words, "all has been accomplished," are intended to suggest the last words of Jesus on the cross, according to John 19:30. If so, DH may be saying that there will be no rest until life is ended. It would seem, however, that there should be some rest stops, some periods of relative relaxation along the way (see, however, 61:12).

13. Provide for one's own comfort -- and be rewarded with glimpses of satisfaction followed by long, exhausting, ashamed emptiness.

Struggle for one's own position -- weakly defended against the self-revealing disgust behind the talk about the necessary preconditions for an achievement.

Give oneself to the task -- but at the same time in doubt about the task's value and therefore constantly waiting for recognition: perhaps slowly en route to gratitude for not being criticized, but far, far from being ready to accept criticism.

You asked for burdens to carry --. And complained when they were laid upon you. Was it another burden you had been thinking of? Did you believe in the sacrifice's anonymity? The sacrificial act's sacrifice is to be regarded as its opposite.

O Caesarea Philippi: to accept condemnation as the fruit and the presupposition of the endeavor, to accept it when the endeavor is conceived and chosen.

DH criticizes himself, confessing a divided self, that seeks comfort but is ashamed of these efforts, that struggles for positions of advantage but rejects

30 | the rationalizations given for these efforts, that works hard but isn't sure that the work is worth doing, therefore wants reassurance from others and is overly sensitive to criticism. He has asked for burdens but complained about carrying those he received. He is beginning to see that sacrifice will be recognized, but then also criticized and condemned. Accepting this condemnation is itself a part of the sacrifice (Aulén, p. 52). DH thinks of Jesus at Caesarea Philippi (Mark 8:27-35), where in response to the confession of the disciples that he is the Christ he predicts his passion. This, DH says, is to accept what one feels oneself called to be and to do, fully recognizing at the time the choice is made that it involves one's own condemnation. It is in sharp contrast to such behavior that DH views his own.

What did Jesus anticipate when he faced the cross? Since the passion predictions in the gospels received their present form in the post-resurrection period, many of them include references also to anticipated resurrection. DH does not think Jesus anticipated his resurrection, whatever that term should be understood to mean. Jesus thus is not certain that going the way of the cross will have any successful outcome (see 51:29, 57:13). This is why his decision to go to Jerusalem is, according to DH, even more remarkable.

1950 Soon night approaches

In 1950 DH is 45 years old. He has returned to Stockholm after the termination of his duties as head of the Swedish delegation to the Organization for European Economic Cooperation in Paris. He is appointed to the Swedish Cabinet as a Minister without Portfolio, while he is Secretary-General in the Foreign Ministry. He is at the top of his career as a Swedish civil servant. Henry Pitney Van Dusen says that while he was at the pinnacle of civic office in Sweden, as far as his inner life was concerned, the next three years were years of darkest night, for he passed through a period of extreme dejection (Van Dusen, 68). These years “witnessed the depths of his inner despondency verging on despair ... He experienced the most acute phase of self-questioning and self-accusation, of solitariness and dejection, a long twilight and black midnight ... which continued until a wholly unforeseen and unexpected burst of dawn shortly before sudden elevation to climactic responsibilities at the United Nations transported him to a new world and a new life” (*Ibid.*, 68). This interpretation of the waymarks written during the next three years relates to some extent to Van Dusen’s opinion that DH experienced a kind of conversion and that this religious transformation was preceded by a period of despondency and depression. We shall have to examine the waymarks during this period to see whether this is a correct interpretation of them.

It is important to understand what is meant by the heading “Soon Night Approaches.” Except for headings for four collections of haiku poems, this is the last time such a heading appears together with the year to introduce a new group of waymarks. DH does repeat the words, “Soon night approaches,” however, in connection with his New Year’s entry six times during the next eight years. He is quoting a line from a Swedish hymn by Franz Mikael Franzén (1772-1847) which his mother used to read aloud each New Year’s Eve (*Den svenska psalmboken 1937* [Stockholm: Verbum, 1972], # 119). It is not a New Year’s hymn, but a hymn for the Sundays after Easter. It tells of the risen Jesus as the good shepherd, who guides his sheep and feeds them. There is a prayer not to be led astray from this leader and then the last stanza reads:

How empty all the world can give,
How brief the joys it offers!
Soon night approaches, when each one
Of us will make departure.
What, then, is all happiness here

Compared with the promise: "Where I am,
There you shall be also."

DH makes three words from this last stanza of the hymn, "Soon night approaches," a heading for almost all that is to follow in *Waymarks*.

1. " - - and then, what is all happiness here compared with the promise: 'Where I am, there you shall be also.'"

The first waymark quotes three lines from the hymn stanza cited above, which closes with words from John 14:3, one of the most important of the New Testament expressions of the Christian hope. We must assume that in citing these words from the hymn DH was thinking of the whole hymn, though this does not necessarily mean that he understood the hymn in quite the same way as his mother understood it. Perhaps he was at this point chiefly interested in the contrast between a life given over to the pursuit of pleasure and a life devoted to the discipline called for in Christian discipleship.

2. In a whirling fire of annihilation,
In the complete destruction
Of the icy sacrificial act
You welcome death.
But when it slowly grows within you,
Day by day,
You suffer anguish,
Anguish under the silent judgment
which goes forth over your life,
While leaves fall in the fool's paradise.

DH contrasts his feelings about sudden death and the complete destruction it represents, as compared with the daily dying that growing older represents. "The silent judgment" may not be so much the fact that death is approaching, as the fact that one's life is constantly being judged, though those who live in "the fool's paradise" may not realize that this is the case. In the Swedish text the words "the fool's paradise" are in English. When DH uses as images of complete destruction not only fiery annihilation but also "the icy sacrificial act," one wonders whether he may in the latter reference have been thinking of Ibsen's *Brand*. The waymark for Maundy Thursday, 1961 (61:4), is a significant citation from *Brand*.

3. The chooser's happiness in congruence with the chosen,
The iron filing's peace in the magnetic field's energy line --
The security of the consciousness's reposing
harmony
When emptied of all content --
This happiness is here and now,
In the eternal cosmic moment.
A happiness in you -- but not yours.

This waymark indicates that despite DH's intensive self-criticism, despite the loneliness he at times felt, he also experienced happiness and security. This happiness belonged to the present, to an eternal cosmic moment. It was in him, though not his possession. Thus it was not a happiness at his command, at his beck and call. But it was possible to seek for it and even find it. Cf. 54:4, 56:21, 57:52.

4. The anguish of loneliness brings drafts from the storm
center of the anguish of death. Only that exists, which is
another's, for only what you have given -- if only through
being receptive -- is lifted out of the nothing which shall
some day have been your life.

Van Dusen points out that during the three-year period, 1950-52, there are many waymarks that deal with loneliness (Van Dusen, 73-74). Despite the many friends DH had, he did lead a solitary life. He was unmarried, now living in his own apartment. His father was 88 years of age. The prospect of what could be a long, lonely old age lay before him. Did he suffer greatly from loneliness? He probably did, and yet each waymark that refers to loneliness must be interpreted in terms of what that waymark actually says. Aulén in discussing the meaning of loneliness in *Waymarks* writes: "It is definitely not sufficient to take into account only human relationships. In fact, loneliness has far deeper roots. It can be described as a cosmic loneliness, or, still more to the point, as a loneliness in respect to existence as a whole" (Aulén, E 20; Sw, 34). Aulén then goes on to refer to this waymark as an illustration of such a sense of cosmic loneliness. This would mean that DH is not here referring to his own yearning for human companionship, but to the human situation as such. Loneliness anticipates the ultimate loneliness of death. DH goes on to tell how one can face the loneliness of death by having made one's life a part of the lives of others through what one has given, if only by being receptive. It is the

34 | interrelationship with others so achieved that endures, that is lifted out of the nothing that in other respects our lives some day will be. For other waymarks on loneliness, see 51:32, 52:16, 52:18, 52:24, 58:9.

5. With the paravanes of bluff friendliness always extended, he thought that, despite his unskillful navigation, he could escape the danger of mines.

A paravane is a torpedo-shaped underwater protective device with sawlike teeth on its forward end, for use by vessels to sever the moorings of mines. DH likens life to living in mined waters. He describes a person who is attempting to use an artless friendliness as a means of disarming situations of possible danger to him, despite his lack of skill in navigating in social contexts.

6. The pet dog disguised himself as a lamb, but tried to hunt with the wolves.

A domestic pet dog would be more dangerous than a lamb, but not as dangerous as a wolf. DH is describing a person who is trying to appear less of a threat than he actually is, but also trying to play the game with those who are more fierce and ruthless than he. For other references to wolves, see 41-42:20, 22.

7. Indifference, ignorance, consciousness of an audience (if only your reflected image in yourself) -- for such reasons I have seen you take a risk or assume a responsibility.

DH lists poor reasons for doing good things. He would perhaps grant, however, that it is good that we are driven in this way to do what we ought to do. In 41-42:14 he does, on the other hand, say that when the proper disposition of love is lacking, one can hurt others in one's effort to do good to them.

8. A blown egg floats well and follows easily every gust of wind -- sufficiently light for this, since it has become only a shell, without germ and without nutriment for growth. "A good mixer!"

Without reserve and reticence, eager to please -- with a speech without form and words without weight. Only shells --.

35 | DH is criticizing a person whom he regards as utterly superficial. He is very distrustful of those who have mastered the skills of getting along in social situations but have little substance in their personalities. He is concerned about the abuse of language that takes place under such circumstances. Words, like the persons who speak them, can be "mere shells." Aulén interprets this waymark as an example of DH's criticism of himself (Aulén, E 17; Sw 30), but this is unlikely. DH did criticize himself rather harshly, but he also criticized others. The person described in this waymark is quite foreign to DH's temperament.

9. -- one of those who has had the wilderness for a pillow
and called a star his brother. Alone. But solitude can be a
communion.

DH may here be speaking about himself. Solitude or loneliness can be described in positive terms, for there can be communion with nature, as well as with oneself. Cf. 51:46, 51:50, 55:38.

10. A blood pulsing together with sap and rivers, a body with
the earth's rhythm in its movements --. Instead: a mind
shut off from the oxygen of the open senses, exhausted
by "plans and stratagems" -- of importance only within
four walls. A tame animal -- in whom the race empties its
energy, to no purpose.

Life in tune with nature is contrasted with life in the cities "within four walls," wholly occupied with "plans and stratagems." DH suggests that the evolutionary development of the human race is being adversely affected by the urban life style. Despite the "stratagems," the people planning them are "tame animals" and no useful purpose is being served by the energy the human race expends in them.

11. The overtones are lost and what is left are conversations
which, in their poverty, cannot hide the lack of fellowship.
We drift apart from each other. But why, why --?
We reach out towards the other. In vain -- because we
never dared to give ourselves.

Conversation, according to DH, should establish real contact between two persons. When it fails to do this, this can be because the persons in question have lacked the courage to give themselves to each other.

12. Posture as a requirement for health -- something different, something wholly different from the hard carapace within which we seek shelter in our imposturing.

A carapace is a hard protective outer covering. The word can be used metaphorically to refer to an attitude or state of mind (such as indifference) serving to protect or isolate from external influence. In this waymark there is a play on the word "posture" (Sw. *hållning*) and DH contrasts the inner and the outer. An erect posture is required for health, but this must not to be confused with the hard outer shell with which we attempt to hide our inner lack of character (our imposturing). According to Auden, the thought in this waymark is borrowed from Wilhelm Ekelund (*Markings*, 40; cf. 41-42:12).

13. A modest wish: that our doings should have a somewhat greater significance for life than a man's dinner jacket has for his digestion. And yet a good deal of what we describe as our achievement is surely only a garment with which we seek on festive occasions to hide our nakedness.

The imagery has to do with dressing formally for dinner, though formal dress has little to do with the digestive process. DH is distinguishing between what is real and what is superficial and looking with a sharply critical eye on what are regarded as achievements. He wants his achievements to be significant, the measure being the extent to which they have been contributions to the lives of others. Cf. 50:4, 50:27.

14. You find it hard to forgive those who early in life gained the advantages of maturity. Apart from all else: why do you not put in the balance the long spring an extended period of youth has given you?

A distinction must be made between actual maturity and the advantages that go with maturity. DH prizes maturity greatly and is very critical of behavior that he regards as childish (cf. 45-49:3, 45-49:4, 45-49:9, 50:45, 50:48, 52:22). It does not necessarily follow that those who early in life enjoy the advantages that go with maturity have therefore themselves actually attained maturity. They may simply appear mature. It would seem, of course, that marrying and having one's own home would certainly contribute to maturity. DH lived for a very long time with his parents. He also retained a youthful appearance. In this waymark he calls attention to the advantages that can attend "the long spring" of an extended youth.

15. After having breathed an atmosphere filled with the products of his spiritual combustion, one recalls that it is only in the lee of the wind from a sulfur works that a sparse vegetation is able to survive. -- One asks oneself: When did this happen -- and for how many generations will the effects be traceable?

Using the imagery of a sulfur works, DH reflects on the negative influence a person can exert, very likely through language ("products of . . . spiritual combustion"), language that apparently many have heard. Only by being sheltered from this influence is the survival of wholesome discourse possible. DH even reflects about how many generations it will take until this influence is overcome. For a strong statement on the proper use of language, see 55:37.

16. Your low esteem for your fellow human beings does not in any case prevent you, with your own self-esteem intact, from seeking their esteem.

This waymark suggests that if one really has a low opinion of others, one should not care very much about their opinion of oneself. Or, if one did care about their opinions, this should tend to lower one's opinion of oneself. DH wryly observes that these rules do not apply to him. He does not think highly of others, but seeks nonetheless to win their respect, while retaining a high opinion of himself. Cf. 41-42:15, 56:39.

17. Time passes, reputation increases and competence decreases.

Advancing age does not necessarily mean improvement in performance. DH observes that it is possible as the years go by for reputation to grow, while actual competence declines.

18. Giving and receiving sympathy: his friendliness is undoubtedly genuine -- considered as a constitutive tendency to fill his own life with the contents of the lives of others.

Is a negative criticism of the person described in this waymark being implied? DH has written: "Only that exists, which is another's, for only what you have

38 | given -- if only through being receptive -- is lifted out of the nothing which shall someday have been your life" (50:4). Would such a statement apply to the person here described? Perhaps DH is thinking of a person more concerned about filling his life with the contents of the lives of others than with giving himself to them. Yet giving and receiving are reciprocal relationships. DH is not so interested, however, in the giving and receiving of sympathy. Also much of the giving he emphasizes is anonymous. The other need not be fully aware of the source of what has been received. Giving must furthermore be willed and would accordingly not be a person's constitutive tendency. There may therefore be a somewhat mild criticism implied in this waymark.

19. Perhaps a great friendship is never reciprocated. Perhaps, had it been warmed and protected by its counterpart in another, it could never have grown to maturity.

It "gives" us nothing. But in the space of its silence it leads us up to heights with wide -- insights.

DH does not require mutuality in friendship. In some cases a friendship is more apt to grow to maturity if it is not reciprocated. The important thing about such a friendship is not what one gets out of it. In "the space of its silence" (cf. 25-30:10), in the ensuing loneliness, one is led to heights, where, instead of viewing wide vistas, one gains a broader knowledge of oneself.

20. When he abruptly told me that he had many friends, could easily make new ones, and with them had "ever so much fun," it struck hard like a blow that had been well aimed. A question would have been meaningless.

Only much later was I able to understand. Understand that the words hurt so much because my friendship still had a long way to go before it ripened into -- friendship. I understood that he intuitively reacted in justified self-defense, sensing my true way and his.

This waymark very likely tells of an earlier experience, the rupturing of a friendship. DH suggests that what he at that time thought was "friendship" was a relationship from which the other person was in his own self-defense justified in terminating, in order to go his own way. This in turn enabled DH to find his true way and helped him gain a more mature understanding of friendship.

21. A line, a shadow, a color -- their fiery expressiveness

The language of flowers, mountains, shores, human bodies: a momentary interplay of light and shadow, the aching beauty of a neckline, the white crocus's grail in the morning light of the Alpine meadow -- words in a transcendental language of the senses.

DH expresses his sensitivity to the beauty of nature, of which the human body is a part. He indicates that he was not unresponsive to feminine beauty. He describes what he sees as might an artist, speaking of lines, shadows, and colors. At the same time a kind of communication is taking place. What the senses observe becomes a language by which the senses are transcended. Cf. 51:50.

22. Delight in the "ego" has an aspect of gourmandise for which our language lacks the right intonations: *Mon cher moi -- âme et corps -- tu me fais un grand plaisir!* [My dear self -- soul and body -- you give me great pleasure!]

Your delight in yourself does not bloom without protection. The commandments are simple: don't ever bind yourself to anyone and therefore don't let anyone get into your life. Simple and destiny determining. The striving to protect one's delight in oneself casts around the ego a frigid circle which slowly eats its way in towards the core.

This waymark corrects possible misunderstandings that the statements on friendship in 50:19-20 might occasion. Whereas there is a kind of solitude that belongs to true friendship (25-30:10), isolation can also be an expression of egocentricity, a delight in one's own self to the exclusion of all others. This way of thinking can be expressed most aptly, DH feels, in the French language. But the isolation that this attitude engenders is not without its cost, a frigidity that in the final analysis becomes self-destructive. In this waymark there is very likely an implied self-criticism.

23. The farce -- your farce, O masters of men! The master of the hounds knows that he is king for but a day in a realm of rogues. And he knows that there are better ways to overcome a fox than the one he represents. While on the other hand --

40 | This is a commentary on the structuring of society, especially insofar as one man is the master of others. It can be likened to a fox hunt, which no one takes seriously. It is a game that is played despite the fact that there are better ways to handle foxes. DH concludes with the words, "While on the other hand --", leaving the other side of the matter unexpressed. Perhaps if one understands what one is doing and does not take oneself too seriously, human leadership in the structures of modern society need not be a farce. The words, "O masters of men! The master of the hounds," are in English in DH's Swedish text.

24. On whatever social level the intrigues are planned and the struggle takes place, and irrespective of its external conditions even in other respects, when one's own position is at stake, even the "best head" unfailingly reveals its naiveté. The tricks are so few. And the one who is out on such errands is as blind and deaf as a cock capercaillie in the courtship routine -- not least when he thinks himself most sharp-sighted. A grace to pray for: that self-interest -- which is inescapable -- will never paralyze the capacity for self-scrutiny with a sense of humor, which alone can save the situation.

This waymark may have to do with the procedures by which one becomes "a master of men" (50:23). DH must have had many opportunities to observe the struggle for advancement. His own early success and the security his competence gave him made it possible for him to view the process with some objectivity, at the same time that he recognized that he was not himself wholly immune to its temptations. The capercaillie is the largest European grouse. For other references to self-interest, see 52:3, 57:6.

25. To tell only what is significant for others. To ask only about that which one needs to know. In both cases limited to what actually is in the possession of the speaker. -- To discuss only in order to reach a conclusion. "Think out loud" only with those for whom this has meaning. Between two who are in tune with each other let small talk and silence fill the time only as carrier waves for the unexpressed. A good prescription for those who have experienced the truth that "for every careless word . . ." But hardly popular in social life.

41 | DH offers rules for guarding one's speech. He applies a form of Occam's razor, that words are not to be multiplied beyond necessity. With those in tune with each other, who can hear the overtones (50:11), conversation is to be quite intense. The complete biblical reference is: "I tell you, on the day of judgment you will have to give an account for every careless word you utter; for by your words you will be justified, and by your words you will be condemned" (Matt. 12:36-37). DH also cites this passage in 55:37. For other critiques of conversation he considers inappropriate, see 50:8, 50:32, 50:55, 51:12.

26. Why this longing in all of us that the thoughts of the living should now and again touch upon our name, even for some time after our obliteration? Just our name
Anonymous immortality we cannot, of course, escape.
The consequences of our lives and of our deeds can as little be annihilated as they can be identified and properly labeled -- to our honor or our shame.
"You always have the poor with you." Also the dead --.

DH criticizes the yearning to be remembered after one's death. He insists that we cannot escape anonymous immortality. Though we ourselves are obliterated (DH uses a very strong word for death), what we have done cannot be obliterated. All that we are and do has permanent consequences, but these consequences cannot be identified with particular individuals either for praise or blame. In this way we do have the dead always with us, like the nameless poor. The scripture reference is to Matthew 26:6-13. For another waymark critical of the desire to be remembered, see 56:53.

27. All are alike. -- True in his ruthless obliteration of the difference between those who received few and those who received many talents. But not when it has to do with the stewardship of these talents: then the boundary between life and death remains as it was drawn eternally. Finally, nonetheless true, because we all constantly have before us the possibility of taking the step over this boundary -- in both directions. To burn everything in the fire of clear vision and still to hope that of what can be washed out of the ashes something will have value --

This waymark continues the thought of the previous waymark. In one sense death obliterates the distinctions between people ("*his* ruthless obliteration")

42 | suggests that it is God who brings this about); in another sense it does not. What is ultimately important is not the talents that were received but the use made of them. Of particular interest is DH's statement that the boundary between life and death can always be crossed in *both* directions. This must mean that those who are not properly using their talents are in a sense already dead, but it is possible for them to come to life again. The reference to talents calls to mind Jesus' parable of the talents in Matthew 25:14-30. Cf. 1 Cor. 3:13-15. See 51:44, 51:47, and 52:6 for the significance the term "boundary" comes to have for DH.

28. This incurable impulse to acquire -- in the crassest sense to assimilate -- the medium for the experience of beauty. Like the mountain troll, we want to eat the princess -- in order constantly to repeat again the mountain troll's experience. We pick the flower. We press body against body -- and crush the human beauty which is the body's only through a linear animation, inaccessible to physical touch.

Here, as in 50:21, we have an analogy drawn between the beauty of the human body and the beauty to be found in nature, in this case the beauty of the flower. DH states that such beauty is to be observed and in this sense enjoyed, but the urge to acquire its medium is to be resisted. The reference to the mountain troll wanting to eat the princess is an allusion to the poem "*Ett gammalt bergtroll*" by Gustaf Fröding (*Samlade dikter*, vol. I [Stockholm: Bonniers, 1910], 53-55). "The aching beauty of the neckline" is to be viewed (cf. 55:51); it is implied that an embrace would destroy it. A flower is in some respects destroyed when picked, especially the wild flower (cf. 51:58). DH might have noted, however, that physically touching resilient bodies need not harm their beauty.

29. When the streams of the subconscious separate to form sucking whirlpools, the masses of water can again be gathered into one stream if the floodgate is opened to the sluice of prayer -- and this channel has been dug deep enough.

Prayer is a way of ordering the subconscious, but it requires discipline. Prayer can be an answer to life's problems, but it is not an easy answer. For other discussions of prayer, see 41-42:3, 52:14, 55:16, 58:7.

30. To take warning from all the times we on meeting are ashamed because while separated from each other we accepted the impermissible oversimplifications which distance prompts, and the removal of all the decisive qualifications which force themselves upon even the blindest -- face to face. With us human beings it really is the case that nothing is true -- from a distance -- the contrary of which is not also true -- given the insight of immediate confrontation.

One wonders what DH means by "distance" in this waymark. Is it simply being separated from another person in space and time, or does it also imply the absence of communication during such a separation. Is it not possible to retain contact by letter or by telephone, or is there an all-important body language which is thereby missed? About what kind of inter-personal relationships is DH speaking, relationships among members of the family, romantic relationships, relationships between friends, or relationships among fellow workers? DH seems to have been very confident in his ability to interpret the true nature of a relationship when meeting another person. Do all people share this ability?

31. An observation: In the window across the street I see her day after day, evening after evening, playing patience. Patience, patience -- death will very likely not keep you waiting so much longer.

Patience is a card game, a form of solitaire. DH does not think it is a very profitable way to spend one's time. He apparently finds it hard to imagine a person simply waiting to die. Such a point of view was expressed in 25-30:3. In 51:7 he indicates a greater understanding of the problems of aging.

32. -- chatters on about this and that, muddles along the brier path of gossip, disloyal both to himself and to others. It is a matter of captivating -- in order to own, at least for a while, a person whose feelings he doesn't dare test through revealing his own. Rather this degrading clown role than to be left alone as not sufficiently entertaining -- or contemptible due to a fixation to which there is no response.

44 | “Fixation” (Sw. *fixering*) in this waymark means an excessive, obsessive, or unhealthy attachment. DH may have regarded some forms of infatuation in this light. The waymark can refer to a young man’s blundering attempts to relate to a young woman, but it can also refer to anyone’s attempts to gain attention. What can be at issue is failure to avow honestly one’s own true concern, lest there be no response. This is another waymark in which DH is sharply critical of the kind of conversation that can take place in many social situations. For other similar critiques, see 50:8, 50:11, 50:55, 51:12.

33. The feeling of shame for yesterday when the consciousness again rises from the night’s ocean. How devastating must not the confrontation between waking life and the springs of life have been for the verdict to be betrayal. It was not the repeated mistakes, the whole sequence of falsifications with which the inquisition was concerned -- though God must know that they were a sufficient reason for self-contempt and unrest -- but the great mistake, the falsification of that within me which is greater than I -- in docile adaptation to alien demands.

DH is critical of psychological explanations of human personality (51:40, 51:54), but in this waymark he is discussing what might be called the conflict between the ego and the superego. It is in the subconscious, which can exert its influence during the sleeping hours, that contact is made with “the springs of life.” The judgment takes place upon awakening (58:6). References to judgment are also found in 51:36, 57:9. The strong word “betrayal” also appears in 57:17, 57:32.

34. Between experiencing and having experienced: the moment when the experience gives us its last secrets. A moment we first discover we have already passed when the cracks, stains, and peeling guilt lead us to ask what it was that once attracted us.

If this is a general statement, it reveals considerable pessimism with respect to what life has to offer. DH may, however, be referring to particular kinds of experience, for there are experiences that do not live up to their advance billings.

35. Despite everything, bitterness can flare up in you because others enjoy what you have not received. It can be limited

to a few days of sunshine. But at this inexpressibly vulgar level lies finally the bitterness of death itself, in that others are allowed to go on living.

DH is rigorously honest in recording his reaction to experiences of deprivation. He says “despite everything,” for, aside from loneliness, he was not to any significant extent deprived. Yet on a brief holiday in Lapland he could perhaps feel bitter if he was robbed of days of sunshine (cf. 51:34). This leads him to think of the fact that all are not given the same span of years. He acknowledges that it is inexcusable to begrudge others length of days. This waymark indicates, however, that DH valued life and wanted to live to enjoy it.

36. Like the bee, to distill a self-defensive poison from honey
-- the use of which, as is known, means the destruction of
the bearer.

It is ironical that it should be possible to produce poison from honey. That the bee in using this poison not only harms others but destroys itself simply increases the irony. DH must have seen this to be an apt description of human behavior, especially when one thinks of the proliferation of armaments.

37. Do you actually any longer “have feelings” for anyone or
anything else than yourself -- if even that? Without the
capacity for personal involvement your experience of
others will at best be merely aesthetic.

Yet even such an impaired experience brought you
in touch today with a portion of spiritual reality which
revealed your own utter poverty.

This waymark is a harsh self-criticism. Sometimes in such confessions DH is describing the human situation more generally. Here he seems, however, to be focusing on his own problems and suggests that he had recently met someone who did not share his poverty at this point. One might ask how accurate DH's perceptions of others were (cf. 50:30). He was very severe in his judgments on himself but could be generous in his evaluation of others. This, however, is hardly a fault. If the waymark is not wholly accurate as a self-description, it does clearly state DH's aspirations. The use of the term “aesthetic” in this context (cf. 57:12) may reflect the thought of Søren Kierkegaard in *Enten/eller* (*Either/Or*, vol. 1, trans. David F. and Lillian M. Swenson; vol. 2, trans.

46 | Walter Lowrie [Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1959]) and *Stadier paa Livets Vej* (*Stages on Life's Way*, trans. Walter Lowrie [New York: Schocken Books, 1967]). Danish editions of both works were in DH's library.

38. What must come to pass should come to pass. Within
the boundaries of what must be you are therefore
invulnerable.

It is a mark of maturity to have made one's peace with that which is inevitable. DH goes a step further and states that what must be ought to be. Against these boundaries he does not struggle, but he also does not feel threatened by them. All of his energy can be used toward changing that which can, and perhaps should, be changed. For references to boundaries in other waymarks, see 41-42:13, 50:27, 51:44.

39. He who works for daily bread.
He who performs for a position.
He who enjoys his rights.
He for whom the problem has ceased to exist
-- as he rests on his laurels.
And you yourself -- ?

Within the narrow mine shaft, illuminated only by the headlight, the mechanical shovel cut through the mountain like caterpillar jaws at the head of a worm's progress. Always dark. Always the same damp, dripping cold. Always the same loneliness -- shut in by rock walls, without the rock's security.

In this way he brought material out of the earth that was useful, provided money. Money which in part was to go to the other three and to yourself. For what?

In order at least for you to feel into the marrow of your bones that you work not for the superego of career perfection but that you work for him, that he has a claim on you that takes preference over your claim on him.

Atonement for the guilt you bear in your success: to give all you are in order in this way at least morally to justify what you have, without lenience toward yourself or toward others, and in consciousness of your rightful claim upon others as long as you follow this way.

47 | This is a waymark about work. It begins with a description of different levels of achievement, working for daily bread, performing (the Sw. *spelar* could suggest even “gambling”) so as to gain a position, having reached that goal and enjoying it, resting on one’s laurels. Before DH identifies his own situation, he describes the gratitude and sense of obligation he feels, very likely to his father. He uses the image of a miner supporting his family by difficult work in a mine. As far as we know none of DH’s immediate ancestors were so employed. A mine shaft is also mentioned in 25-30:4, though there it is associated with suffocating heat, here with damp, dripping cold. The image may suggest the difficulty and loneliness with which DH’s father, Hjalmar Hammar skjöld, carried out his life work. The elder Hammar skjöld’s labors not only provided for the needs of his four sons but also obligated them. It is therefore not enough for DH to be successful in his career. He must satisfy the claim his father has on him. His remarkable success becomes in a sense an occasion for guilt. He must achieve a moral justification for what he has achieved by making a total commitment to his work. He does this by not being lenient with himself or with those who work under him, confident that the demands he makes upon himself he has a right also to make upon others. Thus none of the alternatives listed at the beginning of the waymark really fits DH. He must go his own way.

40. Resounding silence
Floodlit darkness
Light
Which seeks its counterpart
In melody
Stillness
Which strives for deliverance
In words
Life
In the soil’s darkness
How seldom growth and flower
How seldom fruit

These poor attempts to make an experience
apprehensible (for myself, for others?) -- the next day’s
tasks -- Y’s friendship or X’s noting of my achievement:
paper screens which I set out against the void in order to
keep my gaze from losing itself in the infinity of space and
time.

Small paper screens. Blown to pieces by the first waft

of wind, burned by the smallest flame. Tenderly cared for
-- but constantly changed.

This dizziness before *les espaces infinis* (the infinite spaces) -- overcome only if we dare look into them, unprotected. And acknowledge them to be the reality before which we must justify our existence. For in order to live, this is the truth to which we must attain, that everything exists and only in this we are.

The poem that begins this waymark contains a number of internal tensions, opening with apparent contradiction ("resounding silence"), then moving from one concept ("light") to its equivalent in another medium ("melody"). It is suggested that words can resolve difficulties implicit in silence. The close of the poem is pessimistic, however. There is life in the soil but seldom growth, flower, or fruit.

There is also tension in the remainder of the waymark, between the immediate here and now and the infinite spaces. DH feels that so much of what he does and thinks he does to keep himself from considering infinite time and space, though he does not succeed in these efforts. It is in terms of infinite time and space that our existence must be understood. It is in this context, in kinship with all other existent beings, that we also exist.

41. Time's flight. Our flight in time -- flight from time.
Flying on strong wings -- with time.
Never delaying, never anticipating:
A rest in the movement -- our victory over the movement.
Lightly, lightly --
Soaring over the restless waters.
In the moment of performance,
With all strength concentrated, one's whole life at stake,
Plunging into the deep.
But no rest on the waves, bound by the currents.
Again above the waters, stillness above the swell,
Borne by the winds with one's own wings' strength.
Never land, never a nest --.
At last the final plunge,
When the deep again takes back its own.

Life in time is compared to the flight of a bird above an endless expanse of water. The bird dives into the sea from time to time, but it can never rest on the

49 | waves. It is constantly soaring aloft, never resting on land or in a nest, until the final plunge, when the deep at last takes back its own.

42. Hunger is my domicile in the land of the passions. Hunger for fellowship, hunger for righteousness -- a fellowship founded on righteousness and a righteousness attained in fellowship.

Only life meets life's demands. And this hunger is satisfied only as life is formed so that my individuality is realized through becoming a bridge to others, a stone in the heavenly structure of righteousness.

Not to be anxious about oneself, but to live out one's individuality -- wholly, but for the good of others. Not to follow others in order to buy fellowship, not to make convention into a law instead of living righteously.

Freedom and responsibility. Each person is a unique creation, and if he fails, the achievement which could have been his will eternally be lacking.

DH expresses his deepest aspirations, his passion for fellowship founded on righteousness and righteousness achieved in fellowship (Matt. 5:6). He wants his individuality to be of benefit to others, his life a bridge to others and thus also a building stone. The latter image may allude to Ephesians 2:19-22 and 1 Peter 1:4-5. When this waymark is compared with 45-49:1, one notes a much greater awareness of the social context in which the individual lives. DH emphasizes the fact that each individual has a unique contribution to make, which if not made by that person will be eternally lacking. In a later waymark (57:31) he states that for this reason even God can be limited by human irresponsibility.

43. I read about some, long since dead. Unnoticed other names creep into the text, and now it is about us that I read, when we will belong to the past. Most of what was is wholly gone. Once burning problems spread themselves over the pages as cold abstractions -- simple, but nonetheless misjudged by us. And we resemble quite stupid, quite foolish and self-seeking puppets, moved by easily seen, sometimes somewhat entangled strings.

It is not a caricature which I encounter in this research's fool's mirror. Only the proof that all of it was vanity.

50 | As DH reads about the past, he wonders what the judgment of history will be upon decisions he and his associates are making. Though he insists that one should not long to be remembered (50:26), he knows that those who hold public office are remembered. He fears that the judgment that will be made will be a negative one. It will be said that problems to which much attention was given were misunderstood. Those who seemed to act so self-confidently were actually puppets moved by their own foolish, self-seeking desires. DH suggests that such historical research can function as a "fool's mirror" (cf. 56:60, 58:6), a distorting mirror used by court jesters, who were often men of keen insight and caustic wit. What appears to be caricature should not be rejected but accepted as revealing the emptiness of so much that is done in public affairs.

44. Out of his own self he knew -- I know what is in man: of
vulgarity, lust, pride, envy -- and longing.
Longing --. Also for the cross.

This waymark contains an allusion to John 2:24-25 ("... Jesus did not trust himself to them, because he knew all men and needed no one to bear witness to man; for he himself knew what was in man" RSV). DH suggests that a part of Jesus' knowledge was his by virtue of the fact that he was a human being and therefore was a knowledge we can share. By knowing ourselves we know also the vulgarity, the lust, the pride, and the envy of others. But that is not the whole story. There is also longing, longing even for the cross. Longing represents the positive side of human nature and can include the longing to be sacrificed (25-30:2, 50:46, 51:26, 52:7, 54:5, 55:9, 55:23, 57:47, 58:10, 59:81). There is good as well as evil in human beings and through self-knowledge one can become acquainted with both.

45. Is life poor? Are not instead your hands too small, your
vision blurred? You are the one who must mature.

In this waymark about maturity (cf. 53:2, 7) DH states that if one complains about life, it is one's inability to receive what it offers (too small hands), one's own inability to see its riches (blurred vision), that is at fault. DH is convinced that this can be remedied by increased maturity.

46. We may not choose the parameters of our destiny. But
we give it its content. The one who wills the adventure
shall also experience it -- according to the measure of his

courage. The one who wills the sacrifice shall be sacrificed
 -- according to the measure of his purity.

Our destiny has boundaries that are beyond our control (cf. 50:38), but within those boundaries we can make significant choices. Two important virtues in this connection are courage (cf. 54:23, 55:30, 56:24, 57:47) and purity (cf. 25-30:9, 55:27, 58:9). The reference to the one "who wills the sacrifice" recalls the longing for the cross of 50:44. DH stresses that this requires purity. Self-sacrifice is not a way of atoning for one's impurity, for one will be sacrificed "according to the measure" of one's purity.

47. Never to let the success hide its emptiness, the
 achievement its insignificance, the life of toil its dreariness.
 And in this way to retain the spur to further attainment
 -- the pain in the soul that drives us beyond ourselves.
 Whither? That I don't know. That I don't insist on
 knowing.

DH wants constantly to be aware of the emptiness of success, the insignificance of achievement, and the dreariness of toil, in this way to retain an inward pain that spurs him to continuing efforts to transcend himself. He does not require that the goal of this striving be seen. This is a sharp rejection of the psychological theory that human beings can only be motivated by positive reinforcement. DH's ethic is one that strongly emphasizes duties (55:32, 57:25) rather than rewards and satisfactions.

48. The little fellow takes a few awkward hops on one leg
 without falling down. And is filled with admiration for his
 own proficiency, doubly so because there are spectators.
 Don't we ever grow up?

The theme of the previous waymark to some degree continues. A child is a symbol for a tendency DH observes more generally. We are too easily satisfied by our achievements, sometimes reinforced at this point by the applause of others. DH regards this as evidence of continuing immaturity.

49. O all the self-discipline, the nobility of spirit, the exalted
 evaluation of life that we can attribute to ourselves, we for
 whom all has gone well and who have made a success in

everything --. Cheap, hardly even a bit better than to see in success a reward for virtue.

In several waymarks DH struggles with how to live with success. He feels guilt because of it (50:39). He reminds himself of its emptiness (50:47). To be too impressed by it is to be immature (50:48). One must not give oneself too much credit just because all has gone well. DH takes it for granted that no one would imagine that success is a reward for virtue, so that one could infer the latter from the former, though there may be some who are also tempted to think in this manner.

50. The dust settles heavily, the air dies, the light loses its radiance in the room that we are not constantly prepared to leave.

Our love becomes impoverished if we do not have the courage to sacrifice its object.

Our will to live remains vital only so long as we will life without regard to whether it is our own.

In this waymark the need to move on is stressed. There is no possibility to settle down and enjoy that which one has already attained (cf. 45-49:12, 50:41). DH's reference to love that must have the courage to sacrifice its object is, however, misunderstood if it is thought he is speaking of love of other persons, as in 52:7, 56:13, 57:9, and 60:1. DH does speak of an interpersonal love in which the lovers are not bound to each other (51:48, 55:51). Here, however, he speaks of the love of desire directed toward objects or even goals. That which we desire we must be prepared to sacrifice. The life about which we are to be concerned must be life in more general terms, inclusive of others, not merely our own.

51. God does not die on the day that we no longer believe in a personal deity, but we die on the day that life for us is no longer made luminous by the constantly renewed, wondrous radiance from sources beyond all reason.

This waymark indicates that the endorsement of beliefs once handed down to him, to which DH was to refer in his 1953 radio speech, "Old Creeds in a New World," (see 1953 Introduction) had begun to occur. Van Dusen, who regards 1950-52 as "the darkest night" in DH's spiritual life, gives this waymark only the merest mention (Van Dusen, 200). Aulén refers to it as revealing "a growing

53 | yes" (the reference is to the Pentecost 1961 waymark, 61:5), but suggests that DH is hesitating to speak of God in personal terms (Aulén, E 23-24; Sw 37-38). We have already seen in 45-49:5 ("... to fall, fall -- in the trust of blind devotion. To something else, to *someone* else") that DH uses both impersonal and personal language in speaking of God, just as he does in 61:5 ("I once did answer yes to *someone* -- or something"). Here he is acknowledging that the faith in a personal God one was taught as a child may have to be rethought. The reality to which faith refers does not, however, for that reason cease to exist, nor does the need for the radiance by which faith can illuminate one's own existence diminish.

52. "To treat others as ends and never as means." And myself as an end only in my capacity as a means: to shift the boundary between subject and object in my being all the way to the point that the subject, even if it is still in me, is outside and above me -- and my whole being is thus an instrument for that in me which is more than I.

The quotation is from Immanuel Kant (1724-1804). A copy of *Grundlegung zur Metaphysik der Sitten* (*Metaphysical Foundations of Morals*) was in DH's library. The complete statement is as follows: "Act so as to treat that which is human in your own person, as well as in the person of anyone else, always as an end, never merely as a means" (*Grundlegung* . . . , 3rd ed. [Stuttgart: Reclam, 1955] , 81). DH goes on to qualify the statement. Whereas Kant states that one is to treat *both oneself* and others as ends and never merely as means, DH says that one may treat oneself as a means. Indeed one may treat oneself as an end *only* in one's capacity as a means. How is one's use as a means to be determined? Here DH turns away from a Kantian autonomous ethic. The subject is no longer one's own ego. Though this subject is still within the self, it is at the same time transcendent, outside and above, using the whole being of the self for the purposes this transcendent subject defines. If DH defines what faith in God means to him in 50:51, he here defines the ethic to which he feels himself committed. He does not discuss whether or not he feels that he is living up to this ethical ideal, though it does not seem that he regards it as an impossible ideal.

53. It is in this moment that I pay for what I have received.
The past is recorded with the debt balanced up to the present. And on the future I have no claim.
Is not the beauty in every meeting between a person

and life created as the person repays his debt through concentrating in the existential moment all the energy which has been life's obligating gift to him? The beauty -- for the one who pays his debt. Probably also for others.

DH did feel an indebtedness because of the gifts and benefits he had received. It was an indebtedness he thought could be repaid. He is not thinking here of making payment for guilt by reason of wrongs done, though he could also speak of guilt in relation to his debt for benefits received (50:39, the Swedish word *skuld* can mean either "guilt" or "debt"). His understanding of the forgiveness of sins will be expressed in later waymarks (cf. 56:6, 57:30, 60:1). Here he is thinking of his obligation to give his all in return for all that he has received. This must be done now, in each present moment. It cannot be deferred to the future (cf. 51:6, 57:18). There is a beauty when this is done for all who are concerned.

54. The longest journey
Is the journey inwards.
The one who has chosen his destiny,
Who has begun the trek
Towards his own ground
(does such a ground exist?)
Still among you,
He is outside the fellowship,
Isolated in your feelings
As one condemned to death,
Or one whom imminent departure
Prematurely dedicates
To each person's final solitude.

Between you and him is distance
Is uncertainty --
Respect.

He himself will see you
Ever farther away,
Hear your enticing calls
Become fainter.

55 | This poem describes the inward journey DH felt impelled to make. There is no one term he uses to indicate the direction of this journey. The word here translated “ground” is *botten* (bottom). In 41-42:24 he speaks of *det innerstas flyende ljus* (the innermost’s fleeting light, which I have translated “the fleeting light in the depth of our being”). In 55:55 he does speak of walking in a dream with God through “the depth of being” (*väsensdjupet*). In 56:21 he uses other language and asks whether one’s own life can possess a meaning as a fragment of *Life*, which leads to a question (“If Life exists --?”) similar to the one found in this poem (“does such a *ground* exist?”), which in 56:21 he answers by saying, “Try and you shall experience: Life as reality. . . . Try though daring the leap into a subordination *without reservation*.” In this poem the question remains unanswered. He does suggest, however, that the one who seeks the ground of his being becomes inescapably estranged from those around him. This is because so few share this quest (cf. 45-49:5). Nonetheless, despite the distance and the uncertainty, there is respect (or consideration) for the one who in this way is moving away from ordinary human fellowship.

55. The feeling of emptiness bordering on guilt after the evening’s social event, an activation of the anxiety which is the unfailing companion of sluggishness and inadequacy --

Perhaps only because the evening not only was meaningless but also unnecessary -- but nonetheless was staged out of consideration, which in a human relationship of such self-evidence is a concession to the mortal sin of sluggishness.

The comedy then had to be played to the end, despite the fact that in this situation it had to be filled by a chatter that degraded the living reality.

DH is protesting against what he regards as meaningless conversation (cf. 50:8, 51:12). On this occasion he is commenting on a social event, possibly devoted to honoring someone whom DH did not consider worthy of such attention. For this reason very little that was significant could be said.

56. How unveiled was your solitary thick-skinned self-satisfaction before his manifest anguish in striving for living contact! How difficult was it not to help when you in another encountered your own problems -- uncompounded.

56 | DH criticizes himself for not responding to an appeal for fellowship. He acknowledges that there are two aspects of his personality, one that appears satisfied with solitude (cf. 50:9, 55:60), another that yearns for meaningful relationships with others (50:42). He reflects that it is precisely one's own need for fellowship that makes it so difficult to help others find it.

57. Suddenly I understood that he in himself was more real than I am, and that what was being required of me was to experience his reality not as an object but as a subject and as more than my own.

The thought of the previous waymark is continued. DH recognizes in the person he has met, despite this person's frustrated striving to make contact with others, greater reality than he finds in himself. He distinguishes between experiencing the reality of such a person as an object and as a subject, which relates to the distinction between end and means in 50:52. Given DH's later interest in Martin Buber's *I and Thou* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1937), which book he was translating from the original German into Swedish at the time of his death, this could be an early reference also to the distinction between regarding a person as a thou/you and a he/she.

1951

During this year DH continued in the Swedish Foreign Ministry as Secretary-General and a nonparty Minister without Portfolio in the Swedish Cabinet. Also in 1951 he became vice-chairman of Sweden's delegation to the United Nations.

From this year on, while a new section begins with each new year, there are not other titles for the years. For several years, however, DH introduces the first journal entry of the year with the words of the hymn, "Soon night approaches," first cited in 1950.

1. "Soon night approaches --." Well, yet another year. And if this day were to be the last:
"-- How can we be cut short or swindled: we who in every possible way have been long since overpaid. . ."

The pulley of the passing days draws us ineluctably forward. One relief in all this is that there is no detour around it. Everything else I can as a chooser attempt to tamper with, everything -- except this. Which melts together days and years into one single moment -- a moment before death, in each of its parts illumined by the light of death, to be measured by death's measure.

In this meditation on advancing age DH states that if his life should end during the coming year, there could be no complaint that death had come prematurely, or that he had been cheated out of years of life that should have been his, for life has already given him more than he deserves. The citation concludes a poem "*Neigung*" by Rainer Maria Rilke, (1875-1926), *Werke in drei Bänden* (Wiesbaden: Insel Verlag, 1957, vol. 2, 140). Leif Sjöberg and W. H. Auden in their translation of DH's journal attribute this citation to John Eckhart (1260-1327), a German Dominican mystic known as Meister Eckhart, a volume of whose writings was included in DH's library (John Eckhart, *Meister Eckehart Schriften*, ed. Herman Büttner [Jena: Eugene Diederichs Verlag, 1934, 1943]). DH did not identify Eckhart as the author of nine German citations in *Vägmärken* (55:28, 56:11, 56:12, 56:34, 56:57, 56:58, 57:33, 58:2, 58:3) from Eckhart's writings, though he did mention Eckhart in 56:30 and 56:31.

There is no escaping life's termination, no *udenom* (detour around it). The use of the Norwegian word is an allusion to Henrik Ibsen's play, *Peer Gynt* (*Samlede*

58 | *værker*, vol. 3 [Kristiania: Gyldendalske boghandel, 1914] , 212, 313-314). DH may also have a passage in *Strödda blad ur Bertil Ekmans efterlämnade papper* ([Stockholm: Norstedt & Söner, 1923] , 32) in mind (see 51:24). He says that it is good to think of life as bounded and measured by death, to estimate everything in the light that the certainty of one's approaching death casts upon it.

2. When before a great decision someone grasps your hand
-- a gleam of gold in the iron gray, the proof of all that you
did not dare believe.

While DH states in 50:56 and 52:4 that he did not relate easily to other individuals, this waymark indicates that he appreciated the support of a colleague, even if the sign remained unarticulated. This made it possible for him to dare to believe that he was not alone.

3. The time is always long for the child who is waiting -- for
Christmas, for next summer, for becoming grown up.
Long also when the child gives its whole soul to every
moment of a happy day. Later --

DH reflects on childhood experience and suggests that time is long for a child not only during the period of waiting but also during the moments of enjoyment. He implies that this experience changes in later life but does not indicate the nature of these changes. In 50:48 he is critical of the immaturity of the child. Here he seems to want to be able to recover and hold on to the positive qualities of anticipation and wholehearted enjoyment in a child's experience. See also 53:18.

4. Out of loyalty to others he was driven to
aggressiveness by their feelings of inferiority.

It is not clear as to whether the person of whom DH is writing was driven to be aggressive on behalf of a group needing help, or whether he was reacting aggressively to that group's feelings of inferiority, seeking in this way to help them. 25-30:8 reminds us that DH was aware that many regarded him as a superior person. He may have felt it important, however, that those who admired certain persons as leaders not underestimate their own gifts and capabilities.

- 59 | 5. "To repose in the indifference of others." And at the same time hunger for sympathy!

DH is commenting on a quotation that has thus far not been identified, introducing a dialectic, which may not have been recognized by the author of the passage cited. One can enjoy the indifference of others but at the same time be hungering for expressions of real concern. 50:56 is another example of this dialectic. For other references to sympathy, see 51:16, 51:29, 57:3, 57:12.

6. The present is meaningful through its own content, not as a bridge to a future. And its content is our content in the present, that by which our emptiness is filled, if we are capable of being receptive.

DH may be indicating what it means to view life in the light of death (51:1). It is to place the chief emphasis on the present, not viewing it simply as a bridge to a future. Clearly the present leads to the future, but it has meaning in its own right. Its meaning is the meaning of our lives at the present moment (54:18, 57:35), though in order to experience this meaning we must be receptive (55:58, 57:1), open to the content by which our lives could now be filled.

7. "Old men ought to be explorers." Some must be -- because the human everyday world is closed to them. Few discover new worlds.

The three sentences of this waymark contain three modalities. The opening quotation from T. S. Eliot (1888-1965, "East Coker," *Four Quartettes* [New York: Harcourt, Brace: 1943], 17) speaks of what ought to be. DH's comment points out what in some cases must be. The final observation tells of what in fact is the case. DH may have been made conscious of the problems of aging by the experiences of his father. Though the waymark is undated, it may have been written about the time of Hjalmar Hammarskjöld's eighty-ninth birthday, February 4. For other waymarks relating to DH's father, see 50:39, 58:13, 59:35.

8. Narcissus stooped over the spring -- bound by the only human being in whose gaze he had dared or been able to lose himself.

Narcissus stooped over the spring -- captivated by his own ugliness, because he flattered himself for having the courage to acknowledge it.

60 | Narcissus in Greek myth was a beautiful youth who refused all offers of love, including that of Echo, a mountain nymph. Seeing his reflection in a pool, he fell in love with his image and pined away, dying for love of himself. DH suggests two sources of such self-centeredness. One can be bound up with oneself by reason of lack of courage or ability to relate to anyone else. One can also, because one is willing to acknowledge them, take a perverse pride in the flaws one finds in oneself. DH is saying that the person who is preoccupied with his/her own failings and infirmities does not thereby escape self-centeredness. Reference to the spring/ springs recurs in 55:46 and 57:22.

9. The witches' ride to the devil's castle, where we meet only ourselves, ourselves, ourselves --

According to old Swedish folklore, each Maundy Thursday the witches of Scandinavia gather at a certain mountain. The old tale now prompts little girls on that day to go about the neighborhood in costume collecting candy, much like American children do on Halloween. DH interprets the tale in another way. The evil of which it tells is within ourselves. The ride to the mountain is a ride inwards, though in another sense than the journey inwards described in 50:54. Maundy Thursday in 1951 was March 22.

10. We cannot afford to forget even that which has been most painful.

DH stresses the importance of memory. We are constituted by that which we remember and we need to remember also that which has pained us. The tendency toward a protective forgetfulness of that which has been most painful should be resisted.

11. We remember our dead. When they were born, when they passed away -- as people of promise, or of fulfillment.

This waymark implies that there are many more who were people of promise than those who were also people of fulfillment. DH has said in 50:26 that we should not strive to be remembered, though many persons are remembered (50:43). In such a case it is desirable that they should have realized the possibilities that their lives represented. For other references to "fulfillment," see 57:16, 57:42.

12. To be “sociable” -- and to talk merely because convention forbids silence. What an example of *la condition humaine* [the human condition]: to rub shoulders with others in order to create the illusion of kinship and contact. Moreover tiring, like all inadequate use of the resources of our being. In this little format one of the many ways in which humankind successfully functions as its own scourge -- in the hell of spiritual death.

DH protests strongly against small talk, a theme already expressed in 50:8, 50:25, 50:55. He must frequently have found himself in situations where such conversation was thought to be necessary. He suffered from what he regarded as such exchanges of “careless words.” This misuse of human communication is a kind of mutual self-scourging that leads to spiritual death. DH was unrelenting in his demand for honesty in human relationships.

13. “Unoriginal --.” We confuse so often the fearfulness to assert one’s own opinion, the tendency to be influenced more strongly by the views of others than by one’s own conviction -- or quite simply the lack of a point of view -- with the need the strong and mature feel to give the arguments of others their full value. A game of hide-and-go-seek: when the devil wants to take advantage of our unoriginality he calls it broadmindedness, and when he wants to kill an attempt at broadmindedness he calls it unoriginality.

In *Waymarks* a recurring theme is that things are not what they seem. What appears to be unoriginality may be a broadminded tolerance of the views of others, but it may also be a lack of courage to set forth one’s own convictions. DH insists that it is necessary to have opinions and to be willing to express them, though there can also be a valid restraint at this point to give place to the views of others. He warns against the temptations that can arise at this point. Unoriginal pusillanimity must not be confused with open-mindedness, nor should there be retreat from efforts to achieve the latter for fear of being charged with unoriginality.

14. The aura of victory surrounding a man of good will, the sweetness of his spirit -- a taste of cranberries and cloudberry, of frost and burning sun.

62 | DH celebrates the kind of person he admires, drawing upon images from nature, the taste of well loved Swedish berries, the extremes of frost and hot sun. All these are suggested by the virtue of a man of good will.

15. The immodesty of great pride: it lifts the crown from the pillow and with its own hands places it upon its brow.

The estrangement of great pride from all that constitutes the human hierarchy.

A fable to relate: about the crown that was so heavy that it could be borne only by the one who was able to live in complete forgetfulness of its splendor.

Among those who have crowned themselves is the Swedish king, Charles XII (cf. 59:26). DH here speaks positively of the human hierarchy. Those of great pride who refuse the legitimation it can offer are to be criticized. There is a true radiance which a person may carry, but only if he/she is oblivious to the fact. The words of Exodus 34:29 suggest themselves: "Moses did not know that the skin of his face shone because he had been talking with God."

16. Your role's costume, the mask you put on with such care in order to appear advantageously, was the wall between you and the sympathy you sought. A sympathy you won the day you stood there naked.

The voice that commanded was only obeyed when it cried in helplessness.

DH does not ordinarily seek sympathy. He points out that Jesus did not need it (51:29) and is mildly critical of one for whom "giving and receiving sympathy" seemed to play too large a role (50:18). Yet here he acknowledges needing and seeking sympathy, winning it only as he is stripped of his role's costume. Not only in the quest for sympathy, but also in order to be able to command effectively, a kind of divesting is necessary. The relationships of the human hierarchy are more willingly accepted when there is acknowledgment that we share a common humanity with its attendant needs. See 51:5, 51:29, 57:3, 57:12 for other references to sympathy.

17. Faithful to his future --.
Even if it only means "se préparer à bien mourir."

63 | DH could say that there is no better way to be faithful to one's future than to prepare oneself for a good death, "*se préparer à bien mourir*." He has described the kind of living he calls for as a kind of dying (45-49:5). The one who so lives is both faithful to his future and well prepared to die.

18. Only that person deserves power who daily justifies it.

The stress in this waymark must be on the word "daily." Most would agree that one must justify one's possession of power. DH insists that this justification must occur daily (cf. 55:12).

19. The mixture of motives. In a great decision our whole being is involved, its meanness as well as its goodness. Which part is it that has gotten the better of the other when we feel ourselves united behind an act? -- Even when Mephistopheles afterward smilingly reveals himself as a victor in the choice, he can be overcome through the way in which we accept its consequences.

This waymark reveals realism with respect to the mixture of motives in two respects. First, there is the awareness that one's meanness as well as one's goodness is involved in choices that are made. Second, it is acknowledged that despite one's conscious intent meanness may ex post facto be found to have gained the upper hand in a given choice. The battle with evil can, however, yet be won through the way in which one deals with the consequences of such a choice. Mephistopheles, in the German *Faust* legend, is the personification of the devil, to whom Faust sells his soul. Among authors who have developed this theme, in addition to Johann Wolfgang von Goethe (1749-1832), are Marlowe, Gounod, Berlioz, and Boito. A 1925 edition of Goethe's *Faust* was in DH's library (*Goethes Werke*, vol. 2 [Stuttgart: F. G. Cotta'schen Buchhandlung, 1887], 1-295).

20. "They expected to see him step forward as a leader." He --?
Whose courage and independence consists in the fact that he lets himself be led, an Ahab driven over the oceans by his fleeing goal.

The literary reference is to Captain Ahab's pursuit of the white whale in *Moby Dick* (New York: New American Library, 1961) by Herman Melville (1819-1891). A leader must find guidance in that which transcends himself, but he should not be driven by an impassioned pursuit of a fleeing goal.

21. He was one of the crew on Columbus's caravel -- and he wondered whether he would be back in his home village in time to establish himself as shoemaker before someone else took over after the old one.

There is irony in the fact that one can be sharing in the discovery of a great new world and yet be preoccupied about one's hopes for preferment in the small old one.

22. There is a point where everything becomes simple, where there is no longer any choice, because everything you have wagered is lost if you look back. Life's own point of no return.

The "point of no return" is an aeronautical expression, referring to the point in an overseas flight when one no longer has sufficient fuel to return to one's port of departure, so that one must continue, whatever befall, to the goal. DH points out that when this point is passed in our decision making life is simplified for us and for that we can be grateful. The reference to not looking back (cf. 53:12, 56:13, 57:35, 61:5) alludes to the words of Jesus in Luke 9:62: "No one who puts his hand to the plow and looks back is fit for the kingdom of God."

23. Around the one who is thrown forward in the limelight legends begin to form as around one already deceased. But the deceased does not risk falling for the temptation to feed the legend, to accept its image as his reality. How poor is the one who falls in love with his image, as it has been sketched by the media during the honeymoon of publicity.

DH had perhaps experienced being to some extent in the limelight, but was to experience it to a much greater extent upon his election as Secretary-General of the United Nations. In such a case legends form but they are temporary. One must not fall in love with them or be deceived by them. When the honeymoon of publicity ends other images will be projected and a different kind of fortitude will then be required (cf. 54:9).

24. Not to encumber the earth --. No pathetic excelsior, but only these simple words: not to encumber the earth.

65 | The poet, Erik Lindegren, DH's successor in the Swedish Academy, relates this waymark to the following citation from *Strödda blad ur Bertil Ekmans efterlämnade papper*, the posthumously published papers of Bertil Ekman (1894-1920): "Death should produce longing for life, not longing to escape from life. When shall death's freshness make our tread on the earth springy and light-footed? Where life acts as a law of gravitation, death functions as a law of levitation. Where life separates, death unites" (Ekman, 20; Lindegren, *Dag Hammarskjöld: Inträdestal i Svenska Akademien* [Stockholm: Norstedts, 1962], 13-14). Ekman studied in Uppsala 1913-1920. Despite heart disease, from which he had suffered since childhood, he was very active as a cyclist, swimmer, and mountaineer. On a mountain-climbing expedition with a friend in Norway he became gravely ill. Some hours after help reached him he died. A small volume of his papers including short essays, poetry, and journal entries was published in 1923. It may be significant that DH's first waymarks date from 1925. DH was influenced by Ekman's idealism and by what Ekman had to say about death (see Sven Stolpe, *Dag Hammarskjöld: A Spiritual Portrait*, trans. Naomi Walford [New York: Scribner's, 1966], 35-37). In 53:4 DH borrows a German citation from Ekman. Other waymarks in which there may be allusions either to Ekman or to his posthumously published papers are 25-30:2, 51:1, 56:67, 61:4. While DH does want to tread the earth lightly (cf. 56:67), there is no direct reference to death, and high-flown striving is rejected. "Excelsior" is the comparative of the Latin *excelsus* (elevated, lofty). In its use as a motto it means "still higher, ever upwards."

25. To remain in the swift joy of becoming, to be a channel for life's bright spirit, its hurrying, cool water with the gleam of sun --. In a world of sluggishness and anxiety and indiscretion.

To exist by means of the future of others without being smothered by their present.

While DH emphasizes living in the present, as far as his own life is concerned (51:6, 57:18, 57:35), he also recognizes the responsibility to contribute to the quality of the future of others (54:18, 57:36, 59:3, 59:94). If such a contribution is to be made, there must be vital process occurring in the present. DH uses imagery from nature to describe this "swift joy of becoming," contrasting its "hurrying, cool water" with the sluggishness, anxiety, and indiscretion (cf. 50:55) he so often encounters. In 56:43 also he discusses the problem of living, intensely involved in efforts to bring about a better human future, without being smothered or drowned by the present state of the human condition (cf. 45-49:5).

26. How far from the muscular heroism or the soulful tragic sacrificial spirit, which gives the coffee party an unctuous supplement to the sponge cake, is not the colorless fact that someone gives himself wholly to that which he has found life to be.

While DH thinks of life as calling for sacrifice, he does not expect this sacrifice necessarily to be muscularly heroic or soulfully tragic. To give oneself wholly to what one has found life to be may appear colorless to many. But one must not be deterred by the fact that the account of one's commitment does not provide a good story to enliven a coffee party. It must also be remembered that sacrifice must often be anonymous (cf. however, 45-49:13).

27. Should the one who has the external possibility of realizing his innermost destiny take the risk of not doing so only because he did not want to give up everything else?

An extremely important term in *Waymarks* is "destiny" (*öde*). It can mean the given, unchosen circumstances of one's life (50:46, 52:3, 57:39, 57:46). The meaning DH more often gives this term is that one's destiny is one's calling, the divine intention for one's life (53:7, 53:11, 55:26, 55:60, 56:1, 56:39, 57:24, 57:35, 57:37, 61:13). So understood, one may either affirm or fail to affirm one's destiny. In this waymark DH speaks of an inner destiny and favorable external circumstances, but at the same time the danger that one will not be willing to make the sacrifices required to realize one's destiny. Thus, for example, the freedom that financial affluence and high social status afford could even prove to be a hindrance. One thinks of the story of the rich man in Mark 10:17-22, who failed to accept Jesus' invitation to discipleship because he had great possessions. There is also the saying of Jesus: "Whoever of you does not renounce all that he has cannot be my disciple" (Luke 14:33 RSV).

28. If one does not accept the axiom that to go one way implies turning away from the other ways, one will presumably have to seek to persuade oneself of the appropriateness of remaining at the crossroads. But do not criticize the one who goes ahead -- neither criticize nor commend.

It is possible to remain at the crossroads rather than making a decision to go one way rather than another, but one must persuade oneself of the

67 | appropriateness of such a stance. On the other hand, DH says that the one who goes ahead is not to be criticized. Neither is that person to be commended. It is the merit of the decision itself that must be evaluated.

29. A young man, adamant in his life commitment. The one who was closest to him relates that the last evening he arose from supper, laid aside his garments, and washed his companions' and followers' feet -- a young, hard man, alone before his final destiny.

He had seen the little game about his -- his! friendship. He knew that none of his companions perceived why he must act as he did. He understood how frightened they would become, how they would doubt --. And one of them had informed against him and would very likely soon give a signal to the police.

He had counted on a possibility in his being and destiny, intuited when he came back from the wilderness. If God wanted to achieve something through him, he would not fail. Only recently had he thought he could see more clearly and he understood that the way the possibility defined could be one of suffering. But he knew that he must nonetheless follow it, uncertain if he was "the one who [is to come] --," but conscious that the answer could be gained only through following. The end could be a death without significance -- beyond the fact that it was the end of the way the possibility indicated.

It was thus the last evening. A young, hard man: Do you know what I have done to you? -- I tell you this now, before it occurs. -- One of you will betray me. -- Where I am going you cannot follow me. -- Will you lay down your life for me! Truly --. -- My peace I give to you. -- This happens in order that the world may know that I love the Father and do as he has commanded me. Rise, let us go hence.

Is the hero in this eternal, brutally simple drama "the Lamb of God that takes away the sins of the world"? Controlled by faithfulness to an intuited possibility -- in that sense God's, in that sense a sacrificial victim, in that sense a redeemer. A young man, adamant in his life

commitment, who in the destiny he himself has chosen walks the way of his possibility to the end, without self-pity or needing sympathy -- sacrificing also the fellowship of the others when they do not follow, into a new fellowship.

This, the longest of the waymarks, tells of Jesus in the upper room in Jerusalem as he spends his last evening with his disciples prior to his crucifixion. It recalls the first reference to Jesus, his foretelling his passion at Caesarea Philippi (45-49:13). DH uses the account of the last supper as found in the Gospel according to John. He tells of Jesus washing his disciples' feet (John 13:1-11) and through a series of citations (John 13:12, 19, 21, 36, 38; 14:27, and 14:31, a translation of the Swedish 1917 version) he gives in miniature Jesus' farewell discourse. See also Matthew 11:3 and Luke 7:19-20.

What is notable is that DH presents us with an extremely human Jesus, who had earlier responded to God's call and who now sees that this most likely will mean suffering and death for him. Beyond this Jesus does not see clearly. His death "could be a death without significance." This emphasis on Jesus' humanity DH had very likely gained from his reading of Albert Schweitzer's *Von Reimarus zu Wrede* (Eng. tr. *The Quest of the Historical Jesus* [New York: Macmillan, 1961], a book included in his library, see Aulén, 50-57). DH also, however, takes into account the church's confession that Jesus is "the Lamb of God that takes away the sins of the world" (John 1:29). Given his understanding of the historical Jesus, can such an interpretation of Jesus' life and work be affirmed? DH answers that Jesus, through his faithfulness to the intuited possibility that defined the call to which he had responded, can properly be said to have belonged to God, to have been a sacrificial victim, and thereby also a redeemer.

DH stresses Jesus' loneliness. None of his followers understand why he must act as he does. Where he is going they are as yet unable to follow. He, however, does not need their sympathy. Nor will he ultimately be alone, for in what he is doing there is the promise of a new fellowship.

30. To count on his possibility --. Why? Does he offer himself for others, but for his own sake -- in sublime egocentricity? Or does he realize himself for the sake of others? The dividing line is the one separating the inhuman and the human. "A new commandment I give to you, that you love one another."

69 | This and the following waymark continue DH's reflection on the meaning of Jesus' suffering and death. It is conceivable, he suggests, that there could after all have been an egocentric motivation behind Jesus' offering of himself. DH has already commented upon the fact that the same act may issue from different motives (41-42:16, 51:19). In this instance he implies that such an egocentrically motivated self-sacrifice would be inhuman, though it is unlikely that he is at all seriously proposing such an interpretation of Jesus' suffering and death.

There can be love oriented toward God as the highest good that is basically egocentric. In 51:29, however, to love the Father implies doing what the Father commands, which excludes egocentricity. In this waymark Jesus commands, "... that you love one another" (John 13:34 RSV).

31. The inner possibility --. In dangerous interplay with an external one. The way possibility defined led to the entry's cries of Hosanna -- which opened up other possibilities than those he chose.

If Jesus' inner possibility called for disinterested self-sacrifice, the gospel narrative's account of the triumphal entry into Jerusalem tells that there may have been other external possibilities (Mark 11:1-10) The need for significant, consistent choosing continued to the very end (cf. 53:11).

32. That our anxiety and longing is thousandfold and can be anaesthetized in a thousand ways is just as banal a truth as that it ultimately is only one and can be overcome in only one way. What you most of all need is to experience -- or believe you experience -- that you are needed.

Forced upon us or self-sought -- the prospect of future loneliness therefore finally leaves us only the choice between to despair in desolation or to count so highly on 'the possibility' that we win the right to life in a fellowship transcending the individual. But for this latter choice is not a faith that moves mountains required?

DH turns from waymarks devoted to reflection about Jesus to consider his own situation. He thinks of his loneliness and his deep yearning to feel needed (cf. 50:42). He sees no way of escaping the prospect of continuing loneliness other than through "the possibility" of life in a fellowship transcending the individual. This, however, requires faith. It is not enough simply to resolve to

70 | obey the new commandment (cf. 51:30). DH is not yet sure that he has the faith this requires. In speaking of a faith that moves mountains, DH is referring to Matthew 17:20 and 1 Corinthians 13:2. For other waymarks in which DH speaks of his loneliness, see 52:16, 52:18, 58:9.

33. March sun. In the slender birch's thin shadow on the snow the air's frozen silence crystallizes. Then -- suddenly -- the blackbird's tentative call note, a reality outside your own, the real world. Suddenly: the paradise from which we have been excluded by our knowledge.

Sometimes DH's solitary isolation is overcome by experiences in nature. In early spring he enjoys the March sun and sees the slender birch's shadow on the snow, but it is the blackbird's call that makes him aware of reality outside his own, in this case a paradise from which his knowledge (of good and evil? cf. Genesis 3:22-23) has excluded him.

34. He came with his little girl. She was wearing her best clothes. You saw how careful she was with her fine coat. Others saw also -- saw, with indifference, that it had been another little girl's fine coat, which had been fine another year.

In the morning it had been festive in the sunshine. Now most people had already gone home. The balloon sellers were counting the day's receipts. Even the sun had kept abreast with the others and gone to rest behind a cloud. So it was quite bleak and deserted when he came with his little girl to taste the joy of spring and to be warmed in a newly polished Easter sun.

But she was satisfied. They were both of them satisfied. For they had learned a humility which you have yet to grasp. A humility which never compares, which does not reject that which is for 'something else' or for 'more.'

It is an Easter day. There has been some sun and many have been out enjoying it, but now it has clouded over again. DH sees a father and daughter, the little girl wearing a neat hand-me-down coat, though for her it is new. They have come a bit late to enjoy the best of the day but they are nonetheless satisfied. DH admires their acceptance of life, a humility which is not constantly asking for something else or for more (cf. 59:4).

35. Lean fare, fixed form.
 Brief joy, few words.
 A low star
 In cool space --
 A morning star.
 In sparsity's pale light
 Lives the thing,
 -- We are.

This terse poem, which may reflect experiences while hiking in the mountains of Lapland, puts human life in its cosmic setting. There is not much to eat, a fixed regimen, moments of joy, little conversation. But as the morning dawns one becomes aware of the life one shares in the great vastness with all else. The dashes in the final line have been inserted to distinguish between “the thing” and what we are, a distinction that the Swedish text does suggest.

36. Upon the continuing cowardliness, the repeated deceits,
 judgment falls the day on which an in itself perhaps
 insignificant manifestation of your weakness robs you of
 further opportunities to choose -- rightly.
 Do you at least feel thankful for the grace of still being
 constantly tested, for not having been taken at your word?

DH castigates himself for his cowardliness and deceits (cf. 45-49:6, 50:33) and says the consequence of this pattern of behavior can be finding oneself in a situation in which one is still able to choose, but no longer able to make right choices. As long, however, as he experiences constant testing, he tells himself that he should feel grateful that this judgment has not yet fallen.

37. As a careerist you have a broad area of activity even after
 you may possibly have reached your goal. You can always
 try to hinder others from becoming better qualified.

DH speaks ironically of the meanness that can characterize the life of a successful person. Having reached one's goal, one can devote one's efforts to trying to prevent others from approximating one's own success.

38. There is a flash of insight in this: You could just as well
 never have existed. With regular salary, a bankbook, and a
 brief case under your arm, it can, however, be presupposed

that you take yourself for granted. What you are can be of interest, not that you are. About one's pension -- not death -- there is reason to think "while it is yet day."

That one exists cannot be taken for granted (cf. 55:38, 59:105-106). It is certain that one's existence will end with death and DH emphasizes the importance of reflecting about this fact (51:1, 51:17, 55:18, 57:43). At the same time it is life's content, even at the level of bankbook and brief case, that gives life significance. We are therefore to work "while it is day" (John 9:4). Even one's pension belongs to that portion of the "day" for which one has responsibility. Cf., however, 57:18.

39. "Far too much the bother . . .

I so little require --."

If dying also must become a social function, then give me the grace to steal out on tiptoe, without disturbing anyone.

The cited lines are from the poem "*Bleka dödens minut*" (Pale Death's Minute) by the Swedish poet, Birger Sjöberg (1885-1929), a self-educated journalist and troubadour (*Samlade dikter* [Stockholm: Bonniers, 1954], 100). Sjöberg has observed a funeral procession and, thinking of the formal dress and the ceremonies associated with the rite of burial, says that he would prefer simply to fall as a leaf and be lost in the earth. DH suggests by the dashes at the end of the cited lines that he has the whole poem in mind. Just as one can say to a hostess that all too much fuss has been made over one's visit, so one can protest about the bother that may attend one's interment. DH imagines the possibility of stealing quietly out of life's party without disturbing by one's leave-taking the other guests.

40. In X outer restlessness, inner asceticism, and an emotional antifeminism are equivalent aspects of one and the same personality, without internal causal connection. While "more normal" types carry the office and bedroom atmosphere with them out into the open, with him you escape into the reality of free space even within thick walls and under a low ceiling. His contacts are casual, but nonetheless more nakedly intensive than others: a vocal inflection can bind, a glance unite.

My friend, the popular psychologist, has completed his diagnosis. And has understood nothing, nothing at all.

73 | In this waymark DH could be objecting to someone's attempt to describe him. In 51:54 he criticizes the misuse of psychological diagnoses. He did have confidence in his own ability to analyze others (45-49:3-4, 50:30), but here he may be saying that the secret of a person's being can only be known through that person's voluntary self-disclosure. In the letter to Leif Belfrage found with the *Vägmärken* manuscript DH states that the notations found in it "give the only true 'profile' that can be drawn" (supra, v). If so, there are waymarks that do support some parts of the description. There are signs of inner asceticism (50:33, 55:2, 55:27). DH clearly loved the out-of-doors and may have brought some of its ambience into the offices in which he worked (45-49:12, 50:10, 51:41, 51:50). He was intense in what he required of a conversation and alert to other subtle clues body language could communicate (50:11, 50:25, 51:12, 54:4, 55:51).

41. Spiritual liberation has its sensual component and the soul's claustrophobia a physical symbolism and a physiological breeding ground.

In the previous waymark's description we are told, "... with him you escape into the reality of free space even within thick walls and under a low ceiling." Here DH states that spiritual liberation does have a sensual component. The soul's claustrophobia can presumably have thick walls and a low ceiling as its breeding ground. For this reason vacations in the open spaces of Lapland must have been especially important for DH (cf. 51:56-57, 60-61).

42. The courage not to compromise what is purest in oneself is at best judged as pride. And the judge can find support for his opinion when he sees consequences which to him must appear much like punishment for a mortal sin.

If the courage not to compromise one's purest resolve is "at best" judged as pride, it must also be subject to other less favorable evaluations. What are apparently bad consequences of uncompromising behavior can, furthermore, seem to lend support to such negative assessments. DH is describing the burden one form of sacrifice continues to require (cf. 45-49:13, 50:46, 51:29-30). At the same time one has the responsibility to communicate as effectively as possible "what is purest in oneself." Need one assume that one will always be misunderstood?

43. The illiberality in a person of power --. And vice versa: the power of one who is liberated.

74 | Two kinds of power are contrasted, of which one can contain an illiberal element. DH does not tell us what happens when these two kinds of power encounter each other, which of them must yield. Nor is DH saying that there is necessarily something illiberal in *all* persons of power. DH does imply that one who is liberated can also be a person of power. What kind of power does such a person exercise? Did DH try to exercise such a power?

In the Swedish language there are some words that have roughly the same meaning, though one word is used only in a religious context, while the other is used in ordinary speech. There are, for example, two words for “neighbor,” *nästa* used in the biblical commandment, “You shall love your neighbor as yourself” (Leviticus 19:18, Mark 12:31), and *granne* used to refer to the person living next door. The verbs *förlösa* and *förlossa* provide another example of this linguistic usage. Both can be translated “to deliver,” *förlossa* having the added religious meaning “to redeem.” In 51:29 DH speaks of Jesus as an *återlösare* or *förlossare* (redeemer). In this waymark, *oförlösta* (illiberality) and *den förlöstes* (the one who is liberated) are derived from *förlösa*. DH is not using specifically religious language and yet he must have recognized that there is a relationship between deliverance/liberation religiously understood and a deliverance/ liberation that has implications in the social order (cf. 55:1).

44. Where is the boundary? Where do we arrive in these dreams of satiated beauty, laden with significance but without comprehensible content, etched in the mind much deeper than the witness of the eyes? Well -- without fright, without desire.

The memory of bodily reality, whither does it vanish? Meanwhile the world pictured in these dreams does not age. It lives -- as the memory of a memory.

So the dream about the birds. So also the dreams of the morning and the night.

Tired birds, large tired birds rest on the high, enormous cliff facing the dark waters, awaiting the night. Tired birds turn their heads toward the fiery western sky. The fire becomes blood, the blood is mixed with soot --. To see over the water, way toward the west, up toward the steep endless arches. Still --. To participate in this great distant world's entrance into night. -- The only words (my words, his words?) spoken, unspoken, die away: Now it is too dark for us to find the way back.

75 | In this waymark DH begins to speak of “the boundary.” In 51:47 he will use the phrase “the boundary of the unheard of,” an expression to which he will return in several later waymarks (51:62, 52:6, cf. 54:20, 54:25). Here it appears that he feels that he approaches a boundary in dreams. Is there a spiritual world in which that of which one dreams exists? DH refers to dreams of birds and of morning and night. The dream of the birds is then described. The two waymarks that follow may also have dream content.

The birds are tired and await the night on a huge cliff overlooking the western sea. In an awesome fiery sunset DH sees a distant world enter into night. He appears to have a companion. With the night there is silence and such darkness that DH and his companion cannot find their way back to whence they have come. DH’s mood seems nonetheless to be characterized by transcendence of both fright and desire.

45. Night. Before me is the road -- passing by. Behind me is the path curving up toward the house, as a clearing in the darkness under the park’s dense trees. I know that people are passing by out there, veiled in darkness. I know that life quivers about me, hidden by the night. I know that something awaits me in the house. Out of the darkness of the park a solitary bird’s cry: and I go -- up there.

This may be a dream about the night. DH is standing outside a house surrounded by a park. He is facing the street. There is life all about him among the trees of the park. People are passing by on the street. Everything is veiled in darkness. DH has an appointment in the house where someone awaits him. A solitary bird’s cry out of the darkness prompts him to go to keep his appointment.

46. Light without a source, the pale gold of a new day. Silky gray, soft leaves on low bushes, silvered with dew. The cat’s-foot’s cool redness blooming on the hills. The blue of the horizon --. From under the dark brook ravine’s leafy vault I step out on the wide slope. Drops of water glittering on my hands, my forehead cooled by sprinkling from resilient branches, evaporating in a warm morning breeze.

76 | This could be the dream about the morning. No sunrise is described, simply the pale light, without apparent source, of a new day. DH emerges from the dark ravine of a brook out on a wide slope. There are hills in the distance on which cat's-foot (a trailing Eurasian mint, *Nepeta hederacea*, with rounded leaves and rather showy flowers) is blooming and the blue horizon promises a fair day. DH is cooled by the dew on the bushes, but also dried by a warm morning breeze.

47. Now. Since I have overcome my fear -- of others, of myself, of the darkness underneath:
at the boundary of the unheard of.

Here the known ends. But from beyond something fills my being with the possibility of its origin.

Here desire is purified into receptivity: each action a preparation for, each choice a yes to the unknown.

Hindered by the duties of life on the surface from giving attention to the depths, but in these duties slowly prepared to step down as a shaping agent into the chaos from which the white wintergreen's fragrance bears the promise of a new kinship.

At the boundary --

In this waymark DH does arrive "at the boundary of the unheard of." Aulén says "the unheard of" could also be translated "that which transcends all imagination" (Aulén, E 25-26). In later waymarks the expression is enclosed in quotation marks (51:62, 52:6). It is not certain as to whether DH intends thereby to indicate that he is quoting himself, or whether the expression has some other literary source. In 54:20 DH states that "the unheard of" is to be in the hands of God. This waymark may be his first attempt to state what this means.

Fear is overcome, of others, of himself, of the depths of darkness. One wonders whether DH encounters the depths of darkness in dreams (cf. 51:44). He has reached the limits of knowledge, but beyond these limits is the possibility of what he was meant to be. To this possibility he is receptive, his actions and choices affirming what for him is thus far unknown. His duties have up till now prevented him from deep probing of life's depths, but he finds that he has nonetheless been slowly prepared to take the role of a shaping agent in the chaos that precedes the imposition of created order (Genesis 1:1-2). He uses nature imagery, the fragrance of the white wintergreen (a plant of the genus

77 | *Gaultheria* with white bell-shaped flowers followed by spicy red berries and shining aromatic leaves that yield a useful oil), to indicate the promise of the new kinship he anticipates with all that is.

48. When you have come to the point that you do not expect a response, you will at last be able to give so that the other can accept -- and rejoice in the gift. When the lover is himself freed from dependence on the loved one through love's maturing into a radiance whose essence is its own dissolution in light, then the loved one will also be perfected through being freed from the lover.

In 50:19 DH states that he does not believe that friendship requires mutuality. This seems to be a strange understanding of friendship, as well as of love, but the point may be that the response need not be directed back to the lover. DH is calling for independence and freedom. The lover must not be dependent on the one that is loved. When love is in every sense freely given, this makes possible the perfection of the loved one (cf. 55:51). The image of "a radiance whose essence is its own dissolution in light" may refer to the way a lesser light is wholly absorbed in a greater light, such as in the light of the sun (cf. 56:16, 57:16, 57:28). In a similar way a mature love loses itself in the great love of God, which is also freely given.

One does not find much said in *Waymarks* about the acceptance of love from other persons. DH sought to give love to others (54:19, 56:13, 56:26), but he found it difficult to develop intimate relationships in which he received love in return (52:17, 55:42). He did, however, speak in general terms of being receptive (55:58, 57:1). With respect to the God relationship, he was aware that God grants independence, but the result is not that one is freed from God, the lover. Instead one ceases to seek such independence in order to become more fully identified with God (55:52). This would seem to have implications also for interpersonal relationships.

49. In which dimension of time does this feeling possess its eternity? It was, it filled me with its richness. Born in me, felt by no one else, vanished from me -- but formed of a material beyond time and space, by a heart which will become dust.

78 | “This feeling” may well be “love’s maturing into a radiance whose essence is its own dissolution in light” of the previous waymark. If the eternal can in this way be experienced in time, what relation does it have to the temporal? It is temporally delimited in that it comes to be, is felt, after which it is gone. Its source transcends space and time, but at the same time a heart bearing the marks of mortality has formed this transcendent “material.” DH is suggesting that to be human is to possess such a creative possibility.

50. So rests the sky against the earth. In the tarn’s dark stillness the forest’s womb opens. And as the man enfolds the woman’s body in his abiding tenderness, so the nakedness of the ground and the trees is enfolded in the morning’s still, high light.

I myself feel a smart which is a longing for union, for participation, for sharing in this meeting. A smart which is identical with the desire of earthly love -- but directed toward ground and water and sky, answered by the whispering of the trees, the earth’s fragrance, the wind’s caresses, the light’s and the water’s embrace. Satisfied? no, no, no --. But refreshed, rested -- in expectation.

The union of earth and sky can be likened to a tender marital embrace. DH feels a longing to share in such a union. He suggests that sexual desire can be oriented toward ground and water and sky. It can be answered by what one hears and smells and feels and sees out-of-doors. DH does not claim the feeling of satisfaction that follows sexual intercourse, but he is refreshed and rested (cf. 55:60, 58:9). There is also continuing expectation. We are not told what is expected, but DH may be looking forward to the ultimate union with the natural order that death will represent (cf. 52:9).

51. He received -- Nothing. But for this he paid more than others for their riches.

This waymark can be interpreted in two ways. It can tell of a foolish person who gave unwisely and received nothing in return. It can also describe a giving that does not seek return, the anonymous sacrifice (45-49:13), which can even be described as a payment. This is a love that does not require mutuality (51:48) and which is prepared to suffer.

52. To step out of his relationships does not lead to life but to death for the revolutionary who is not in the very act of revolting driven by love for that which is apparently being rejected, and thus at this basic level remains faithful to the relationships.

DH addresses himself to the issue of revolution (or what today is often called “terrorism”) and states that there must not only be a commitment to an envisaged future, but also, at a more basic level, to human relationships, the present ordering of which is being rejected. Some social roots must be permitted to remain if there is to be hope for new life and growth.

53. In the devil’s deck the cards of damnation and destruction lie side by side with those of consummation. It is only those of love that are lacking. -- Did he himself understand that he was for this reason the destiny of many? For the one he became a God-surrogate. For the other he represented a binding relationship that had to be defeated.

The first part of this waymark states that whereas the devil offers the promise of consummation, though there is also the closely related risk of destruction, the devil knows nothing of love. Quite clearly it is self-giving love of which the devil is ignorant, not self-seeking love that can be rewarded by consummation. The second part of the waymark is ambiguous. Auden- Sjöberg translate it so as to suggest that DH continues to refer to the devil (*Markings*, 77) and Aulén accepts this interpretation (Aulén, E 92). In so translating this waymark, however, Auden-Sjöberg change DH’s past tenses in the second part of the waymark into present tenses and “binding relationship” becomes “tyrant.” DH may, however, in these two concluding sentences be referring to Jesus. That Jesus became the destiny of many may refer to the words of Simeon in Luke 2:34: “This child is destined for the falling and the rising of many in Israel, and to be a sign that will be opposed.” Jesus did for some become the deputy of God (“God- surrogate” being taken in a positive sense as referring to the doctrine of the incarnation). For others he represented a binding relationship, the gift as well as the demand of self-giving love, which they not only rejected but struggled to overcome.

54. What possibilities does not psychology give us to screen off the disturbing unknown with a label which gives it a place in the list of common aberrations.

80 | The “disturbing unknown” may be that which lies beyond “the boundary of the unheard of” (51:47, 51:62; cf. 51:44). If so, DH is protesting against disposing of this dimension of life by giving it a psychological label. That psychological labels can in other respects be useful may be granted.

55. What occurs tacitly between two persons can never be repaired through what they say -- not even if they cooperate in the effort, in a shared awareness of what happened.

This waymark stresses the importance of unspoken communication (cf. 50:11). What we communicate through what we do is often more significant than what we say. If damage has been done to a relationship, speaking about what occurred may not be sufficient, even if both parties to the relationship cooperate in such an effort. It need not follow, however, that the possibility of repairing the relationship through what the two persons thereafter do is also excluded.

56. The extra-human in the experience of the greatness of nature. It does not permit itself to be mastered so that human reactions can be expressed. We also cannot through serving it express a human reaction. If we cannot find the way to resound as an organic part of the whole, we will only be able to observe ourselves observing the interplay of the thousand components in a harmony that is independent of our own experience of it as harmony.

Landscape: only in your immediate experience of its details do you provide soil in your soul where the beauty of the whole can grow.

Waymarks 56-58 and 60-61 record DH's reflections related to visits to Lapland. DH visited northern Sweden at least twice in 1951, in the early summer and again in the fall (Willers, 89). The grouping of these waymarks indicates that DH's entries in his journal are sometimes arranged topically rather than chronologically.

In describing the experience of the greatness of nature, DH states that what we find here transcending the human can neither be mastered nor served. Only as we become an organic part of the whole are we caught up in its harmony

81 | instead of being merely external observers. We achieve this not by trying to grasp the significance of the whole, but by an immediate experience of the details of some portion of nature, such as a landscape. In this way the pre-conditions are provided for an appreciation of the beauty of the whole. For another meaning of “landscape,” see 53:17.

57. The arctic summer night's sacrament: a fragrance of ice
and bursting buds -- rusty brown sheen on bare stems,
glitter among resinous new leaves -- the rustling of water
and ice in the open channels, the willow warbler's trills --
the ice block's death luster when seen against the sun, the
rhododendrons' purple wave breaking on the moory shore
-- among brown sere scrub *Pinguicula*'s white spoon-drift
on sunlit cool waters. Victory --

Uno Willers believes that we can more specifically identify the occasion that prompted this waymark. The manager of a mountain hostel at Abisko on Lake Torneträsk in northern Lapland recalls that shortly before midsummer in 1951 DH spent the night there on his way from Kiruna to Narvik. Being told that the ice was breaking in the lake and the rhododendrons were in bloom, before retiring he took a walk in the beautiful spring weather. The next morning at an early breakfast he spoke enthusiastically of the previous night's experience (Willers, 88-89).

The Swedish word *nattvard* (supper) is now used only for the Lord's Supper (see the comment on 51:43 for a discussion of this kind of Swedish linguistic usage). In this waymark DH uses another old Swedish word, *dagvard* (breakfast), to describe with sacramental overtones the burgeoning forth of life in Lapland, which does not cease even during the brief summer nights. There is a particularly intense experience of the renewal of nature within the Arctic Circle, where after winter months of almost total darkness there is during the summer hardly any darkness at all. The mingled sights, smells, and sounds become nature's sacrament celebrating a renewed victory of life.

The willow warbler is a small songbird (*Phylloscopus trochilus*) that is delicate greenish above and white below. The rhododendron is a genus of shrubs or trees (family *Ericaceae*) that have alternate short-petioled often leathery leaves scattered or in clusters at the branch ends and flowers in terminal umbellate racemes. *Pinguicula* is a large genus of apparently stemless bog herbs having

82 | showy solitary purple, yellow, or white flowers on naked scapes, and leaves that capture insects in the viscid secretion on the leaf surface, after which the insects are digested.

58. Humility before the flower at the timberline opens the way up the mountain.

The plants at the timberline may have taken years to grow to the point that they bloom. One does not pick these flowers nor tread upon them. Recognizing in humility the wonder of vegetation at these altitudes is the spiritual prerequisite for continuing one's ascent.

59. Ardent about the possibility of a larger contribution, because life has not yet demanded everything. But if it has already taken what it has found useful? It is good and well to want to give everything, if I have been able to enrich my being so that everything has received value. Otherwise --. And why tense? What streams of ambition flow through my striving as a person?

DH does hold that life calls for a total sacrifice (25-30:2, 50:46). But this means that one must be willing to let life take of oneself what it can use. One must enrich one's being so that one has something to contribute. At the same time the one who wishes to offer himself sacrificially must have a relaxed mood. Personal ambitious striving and total sacrifice are not wholly consistent with each other. What I want to give may not be what is needed just now, nor may as much as I want to give be needed. It is what is required by life (God, others) that determines what my contribution should be, not my desire (ambition) to give.

60. Autumn in the wilderness: life as an end in itself even in its individual annihilation, the vista's high clarity, the calm of what surrounds me at its extinction -- before an execution squad I would this evening say yes, not out of tiredness or defiance, but in solidarity's bright confidence. -- To bring this into my life among people.

This and the following waymark are reflections about the fall in the arctic wilderness, the beauty and clarity that attend the dying of the vegetation. DH's sense of solidarity with the nature he is observing is so complete that on

83 | this evening he feels he also himself could be prepared to die, even before an execution squad. He wishes that in his life among people he could achieve such a calm acceptance of the rhythm of life and death.

61. Autumn in Lapland. The gentle, rain-laden east wind blows down the dry riverbeds. On the banks the yellowing birches shake in the gale.

The first measures in the great hymn of annihilation.
Not a hymn to annihilation. Not a hymn in spite of
annihilation. But the destruction which is a hymn.

If the arctic summer night can have sacramental character, the arctic fall can be likened to a great hymn of annihilation. Its first measures are the gentle, rain-laden east wind, but soon the birch trees are shaken by the gale. The destruction that is to take place is itself the hymn. So to designate it is to indicate that the rhythm of nature is being wholly accepted and affirmed.

62. "At the boundary of the unheard of --" The unheard of -- probably quite simply Lord Jim's last meeting with Doramin, when he has attained absolute courage and absolute humility in an absolute faithfulness to himself. With a living feeling of guilt, but at the same time conscious that he has paid his debt to the extent that this is possible in this life -- through what he has done for those who now demand of him his life. Calm and happy. As on a solitary walk along the seashore.

DH repeats the phrase "at the boundary of the unheard of" from 51:47. He will refer to "the unheard of" later in 54:5, 54:20, and 54:25. The quotation marks in this waymark may suggest that DH is quoting himself (51:47), or that he is quoting someone else, possibly Joseph Conrad in *Lord Jim* (New York: Doubleday, Doran & Co., 1937). *Lord Jim* is a story of a man who in his youth makes a serious mistake, so that he feels overwhelmed by guilt. He spends his life seeking to atone for what he did, only to have the people whom he has been helping turn against him by reason of the treachery of an interloper. This costs Lord Jim his life, but he dies without regret. He has finally attained absolute courage and absolute humility in an absolute faithfulness to himself.

During this year DH became more involved in the affairs of the United Nations, becoming chairman of Sweden's delegation to the UN General Assembly. During the summer a crisis arose in Sweden as Swedish planes were shot down by the Russians over the Baltic. Since the foreign minister, Östen Undén, was on holiday in Italy, DH, as vice-foreign minister, was put in charge of the exchange of notes with Moscow. His skill in these negotiations earned him the respect of the Soviets. He was at the peak of his career as a Swedish governmental official. Nonetheless, Van Dusen finds him in this year's waymarks expressing "the nadir of private despondency" (Van Dusen, 98). We must carefully examine what DH writes to see whether this is in fact a correct interpretation of DH's frame of mind.

1. "Soon night approaches --." How long the way is. But the time it has already taken, how much have I not needed it in order to learn what it is leading -- past.

DH begins another year with the words from the hymn he has cited the past two years (50:1, 51:1). He speaks of "the way" (52:21, 53:11, 57:23, 60:6, 61:5, 61:12) as long, and yet he states that he has needed its length in order to learn essential lessons of self-denial. We have in this waymark an example of DH's use of dashes (cf. 1945-1949 Introduction). One is expecting him to say that the way is leading *to* some goal. Instead he wants to call attention to what it in his case is requiring him to *pass by*.

2. "I am being led further --." Yes, yes -- but you have not been blind to the opportunities.

The first words of this waymark are within citation marks. DH is probably conversing with himself (note the word "leading" in 52:1). He confesses that he is being led, but he also admits that he has not been blind to the opportunities he has noted along the way. This suggests that he has not so easily learned the self-denial to which the previous waymark refers.

3. "Your will be done --." Let be the fact that you have permitted self-interest to give the push to small attempts to assist destiny; let be that you have even for others sought to interpret this in the noblest terms -- if only you let the final outcome be determined entirely over your head, in faith.

85 | “Your will be done --.” To let the inner take precedence over the outer, the soul over the world -- wherever this leads. And in so doing not to let an inner value become the mask for an outer value -- but to make oneself blind to the value the inner can give the outer.

This waymark also begins with a quotation, in this case from the Lord’s Prayer (cf. 41-42:21, 56:7, 56:55, 58:9). DH tells himself that insofar as he has permitted self-interest to influence his understanding of his destiny (51:27, 53:7, 56:1), the decisive consideration is whether he will permit the final outcome to be such that God’s will is done (50:42, 57:31). The inner must take precedence over the outer. Should this inner dedication contribute to outward success, this must be wholly ignored. He must be prepared to follow wherever his inner dedication may lead him.

4. Work as an anesthetic against loneliness, books as substitutes for people --! You say that you are waiting, that the door is open. But is it for people? Is not the Etna for which Empedocles waits a destiny beyond human fellowship?

DH struggles with what he considers his deficient interest in other people. In his loneliness he turns to work. Books are preferred to living voices. The door to his office is open, but it is not certain that he is waiting for people to enter through it. He refers in this connection to Empedocles (ca. 490-430 B.C.E.), the Sicilian philosopher, waiting on Etna, an active volcano, in Sicily. According to one tradition Empedocles perished in Etna’s flames, though according to another tradition after leaving Sicily he died in southern Italy or Greece. Hjalmar Sundén suggests that this waymark could reflect DH’s reading of Friedrich Hölderlin’s *Den Tod des Empedocles* (*Kristus-meditationer i Dag Hammarskjölds Vägmarken* [Stockholm: Diakonistyreliens bokförlag, 1966], 26, 89; *Hölderlins Werke und Briefe*, Friedrich Beissner and Jochen Schmidt, eds., vol. 2 [Frankfurt: Insel Verlag, 1969], 461-587).

5. The hardest thing of all: to die rightly. An examination no one escapes -- how many pass it? And you yourself prayed for strength for that test -- but also that the judge might be lenient.

In Hölderlin’s *Den Tod des Empedocles* “the destiny beyond human fellowship” that Empedocles seeks is to be attained through death. It is possible, therefore,

86 | that this waymark continues the reflection begun in 52:4. DH asks why is it so difficult to die rightly? It is not the experience of dying he fears (45-49:9-10), but he thinks of the fact that in death judgment is passed on the life that was lived (50:26-27, 51:11). He wonders how many pass the test. While he prays for strength, he recognizes his own need that the judge in his case be lenient. Though, according to Christian teaching, salvation is by grace alone, this does not alter the fact that there will be a final judgment over what each person has done. "For all of us must appear before the judgment seat of Christ, so that each one may receive recompense for what has been done in the body, whether good or evil" (2 Cor. 5:10).

6. Birth and death, surrender and pain -- the reality behind the dance under the floodlights of social responsibility.

How well do I not understand the mirror symbolism in Cocteau's *Orphée*: to break through that which in the encounter with reality hinders encounter with oneself -- to break through at the price of entering the domain of death. But nonetheless -- what do I want more than just this? When and how do I encounter the possibility? Or is it already lost?

Is my contact with people more than a mirror? Who, what gives me the opportunity to change it to a portal? Opportunity or compulsion. Am I not too "intelligent and well-balanced" -- that is, too socially self-directed -- to yield to anything other than necessity? Which can be demonstrated!

"At the boundary of the unheard of --." Conscious of the deep-sea dive's consummatio [consummation] -- and from instinct, experience, nurture, "discretion," afraid to put my head under the water. Even ignorant as to how it is done!

The theme considered in the previous waymark continues in this one. Birth and dying, surrender and pain, are the reality with which one has to do when one exercises social responsibility, though this may not be fully realized. In dealing with this reality, DH feels the need to break through that which hinders him from encountering himself. He refers in this connection to the mirror symbolism used by Jean Cocteau (1891-1963), a French poet, dramatist, and film writer of the modernist school, especially in his play and film *Orphée*.

87 | Orpheus in Greek mythology went to Hades in search of his deceased wife, Eurydice. The gods, charmed by his music, restored her to him, but forbade him to look at her until they had returned to earth. When Orpheus disobeyed this command Eurydice vanished. Cocteau has recreated this myth in modern dress in a play (1926) and a film (1950). The device Cocteau uses to make possible passage between this world and the other world is dissolving mirrors, which are the gates through which Death comes and goes (Elizabeth Sprigge and Jean-Jacques Kihm, *Jean Cocteau: The Man and the Mirror* [New York: Coward McCann, 1968], 105).

How does DH use this imagery? One does encounter one's external image in a mirror. To break through, or to let go of this image (45-49:5), is to encounter one's inner self, though this can be done only at the cost of death. Death in this case does not mean physical death. The death involved is the death of self-surrender (41-42:9), which does involve pain. This is what DH wants, though he wonders if for him it is still possible.

DH goes on to ask whether in meeting people he is encountering more than a mirroring of his own self-interest. The enabling agent by which this can be changed can be conceived either personally or impersonally. DH can, furthermore, be given an opportunity to which he is free to respond, or he can somehow be driven to break through the mirror barrier. Given what he knows about himself, he thinks that if it is to happen it must be in the latter way.

The boundary through which he wants to pass is "the boundary of the unheard of." He combines the mirror/ boundary imagery with the metaphor of the deep-sea dive. He has referred to plunging into the deep before (50:41), to immersion into the depths (51:47). He admits, however, that he doesn't yet know how even to begin to bring this about. His instincts, previous experience, training, socializing, lead him to fear even to put his head under the water!

7. The stream of life through millions of years, the human stream through thousands of years. Evil, death and distress, the will to sacrifice and love --. What do "I" signify in this perspective? Does not reason compel me to seek what can be mine, my pleasure, my power, people's respect for me. And yet I "know" -- know, without knowing -- that precisely in this perspective nothing could be less significant. An insight in which God is.

88 | DH reflects on the evolutionary process, the life that is older than the more recent human stream. It is in this latter stream that both evil and the will to sacrifice are found (50:44, 58:8). The significance of his own individual presence in this stream is infinitesimal. He is conscious of the tension between the self-seeking that reason prompts and a perspective from which judgment is passed on such striving. In this latter insight DH is convinced that God is present.

8. To preserve the inner silence -- in the midst of the hubbub. To remain open, calm, moist soil in the fruitful darkness where the rain falls and the seed germinates -- however many in the arid daylight tramp across the fields in whirling dust.

There are two images used in this waymark, inner silence (25-30:1, 50:40, 55:55) as opposed to outer hubbub, and moist soil (52:9, 59:92) in fruitful darkness as opposed to the dust raised by those tramping across an arid field. Darkness is also sometimes related to silence (54:8). That which is most important must develop within the individual's inner solitude.

9. When the feeling for the ground meets the feeling for the body -- to become earth of earth, a plant among plants, an animal grown out of the soil and fertilizing it. A pantheism of the body with its own empowering covenant.

DH stresses his feeling of solidarity with the natural order (cf. 51:56). There is progression from soil to plants to animals and the suggestion of the cycle by which at death the individual returns to dust, fertilizing it. There is here an empowering covenant, a strong sense that in this body, which includes the totality of nature, there is a divine presence.

10. It is easy to be friendly even to the enemy -- from lack of character.

It is the inner reason for behavior that determines how it should be evaluated. Friendliness, which is good, can, however, issue from lack of character.

11. Shall the disgust over the emptiness be the only living content with which you fill the emptiness?

89 | “Emptiness” is for the most part a negative term in *Waymarks* (41-42:4, 45-49:13, 50:47, 50:55, 52:11). It is not enough, however, to confess one’s emptiness or to be disgusted with it. DH has stated that our emptiness can be filled with positive content (51:6). Indeed to be in one sense empty is a prerequisite for being receptive to what each new day will bring (57:1).

12. Now you have been there -- it was no more than that! All through life, how many steps, how many hours in order to follow along, to have heard, to have seen -- what?

Sometimes the issue of a quest is disappointing (50:34). Is DH reflecting about the striving his career has thus far represented? He suggests that social pressure leads one “to follow along.”

13. It is in the Void,
Sleeps in the silence,
Weeps in the darkness --
Little incubus,
When, when?

According to medieval lore an incubus was a male demon who haunted the sleep of mortal women and was responsible for the birth of demons, witches, and deformed children. The word can also refer to anything that oppresses and burdens. DH describes the incubus in diminutive terms. It sleeps and weeps. It is not certain whether in the concluding question DH is asking when the incubus will perform its evil deed or when it will be overcome.

14. Thus -- when work thought patterns lose their grip, this experience of light, warmth, and strength. From the outside --. A sustaining element, like air for the glider, water for the swimmer. An intellectual doubt that requires proof and logic hinders me from “believing” -- also this. Hinders me from developing this in cognitive terms into an interpretation of reality. But through me sweeps the vision of a psychic energy field created in a continual present by the many, in word and deed constantly praying, living in holy obedience.
-- -- -- “the communion of saints” and -- in this -- an eternal life.

90 | Both Van Dusen and Aulén comment on this waymark. Van Dusen calls it one of the most notable, a fleeting illumination, a shaft of light during DH's darkest night (Van Dusen, 93-94, 194). Aulén notes references to intellectual difficulties, to the church, and to eternal life (Aulén, E 26, 141, 154; Sw 42, 203-204, 221-222). DH suggests that his work thought patterns constitute a hindrance keeping him from the kind of self-surrender that is the true meaning of life (45-49:5, 45-49:13, 52:6). As he becomes freed from them he experiences support coming from outside himself. Though he cannot rationally account for this experience (52:7), he traces its source to those whose obedience is a constant prayer and whose fellowship is eternal life.

15. Not "for the sake of peace" to deny one's own experience
and convictions --!

We do not know to what extent DH articulated and shared with others the experience described in the previous waymark (cf. 50:51-52, 51:25). Here he states that he should not in order to avoid controversy deny what he had experienced, or the convictions based on these experiences.

16. Give me something to die for --!
"The walls stand
Speechless and cold, in the wind
The weathervanes clatter....`
It is not this that makes loneliness a torment:
That there is no one to share my burden,
But this:
That I have only my own burden to bear.

This waymark has two parts: an introductory cry for a cause to die for, which suggests the lines from the German poet, Friedrich Hölderlin (1770-1843, "Hälfte des Lebens," *Hymns and Fragments*, translated and introduced by Richard Sieburth [Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984], 46-47), and a reflection on what it is that makes loneliness so difficult. The poem was first published when Hölderlin was thirty-five years of age. It consists of two stanzas, one describing summer, with pears and roses, swans swimming in the water, the other inquiring where flowers and sunshine will be found in the winter, the stanza closing with the cited lines. The German words, *die Fahnen klirren im Winde*, which seem to speak of flags clattering in the wind, have been difficult to translate. Leif Sjöberg explains that *Fahne*, "flag" in German,

91 | developed from Old High German *fano*, akin to Old English *fana*, “banner,” which in turn is related to “vane” or “weather vane.” (“Translating with W. H. Auden,” *Comparative Criticism*, vol. 1 (1979), 189).

DH has not yet begun to give dates to certain waymarks. This could, however, have been written about the time of his birthday, which was July 29 (cf. 55:21, 56:34, 58:9, 59:4). He is also in the second half of his life. What he is hungering for most of all is human fellowship, not that another may share his burden, but that he may have the privilege of bearing another person’s burden (cf. 51:32). Other waymarks in which DH speaks of his loneliness are 50:4, 51:32, 52:18, 52:19, 55:46, 58:9.

17. Without blinding desire,
Without feeling the right to intrude in another’s life,
Shy about the nakedness of my own being,
Requiring complete harmony as a
prerequisite for life together:
How could it have been otherwise?

Why did not DH overcome his loneliness through marriage? He may be trying to answer that question in this waymark. The level of harmony that he sought between himself and a possible mate was so high that he may never have found anyone with whom he wanted to propose marriage. He was shy about exposing his own inner self to another person and didn’t feel he had the right to intrude into the more intimate privacy of women to whom he may have been attracted. Nor did he experience a blinding desire that overcame all these inhibitions. He also became married to his work. To a friend in Stockholm he once acknowledged that though he had reconciled himself to bachelorhood as “what must be,” he was not without a continuing and acute awareness of the price (Van Dusen, 80).

18. Pray that your loneliness may spur you to find something
to live for, great enough to die for.

In this waymark DH prays that his loneliness may help him find something for which he may both live and die. He does think that life’s deprivations and adversities can spur one to greater achievement. In 58:9, a waymark written on his 53rd birthday, he seems to be saying that he believes this prayer was eventually answered.

19. Tiredness deadens the pain and enticingly suggests death. So you can be tempted to overcome the loneliness -- and be invited to a final flight from life. -- But, not this! Death must be your final gift to life, not an act of treachery against it.

“Give oneself” -- in work, for others: by all means, only if it isn’t simply in order to promote oneself (perhaps even with a claim for esteem from others).

As 45-49:4,6,7 indicate, DH had experienced the suicides of others and in this waymark he acknowledges that he was aware of the temptation that suicide could represent. Tiredness and loneliness could combine to provide the context in which one might seek such an escape from life. He strongly rejects the thought, however. If one’s death is not to be due to natural causes, it must be one’s final gift to life, an act of self-sacrifice (cf. 57:42). It must not be final betrayal of that to which one has been called.

One’s sense of calling must, however, be critically evaluated. It is possible to give oneself in such a manner as to be promoting oneself, so that there is a hidden self-interest in such apparent altruism (cf. 51:30). There must therefore be total devotion to what is being done for others (58:9).

20. I demand what is unreasonable: that life should have a meaning.

I struggle for what is impossible: that my life shall acquire a meaning.

I dare not believe, do not know how I should be able to believe: that I am not alone.

This waymark reveals a basic conflict in DH’s life. He insists that life should have a meaning, but grants that such a demand is unreasonable. He struggles for meaning in his own life, but considers this impossible. The hardest of all, with respect to which he doesn’t know how to begin, is to dare to believe that he is not alone, that it is possible to have fellowship with God. There are other waymarks, however, that indicate that DH confronted these problems with greater hopefulness (cf. 50:51, 51:32, 52:14, 57:22).

21. The barrenness of this world of mine, does it reflect poverty or honesty, is it a sign of weakness or strength,

does it mean that I have lost my way or that I am following it? -- Shall despair give the answer?

DH confesses to the barrenness of his life, but is not certain what it means. Is he simply poor, or can it be due to his honesty? This barrenness can signify either strength or weakness, being lost or headed toward the goal. The final words suggest that faith rather than despair is to give the answer (cf. 51:32, 54:19).

22. "-- a meaning." When a seventeen-year-old, in accord with his age, so speaks, he is ridiculous in his ignorance of what he is saying. Thirty years older, I am myself ridiculous, when complete insight about what I am putting down on paper does not hinder me from writing this.

A young person can be ridiculous through speaking out of ignorance, an older person through speaking despite all that he/she knows. DH has come to the point where he apparently is not so worried about being ridiculous in the latter sense. He is preparing to let faith rather than despair provide the answer to the quest for life's meaning. The seventeen-year-old could be a youth with whom DH had been conversing. He could also be commenting on something he had written in 1922, which he chose not to include in the manuscript of *Vägmärken*.

23. Ridiculous, this need to communicate! Why should it mean so much that at least someone should have seen the inside of your life? Why do you write this? Certainly for yourself -- but, perhaps also for others?

DH goes on also in this waymark to refer to his journal (cf. 56:61). He who was so shy about exposing the nakedness of his own being (52:17) nonetheless felt the need to communicate, so that at least *someone* would know his innermost thoughts. He did so through the years in this journal. It was for his own use, but he may also early on have begun to think of other possible readers. It is unlikely, however, that he could have imagined how widely *Vägmärken* has actually been read.

24. Loneliness is not a sickness unto death. No, but is it not only through death that it can be overcome? And does it not become worse the closer we come to death?

94 | Loneliness was a problem with which DH had to struggle throughout his life (25-30:13, 50:4, 51:32, 52:16, 52:18, 52:19, 55:46, 56:41, 58:9). He does not regard it, however, as a “sickness unto death.” The expression suggests John 11:4. Søren Kierkegaard has also written a book with this title (*The Sickness unto Death*, trans. Walter Lowrie [Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1954]). If, however, loneliness is overcome only through death, it can become more intense with advancing age. DH may have been thinking of the loneliness of his aged father. Death in another sense, total surrender to God in the performance of the duties of one’s calling (41-42:9, 45-49:5, 52:6), might also have been for DH an answer to the problem of loneliness.

1953

During the early months of 1953 the United Nations was seeking a new Secretary-General. Trygve Lie had resigned due to the fact that the Soviet Union had for over two years ignored his existence and refused all communication with him, because of the support he had given to the Security Council's backing of the United States' decision to resist by force the invasion of South Korea by North Korea. (The Security Council had acted during a period that the Soviet Union was boycotting its meetings.) DH became a compromise candidate, acceptable to all permanent members of the Security Council. Elected and inducted in April, he spent much of the year organizing the staff of the UN Secretariat and defending it against pressures from Senator Joseph McCarthy, then in the heyday of his power, who was charging US citizens working at the UN with disloyalty. As is evident from the waymarks of previous years, DH does not discuss the details of his public life in this journal. He does this year, however, express in a number of waymarks his reactions to the new responsibilities he has received. He also during this year made a brief address on a radio program directed by Edward R. Murrow entitled "This I Believe." DH's 600-word statement, which he called "Old Creeds in a New World," and which was published in 1954 with 80 other similar statements made on that program (*This I Believe*, vol. 2, written for Edward R. Murrow, edited by Raymond Swing [New York: Simon and Schuster, 1954], 66-67. See Appendix A) indicates that he was willing to be known as a confessing Christian. Though not much attention was given to DH's credo, much of what was later to be found more fully articulated in *Waymarks* had already been affirmed in this brief statement.

1. " -- Soon night approaches."
For that which is past: thanks.
To that which is coming: yes!

Prior to his election as Secretary-General of the United Nations DH appears to have experienced a profound affirmation of faith, which he expresses in the first waymark for this year. Faith has been a strong undertone in his life all along, but he now is able to accept more fully than before all that has been and to say yes to all that is to come. Night is still approaching, but he is certain that God has use for him and in the waymarks that follow he again and again in the most positive terms expresses this certainty. Though DH does not often, as in this waymark, express gratitude (see 54:4, 55:22, 56:66, 61:12), he recognizes the need to be grateful (51:36, 54:19, 55:58). For other references to the past, see 50:43, 54:18, 57:9, 59:3. Other waymarks in which DH speaks of saying yes are 51:47, 51:60, 53:14, 56:7, 57:37, 61:5.

- 96 | 2. Maturity: also -- not to hide one's strength, not out of shyness to show it to live below one's best.

Three waymarks written this year are comments about maturity (cf. 53:7, 53:18). DH implies that he feels he has achieved it. Among its meanings is a readiness to be oneself, revealing one's strength, daring to live at one's best.

3. Goodness is something so simple: always to be available to others, never to seek one's own advantage.

DH has always striven for goodness but he has from time to time been troubled by what he has regarded as his deficient interest in other people (50:37, 52:4). Now he sees that always being available to others and not seeking one's own advantage are not simply requirements of goodness, they are its definition, and through the affirmation of faith he has experienced he can state what had been a difficult imperative for him in the indicative mood. This does not mean that further struggle on his part will no longer be needed to live in this way (cf. 56:26), but it does mean that he will be greatly aided by his faith.

4. When God acts it happens in the decisive moments -- such as now -- with a hard purposefulness, a Sophoclean refinement. When the time is ripe he takes his own. But what do you have to say? -- Your prayer has been heard. God has use for you, even if it does not seem to suit you at the moment, God "who crushes the person, when he exalts him."

Waymarks 53:4-13 can be regarded as a series of comments by DH on the theme of his election as Secretary-General of the United Nations, of which fact he was first notified on April 1, 1953. This waymark is in such a case his first reaction to this information. He interprets what has occurred as God acting "with hard purposefulness, a Sophoclean refinement." Of interest is the way in which he uses imagery drawn from Greek tragic drama to describe what he believes is God's involvement in what is happening.

Sophocles (c. 495-405 B.C.E.) was a Greek tragic poet, a younger contemporary of Aeschylus and an older contemporary of Euripides. Many regard his *Oedipus the King*, on the plot of which drama DH comments in 57:7, as unsurpassed in Greek tragedy. Sophocles differs from Aeschylus in

97 | that his characters, though majestic, are nearer the human level. He differs from Euripides in that, though a divine will unfolds in his dramas, the gods do not miraculously intervene. The actions of the characters are complete and intelligible in themselves, though at the same time part of a larger divine design. Through the interaction of a human being with the circumstances befalling in that person's life a divinely intended tragic destiny unfolds. (H. D. F. Kitto, *Greek Tragedy* [Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1955], 141, 144-145).

DH's reference to Sophocles lends a sober note to his reflections on his election as UN Secretary-General. He is suggesting that his life up to this point can be viewed from two perspectives. On the one hand there have been circumstances, to which he has responded, whereby his competence and reputation have developed to the point that this election could be possible. On the other hand a divine plan has also been developing, the purpose of which, now that the time is ripe, can in this decisive moment be described. DH has been praying to be used by God (cf. 51:59, 56:13, 56:57). Such an opportunity has come, though it is not entirely what DH had in mind. He acknowledges, however, that God is claiming what is his own. He also sees himself being crushed by the exaltation that is approaching (cf. 53:11).

The concluding words are quoted in German. DH may have borrowed them from *Strödda blad ur Bertil Ekman's efterlämnade papper* (cf. 51:24). In Ekman's text the German citation comes at the conclusion of the following paragraph: "I am tired of talking about myself. What is great and glorious is that God lives and directs poor mortals, no, directs happy mortals toward death's strong glory. Life is great, you glorious, you glorious hard life, which gives us this destiny, 'Which exalts the person, when it crushes the person'" (63). It is significant that DH changes "which" and "it" to "who" and "he" in the citation, and also reverses the order of the clauses. The source Ekman cites is Friedrich Schiller (1759-1805) in the poem "Shakespeares Schatten. Eine Parodie," 1796, *Schillers Werke*, Leipzig, vol. 1, 200.

5. "Will it come, or will it not,
The day when joy becomes great,
The day when grief becomes small?...
So, then, it came -- the day when grief became small.
Because the difficulty I encountered was meaningless in
the light of the demands God made. But how hard to feel
that this also -- and therefore -- was the day when joy
became great.

98 | The cited lines are from “*Prästkrage säg*” (Oxeye Daisy Tell), a poem by Gunnar Ekelöf (1907-1968). The poem develops a theme found in a line from a Swedish folk song “*Glädjens blomster*” (Flowers of Joy), according to which flowers of joy do not grow on earth, but for hope and faith bloom forever above. The poet asks whether the time will ever come when joy becomes great and grief is small. In commenting on the concluding lines of the poem, DH states that for him the grief has become small because of the great demands God is making. For the same reason he acknowledges that the joy should also be great, though this he finds it difficult to feel.

Five years later the secretariat staff held a surprise party to celebrate the beginning of DH's second term as UN Secretary-General. In his words of appreciation on that occasion DH again referred to these concluding lines from the poem “*Prästkrage säg*” and interpreted them as follows: “. . . what we are trying to do here is to make our small contribution, during our short time, to a development which will finally lead us to the day ‘when joy is great and sorrow is small’” (*Public Papers of the S-G*, 4:65, 68). For DH's dated waymark at the beginning of his second term, see 58:7.

6. Not I, but God in me.

This brief entry is similar to the words of Paul, “. . . not I, but the grace of God which is with me” (1 Cor. 15:10, cf. Gal. 2:20). Paul, however, is looking back at what has been already achieved, while DH is looking forward to what lies ahead. He is conscious of God's indwelling presence and believes that God is working out his purpose through him. Other waymarks where the words “God in me” or their equivalents appear are 53:13, 54:5, 54:13, 54:19, 55:8, 57:4, 58:7.

7. Maturity: also a new lack of self-consciousness -- which you achieve only when you have become wholly indifferent to yourself through an absolute affirmation of your destiny.

The one who has placed himself in God's hand stands free vis-à-vis other people: he is wholly open because he gives them the right to judge.

In view of the new responsibility he is receiving, DH returns to the theme of maturity discussed in 53:2. “Lack of self-consciousness” is perhaps the best way to translate the Swedish *omedvetenhet* (unconsciousness). Such escape from

99 | self-consciousness is achieved through affirming one's destiny, the consequence of which is that one becomes wholly indifferent with respect to previously held ambitions and desires. Having placed oneself in God's hand (cf. 54:20, 55:8) also creates a new relationship of openness and freedom in relation to others (cf. 53:3).

8. April 7, 1953 "Being grounded and strengthened in God, they are incapable of any kind of pride; and since they return to God all the gifts with which he has blessed them, they do not at all receive glory from each other; but they seek only the glory of God alone." Thomas [à Kempis] II:10.

This is the first waymark that is dated. DH received official notification of his election as Secretary-General on April 1. April 7 was the last day he spent in Sweden before leaving to assume his new official responsibilities. As he prepares to leave Sweden he uses the language of a French translation of *The Imitation of Christ* to express his response to this new calling.

This is the first of seven citations from *The Imitation of Christ* in *Waymarks*. The other citations are found in 55:3, 55:21, 55:53, 55:66, 56:8, and 56:57. The citations are in French from *De l'imitation de Jesus-Christ*, translated by le sieur de Beüil, Prieur de Saint Val, dernière ed. (Brussels: Eugene Henry Frick, 1689). It should be noted that the sixth edition had been published in Paris in 1667. DH identifies the source of the citations in this waymark and in 55:21 as "Thomas," also stating that this citation is from book II, chapter 10 (de Beüil, 119). In the 1964 English translation, *Markings*, and the 1966 annotated edition of *Vägmärken* (Stockholm: Bonniers), it was supposed that this was Thomas Aquinas.

The Imitation of Christ, which stresses that following Christ means sharing his sufferings, is attributed to Thomas à Kempis (1380-1470). He received his early education from the Brethren of the Common Life at Deventer, a community founded by Gerard Groote (1340-1380). He spent the remainder of his long life at the monastery of Mount St. Agnes, near Zwolle, The Netherlands, a monastery in which the rule of the Augustinian Canons was being followed. While *The Imitation of Christ* was published by Thomas à Kempis in 1441, many believe the book is largely based on the writings of earlier members of the Brethren of the Common Life, especially Groote's *Admonitions Concerning Interior Things*.

100 | An indication of the importance of *The Imitation of Christ* for DH is the fact that he had taken it with him on what proved to be his fatal trip to the Congo. His leather-bound copy of the above cited French edition of this book was found on the table next to the bed in the Linnér villa in Leopoldville, where he had spent his last night. In the book as a bookmark was a card with the Secretary-General's oath of office typed on it (Urquhart, 587; Van Dusen, 184). This book is presently to be found in the portion of DH's library kept at the Royal Library in Stockholm.

DH uses the citation in this waymark to emphasize the fact that his election as Secretary-General cannot be for him an occasion for pride. His gifts have all been received from God and he is obligated to return them again to God. Thus he is to seek only God's glory and he is unwilling to accept glory for himself.

9. I am the vessel. The drink is God's. And God is the thirsty one.

DH combines the imagery of the drink offering with imagery Paul uses in 2 Corinthians 4:7: "But we have this treasure in clay jars, so that it may be made clear that this extraordinary power belongs to God and does not come from us." This is another way of saying that the gifts God has given are to be returned to him. See 54:2.

10. What meaning does the word "sacrifice" ultimately have? Or even the word "gift"? The one who has nothing cannot give anything. The gift is God's -- to God.

Even the words "gift" and "sacrifice" are, however, inappropriate, though DH makes frequent use of these words (sacrifice/offering - 25-30:2, 45-49:13, 50:46, 51:29, 54:5, 55:9, 55:23, 55:29, 57:13, 57:44, 57:46-47, 58:9, 59:81-82, 60:1; gift - 50:53, 52:19, 53:8, 55:56, 56:59). DH thinks of himself as so identified with God that he cannot claim that his abilities and endowments are his own. Only the divine purpose for which the gifts have been received is to be considered.

11. That the way defined by one's calling ends on the cross, the one who has accepted his destiny knows -- even when it leads him through the jubilation around Gennesareth or the triumphal entry into Jerusalem.

101 | Despite the fact that DH strongly affirms his faith in the waymarks of this year in positive terms, he does not forget that commitment to God involves total sacrifice. At the time that he is enjoying the high experience of beginning his service as UN Secretary-General he reminds himself that even such a high achievement can lead to the cross, to suffering, and even death (cf. 53:4). The life and destiny of Jesus play a very important role in the definition of DH's faith. In 45-49:13 he points out that Jesus accepted condemnation as the fruit and the presupposition of his endeavor at the time that this endeavor was conceived and chosen. In 51:31 DH states that Jesus later was aware of other possibilities but did not choose them. Here DH reminds himself that in accepting the destiny his calling is defining he must also be prepared to go the way of the cross.

12. To be free, to be able to stand up and leave everything -- without looking back. To say yes --.

For DH to say yes to the future that lay before him required that he be free to leave the context in which his life had thus far been lived. He was grateful for his past but also willing now to turn to new duties without looking back. He may in this waymark be alluding to these words of Jesus: "No one who puts his hand to the plow and looks back is fit for the kingdom of God" (Luke 9:62). For other references to looking/turning back, see 51:22, 56:13, 57:26, 57:35, 61:5; to saying yes, see 51:47, 51:60, 53:1, 53:14, 56:7, 57:37, 61:5.

13. No one is humble except in faith. For the masks of weakness or pharisaism are not the naked face of humility.

No one is proud except in faith. For the spiritually immature person's variations on the theme of conceit are not pride.

Humble and proud in faith: it is to live this, that in God I am nothing, but God is in me.

Humility and pride were themes upon which DH on a number of occasions reflected (humility - 51:62, 53:22, 54:2, 54:19, 55:7, 55:58, 56:1, 56:26, 56:33, 56:45, 56:49, 59:4; pride - 50:44, 51:15, 51:42, 54:2, 56:40, 61:16). He valued humility above pride, though here he speaks positively of both humility and pride when they appear in the context of faith (cf. 54:2, 55:41). In God one is both abased and exalted (cf. 53:4). Masks of whatever kind are of no use before God, while no conceit can be compared with the consciousness of God's indwelling presence.

102 | This is the last in a series of waymarks (53:4-13) that have been interpreted as expressing DH's reflections upon his election as UN Secretary-General. It is significant that in all but two of these waymarks God has been named. This indicates the religious devotion with which DH entered upon these duties.

14. To say yes to life is also to say yes to oneself.
Yes -- even to that attribute which most unwillingly
permits itself to be transformed from a temptation into
strength.

To say yes to what is to come (53:1, 53:12) is also to say yes to life, which includes oneself. DH is keenly aware of his faults (cf. 41-41:22, 50:33, 51:36, 55:8, 55:27, 57:6), but he dares to hope that those of his attributes that could be hindrances can be transformed and used in the furtherance of the cause to which he is committed.

15. The strange moment when a person's features dissolve
in a shimmering watery surface through whose ripples
you see into the depths without seeing the bottom. You
are enticed to dive and tempted to grasp -- but the water
cannot be grasped and under its surface you cannot
breathe. One step further, and the contact is broken
in bewilderment and error: you think you have won a
person and you lose him, you intend to break through the
boundaries of personality and you create for yourself a
new prison.

DH describes what can be an experience of frustration in interpersonal relationships. There are boundaries of personality that must be respected, for if one seeks to break through them, contact with that person is broken. What one thought one had gained is lost. Instead of achieving greater communion, one has become even more isolated in a new imprisonment. There are some similarities between the problem DH discusses in this waymark and the problem discussed in 52:6.

16. Even in our healthiest, brightest human relationships
lurks the abyss -- created by the distrust which binds our
view to the possibilities of the night side.

103 | This waymark and the preceding one are the only waymarks this year containing negative comments. DH may here be explaining why there are boundaries of personality which limit interpersonal communion. They are due to distrust which is never wholly overcome (cf. 50:11), always suggesting “the possibilities of the night side.” Despite faith’s positive affirmation, the presence of this threatening abyss must be remembered (cf. 61:11). DH discusses his understanding of “the night side” more fully in 57:6.

17. A landscape can sing about God, a body about spirit.

The Swedish word *landskap* refers to an area or region, as well as to that portion of land the eye can comprehend in a single view, especially in its pictorial aspect. Very likely the former meaning is intended in this waymark (cf. 51:56). Nature has a relationship to God analogous to the body’s relation to spirit. Both the outdoor world and the body can sing about the spiritual power present within them (cf. 54:15-16, 55:54, 59:115). God’s presence, according to DH, can, of course, be felt in the human individual as well as in nature.

18. Maturity, also this: the bright self-possession this moment of a child at play, in unquestioned solidarity with his playmates.

DH is often critical of childish behavior (cf. 45-49:4, 50:48), but he finds also characteristics of maturity prefigured in the child, especially in the child at play. There is artless, cheerful self-possession. That one plays with and thereby identifies oneself with others is taken for granted. These characteristics must be retained as one moves from play to life’s growing responsibilities.

19. A human nearness -- free from the earth, but blessing the earth.

This waymark, in which Auden-Sjöberg translate *närhet* (nearness) as “intimacy” (*Markings*, 93), has been interpreted as referring to marriage (Van Dusen, 82). DH may, however, be reflecting more generally on the human relationship to the earth. While human beings are of the earth and intimately related to it, they also have a freedom from the earth that other animals do not share. This freedom may be used to exploit and destroy, but it can also be used to care for the earth and bless it. See the following waymarks referring to nature or the earth, in one of which marital imagery is used: 51:50, 51:56, 52:9.

The four adverbs indicate qualities that DH wanted to characterize his leadership. A leader must be firm. The simplicity he sought is what in biblical language is called “singleness of heart” (Eph 6:5, cf. 25-30:1, 59:5). DH valued silence (25-30:10, 45-49:12), preferring it to empty chatter (50:32, 51:12), but also because silence implies a willingness to listen to others and to God (41-42:6, 52:8, 54:8). He felt the need to develop closer interpersonal relationships and sharply criticized his deficiency at this point (50:37). He was later to stress the importance of loving concern for individuals, especially in the large context in which he worked (56:26).

21. You are without support if in anything you chose for yourself.

An essential rule that DH set for himself was that his own self-interest must not govern his choices, for the support he experienced insofar as he was surrendered to God's will required such a discipline (cf. 55:8). In 55:39 he points out that choosing for himself would also weaken his efforts on behalf of others.

22. The humility which is born out of the trust of others.

That others place trust in you can be a source of pride, but it can also prompt humility, when one recognizes the greatness of the obligation and the limits of one's own abilities (cf. 51:2).

1954

DH spent much of 1954 completing his reorganization of the UN Secretariat. During the summer (August 20) he addressed the Second Assembly of the World Council of Churches in Evanston, Illinois, recalling his own early acquaintance with the ecumenical movement during his student days. He challenged the churches to fight for an ever-wider recognition of their own ideals of justice and truth and to help people see the strength that follows from the courage to meet others with trust (*Public Papers of the S-G*, 2:351-356). Following the death of his father (October 10, 1953), Hjalmar Hammarskjöld, who was a member of the Swedish Academy, DH was elected to take his seat, the first time in the history of the academy that a son had succeeded his father. The inaugural address of a new academy member is to be devoted to the life and work of his predecessor. While in Stockholm in December to deliver this address, DH was also preparing to visit the People's Republic of China on behalf of American airmen, some who had strayed into Chinese air space, others who had been shot down over North Korea, whom the Chinese had sentenced as spies. Their continued imprisonment despite the armistice ending the Korean War was causing considerable tension between China and the U.S. While fully conscious of the risks involved, DH hoped that this diplomatic venture could contribute toward reducing this tension. Some dated waymarks express the feelings with which he traveled to Beijing.

1. “-- Soon night approaches.”

Let me finish what I have been permitted to begin.

Let me give everything even without certainty of growth.

For the fifth consecutive year DH begins his entries for the new year by citing the words “Soon night approaches.” He is approaching the end of his first year as Secretary-General. He prays that he may be allowed to finish that which he has been permitted to begin. He reminds himself, however, that it is not essential that he should see the fulfillment of the projects that he has initiated. He must be prepared to give himself unreservedly to his duties without any certainty that his efforts will be crowned with success. In his August 20 address to the Assembly of the World Council of Churches he had stated, “. . . our work for peace should be pursued with the patience of one who has no anxiety about results, acting in the calm self-surrender of faith” (*Public Papers of the S-G*, 2:356). For other references to growth, see 50:40, 55:37, 59:93.

2. The pride of the cup is in the drink, its humility in serving. Of what importance, then, are its flaws?

This waymark calls to mind 53:9, where DH has called himself the vessel and that which is drunk from it God's. If so, the pride of the cup is in its contents and its humility in that it exists to be used. In this context what might otherwise be viewed as defects do not matter (cf. 53:14).

3. Salty and windswept, but warm and glistening. Strides in step under the task's fixed stars. -- To what a great extent are not personal failures due to distrust of this strict and gentle harmony among human beings.

This and the following waymark tell of days DH spent at the seashore with his staff. Very likely there were several long walks along the beach. It is the practice of some persons, perhaps due to the influence of military training, to prefer to walk in step when they walk with another person. DH thinks of being guided in his work by walking in step with "the task's fixed stars," but he suggests also that he must walk in step with his associates. The result is both a strict and a gentle harmony, which if disrupted by distrust of others can lead to personal failure (see 53:16 and the reference in 54:1 to DH's address to the WCC Assembly).

4. With all the body's strength concentrated in the hand on the rudder, with the mind wholly concentrated on the goal beyond the horizon, you catch laughing the salt spray in the second of rest before a new wave -- Sharing the moment's happy freedom with those who share your responsibility.

Thus -- in concentration's self-effacement -- the consummation of living togetherness occurs,

A shared, timeless happiness,
conveyed through a smile,
a movement of the hand.

Thanks for the people who taught me this. Thanks for days which taught me this.

107 | In addition to walking on the beach, DH and his staff also sailed. He reflects that what can be learned from play (cf. 53:18, 57:50) is applicable to the common endeavor in which they are engaged. But most of all he values and is grateful for the fellowship that developed among them as they shared in sailing tasks, a sense of togetherness that was expressed in several nonverbal ways. For other references to nonverbal communication, see 50:30, 50:40, 51:55.

5. Then I saw that the wall had never existed, that “the unheard of” is here and this, not something else, that “the sacrifice” is here and now, always and everywhere -- this, “surrendered” to be what God of himself, in me, gives to himself.

In this waymark a discussion of faith begins that will continue through the following three waymarks (54:6-8). DH has previously spoken of “the boundary of the unheard of” (51:47, 51:62, 52:6). At times he appears to have thought of this boundary as a barrier or a wall, restricting passage to “the unheard of.” He is aware of other barriers, his role’s costume being a wall between him and the sympathy he sought (51:16), the boundary of another’s personality that must not be violated (53:15). In 52:6 he uses mirror imagery to describe that which hinders encounter with one’s inner self. In this waymark, however, he states that he has finally learned that “the unheard of” does not lie beyond an impassable boundary. No wall separating him from it has ever existed. “The unheard of” is to be surrendered and thereby sacrificed here and now to God. This happens within a person, so that the person is fully involved in the surrender, but it is also God who of himself gives to himself. In 55:19 a similar discovery is described using other imagery.

6. Only the one who always is all he can be has hope of being furloughed from the front before he disappears in the darkness. For the sentries of the enemy do not sleep.

This waymark makes it clear that what God does in the committed believer (54:5) does not leave the person wholly passive with no responsibilities. Using military language DH suggests that the sentries of the forces of evil will signal an attack if at any time the believer fails to be all that he/she can be (55:8, 55:26, 56:60). It is difficult to imagine how and when anyone so obligated can ever expect to be “furloughed” (cf. 25-30:12, 50:42, 57:31, 57:40).

Faith is -- cannot therefore be comprehended, much less identified with the formulas in which we paraphrase that which is. -- en una noche oscura [in a dark night]. Faith's night -- so dark that we cannot even try to believe. It is in the night of Gethsemane, where the last friends are sleeping, all others seek your ruin, and God is silent, that the union is consummated.

In 1953, shortly after coming to New York as UN Secretary-General, DH appeared on a radio program arranged by Edward R. Murrow in which well-known persons from all walks of life made brief statements on the topic "This I Believe." DH entitled his statement "Old Creeds in a New World." In it he quoted the words of the Spanish Carmelite mystic of the counter-reformation period, St. John of the Cross (1542-1591): "Faith is the union of God with the soul" (*Dark Night of the Soul*, book 1, ch. 11, *The Complete Works of Saint John of the Cross* [London: Burns, Oates & Washbourne, 1947], vol. 1, 384). He continued, "The language of religion is a set of formulas which register a basic spiritual experience. It must not be regarded as describing in terms to be defined by philosophy, the reality which is accessible to our senses and which we can analyze with tools of logic" (*Public Papers of the S-G*, 2:195. See Appendix A). Now some months later DH writes in his journal the same definition of faith (cf. 41-42:24, 55:15, 56:63). He goes on to describe what the union of God with the soul ultimately implies. The account of Jesus in the garden of Gethsemane tells us what to expect. The night is so dark we cannot even see by faith. What friends there are are sleeping, while those who are awake are hostile. What may be hardest to understand is that God is silent. No explaining illumination occurs, but nonetheless the union is consummated. DH is not saying that the union begins in this manner, but this is its fulfillment. Other waymarks in which all or part of the statement "Faith is God's union with the soul" appears are 55:9, 56:25, 57:47, 58:7.

8. To be directed by that which lives when "we" no longer live -- as interested parties or know-it-alls. To be able to listen and give heed -- to that within us which is in the darkness. And the silence.

The discussion of faith begun in 54:5 continues in this waymark. In saying that "we" no longer live DH explains what it can mean to accept death (cf. 41-42:9,

109 | 45-49:5). It is the self preoccupied with its own interests, or certain that it has a better understanding of all things (DH uses the German word *Besserwisser*). On the other hand, the radically differently oriented self listens, gives heed, and thereby becomes aware of that which actually *is* in the darkness and the silence (52:8, 53:20). Quite clearly such an understanding of faith cannot be fully explained, but DH suggests it can be lived.

9. Tomorrow you will have to play a more difficult role
-- tomorrow when the public begins to search for faults
and you no longer have me in the wings. Then you will
discover what you really can do --.

DH is anticipating the end of “the honeymoon of publicity” (51:23) which has attended the beginning of his term as Secretary-General. It is not wholly clear as to who will no longer be in the wings as the public begins to search for faults. This cannot be a reference to God. DH may be personifying the popularity enjoyed by the newly elected official. He will discover what he really can do when those evaluating his work become more critical (cf. 56:39, 57:14, 57:49).

10. We have responsibility for our perfidies, but no credit for
our achievements. Man’s freedom is a freedom to betray
God. God surely loves us -- but the answer is voluntary.

It is often held that if we must take responsibility for our mistakes, we should also receive credit for our achievements. DH insists that the good that we do is God’s doing in us (53:10, 55:22, 56:46, 56:57). Our freedom is the freedom to frustrate and betray God (50:33, 57:17, 57:31, 57:32). We may also surrender this freedom as our answer to God’s love (55:52).

11. Your obligation is “to --.” You can never save yourself
through “not to --.”

Human obligation must be defined in positive terms. While there is much that we must not do, there is no salvation in simply avoiding wrong acts.

12. A crack in the ware? Then you have let it get cold.

In the process of firing pottery, if it is heated or cooled too rapidly it can crack. The imagery DH is using suggests the need for patience.

- 110 | 13. You who have created us free, who see all that happens --
and nonetheless are certain of victory.

You who now are the one of us who suffers the utmost
loneliness,
You -- who also are I,
May I bear the burden of this, when my hour comes,
May I --.

This is the first of a number of prayers in *Waymarks* (cf. 54:19, 56:7, 56:55, 61:13, 61:16). It is also a theological statement. God has created free human beings and is fully aware of how they use and misuse this freedom. Yet God is not reduced to being a spectator but is certain of victory (cf., however, 57:31). Since God is identified with the believer, the believer experiences the tension between the confidence that good will triumph and the awareness of the evil that pervades so much of what actually happens. DH states that God suffers loneliness. One might ask, however, cannot the believer have fellowship with other believers? DH would perhaps answer that to exercise one's freedom so that God's cause triumphs is a profoundly individual matter, which can also become an increasingly heavy burden. He prays that he may be enabled to bear this burden when his hour of special testing comes.

14. See yourself as an exception -- but then write off the hope
of "resting in the security that created the world."

DH alludes to a poem, "*Ja visst gör det ont*" (Yes indeed it hurts), by the Swedish poet Karin Boye (1900-1941), published in *För trädets skull* (For the sake of the tree, 1935; *Dikter* [Stockholm: Bonniers, 1946], 175-176). Boye, with whom DH was acquainted, studied in Uppsala, was extremely radical in her social and religious beliefs, and finally committed suicide. In the poem she imagines that it hurts for buds in the spring to break out of their protective covering and that drops of water are apprehensive about falling. The last stanza of the poem reads:

Then, when it is worst and nothing helps,
The buds of the tree break as if rejoicing;
Then, when no fear any longer binds them,
The drops fall in a glitter from the branch,
Forget that they were afraid of the new,
Forget that they were anxious about the journey --

For a second feel their greatest security,
Rest in the trust
that creates the world.

DH has rephrased the last line of the poem. His concern is not so much inhibiting fear as the temptation occasioned by his loneliness. To believe is an extremely individual matter and one can be tempted to over-emphasize one's singularity. The security that God offers is lost, however, if in one's loneliness one separates oneself from the human family.

15. The body: not a thing, not "his" or "hers," not an instrument for your deeds or pleasure. In the ultimate nakedness: the human being.

One must identify oneself not only with all of humankind but also with one's own body. Karen Boye, to whom reference is made in the previous waymark, rejected the dualism between body and soul that she felt was characteristic of traditional Christianity. Though DH can distinguish between the body and the mind (61:7), here he identifies the human being with the body. Our bodies do not belong to us, nor may we do with them whatever we choose. Our bodies are ourselves, the locus of the mystery of human life.

16. Besides the need for a meaning, also this: a need for human nearness, divested of all outworks -- the experience of a closed world of energy, interpreted in a meaningfully beautiful pattern of lines. The numen of human life before which we bow in devotion.

DH here combines themes from the two previous waymarks. He emphasizes the need to escape the isolation of loneliness and experience human nearness. He wants direct encounter with other persons, all outworks (minor defenses beyond the main body of a fortified structure) having been divested. Here DH may be thinking of masks, costumes, formal dress, and other accoutrement of the self (50:13, 51:16, 57:16, 58:12). Note the reference to "ultimate nakedness" in 54:15. It does not seem, however, that the human nearness he is seeking requires actual physical contact (cf. 50:28). He is content to observe the body's linear animation, perhaps "the aching beauty of a neckline" (50:21). The body of another person can be for him a source of wonder as he considers the locus of energy it represents, its aesthetic harmony. "Numen" in Roman religion was a divine power or spirit, whose presence was felt but whose nature was but vaguely known.

17. Blood and dirt, sweat and soil -- where are these in your world of will? Everywhere -- as the ground from which the flame erectly rises.

Despite what DH has said about human beings as bodies (54:15), it could appear that there is little place for blood and dirt, sweat and soil in his vision of what it means to be human. His strong emphasis upon being surrendered to the indwelling God could suggest a world of will, with the material stuff of the world having little significance. Yet it is precisely out of the material world that the flame of the spirit rises and from which, as a plant from the ground, it is constantly nourished (cf. 52:9, 58:10).

18. Fruit of the past, pregnant with the future, the present is at the same time always in eternity as a point of intersection between time and faith's timelessness in freedom toward past and future.

The present has a dual relationship to time (past and future) and eternity. The past flows through the present into the future, but eternity also intersects this flow, for in the present faith's timeless freedom is exercised (cf. 50:3, 51:49). Faith is not bound by the past. It trusts God who is certain of victory (54:13) and thus is also free in its relation to the future.

19. You who are over us,
 You who are one of us,
 You who are -- also in us,
 may all see you -- also in me,
 may I prepare the way for you,
 may I be grateful for all that then befalls me.
 May I at the same time not forget the needs of others,
 Keep me in your love
 as you would that all should remain in mine.
 May everything in my being be directed to your glory and
 may I never despair.
 For I am under your hand,
 and in you is all power and goodness.

Give me a pure heart -- that I may see you,
 a humble heart -- that I may hear you,

a loving heart -- that I may serve you,
a believing heart -- that I may remain in you.

This is the second prayer in *Waymarks* (cf. 54:13). It begins with a trinitarian invocation. The Father is over us, the Son is one of us, the Spirit is in us (for a more explicit reference to the Trinity, see 56:1). The next lines are arranged chiastically. DH prays that the Spirit's presence in him may be visible to all, that (like John the Baptist) he may prepare the way for the coming Son, and that he may be grateful to God for all that in consequence may befall him. He does not, however, want this concentration on his own role in God's purpose to make him unmindful of others. He is aware that total devotion to God's glory will not exempt him from the temptation to despair, and he therefore reminds himself of God's power and goodness. He concludes by praying for purity and humility that he might see (Matt. 5:8) and hear God, for love that he might serve him, and for faith that he might remain in fellowship with God. That "a believing heart" is mentioned last suggests that for DH faith does not initiate the God relationship but represents its culmination (cf. 41-42:24, 54:7). These final petitions are repeated in the plural number in one of DH's last prayers in *Waymarks* (61:13).

20. The "unheard of" -- to be in God's hand.

Again a reminder that this is the only permanent thing
in your life -- and again this disappointment which shows
how slow you are to learn.

In the previous waymark (54:19) DH speaks of himself as "under God's hand" and of the accompanying assurance of God's power and goodness. In this waymark he uses again the expression "the unheard of" (cf. 51:47, 51:62, 52:6, 54:5) and states that this is "to be in God's hand." This awareness is both a source of strength and of disappointment: of strength, for this relationship is the continuing *cantus firmus* of his life; of disappointment, because his slowness in learning the life style appropriate to this relationship is again and again made evident.

21. Never at the destination -- the larger task is only a higher
class in this school where you approach an examination which
no one will know, because you are then completely alone.

The learning process in which DH is engaged will never be completed (55:6). The larger responsibility is from another vantage point an advanced class in life's school. The final testing is not public. Only DH will know when and how it is taking place (cf. 52:5).

22. Certainly God tempts -- with "equality," with every attribute that entices to some other use than his glorification. The more he demands, the more dangerous is the raw material he has given us for our contribution. Be grateful -- also for the key to the gates of hell.

This could be a rejoinder to the denial in James 1:13 that God tempts us. If we receive everything from God, both what we have in common with all others and that which distinguishes us can be sources of temptation, insofar as we fail to glorify God with these gifts. In this respect all are equally tempted. Greater responsibilities and opportunities, furthermore, which are evidences of increasing divine demands, provide more perilous occasions for transgression. In gratefully receiving these added gifts one is ironically accepting the key to the gates of hell.

23. Righteous in your sight,
With your courage,
In your stillness --

The trinitarian structure of this fragmentary prayer is made more explicit in 56:1. DH seeks the righteousness God the Father acknowledges, he would share Jesus' courage, and experience the stillness of the Spirit. The three terms, righteousness, courage, and stillness, recur in 56:1, 56:10, 61:13.

24. "For man shall commune with all creatures to his profit, but enjoy God alone." Then no one is a source of continuing pleasure for another --

The quotation is cited in English from a source thus far unknown. The thought is Augustinian. Only God is to be enjoyed, while creatures may be used. The distinction between use and enjoyment as far as God is concerned may pose problems for DH, for he ordinarily thinks of God as a will to be obeyed rather than a highest good to be enjoyed. Should one, on the other hand, seek one's own profit in communing with other human beings? DH's comment explores the implications of the statement for human relationships. No human relationship can be a source of continuing pleasure (Sw. *lust*). It should be noted that in *Vägmärken* four other references to *lust* (pleasure) are negative (52:7, 54:15, 55:27, 57:45) and only one (57:50) is positive. The statement, furthermore, seems to exclude the possibility that God can be

115 | encountered in human fellowship, thus granting such relationships continuing significance, though this possibility appears to be recognized in 52:14. DH does suggest, to be sure, in 51:48 and 55:51 (cf. 50:50) that human love relationships may be impermanent. Perhaps the concluding dashes suggest that he has not completed his reflection on this Augustinian statement. Such reflection may continue in the following waymark (54:25).

25. In the unheard of you are beyond and above -- to hold fast to this must be the first commandment in your spiritual discipline.

To be in fellowship with God, in “the unheard of” (51:47, 51:62, 52:6, 54:5), is to share in some measure God’s transcendence. This may mean that one is *above* and *beyond* the distinction between enjoyment and use, as far as relationships with both God and other human beings are concerned. If so, this is not a condition that can be taken for granted. DH must constantly hold fast to it. This is the first requirement of the spiritual discipline under which he lives.

26. December 10 “God spake once, and twice I have also heard the same: that power belongeth unto God; and that thou, Lord, art merciful: for thou rewardest every man according to his work.”

This and the following two dated waymarks relate to DH’s decision to go to Beijing to seek the release of the imprisoned American airmen (see above the introduction to the 1954 waymarks). On December 10 after heated debate the UN General Assembly adopted a resolution authorizing the Secretary-General to seek the release of the airmen “by the means most appropriate to his judgment.” On the same day DH sent a cable to Chou En-lai requesting the opportunity to take this matter up with him personally (*Public Papers of the S-G*, 2:415-424). As DH is making these plans he uses the language of the Psalms to express his feelings. The citation is in English from *The Book of Common Prayer*, a version of the Psalms DH continues to cite in later waymarks. He had two copies of *The Book of Common Prayer*, one printed in 1762 and the other in 1792. The citations do not differ, however, from the text of more recent editions, e.g., *The Book of Common Prayer* (New York: Oxford, 1938). DH quotes Psalm 62:11-12. Very likely the whole psalm is in his mind. In light of what was said about “stillness” in 54:23, these verses at the beginning of the psalm must also have been extremely significant to him: “My soul truly

116 | waiteth still upon God; for of him cometh my salvation. . . . Wait thou still upon God; for my hope is in him" (Ps 62:1, 5).

27. December 25 Believe -- not to hesitate!

DH received a reply from Chou En-lai on December 17 informing him that he would be received for conversations in Beijing. He left the next day for Stockholm, where on December 20 he delivered his inaugural lecture as a member of the Swedish Academy. He also met with the Chinese ambassador to Sweden, General Keng Piao, to discuss arrangements for the trip. He then returned to New York. DH was keenly aware of the risk he was making in visiting Beijing, both insofar as his own reputation as a diplomat and the effectiveness of the office of Secretary-General in reducing international tensions were concerned. These concerns were uppermost in his mind as he observed Christmas Day. In this brief waymark he tells himself to believe and therefore not to hesitate. He will repeat this exhortation to himself again in 56:25.

28. December 30 "If I take the wings of the morning and
remain in the uttermost parts of the sea;
even there also shall thy hand lead me."

DH and his party left New York for Beijing on December 30. Again he cites a Psalm passage (Ps 139:9-10), this time to assert his confidence that he can be assured of God's presence with him as he travels and God's guidance as he negotiates.

1955

The year began with DH's arrival in Beijing for conversations with Chou En-lai about the possible release of imprisoned American airmen. These included four U.S. Air Force jet pilots who had strayed into Chinese air space and eleven B-29 crew members who had been shot down while conducting leaflet-dropping operations over North Korea and who were later convicted of espionage by a Chinese military tribunal and sentenced to prison terms. The US insisted that these airmen should have been repatriated in connection with the Armistice Agreement that had ended the Korean War. DH went to China not to represent the US position but to speak for the UN Organization. In the conversations, while no agreement was reached regarding the release of the airmen, both DH and Chou En-lai developed mutual respect for each other. Negotiations continued during the spring and into the summer. In May the four jet pilots were released and finally, the occasion being in part related to DH's 50th birthday on July 29, it was announced in Beijing on August 1 that the remaining eleven airmen were also being released. As a result of the success of the mission to Beijing DH's diplomatic skills were widely recognized and his role in the office of Secretary-General was strengthened. Though he was disappointed that further progress could not be made at that time toward bringing the People's Republic of China into the UN, during 1954 there was some relaxation of tension between the U.S. and China.

1. "For naught is found that can't be won
[By the love that suffers.]"

Just as the last waymarks of 1954 reflected DH's thoughts as he left for Beijing for conversations with Chou En-lai, it can be assumed that the first waymarks of 1955, though undated, may also reflect reactions from those conversations. 55:1-5 will be so interpreted.

As the first waymark for 1955 DH cites a line from a Swedish Lenten hymn, #140 in the collection of 325 hymns common now to fifteen different church groups in Sweden (*Den svenska psalmboken* 1986 [Stockholm: Verbum, 1986]). The author of the hymn is Erik Gustaf Geijer (1783-1847), who was a poet and a professor of history at the University of Uppsala. The hymn is a meditation on what Jesus achieved through bearing his cross. The stanza from which the line is quoted reads:

You bore your cross. Your glory, which
 Is praised in all the heavens,
 Your power, which no limits knows,
 You laid aside, to show us
That naught is found that can't be won
 By the love that suffers.

DH cites only the italicized words, having changed the initial “that” in the line to “for.” In my translation of this waymark I have added the final line of the hymn stanza in order to make the citation intelligible to those not familiar with Geijer’s hymn. DH is saying that suffering love has power relevant not only in the wholly spiritual realm but also in the political struggle for justice and peace. In his work as Secretary-General, in addition to using all his administrative and diplomatic skills, he was depending also on what could be achieved through the patience and the persistence of persons of good will, among whom he wanted to be numbered (52:14, 55:9).

2. Rumi: The lovers of God have no religion but God alone.

Rumi is the pen name of the Mevlana (Grand Master) Jalal al-Din (1207-1273), a Persian Islamic Sufic mystic poet. DH’s contacts with his UN co-workers may have introduced him to non-Christian and non-Western authors, if he was not already acquainted with them. As he began to cope with problems in the Far East, he found it important to acquaint himself with the spiritual resources in Far Eastern thought. Other waymarks containing non-Western references or citations are 56:17, 56:30, 56:32, 56:34, 57:37, 57:41. Rumi’s statement, cited in English, need not be interpreted as referring depreciatively to religion, but as describing a religion wholly centered in the love of God.

3. “The purer the eye of the intention is, the more strength the soul finds within itself. . . . But it is very rare to find a soul entirely free, whose purity is not at all sullied by some stain of a secret searching for itself. . . . Work, therefore, to purify the eye of your intention in order that it might be single and upright.”

This is the second of seven citations in *Waymarks of The Imitation of Christ* by Thomas à Kempis. The citation is in French from DH’s copy of the French translation, *De l’imitation de Jesus-Christ*, De Beüil, 249-250). In the chapter from

119 | which the citation is taken (III:33) the disciple is being advised not to trust his feelings or affections but to direct all the powers of his mind to God, his true end. At this point Thomas à Kempis is saying much the same thing as Rumi. Given 55:1, DH is thinking of a God who has been manifested through suffering love. It is to such a God he wants to be wholly devoted, ridding himself of all self-centeredness. The ethical interpretation DH gives to the citation from *The Imitation of Christ* will be found in the two following waymarks.

4. On a clean cloth the smallest spot offends the eye. At great heights a moment's self-indulgence can mean death.

In this waymark two images are used, one that is aesthetic, referring to how the smallest spot mars the beauty of a clean cloth. The other is drawn from mountain climbing, indicating the danger of momentary lack of self-discipline (cf. 56:5, 56:62, 59:114). Implicit in the imagery is the recognition that the carelessness of one climber can lead to the death of other climbers. DH is aware that the welfare of many others depends on how he discharges his responsibilities. He must make certain that the eye of his intention remains single and upright (55:3).

5. One who is pure may find everything pure, but if what he achieves is gained only through compromises, for him it becomes impure -- and here there are no differences of degree.

DH has in mind Titus 1:15, "To the pure all things are pure." Can this statement be used to excuse anything a person who is single and upright in intention may do? How does the statement apply to the calling of a diplomat, where flexibility and the ability to make compromises are required? DH answers that if what is achieved is gained *only* through compromises, the personal integrity of the diplomat can be lost and this is not a matter of degree. In these compromises there may, furthermore, be unbeknownst some stain of a secret searching for what will benefit the one making the compromises (55:3, cf. 51:42, 55:39).

Given the interpretations suggested we have in these first five waymarks for the year 1955 an indication of the kind of spiritual resources DH drew upon to give him the inner strength he needed in his negotiations with Chou En-lai in Beijing, as well as in the exchange of communications that followed.

6. "Shall he now try to teach me?" -- Why not? There is no one from whom you cannot learn. Before God, who speaks in everyone, you are always in the first preparatory class.

DH converses with himself, chiding himself for his reluctance to learn from someone whom he does not hold in high respect. If God speaks to us through everyone, we must always be prepared to listen. In God's school we always remain in the beginning class (cf. 54:21). DH does not often, however, refer to what he has learned from others (cf. 50:39, 54:4).

7. Before you in humility, with you in faithfulness, in you in stillness --.

This waymark may be compared with 54:23 and 56:1 and has a trinitarian structure. DH sees himself as standing *before* God the Father in humility. He is *with* Jesus, the Son, in faithfulness or loyalty. He is *in* the Spirit in stillness. In this waymark it is the prepositions that suggest these trinitarian distinctions.

8. So, then, once again you chose yourself -- and opened the door to chaos. This chaos which you become when God's hand does not rest on your head.

The one who has once been under God's hand has lost his innocence: he alone knows the terrible explosive power of compliancy.

But how strong is he not in that concentration, beyond and above, which is his when God is in him because he is in God. Strong, and free, because he himself no longer exists.

DH is extremely critical of any instances of what he regards as self-centered choosing on his part (cf. 55:3-4), for in this way radical disorder is introduced into his life. It is when one has been under God's hand (54:19) that one sees how great the difference is between a life so ordered and a life without this direction. It is in this sense that a person who has experienced what it means to be guided by God and then goes another way has lost his/her innocence. There is, on the other hand, great strength and freedom that is attained when the self-centered self no longer exists because one is in God and God is in the self (cf. 53:6, 53:13, 54:13, 54:19, 58:7).

9. How could reason's -- and society's -- moral code of decency have been formed without faith's martyrs? And more: how could this morality escape atrophy without the renewal, without the influx of strength which comes from those who have lost themselves in God? The rope over the abyss is held taut by those who give it anchorage in heaven -- through fidelity in a faith which is the constant, ultimate sacrifice.

They who in "God's union with the soul" are judged to be the salt of the earth -- woe to them if they lose their saltiness.

Faith's martyrs are essential to the moral health of a society. Through their witness the moral code has been formed. It must constantly be maintained by those living at any time who have lost themselves in God. DH envisages a rope held taut across the abyss of moral decay and destruction, on one side by martyrs who give it anchorage in heaven, on the other by those who here and now live with a faithfulness that is sacrificial (cf. 52:14). It is essential that those who are in this way united with God retain this distinguishing characteristic, for the preservation of the society depends on them. The reference to the possibility of those who are the salt of the earth losing their saltiness is drawn from Matthew 5:13. For other references to "God's union with the soul," see 54:7, 56:25, 57:47, 58:7.

10. Never is answering yes more difficult than when the circumstances prevent you from coming to the defense of someone whose guilelessness makes him defenseless.

DH knew that there were times when giving a simple affirmative answer to a question could be damaging to certain individuals, if the circumstances were such that one was unable to do what was necessary to defend them from the injustice to which they were liable. While no indication of the particular situation DH has in mind is indicated, he does suggest that guileless individuals can be the extremely vulnerable to certain kinds of attack (cf. 51:42, 55:5). DH may, for example, have been thinking of the difficulty of defending some who were victimized in hearings before Senator Joseph McCarthy's committee investigating possible Communist infiltration in US government agencies. DH had during his reorganization of the UN Secretariat in 1953 firmly resisted McCarthy's efforts to continue investigation of American

122 | Secretariat members (Urquhart, 66-67). There was by this time considerable public awareness of the evils of "McCarthyism" and McCarthy had been censured by the U.S. Senate on December 2, 1954.

11. On a working day, real only in God, only that poem is
yours before which you yourself become real under God
-- that poem yours, that art true. You don't have time for
-- pastimes.

DH was greatly interested in the arts and in poetry. He wants to relate his interest in the arts, however, to his concern to become real under God. Art that contributes to this has significance for him (55:54). It cannot, on the other hand, be for him simply a way to pass the time (cf. 50:31).

12. Your position never gives you the right to command.
Only the obligation to live so that others can accept your
commands without being humiliated.

The rule DH sets for himself as Secretary-General is that his authority to command must be for him not a right but an obligation so to live that his commands can be obeyed with dignity (cf. 51:18). For other rules that he set for himself, see 55:39.

13. Deficiencies and errors in the past burden you in relation
to others if there is evidence in the present that they can
be repeated.

It is unlikely that anyone has served in a position of leadership for any length of time without being burdened by the memory of some serious mistake, some error in judgment. To what extent need such a person be burdened by past failures to live up to rules he/she had set up for him/ herself? DH answers, only insofar as there is evidence that they can be repeated. One is to remember the embarrassments of the past in order to avoid them in the present and the future (cf. 55:27, 56:36, 57:39).

14. Only that dignity is genuine which is not diminished by
the indifference of others.

DH in other waymarks acknowledges that he has sought the esteem of others (41-42:15, 50:16, 52:19), but he tells himself that he should seek a dignity unaffected by the presence or absence of popular acclaim.

- 123 | 15. There is a self-complacency of faith, more unforgivable and dangerous than that of the intellect. It reveals a cleavage in the personality in which faith is "observed" and valued in denial of the unity in self-effacement which is the essence of faith. Is valued -- as a metaphysical magic formula, whose advantages should be reserved for the specially chosen?

DH strongly criticizes a self-complacent faith because it makes faith a quality that can be observed and valued by the self. Faith instead should mean the denial, the surrender, the effacement of the self (54:7, 54:19, 55:31, 56:21, 56:63, 58:7). Nor is faith a means by which a few gain special advantages. One must constantly be on guard lest the corruption of the best becomes the worst.

16. Prayer, crystallized in words, defines again and again a wave length on which the dialogue must be continued further, even when our consciousness is directed to other goals.

DH may be thinking of the Pauline exhortation to pray constantly (1 Thess. 5:17). Prayer that takes verbal form, limited to some times and places, has the function of defining a wave length upon which the dialogue that prayer represents can continue, even when the consciousness is engaged in the pursuit of other matters. For other waymarks discussing prayer, see 41-42:3, 50:29, 58:7.

17. To furnish this second home is like arranging a tomb: you know that you will never live there -- after this.

In the summer of 1953 DH's artist friend, Bo Beskow, bought a modest vacation home, Hagestad, for him along the seacoast of southern Sweden. DH did not see it until the summer of 1954 and he returned again for a visit of ten days on July 23, 1955. Later Beskow was to purchase for DH a somewhat larger farmstead in the same area known as Backåkra (now a museum containing some of DH's library and a collection of works of art and other gifts he had received). For an account of what Beskow did on DH's behalf in this connection, see Beskow, Dag Hammarskjöld: Strictly Personal, 19-33, 41, 123-135.

Very likely waymarks 55:17-25 record reflections from DH's ten day vacation during the summer of 1955. In such a case Hagestad may be the home referred to in this waymark. DH is aware that his life has now changed so much that he

124 | will never be able to make more than brief visits to this home. The comparison of the home to a tomb may be due to the fact that DH was at this time thinking about death.

18. Earlier death was always along in the company. Now it is a table mate: I must become a friend with it.

In this intuitive "rediscovery" which has become the Ariadne-thread in my life -- step by step, day after day -- life's termination is now just as apprehensible as tomorrow's felt duty.

Death has been included in DH's thinking from the earliest waymarks (25-30:3), but now he feels that it is coming much closer and that he must establish a more intimate acquaintance with it. He suggests by use of the word "rediscovery" that this is a return to an earlier awareness (50:2, 50:4, 51:1, 52:19, 52:24). It has become the Ariadne-thread by which he is guided through life, death and tomorrow's felt duty having the same tangible presence in his mind.

The reference to the Ariadne-thread is drawn from Greek mythology. Theseus, an Athenian hero, volunteers to go as one of seven Athenian youths, together with seven Athenian maidens, who are to be offered as a tribute to a man-eating monster, the Minotaur, who lives in the labyrinth in Crete. Arriving at Crete, Theseus meets Ariadne, the daughter, of Minos, king of Crete. Ariadne falls in love with Theseus and gives him a sword with which he is able to slay the Minotaur and a thread by which he is able to find his way out of the maze of the labyrinth. DH will also use this mythological reference in 61:5.

19. "To listen" -- in faith -- to find one's way and have the feeling of actually under God rediscovering it.

Like playing blindman's buff: deprived of sight, to exert instead all the other senses, groping with the hands over the faces of friends -- and so finding what was already mine and which had all the time been there. Which I should all the time have known was there, if I hadn't had the blindfold over my eyes.

Three senses are mentioned in this waymark, hearing, touching, seeing. Listening, in faith, in order to find one's way is likened to touching in the absence of sight so that one can identify a friend. What is found is in both cases

125 | rediscovered (cf. 55:18). In the 1953 radio address "Old Creeds in a New World" DH stated, "... a never abandoned effort frankly and squarely to build up a personal belief in the light of experience and honest thinking has led me in a circle; I now recognize and endorse, unreservedly, those very beliefs which were once handed down to me." When he finally reached the point of understanding faith in the sense described in 54:7, he says, "... the beliefs in which I was once brought up and which, in fact had given my life direction even while my intellect still challenged their validity, were recognized by me as mine in their own right and by my free choice. I feel that I can endorse those convictions without any compromise with the demands of that intellectual honesty which is the very key to maturity of mind" (Public Papers of the S-G, 2:194-196. See Appendix A). In the process by which he came to this point listening, broadly conceived, was extremely important (cf. 41-42:6, 41-42:10, 54:8). For an earlier account of his finding the meaning of faith, using other imagery, see 54:5.

20. In a dream: meeting with an earlier experience which has the real feature of causal relationships backwards and forwards in time -- but which nonetheless must have belonged only to a dream.

DH on a few occasions tells of dreams (cf. 51:44, 55:47, 55:55, 61:19). Here he notes that a dream can have real features so that the distinction between dream and reality cannot be sharply drawn. Yet, somehow one does make that distinction, excluding dreams from one's waking experience.

21. 550729 Thomas [à Kempis]: Why do you seek rest, you who were born only for labor?

The significance of the date of this waymark is that July 29, 1955 was DH's 50th birthday, an anniversary ordinarily celebrated in Sweden with great festivity. In order to escape the Swedish press, DH and Bo Beskow went fishing on the Baltic from the nearby port of Kåseberga (Beskow, 49-54). As a text for the day DH cites for the third time his French translation of *The Imitation of Christ* (*De l'imitation de Jesus-Christ*, De Beüil, 116). He identifies the source as "Thomas" (Thomas à Kempis) and the citation is taken from the same book and chapter (II:10) as the citation for April 7, 1953 (53:8). That citation stressed the fact that since all of one's abilities and the opportunities to exercise them are gifts from God, there can be no reason for pride in one's own accomplishments. This citation calls attention to what DH has discovered

126 | to be the burden of his office. Though he is on vacation, he is unable to put the work that must be done out of his mind. He was a tireless worker, but he will eventually confess that he experiences deep weariness (58:16, 61:12). The word he cites from Thomas à Kempis tells him that he has no reason to seek for rest, for the meaning of life is to be found in the work one does for God. A similar thought is expressed in 57:40.

22. Shame mixed with gratitude: shame for all the outbreaks of conceit, envy, and self-indulgence -- gratitude for all to which not the achievement but only the intention possibly could entitle me.

God sometimes gives us the credit -- for his work. Or retains it in his solitude. At our capers on the stage he smiles ironically -- so long as we do not tamper with the weights.

The Chinese charge d'affaires in Stockholm, having been informed of DH's coming birthday, had inquired of Uno Willers, the director of the Swedish Royal Library as to what present DH would like on that occasion. Willers had told him that the release of the eleven remaining imprisoned American airmen would please him best (Urquhart, 125). Beskow tells us that either on the evening of July 29 or the next day a telegram came from Chou En-lai with birthday greetings and stating that he was releasing the American airmen (Beskow, 54). The official announcement of their release was made in Beijing on August 1 (see 55:25). This waymark may be DH's first response to that extremely welcome information.

It is a response in which shame and gratitude are mixed. Self-criticism is a recurring theme in Waymarks (cf. 41-42:4, 50:33, 51:36, 52:11). DH charges himself with thinking too highly of himself, with resenting the advantages of others, with yielding too easily to his own desires, for all of which he is ashamed. But he is also grateful, for much that he has hoped would happen has come to pass, though he cannot claim it as his own achievement (cf. 56:49, 56:51). Using imagery from the theater he says that it is God who is the stage manager, responsible for the whole production. Actors may receive credit for the parts they play, or the credit may be withheld. God tolerates the capers they cut on the stage, even though these capers are not part of the script. The actors must not, however, tamper with the weights. DH may be referring to the sandbags and iron ingots used as counterbalances in the hoist system by which

127 | stage scenery is raised or lowered. Safety requires that the stage manager retain control of how these weights are used. DH may be saying that the most basic rules which govern the context within which the human drama takes place must be respected lest the welfare of many be threatened.

23. "Yours --." The sacrifice -- and the liberation -- to be under a will for which "I" is in no sense a goal.

"Dedicated --." The reward -- or the price -- for this: by this will to have been bound to a task in comparison with which nothing I myself could seek is of value.

The words in quotations marks, "Yours --" and "Dedicated --," appear to be drawn from a prayer/meditation found in 56:1 This would suggest that the placement of an entry in Waymarks does not always indicate when that entry was originally written. For DH to belong to God means that God's will is his destiny. This requires that he offer himself, but at the same time he is liberated from narrow self-centered aims. He is dedicated, which means that his destiny is to be used and consumed. This is the price, but there is also a reward. The task to which he is bound has a value transcending anything he might seek for himself (cf. 57:25, 58:9).

24. We listen badly and we read even worse. You note this so well when it has to do with others in relation to yourself. Are you equally observant when it has to do with yourself in relation to others?

This waymark somewhat counterbalances the previous waymark. Preoccupation with one's own agenda makes it difficult to hear or understand the concerns of others. DH notes that he can see this very clearly in the behavior of others, but wonders if he monitors his own conduct with equal vigilance (cf. 41-42:6, 50:37, 55:58).

25. 550801 "God spake - - -"

And before that: "As for the children of men, they are but vanity. The children of men are deceitful upon weights. Give not thyself unto vanity."

The significance of the date of this waymark is that on August 1 it was officially announced in Beijing that the eleven American airmen were being released. The

128 | diplomatic effort to which DH had given so much attention during the first half of 1955 had been brought to a successful conclusion. He responds to the announcement by citing verses from Psalm 62, which he had cited December 10, 1954 (54:26) upon receiving authorization from the UN General Assembly to make this diplomatic effort, after which he had sent his first cable to Chou En-lai. The two words from vs. 11 cited first, "God spak...," recall the earlier citation affirming the power and mercy of God. DH is grateful for what the Chinese authorities have done, but his primary gratitude is directed to God.

The other verses cited remind him not to give himself to vanity. It is such considerations that are most often operative in human affairs. DH was very likely critical of both the American and the Chinese protagonists in the controversy over the imprisoned airmen. After his conversations in Beijing he had written to Bo Beskow describing Chou En-lai as a man "with a brain of steel, blood on his hands, strict self-discipline and a very cordial smile" (Sten Söderberg, *Hammar skjöld, A Pictorial Biography* [New York: Viking, 1962], 63. (Of interest is the fact that Beskow in a later account of his reception of this letter omits the words "blood on his hands" [Beskow, 36].) There has so far been no publication of any statements DH may have made about Secretary of State John Foster Dulles, Senator William Knowland, or the US China Lobby intent on excluding the People's Republic of China from the UN. Some indication of his thoughts can, however, be derived from the verses he cites from Psalm 62.

DH does take some liberty in his citation of the psalm. The Book of Common Prayer version of verses 9-10a reads: "As for the children of men, they are but vanity; the children of men are deceitful; upon the weights they are altogether lighter than vanity itself. O trust not in wrong and robbery ; give not yourselves to vanity." DH omits the italicized words and changes "yourselves" to "thysself." It is not clear in DH's citation as to how he intends "weights" should be understood. In the psalm it clearly means a balance or scale on which the human beings being referred to are weighed. Since, however, DH uses the word "weights" in 55:22, he may be intending the meaning suggested there. If so he is saying that the political authorities are inacceptably tampering with the system whereby competing national interests are counterbalanced so as to provide a context of justice and peace within which human beings can live. At the same time he could make use as well of a modern translation of Psalm 62:9, "In very truth men are a puff of wind, all men are faithless; put them in the balance and they can only rise, all of them lighter than wind" NEB.

26. "Not unto us, O Lord, not unto us, but unto thy name
give the praise --."

This unrest? Is not the causal chain evident: when you covertly sought your own glory, you could no longer turn your own weakness into strength. In this way you were "led into temptation" and lost the basis for faith's self-evident affirmation of destiny, which presupposes that this destiny has in no way been formed by such treachery.

DH received much acclaim for his diplomatic skill in helping bring about the release of the American airmen. He was aware, however, that many factors had been involved, including the fact that the US had finally agreed to begin direct talks with China on the ambassadorial level in Geneva on August 1. DH's hopes for continued contacts with Chou En-lai were, furthermore, to be disappointed. The psalm citation in this waymark (Ps. 115:1) emphasizes that rather than accepting praise ourselves, all praise is to be given to God. DH suggests that his unease, possibly over the fact that further negotiations with China proved impossible, may have been related to his covertly seeking his own glory. By placing the words "led into temptation" in quotation marks, he makes it evident that he is alluding to the Lord's Prayer. He is unusually harsh in his self-criticism, calling his inability to turn his weakness into strength treachery (cf. 50:33, 57:20, 57:32). "Faith's self-evident affirmation of destiny" does not, however, mean that one will always succeed (cf. 55:15), but that one will be unmoved by whatever transpires when one has been faithful in the performance of one's duty.

27. Do you need to call forth memories of a self-torturing
humiliation in order to quench a smoldering self-
admiration?

Purity is also to be free from all these half measures:
a tone of voice which places you yourself in the light, a
covert acceptance of sensual pleasure in forgetfulness of
that which is of the spirit, a self-righteous reaction to
others in their times of weakness.

See yourself in that mirror when you would be praised
-- or would judge. Do that without despairing!

Despite the strength of DH's faith, he did not escape continuing spiritual struggle. He struggled with how to deal with a smoldering self-admiration (25-30:14, 56:24). His insistence on purity required the abandonment of all

130 | compromises with its demands (54:15, 55:5, 56:37, 56:60, 59:114). He prepares a mirror designed to detect the slightest tendencies toward unallowable error, to be used whenever he seeks praise or would judge others. He tells himself, however, that when he uses this mirror he should not despair (56:32, 56:40, 58:6).

28. It is not enough daily to place oneself under God. What is required is to be only under God: every disruption opens the door for the daydream, the careless talk, the hidden boasting, the little slanders -- all the little henchmen of the urge to destruction.

“But how, then, should I love God?” -- You should love him as though he were a non-God, a non-spirit, a non-person, a formless one: much more only sheer, pure, clear unity, far from all duality. And in this One we should eternally sink from being to nothingness. To this may God help us.”

DH continues to restate the discipline under which he feels he must live. He must place himself under God in every respect. The slightest deviation from what this requires, whether the behavior is hidden or manifest in apparently trivial ways, contributes to destruction. Yet who is the God who requires this? Here DH draws upon the tradition of medieval mysticism, citing a passage from Meister Eckhart in which God is described in largely negative terms (Meister Eckhart Schriften, Büttner, 153; see also Meister Eckhart, *Die deutschen Werke*, Predigten, Josef Quint, ed., vol. 3 [Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1973] , 448/586). DH prays to God, as we have seen (54:13, 54:19), using the second personal pronoun. He also acknowledges his debt to the medieval mystics, saying that from them he had learned “the explanation of how man should live a life of active social service in full harmony with himself as a member of the community of the spirit” (Public Papers of the S-G, 2:195-196. See Appendix A). What is perhaps most important in the citation for DH is the emphasis on God’s “sheer, pure, clear unity,” which implies that a corresponding singleness of mind is required of the worshiper. Also extremely important for DH is the reference to sinking “from being to nothingness” in God, which he understood to mean the complete self-effacement that dedication to God’s will and purpose required of him (cf. 55:8).

29. You are dedicated to this task -- as the sacrifice in a still barbarian cult by reason of the divine intention behind

it: a poor piece of human work -- but you are obligated to give your all to the dream which only in this has gotten a toehold in reality.

In this and two other waymarks (55:43, 56:39) DH very explicitly refers to the UN. He has served as Secretary-General long enough to recognize both the importance of his responsibilities and the difficulties under which he must work. He compares the UN to a barbarian cult that is justified not by its practice but by the divine intention it so poorly realizes. It is to the dream the UN so inadequately expresses that he must give his unqualified devotion.

30. He broke a new way -- because, only because, he had the courage to go farther without asking whether others followed, or even understood. He did not have the need for that protection against ridicule, which others seek in a divided responsibility, because he had a faith which abstained from seeking confirmation.

There are a number of waymarks in which DH reflects on the life and ministry of Jesus. Thus far we have noted 45-49:13, 50:44, 51:29-31, 53:11. In 51:29 DH sees Jesus as walking, despite the incomprehension of his disciples, "the way of his possibility to the end, without self-pity or needing sympathy." Though Jesus is not explicitly named in this waymark, DH may be thinking of how Jesus was able to break a new way. He had the courage to go on alone, he did not fear ridicule, and he had a faith which did not require confirmation.

31. -- a contact with reality, light and strong as the touch of a loved hand: unity in a self-surrender without self-obliteration, with clarity of feeling and warmth of understanding. How near in sun and wind. How far --. How different from what the wise ones call mysticism.

In the Auden-Sjöberg translation (Markings, 100), 55:30-31 are combined to form one waymark, though they are separate in the Swedish editions (Vägmärken [1963], 88-89; [1966], 88) and in DH's typewritten manuscript. For other waymarks that begin with dashes as though in the middle of a sentence, see 41-42:7, 50:9, 50:32, 56:38, 57:20. While 55:30 can be understood as referring to Jesus, in this waymark DH appears to be describing his own experience of God. Nature imagery is used, but there is also the feeling of

132 | personal relationship. If 53:13, 55:8, 55:28, 57:47 could be interpreted to mean that the self is wholly lost in the God-relationship, in this waymark there is self-surrender without self-obliteration (cf. 59:4). This is what he finds in the mystical experience, though he acknowledges that “the wise ones” interpret mysticism differently. For additional interpretations of this important waymark, see Aulén, E 66, 74; Sw, 102, 112, 122-123; Van Dusen 188.

32. To let oneself be bound by a duty from the moment it is intuited is a part of the integrity which alone entitles one to assume responsibility.

The concept of duty is extremely important for DH (45-49:12, 55:18, 57:19, 57:25, 57:40). Here he states that duties are intuited (cf. 51:29) and from that moment become absolutely binding. This must be acknowledged by those who intend to discharge their responsibilities with integrity.

33. The style of conduct that gives weight requires firmness even in concessions: you must be strict with yourself in order to have the right to be lenient toward others.

The concessions to which reference is made in this waymark are quite possibly concessions to one's own needs as a human being. At this point one must be strict with oneself, in order to justify leniency toward others. Perhaps in adjusting the work load DH felt that he could give consideration to others working with him only if he was certain that he was taking his full share of what had to be done.

34. “Those marked by suffering, those who have seen --” You can, by your own choice enter their consciousness. You can -- without having gone through their hard school -- teach yourself to see and hear as one who has nothing and from whom will be taken also what he has.

DH did not often reflect about the sufferings of others (cf. 41-42:17, 45-49:8, 51:26, 55:9, 56:24, 60:5). Here he wonders if one who has not suffered can understand the experiences of those who have. He believes this is possible, that one can teach oneself to see and hear (cf. 55:39, 55:58, 59:33, 61:14) as one who has experienced the loss of everything. DH may be citing words he remembers from a conversation. The scriptural allusion is to Matthew 13:12, 25:29 (para. Mk 4:25, Lk 19:26).

- 133 | 35. The researcher registers what is definitively established. Only that which stands out in his experience is worth being noted, for his own and others' remembrance and guidance. So also the explorer leaves it to others to find time for the picturesque notation about the customs of the people, or the telling reflection regarding the weakness of one of the fellow travelers.
- Well then -- what do we do?

The interest of the observer determines the data that is gathered. The picturesque notice about native customs or the foibles of the traveler, ignored in some research, may in another frame of reference be extremely significant. DH may be suggesting the importance of a broad perspective in viewing the world.

36. How tiring it is in the role which is ours to be compelled to play a role which is not ours: what you basically must be in order to fulfill your task, you may not reveal yourself as being, in order to be permitted to fulfill the task. How tiring -- and inescapable, given the way people now as a rule organize their social life.

If DH in 55:35 argues for a broad perspective in viewing the world, here he complains about some of the activities that are required of him. He found certain social functions tiring and unprofitable (cf. 50:55, 51:12). Yet at the same time he recognized their necessity. In social life a certain masquerading takes place (cf. 50:13, 51:16, 57:16, 58:11). True identities are not revealed, though in other contexts they do become known. In the next waymark, however, DH will insist that there be thoroughgoing honesty in language, presumably also in social life.

37. Respect for the word is the first requirement in the discipline through which a human being can be nurtured to maturity -- intellectually, emotionally, and morally.

Respect for the word -- using it with strictest care and in uncompromising inner love of truth -- is also for the society and the human race a condition for growth.

To misuse the word is to show contempt for the person. It undermines the bridges and poisons the springs. In this way it leads us backward on the long road of human emergence.

"I tell you, - - - for every careless word - - -"

134 | "Respect for the word" is of the utmost importance, DH insists, for the individual as well as for the race. This respect has intellectual, emotional, and moral implications. There must be careful use of language and uncompromising devotion to the truth (41-42:18, 55:39, 56:6, see also 57:2). In this waymark DH speaks of the long human emergence (58:8), in which there can be either progress or retrogression. The passage from Matthew 12:36-37 RSV reads in its entirety: "I tell you, on the day of judgment men will render account for every careless word they utter, for by your words you will be justified, and by your words you will be condemned." There is an allusion to this passage also in 50:25.

38. 55119-20 In the low clouds the light died. The dusk was
swallowed by the falling snow. Making my bed in silence,
the branches covered me with their security. When contours
were no longer visible, once again the wonder: that I exist.

This is a dated waymark, though the precise significance of the date (a Saturday and Sunday) has not been established. DH may have spent a weekend in northern Sweden, where snow at this time in November would not be unusual. Sten Söderberg writes that DH during his years in the Ministry of Finance in Stockholm "after a hard week's work, could take the train on Friday night, get off the next morning at some station in Jämtland and set off alone, with a cooking pot, some oatmeal and raisins in his rucksack. He would spend the night in a mountain hut, tramp on all Sunday and take the night train back again to turn up for work on Monday morning, quite restored" (Söderberg, 56-58; cf. 50:9, 51:50). This time he apparently did not sleep in a mountain hut, but made his bed under the shelter of the branches of a tree. Enveloped in the security nature in this way provided, he is filled with wonder that he exists. In 50:40, 52:7, 59:104-105 he also contemplates from different perspectives the wonder of selfhood.

39. "Of human beings and their way to unity --?" The truth is so simple that it is regarded as pretentious banality. And yet it is constantly denied in action. Every day provides examples:

It is more important to recognize the reasons for one's own behavior than to understand the motives of others.

The other's face is more important than your own.

If you seek something for yourself, you cannot hope for success in your pleas for others.

You can hope for permanent solutions only through a

relationship in which you see the other from the outside, but at the same time experience his difficulties from the inside.

The one who “likes” people displaces the one who has contempt for them.

All experienced knowledge is of value and the one who has stopped searching shall soon find

-- that he lacks what he needs: rigidity is weakness, and the one who goes to people or to art and poetry without the youthful ambition to force himself forward through a new language to light others have not seen, he should take care.

A lie that succeeds is a double lie, a mistake corrected weightier than truth: only an “honesty” free of compromise plumbs the depths of a decency which you should expect even where there is deep hostility.

Adroitness must not mean fearing to criticize sharply, lest the appearance of influence be sought at the cost of its reality.

DH must have from time to time been asked to comment on how unity among human beings might be achieved. He says the true answer to this question is simple, but it is again and again denied in action. He offers the following rules: Know your own motives. Care deeply about others. Continue the quest for new insights. Tell the truth without compromise. Do not let hesitation to speak sharply when this is necessary mean that you preserve only the appearance of influence.

As to how well DH practiced these counsels, Brian Urquhart, who worked with DH for eight years, states, “I can testify that unlike many public figures, he made a vigorous attempt to live and act by the rules he prescribed for himself” (“International Leadership: The Legacy of Dag Hammarskjöld,” *Development Dialogue*, 1987:1, 10-13; cf. Urquhart, 1973, 32-33).

In view of DH’s interest in Martin Buber, whose *Ich und Du* (I and Thou) he was translating into Swedish at the time of his death, it may be noted that Andrew Cordier, one of DH’s colleagues, finds in one of these rules a direct reference to Buber’s analysis of the I-thou relationship: “You can hope for permanent solutions only through a relationship in which you see the other from the outside, but at the same time experience his difficulties from the inside” (Andrew W. Cordier and Kenneth Maxwell, *Paths to World Order* [New York: Columbia University Press, 1967], 3; cf. 50:57, 55:34).

40. Always fleeing,
 always waiting.
 Prepared -- when I shall meet my --
 Images, images -- with secret connection
 Which create or destroy, in life as in dream,
 So also in poetry.

To understand this poem one must imagine the word omitted at the end of the third line. The word could be “destiny” (50:46, 50:54, 51:27, 51:53, 52:3, 53:7, 53:11, 55:26, 55:60, 56:1, 56:27, 56:39, 56:59, 57:2, 57:24, 57:35, 57:37, 57:39, 57:46, 61:13). If so, this waymark may express an ambiguous attitude toward what DH considers his destiny. Insofar as he regards it as forbidding he may be fleeing it. He prefers, however, to emphasize that he is waiting for it and is also prepared for it. This leads him to reflect upon the different images he entertains of this destiny. They are secretly connected, encountered waking or dreaming, and can create or destroy. As poetically expressed it would seem, however, that the power of the images could be directed to creative ends.

Martin Buber visited DH in New York and later after DH's death told of this visit in a talk for the Swedish Radio in 1962 published in his *Nachlese* under the title “Erinnerung an Hammarskjöld.”

He said, “When we sat facing each other, in the house of the ‘United Nations,’ we both recognized, Dag Hammarskjöld and I, what it basically was that bound us together. But I felt, looking at him and listening to him, something more, which I could not explain, something fateful, that was somehow connected with this hour of the world, with his function in this hour of the world” (*italics added*; Urquhart, 1973, 40-41).

41. Le courage de nos différences [the courage of our differences]. To accept responsibly that which separates -- in humility and pride. It is in the “new ones” that humankind is either betrayed or saved.

During the fall of 1955 the deadlock on the admission of new UN members was broken so that sixteen new states, some of them former colonies, gained entrance to the UN. DH had hopes that with this infusion of new members the UN might provide the locus for new possibilities in multilateral diplomacy (Urquhart, 1973, 133). Many of these states were small and weak, but DH was convinced that they could make a significant contribution nonetheless. States as well as individuals must accept in both humility and pride the characteristics

137 | by which they differ from others. (Note also the combination of humility and pride in 53:13 and 54:2.) The cause of humankind could be betrayed, but it could also be significantly bettered, depending on how these states viewed their responsibility to the world community.

42. Even in the most intense activity, for the one who has never come “close” to another person -- this feeling of unreality. As in the old fairy tale: only through the love of another does the one who has been made invisible or changed into a beast regain his human shape.

The “intense activity” to which DH refers could very well be diplomatic negotiations. He was constantly engaged in interpersonal relationships of this kind, but at the same time he confessed the need for becoming “close” to another person (54:16). In 56:26 he suggests that love on his part oriented toward specific individuals was a prerequisite for success in the larger ventures in which he was engaged (cf. 55:1). That love constitutes and restores our humanity is an ancient insight, not only found in the Bible but also expressed in old fairy tales.

43. A jealous dream that does not share you with anything or anyone else: humankind’s greatest -- the dream about humankind.

Humankind’s greatest in which it is the individual’s noblest dream -- to lose himself.

Therefore: willingly death or shame if that is what it requires.

Therefore: how easy to forgive.

The “jealous dream” is the United Nations (cf. 55:29), a dream about what world community might be. Though the United Nations Organization realizes this dream in only the most rudimentary way, it makes a total demand upon those called to its service. DH must be prepared to surrender his life or accept living with a besmirched reputation. It should, he says, be easy to forgive, but in 56:39 he acknowledges that this can at times prove difficult.

44. “Thou art the God that doest wonders: and hast declared thy power among the people.”

When DH quotes a psalm passage, in this case Ps. 77:14, he often also presupposes the context of the entire psalm. Psalm 77 is a call to God for help. The

138 | psalmist is experiencing troubles that beset him day and night, but he remembers what God has done in the past and thus has reason to believe that the God who has manifested his might in both nature and history will again save his people.

45. Coquettish -- even in the taking note of your
coquettishness.

In this waymark, an example of self-criticism, DH acknowledges his effort to appear in the best light before others (cf. 56:60). Indeed he even finds himself masquerading before his own inner court of self-awareness.

46. Alone beside the spring on the heath you again feel your
loneliness -- as it has always been. As it has always been
-- even when the nearness of others for a time hid its
nakedness.

But the spring lives. And your sentry duty remains.

DH has avowed his need for love (55:42), and he also tells of continuing loneliness (cf. 50:4, 52:16, 52:18, 52:24, 58:9, 61:12). In some measure he was able to sublimate his desire for physical intimacy through identification with nature (51:50, cf. 58:10). For this reason he valued so greatly visits to the mountains of Lapland (51:57-61). Beside a spring which in the solitude of the wilderness continually gives of itself he keenly feels his loneliness. But the spring also symbolizes life and using another image DH likens the life to which he is to return to sentry duty, a lonely yet also essential calling.

47. Nothing was easier than to shift from the one step to
the other -- over the abyss. But in the dream you failed
because you experienced the possibility of falling.

Upon arriving in New York, April 9, 1953, to take up his new responsibilities as UN Secretary-General DH told the press that it was true that he was interested in mountaineering, though his experience was limited to Scandinavia where, he said, mountaineering calls more for endurance than for equilibristics. He went on to say that the qualities the sport of mountaineering requires are those which he felt were then needed: "perseverance and patience, a firm grip on realities, careful but imaginative planning, a clear awareness of the dangers but also of the fact that fate is what we make it and that the safest climber is he who never questions his ability to overcome all difficulties" (Public Papers of the S-G, 2:30).

139 | In the dream recounted in this waymark, DH experienced how the fear of falling can lead to failure (cf. 59:91). For a reference to an abyss in a somewhat different context, see 55:9). For a more positive dream experience, see 55:55.

48. Aladdin -- giver of happiness, it was not too much,
whatever it was you paid for this, which those in the street
regarded only as "success."

Aladdin and his magic lamp is one of the characters in *Thousand and One Nights*. DH highly prizes the capacity to give happiness (54:4, 57:52) and is willing to pay dearly for it, but objects to this capacity's being identified merely as "success," about which he had ambivalent feelings (see 50:47, 56:3, 57:8, 60:6).

49. Before the constancy of things -- stands possession's ironic
commentary on our claims.

Many "things" have more permanence than we as human individuals have. When this is taken into account our "possession" of these things to some extent changes its meaning and our claims must be adapted to our limited tenure. The "constancy of things" can also refer to a basic integrity of things that we tend to take for granted, but which stands in judgment upon the claims implicit in our all too often selfish and shortsighted use of the world's resources.

50. 551224 "O God, thou art my God - - -
- - - in a barren and dry land, where no water is.
Thus have I looked for thee in holiness, that I might
behold thy power and glory."

DH often wrote waymarks at the time of the Christian festivals (cf. 54:27, 55:53, 56:9-10, 56:57, 57:52, 60:1, 60:3). At first sight the psalm passage he cites (Ps. 63:1-2) seems a strange choice for Christmas Eve (though see the comment on 55:51-52). The psalmist's words, "a barren land dry land, where no water is," may, however, relate to DH's concern about the deterioration of the situation in the Middle East. His first visit to this area was to take place in January. Though the times were difficult he sought assurance that he might behold God's power and glory.

51. Two inklings from the past with recently found relevance:
Through the senses
But beyond them.
Near,
Also absent.

The glance a shy caress,
Complete in the meeting of eyes.

And:

The lover wishes the perfection of the beloved -- which
requires also liberation from the lover.

This and the following waymark continue DH's Christmas Eve reflection. He may still be thinking of Psalm 63, where after the cited opening verses the psalmist goes on to rejoice in his relationship to God: "My mouth praises thee with joyful lips... for thou hast been my help, and in the shadow of thy wings I sing for joy." DH refers to two inklings from the past, by which he may have in mind earlier waymarks. One of them may be 50:21 and Aulén suggests the other is 51:48 (Aulén, E 96; Sw 141-142). We have noted in 55:42 and 55:46 DH's speaking of his need for love and of his loneliness. This feeling of loneliness may have been especially keen at Christmas. Here he is saying that he must be content with only the slightest expression of physical love. He can be aware of "the aching beauty of a neckline" (50:21), but he must be satisfied with the shy caress of a glance, "complete in the meeting of eyes." More important is that there must be liberation of the beloved from the lover. He must come to the point that he does not expect a response to expressions of affection. As he had written earlier, "When the lover is himself freed from dependence on the loved one through love's maturing into a radiance whose essence is its own dissolution in light, then the loved one will also be perfected through being freed from the lover" (51:48).

Sven Stolpe observes that this waymark reflects the thought of the diplomat and dramatist Paul Claudel, especially as set forth in his play, *Le soulier de satin* (*The Satin Slipper* [New York: Sheed & Ward, 1945]; Stolpe, 89-90), a copy of which play was included in DH's library. Central to the plot of the drama is the fact that Don Rodrigue and Dona Prouhèze can never forget their love for each other, yet deprive themselves of the possibility of living together.

52. God desires our independence -- in which we "fall" back
into God when we cease ourselves to seek it.

The new insight DH finds as he returns to his earlier reflections (50:21, 51:48) is that what he had previously sought in a human love relationship can be fulfilled in the God relationship (Aulén, Sw 142). But God also desires and grants our independence. Here also the beloved is liberated from the lover (55:21), though the God relationship is not for this reason broken. Were it actually to be broken, this would mean human betrayal (54:10). Instead at the

141 | same time that we receive this unsought independence we “fall” back into God. Aulén observes that this has ethical implications. The one who lives in the closest fellowship with God has at the same time complete responsibility for the moral decisions that are made, which can at times be frightening (cf. 57:31, Aulén, E 97, Sw 142-143). At this point the words of Psalm 63:8 may prove reassuring: “My soul clings to thee; thy right hand upholds me.”

53. 551225 “But when in this way they taste God, be it in himself, or in his works, they recognize at the same time that there is an infinite difference between the creature and the Creator, between time and eternity. - - - Enlighten my soul, and make it find its life and its joy in you, so that, as if transported outside of itself by the excess of its gladness, it becomes devoted to you with all its power and motions.”

This is the fourth of seven citations in Waymarks from DH’s French translation of *The Imitation of Christ* (*De l’imitation de Jesus-Christ*, De Beüil, 252). On Christmas Day DH continues to reflect on the meaning of fellowship with God. As one tastes God one becomes keenly aware of the difference between the creature and the Creator. The citation concludes with a prayer for enlightenment that will lead to a joy which expresses itself in total devotion to what God would have done in the world.

In the chapter (III:34) from which the citation is taken, Thomas à Kempis commends as truly wise those who despise worldly things and mortify bodily desires. Illusion is to be abandoned for truth, the body for the spirit. Thomas then goes on to describe what enjoyment of the Creator can mean and prays for such an experience. He is aware, however, that the lower nature is still strong within him, is not yet wholly crucified, nor entirely dead. Likening the conflicts he experiences to a storm at sea, he prays Christ who rules the waves to come to his help.

In several of the waymarks that follow (55:54-57, 55:59, 55:63), DH comments on this citation from *The Imitation of Christ*, as well as on other themes of the chapter in which it is found.

54. You take the pen -- and the lines dance. You take the flute -- and the tones shimmer. You take the brush -- and the colors sing. In this way everything becomes meaningful and beautiful in that space beyond time which you are. How then can I keep anything back from you?

142 | DH states that he does know what it means to taste God, to find his joy in God. But this does not mean that worldly things must in every sense be despaired. This waymark is a celebration of God as the source of beauty. The Creator DH encounters enlivens in a person every kind of competence, the ability to write, to make music, to paint. Everything becomes meaningful and beautiful because eternity interpenetrates time. How can one then withhold anything from God?

55. I walked thus in the dream with God through the depth of being: walls receding, doors opened, room after room of silence and darkness and coolness -- of the intimacy of souls and light and warmth -- till around me the boundlessness in which we all flowed together and continued to live was like the rings after falling drops on wide, calm, dark waters.

Next DH describes a mystical dream experience. With God he walks through the depth of being, spaces opening to him. There is silence, darkness, and coolness, but also intimacy of souls, light and warmth. Life flows together and continues in a boundless context suggesting rings formed by falling drops on wide, calm, dark waters. Aulén suggests that this may be a waymark in which DH intimates an understanding of eternal life (Aulén, E 154; Sw 221-222).

56. The gift burned in your hand, so beyond the resources of the giver that it must have been. It scorched you like a hot flame, not fed by any "economic" considerations, but because it showed without the possibility of evasion your self-satisfied, worldly-wise coldness: even in the smallest gift you must have the will to give everything.

After these two extremely positive waymarks, DH indicates that he is also aware of the potentiality of evil in his life. He must have received a Christmas gift which he felt the giver could hardly afford to give. What impressed him the most was not what the gift must have cost the giver, but that it made clear to him what all gifts, whatever their financial value, should signify, the willingness to give everything. He has written this Christmas season about the God relationship. This relationship, however, expresses itself in human relationships, where self-satisfaction and worldly-wise coldness are inappropriate. If one is committed to give everything to God, one can do so only by willing to give everything in one's service to others in inter-personal relationships.

- 143 | 57. When you are irritated by his “pretension,” you reveal the nature of your own. It is as it should be that he is increasing and you are decreasing. Choose your opponents: to the wrong ones you cannot even afford to give a thought, and the right ones, help them, and yourself, in relaxed competition.

Though DH’s office as UN Secretary-General gave him preeminence of rank, there could still be competition such that his actual influence was affected. In such cases what he was tempted to regard as the “pretension” of another could reveal his own. He reminds himself that he can choose his competitors. Some should be ignored (cf. 57:4). In the case of worthy opponents the jousting, if properly done, could prove mutually helpful. “It is as it should be that he is increasing and you are decreasing,” recalls the saying of John the Baptist to his disciples in John 3:30.

58. To remain a recipient --. Out of humility. And in order to retain your sensitivity.

To remain a recipient -- and to be grateful. For this: for being permitted to listen, see, understand --

The closing days of the year were a time of self-evaluation and a time for DH to remind himself of the virtues most important for the work in which he was engaged. In this waymark he stresses being receptive (cf. 50:4, 51:6, 51:47, 55:65, 57:1). Receptivity expresses humility, the need for which he often emphasized (54:19, 55:7, 56:1, 56:26, 56:43, 56:45, 61:13). In 53:22 and 59:4 he indicates his understanding of humility as it related to his position as Secretary-General. Receptivity also contributes to sensitivity, a greater awareness of the feelings of others (cf. 56:37). DH reminds himself to be grateful for the privilege of being able to listen and thereby to see more clearly and thus to understand.

59. In the deepest causality of personality the height of ambition is also the measure of the possible ruin.

DH was aware of the temptations linked to ambition (cf. 51:59, 56:40, 57:39). Due to the “causality of personality” (55:26), the fact that attitudes and behaviors are linked to consequences, the greater the ambition, should a person succumb to the temptations associated with it, the greater the risk of ruin.

60. For the one who has heeded the appeal of an unknown achievement's possibility, solitude can become essential. Let be that such a solitude includes also a fellowship which goes deeper than any union of bodies. Your body will, however, not be put off with a bluff. What you deny it in order to follow this admonitory appeal from your own destiny, it will demand in return if you fail -- demand in return in forms that you will not be in a position to choose.

The achievement seeks us, not we the achievement. Therefore you are faithful to it, if you wait prepared. And act -- when you face the demand.

Though DH understood the dangers of ambition, he did not propose settling for more modest goals. In this waymark he comments on the cost of heeding "the appeal of an unknown achievement's possibility." In his case that cost involved loneliness (58:9), a loneliness which fellowship with God did not wholly remove. DH possibly alludes to wrestling with this problem in 55:51. Here he warns himself of the consequences of failure should he prove unfaithful in responding to his destiny's stern summons. His body was accepting the discipline to which he was subjecting it, but spiritual failure on his part would have unpredictable effects in the way his body could be expected to behave. The achievement, however, was not first of all something for which he was striving, but the achievement was seeking realization in his life. To this demand he must be prepared to make a faithful response.

61. In many instances the greatest seriousness is expressed merely in a friendly relaxed detachment -- such as you can expect in someone who, though deeply engaged in human affairs, has no ulterior motives and has nothing to hide.

The greatest seriousness does not necessarily call for a tense, hurried, stern life style. Those who are not seeking to advance their own self-interest and who have nothing to hide can, while deeply engaged in the human enterprise, view more impartially the issue of their efforts and relate more easily and positively to their fellow workers.

62. Acts of violence --. Whether on a large or a small scale the bitter paradox: death's meaning -- and the meaninglessness of killing.

145 | As Secretary-General DH was committed to reduce the amount of violence in the world. He reflects on the profound difference between the triviality of the act of killing and the meaning implicit in the fact that a life has been terminated (cf. 51:1, 51:11, 56:39, 57:42, 57:44). He refuses to consider any presumed purposes that can be served by assassinations, preemptive warfare, or genocide. If there ever was an ancient good in such human behavior, time has long since made it grotesquely uncouth.

63. Sun and stillness. Through the jade green water you see
the monsters of the deep playing on the reef. Is this the
occasion for fear? Do you feel yourself more secure when
the raging sea obscures what is hidden under the surface.

The imagery is drawn from a visit to an underwater observatory, or viewing fish and other marine life through a glass-bottom boat. What one sees can appear to be “monsters of the deep playing the reef.” DH is soon to begin his first world tour as Secretary-General. He may be asking himself whether he would prefer to be unable to see the threatening forces which this imagery for him symbolizes. On the other hand, what one is able to see in sun and stillness can provide the insight needed to cope with the raging sea.

It is also possible that there is some relation between the imagery of this waymark and the prayer in *The Imitation of Christ*, III:34, from which the citation in 55:53 is taken. Thomas à Kempis beseeches Christ, who rules the power of the sea and quells its raging waves, to come to help him with the conflict in his soul between the spirit and his lower nature. If so, DH is asking whether he wants to view this conflict or whether he would prefer that it remain hidden in his subconscious.

64. You see deeper into him than he himself was able to see.
And report your discoveries in words which he himself
would have rejected, precisely if he could have seen to the
bottom of his own being!

Diplomacy involves dealing with contending national forces, which takes place through the negotiations of individuals. DH was confident that he was able to evaluate others (41-42:1, 45-49:10, 50:30). It is significant, however, that during his years as Secretary-General he more often writes waymarks critical of himself than of others. The person he is here describing was unable to acknowledge the truth about himself. DH felt that he was able to do this (cf. 56:26, 56:36-37, 57:11, 57:39).

65. The “mystical experience.”

Always: here and now -- in that freedom which is one with detachment, in the stillness that is born out of tranquillity. But -- this freedom is a freedom during activity, this tranquillity is a tranquillity among people. The mystery is a constant reality in the one, who in this world is himself free, a reality in calm maturity during affirmation's receptive attentiveness.

The way to sanctification in our time necessarily passes through the world of action.

In this waymark DH sets forth his understanding of the mystical experience. It is here and now and it takes place in the midst of activity among people. There are many who are convinced that in order to come close to God one must withdraw from the world to devote oneself entirely to meditation and prayer. DH says that we encounter God in the world of action. In the concluding statement, one of the most significant that DH wrote, the word translated “sanctification” could also be translated “holiness.” “Sanctification,” however, expresses more accurately the technical theological term DH is using. Theologians distinguish between doctrines having to do with creation and the fall, justification through Jesus’ atoning work, and sanctification, often regarded as the work of the Holy Spirit. Sanctification is the growth and development in the Christian life which follows justification, or being made righteous through God’s gift in Jesus Christ. DH says we grow as Christians through becoming fully involved in what God is doing in the world, in all the areas in which human beings live and work. Sometimes the area of government and politics is thought to be so fraught with compromise and moral ambiguity that one can hardly express one’s faith in this area. DH thought differently. For him the way to sanctification meant Christian discipleship at the United Nations.

66. “One must give everything for everything.”

This is the fifth of seven citations in Waymarks from *The Imitation of Christ* by Thomas à Kempis, cited from his French translation (*De l’imitation de Jesus-Christ*, De Beül, 227, 261). In the case of this citation, it appears that DH has combined words from III:27 and III:37, in both of which chapters statements to the effect that one must give everything for everything appear. With these words DH expresses in another way how sanctification in our time is to be achieved. There must be willingness to give oneself wholly and unceasingly (54:1, 55:56, 56:52). As one does so one discovers that one has already received much more than one can ever give (56:66, 58:9).

1956

During this year the diplomatic skills DH had demonstrated in his negotiations with the Peoples Republic of China were fully utilized. The primary center of attention was the Middle East which DH visited during his first world tour as Secretary-General, January 15 - February 24. At the request of the Security Council he returned to the Middle East in April and spent a month securing cease-fire assurances from Egypt, Israel, Jordan, Lebanon, and Syria, and pledges to keep armistice agreements. While these efforts had some success, the decision of the United States to withdraw financing for Egypt's Aswan High Dam and the subsequent withdrawals of the British and World Bank offers led President Gamal Abdel Nasser to nationalize the Suez Canal Company. While progress was being made toward a negotiated settlement of the Suez crisis, Great Britain, France, and Israel attempted a military seizure of the canal. Israel attacked Egypt on October 29 and shortly thereafter the British and the French joined the hostilities. An emergency special session of the General Assembly on November 4 requested DH to submit within forty-eight hours a plan for setting up an emergency international United Nations force (later known as the UN Emergency Force, UNEF) to secure and supervise the cessation of hostilities. DH was able to meet this deadline, organize the UNEF, secure the cease-fire, and also direct the clearance of the canal.

During the height of the Suez crisis there was also a crisis in Hungary and a request for help from the UN. The Western nations were outraged by the nature of the Soviet intervention in Hungary, but by November 5 a new government had been established in Hungary that informed DH that it objected to any further discussion of the Hungarian question by the UN. Though it was impossible to arrange a visit to Hungary by UN representatives, a committee was appointed which interviewed Hungarian refugees in Austria and which later reported to the UN.

During 1956 DH wrote eighteen dated waymarks, many of which reflect his response to political developments that were taking place.

1. Before you, Father, in righteousness and humility,
With you, Brother, in faithfulness and courage,
In you, Spirit, in stillness.

Yours -- for your will is my destiny,
Dedicated -- for my destiny is to be used and
consumed, according to your will.

148 | In this trinitarian meditation the prepositions, which are italicized, are significant. There is the greatest distance suggested in the relation to the Father. DH is before the Father. The Father requires righteousness, which, according to the Christian gospel, God also gives. This righteousness is received and exercised in humility (cf. 56:43, 56:45, 57:9, 59:4). DH is with Jesus, the Brother. He is loyal to Jesus, sharing his commitment. The commitment requires courage (cf. 56:38). Finally, DH is in the Spirit. This expresses the kind of mysticism that characterized DH's religious experience. It was marked by stillness, a word which DH uses again and again (50:40, 50:41, 54:23, 55:7, 55:65, 56:10, 56:12, 56:58, 61:13). In the second part of the waymark the unity of the triune God is implied. It is the one God's will that is DH's destiny. DH has dedicated himself to be used and consumed according to this will. The words "Yours --" and "Dedicated --", cited in 55:23, appear to refer to the concluding part of this waymark.

2. These days I have been searching back in my memory. And suddenly I found it -- Mona Lisa's smile.

That time, the hour after her death, I saw it: secret insight, certainty's stillness, reposing bliss --
Saw and believed I understood its message.

Efforts have been made to interpret the enigmatic significance of Mona Lisa's smile in Leonardo da Vinci's famous painting. DH suggests that the smile may bear witness to that which becomes known after death. The waymark is not dated. DH states, however, that "these days I have been searching back in my memory." If "these days" were in January, he may have recalled the death of his mother, which occurred on January 21, 1940. If so, this waymark is the first specific reference to his mother. The following year there is a dated waymark (57:5) on the seventeenth anniversary of Agnes Hammar skjöld's death. In both waymarks there is reference to a blissful smile. There may be two other reference to DH's mother in 59:42 and 59:44.

3. Through "success" you have gotten something that can be lost. Therefore -- as suddenly aware of the risks -- this question, if you (if anyone) can "succeed." If you begin in this way thoughtlessly to mirror yourself in an obituary, you will be writing your own epitaph -- in two senses.

Reflecting on success, DH observes that once gotten it can be lost, which leads to the question as to whether anyone can in the long term succeed. DH warns himself not to spend time thinking about such matters. Preoccupation with

149 | an imagined final evaluation of one's achievements can mean the termination of significant life and growth here and now. For other references to success, see 50:39, 50:47, 50:49, 56:18, 57:8, 60:6.

4. Do what you can -- and the task will lie easily in your hand, so easily that with anticipation you will stretch toward the more difficult test which can follow.

For DH to say, "Do what you can," does not imply a lessening of the demand a task represents (25-30:12, 56:20, 57:31, 57:40). It literally means that all one's energies are to be marshaled for that task's performance. DH is convinced that when this is done the task will be found to be easier than it was anticipated to be and that one will then look forward to the performance of even more difficult tasks (cf. 54:21, 57:25).

5. It is when the morning's freshness has been changed to midday weariness, when the leg muscles quiver under the strain, the trail seems endless, and suddenly nothing will work out just as you wish -- it is then that you must not hesitate.

DH has earlier exhorted himself to believe, not to hesitate (54:27, cf. 56:25, 56:66). In this waymark in which the imagery is drawn from mountain climbing, what could prompt the hesitation is not doubt but weariness and repeated frustration. In such a case one must nonetheless continue (cf. 61:7, 61:12).

6. Forgiveness is the answer to the child's dream of the miracle through which that which is torn is once again whole and that which is soiled is still clean.

It is in this sense that we need and must give forgiveness. In the experience of God nothing stands between him and us, we are forgiven. But we cannot experience him, if anything is permitted to stand between others and ourselves.

This is the second of a number of waymarks in which there is reference to forgiveness (cf. 55:43, 57:6, 57:9, 57:30, 58:1, 60:1, 61:16). Despite the stringent demands DH placed upon himself, despite confessions of his own failures to attain to ideals he set for himself, he has not thus far had much to say about forgiveness. One cannot assume, however, that he had not experienced forgiveness. In this waymark the reference to "a child's dream" of miraculous restoration of that

150 | which is torn or soiled could suggest a critique of the concept of forgiveness. DH can speak rather sharply of what he regards as childish patterns of thinking (45-49:3, 4, 9, 50:48, 56:18, 56:22). Here, however, he goes on to say that “it is in this sense that we need and must give forgiveness.” He identifies the experience of God with recognizing that we are forgiven, which experience requires that we permit nothing to stand between ourselves and others, i.e., that we must freely give to others the forgiveness we receive from God. This is what keeps “the child’s dream” from being childish in an objectionable sense.

7. -- Lead us not into temptation,
But deliver us from evil;
Let everything in me serve You,
And thus free me from fear.
You dare your yes -- and experience a meaning.
You repeat your yes -- and everything receives a meaning.
When everything has meaning, how can you live anything
other than a yes?

This poem begins with a prayer citing two petitions of the Lord’s Prayer. The preceding dashes may be intended to indicate that the petition requesting forgiveness is also being presupposed, thus linking this waymark with 56:6. DH fears above all the temptation and evil threatening his inner dedication. If through God’s help he is enabled to serve God with all of his being, his fear will be removed.

In 52:20 DH described his struggle to find meaning in his life (cf. 56:21, 57:25). In 53:1 he expresses gratitude for the past and declares his yes to that which is coming. He now states that it is this daring yes that enables him to experience meaning. As it is repeated more and more meaning results. This being the case he sees no other way to live than in this life affirming way.

8. 560321 “Then stood Phinehas and prayed: and so
the plague ceased. And it was counted unto him for
righteousness.”

These deeds -- justified only by faith -- which lift
us into a new context where the struggle is between
‘principalities and powers.’ These deeds in which -- by
grace -- the attempt is everything.

“For your holy life is our way, and your adorable patience
is the road by which we must be directed towards you.”

151 | On Wednesday before Holy Week DH cites The Book of Common Prayer version of Ps. 106:30-31 (cf. 54:26), which refers to the Numbers 25 account of an interposition (RSV), intervention (JB), intercession (NEB, NRSV), execution of justice (Sw. 1917) by Phinehas stopping a plague. W. H. Auden in commenting on this waymark calls the account of Phinehas spearing to death a man and a woman apparently engaged in sexual intercourse a “horrid story” and says he is afraid DH must have been ignorant of what Phinehas actually did (Markings, 125). In view of the comment that follows, it is, however, gratuitous to question DH’s biblical literacy at this point. When DH speaks of “these deeds -- justified only by faith,” he most likely refers to the Numbers narrative. The reference to “principalities and powers” is an allusion to Ephesians 2:21, 6:12. Numbers 25 can be read so as to affirm that Phinehas in his violent act was engaged in such a struggle, though the appropriate behavior in a context of that kind would have to take a very different form now, as DH’s reference to grace indicates.

To make this difference even more explicit DH cites, again in French, for the sixth time Thomas à Kempis’ *The Imitation of Christ* (III:18, *De l’imitation de Jesus-Christ*, De Beüil, 196) to indicate the course that religious zeal and devotion must follow in our time. The life of Jesus is our example and his patience is to be emulated. Thus DH recognizes something that can be affirmed in an old story and goes on to describe the kind of behavior that those in crisis situations in our time should attempt.

At this time there was considerable tension in the Middle East with Palestinian Arab incursions into Israeli territory and Israeli retaliatory raids. DH believed that diplomatic efforts could help the leadership on both sides recognize that restoration of the armistice regime, ending the state of partial belligerency, would be a better and safer course than the continuing drift toward war. On March 21 the United States proposed that the Security Council adopt a resolution requesting DH urgently to survey the state of compliance by Israel and the Arab states with the armistice agreements and to arrange measures to reduce tensions along the armistice lines, which resolution was later adopted unanimously on April 4 (Public Papers of the S-G, 3:69-70). This dated waymark may indicate DH’s reflections as he anticipated the mission that lay before him.

9. 560329 “-- and they loved not their lives unto the death.”
Further:
“For there is mercy with thee; therefore shalt thou be feared.”
Nevertheless -- and therefore -- Gethsemane.

152 | This dated waymark was written on Maundy Thursday. The citation (Rev. 12:11) is in English from the epistle for St. Michael and all Angels in The Book of Common Prayer (cf. 54:26). In Revelation 12:7-12 Michael and his angels fight in heaven against Satan, the dragon, who is cast out of heaven. G. B. Caird in A Commentary on the Revelation of St. John the Divine explains: "Everything that John sees in heaven is the counterpart of some earthly reality. When the victory is being won in heaven, Christ is on earth on the Cross. Because he is part of the earthly reality, he cannot at the same time be part of the heavenly symbolism. The heavenly chorus explains that the real victory has been won by the life-blood of the Lamb. Michael's victory is simply the heavenly and symbolic counterpart of the earthly reality of the Cross" (New York: Harper & Row, 1966, 153-154). Satan cast down to earth has great wrath and therefore the struggle continues. Those who conquer do so by the blood of the Lamb and by the word of their testimony. They are also willing to die.

The Psalm passage (130:4), which DH also cites from The Book of Common Prayer, states that there is mercy or forgiveness with God. Yet it is precisely this attribute of God that leads Jesus to Gethsemane. It is through Jesus' obedience to his Father's will that the divine mercy and forgiveness become extended to the many who had not dared to believe that this was the nature of God.

10. 560330 The third hour. And the ninth --. That is now.
And now --. It is now!

"Jesus will be in agony even to the end of the world. We must not sleep during that time."

We must not --. And for the one who remains awake that which is distant in time becomes present -- present also in contact with today's humanity, where Jesus in every moment dies in someone who has followed the course the inner markings designate to the end:

love and patience,
righteousness and humility,
faithfulness and courage,
stillness.

This waymark is written on Good Friday. Citing words from Blaise Pascal (1623-1662), French mathematician and philosopher of religion, DH reflects that Jesus is still in agony, present and suffering in those who are "in contact with today's humanity" and who follow Jesus to the end. The cited words are from a section of Pascal's *Pensées* entitled "The Mystery of Jesus" (*Œuvres*

153 | complètes, ed. Jacques Chevalier [Paris: Gallimard, 1954], 1313; Pascal's *Pensées* [New York: Dutton, 1948], 148). Pascal combines themes from both the Maundy Thursday agony in Gethsemane, when the disciples sleep, and the Good Friday suffering on the cross. The way that is to be followed is defined by three pairs of virtues, love and patience, righteousness and humility, faithfulness and courage, and in addition to these, stillness (cf. 54:23, 55:7, 56:1, 56:12, 56:33, 56:38, 56:43, 56:45, 57:9, 61:13).

11. 560408 "There is a contingent and nonessential will. And there is a destined and creative, an 'habitual' will. ---Never ever does God give himself in an alien will: where he finds his will, there he gives himself."

This dated waymark was written in Rome where DH was consulting with General E. L. M. Burns, head of the United Nations Truce Supervision Organization (UNTSO), which was responsible for supervising the armistice agreements between Israel and the four neighboring Arab states. Renewed hostilities in Gaza made it necessary for DH to shorten the consultation and proceed to Beirut (Urquhart, 1973, 140-141). The citation is in German from Meister Eckhart (Meister Eckehart Schriften, Büttner, 204; see also *Die deutschen Werke, Traktaten*, Quint, 5:280-281/530). Gustaf Aulén comments: "This is a statement concerning the possibility of and prerequisites for receiving that gift of God which is no less than the gift of himself. . . . What God seeks is 'His own will.' It would not be wrong here to think of 'the spark within us' (cf. 41-42:25) This spark has its origin in God and is in itself a gift of God. However, union with God is not realized in that spark; it is being realized, here and now, through the action of God's providential and creative will, which is in process of becoming a habitual will within us" (Aulén, E 64).

12. 560422 Understand -- through stillness,
Act -- from stillness,
Win -- in stillness.
"If the eye is to perceive the color, it must first itself be
divested of all colors."

This dated waymark is written on a Sunday in Beirut, as DH having received cease fire assurances from Israel and Egypt is still attempting to secure them from Jordan, Lebanon, and Syria. He may have heard of an incident that evening on the Sea of Galilee between Israeli and Syrian fisherman,

154 | during which shots had been fired (Urquhart, 1973, 144-146). One notes the importance of the word “stillness” in this waymark (cf. 54:23, 55:7, 56:1, 56:10, 61:13). Stillness provides the background, the prerequisite for the required understanding, which can lead to action with the hope of the successful results he is seeking. The quotation, which is in German, is from Meister Eckhart (*Die deutschen Werke*, Predigten, Quint, 1:201/478; cf. Meister Eckehart *Schriften*, Büttner, 224). The concept Eckhart uses has been gotten from Aristotle (*De Anima*, bk. II, ch. 7, 418b, 26-27; Richard McKeon, *Introduction to Aristotle* [New York: Random House, 1947], 190). The meaning of the Eckhart citation in this setting may be that in order to recognize the truth in an extremely controversial situation one must oneself be freed from all biases.

13. To love life and people with God's love -- for the sake of
the infinite possibilities,
Like him to wait,
Like him to judge
Without condemning.
To obey the order when it is given
And never to look back --
Then he can use you -- then, perhaps, he will use you.
And if he still does not use you -- in his hand each
moment nonetheless has a meaning, has exaltation and
radiance, peace and coherence.
To “believe in God” is in this perspective to believe in
oneself. Just as self-evident, just as “illogical”, and just as
impossible to explain: if I can be, God is.

This waymark may also have been written in Beirut. If so it continues the reflection found in the previous waymark. One is to love people with God's love, not because of the infinite values one finds in their lives but because of the infinite possibilities, because of what can happen as in the lives of more and more individuals God's will is done. Love that can bring about such a result requires God's patience. One must be able accurately to analyze situations without passing judgment upon them. One must act decisively in obedience to God's will and not in so doing look back. Here there may be an allusion to the saying of Jesus, “No one who puts his hand to the plow and looks back is fit for the kingdom of God” (Luke 9:62, cf. 51:22, 53:12, 57:35, 61:5). That the prerequisites for God using a person in a particular way are fulfilled does not mean that God will use that person (cf. 51:59, 53:4, 56:1, 56:57). The course of

155 | history is not to this extent subject to human design. The one who orders his life according to God's will finds, however, meaning, exaltation, and peace in every moment (cf. 56:7). Because the believing individual is closely identified with God, DH can relate believing in God with believing in himself. Though he can offer no rational proofs, his own self-identity and God's being are equally self-evident to him (cf. 41-42:23, 50:51, 52:7, 54:13, 58:7).

14. "The blessed spirits must be sought within the self which is common to all."

This waymark is an English citation from W. B. Yeats (1865-1939; Nobel prize in Literature 1923), *A Vision* 1938 (New York: Collier Books, 1977, 22). DH believes there is a self common to all (41-42:25, 57:36) and he sometimes, as in the previous waymark, finds God in the deepest understanding of selfhood (cf. 58:8). If the blessed spirits can be identified with "faith's martyrs" (55:9), DH may interpret this statement as describing a unity to be found between these spirits, God, and our deepest awareness of our spiritual affinity with all other human beings.

15. A poem, like every deed, should be judged as a manifestation of its maker's personality. This neither excludes "perfection" according to aesthetic criteria, nor authenticity in the sense of congruence with one's innermost reaction to life.

Three ways of evaluating a poem are here being distinguished. There are aesthetic criteria. A poem can be more or less perfect at this point. Another question is whether the poem is authentic. Does it honestly express the poet's innermost reaction to life? To these two criteria DH adds a third. A poem, like any other deed, is a manifestation of the poet's personality. Here a kind of ethical criterion is suggested. It is not enough that the poem be authentic. One can ask, what is the quality of the personality that is here being manifested? In the Auden-Sjöberg translation, these latter two criteria are not distinguished (Markings, 128). According to Erik Lindegren, this waymark expresses DH's mature aesthetic credo (Dag Hammarskjöld, 22-23). For other waymarks referring to poetry, see 55:11, 55:39, 55:40, 59:4.

16. "The wind blows where it chooses . . . so it is with every one who is born of the Spirit."

"The light shines in the darkness, and the darkness did not overcome it."

Like wind --. In it, with it, of it. Of it -- like a sail, so light and strong that, even though bound to the earth, it gathers all the power of the wind without impeding its course.

Like light --. In light, translucent, transformed to light. Like the lens which disappears in the light when it focuses it to new strength.

Like wind. Like light.

Only this -- on these expanses, these heights.

In this waymark, possibly reflecting an experience on a cliff overlooking the sea, DH cites two passages from the Gospel according to John and concentrates attention on two symbols for God, the wind referring to the divine Spirit (John 3:8; cf. 55:31, 57:52), the light referring to the incarnate Word (John 1:5, cf. 52:14, 56:34, 57:16). DH sees himself as a sail in relation to the wind. The sail becomes wholly identified with the wind. Though bound to the earth, the sail gathers the wind's power. The wind, however, is not impeded by this fact. DH sees himself also as identified with the light, functioning as a lens that focuses the light to new strength and intensity, but is not itself seen (cf. 57:28).

17. On the arena where Ormuzd has taken up the struggle with Ahriman, the one who chases away the dogs wastes his time.

In Zoroastrianism, the religion of ancient Iran, Ormuzd (Ahura Mazda), the god of light, and Ahriman (Angra Mainyu), the spirit of darkness, are locked in eternal combat. Since Ormuzd is not omnipotent, he needs the help of his creatures in the struggle. Activity that does not contribute to the victory of the good should therefore be avoided. In Zoroastrianism dogs are clean animals and to kill a dog is a great sin. To chase dogs away from a temple would accordingly be unprofitable behavior and a waste of time.

18. To rejoice at success is not the same as to take credit for it. To deny oneself the first is to be a hypocrite and a denier of life; to indulge oneself in the second is a pleasure for children which will keep them from growing up.

157 | DH is concerned with how to deal with the fact that he has been successful (50:39, 56:3, 57:8). One may rejoice over one's success, but one should not take credit for it (54:10, 55:22). A middle way must be found between vainly seeking to deny the gratification one feels (cf. 50:47, 50:49) and indulgence in the pleasure of thinking that one's success is wholly one's own doing. Such thinking can keep one from attaining to maturity.

19. Beyond the obedient concentration the goal elicits:
freedom from fear. Beyond fear: openness.
And beyond that: love.

DH describes a progression that leads to love. Where there is the obedient concentration of effort a goal can bring forth, there can also be freedom from fear (cf. 51:47, 56:7, 56:55). A self-confident person, free by reason of obedience from the fear of failure, can also be open and need not be defensive (cf. 25-30:2, 41-42:11, 53:7). Such a person is, in turn, able to love (cf. 57:47, 58:10). Love is therefore a manifestation of personal strength.

20. And after this? Why ask? After this a new demand about which you know all you need to know. That its sole measure is your own strength.

When one goal is achieved one may expect to be confronted with another. DH does not feel that much attention need be given as to what the new demands will be. He will be asked to respond according to the measure of his ability. More knowledge than this of what will be expected of him is not needed. He stated this principle very early in 25-30:12 (cf. 56:4).

21. For self-defense -- against the system builders.

Your personal life cannot have a lasting, specific meaning. It can gain a derived meaning only as ordered in and under something which is "lasting" and which itself has a "meaning". Does this latter refer to what we intend to designate when we speak of Life? Can your life possess a meaning as a fragment of Life?

If Life exists --? Try and you shall experience: Life as reality. If Life has a "meaning"? Experience Life as a reality and you will find the question meaningless.

"Try --?" Try through daring the leap into a

subordination without reservation. Dare that when you are challenged, for only in the light of the challenge can you see where the road divides and hope seeing clearly to choose to put your personal life behind you -- without the right to look back.

You will find that "in the pattern" you are freed from the need to live "with the herd."

You will find that subordinated to Life your life retains all its meaning, irrespective of the context given you for its realization.

You will find that the freedom of constant farewell, constant self-surrender, gives your experience of reality the purity and the sharpness which is -- self-realization.

You will find that subordination as an act of will requires constant repetition and terminates if, in anything, our individual lives are permitted to drift back into the center.

Who "the system builders" are against whom DH is defending himself is not indicated. He does feel the need, however, to give a more extended account of the way of living to which he is committed. He begins by discussing the question of the meaning of his life (cf. 52:20, 56:7, 56:13, 57:25). By itself, in isolation no individual life can have its own lasting meaning. It must be ordered in and under that which endures and has meaning. Is there, however, anything that has such a comprehensive, all-inclusive meaning? Could Life, perhaps, be so regarded?

The term "life" recurs again and again in Waymarks, having several different meanings. There is the life that pervades nature (50:40, 51:45, 52:7), life as opposed to death (50:27, 51:52, 52:19, 55:18), the life of the individual person (50:2, 52:23, 54:20, 59:2, 61:5), and life in more general terms (25-30:1, 25-30:6, 41-42:10, 41-42:11, 50:51, 56:13). In some waymarks "life" can for DH be another way of referring to God (45-49:10, 50:53, 51:59, 53:14, and 57:47). In this waymark to suggest this meaning Life as distinguished from DH's personal life is capitalized. Does, however, life so understood exist? Can life have such a meaning? DH says that the answer to these questions is to be found in experience. One must dare unreservedly to subordinate oneself to the Life that transcends one's own individual existence (45-49:5, 56:7). There a pattern is to be found (50:3) that differs from being submerged in the sluggish fluid of

159 | "the herd." One's own life as a fragment of Life will have meaning, whatever the context in which it is lived. There will even be self-realization. The act of self-surrender must, however, be constantly repeated and there must be strict vigilance lest at any point one's own individual concerns are permitted to become central (55:8, 55:26).

22. The "great" endeavor is so much easier than the everyday one -- but so easily shuts our hearts to the latter. So the highest sacrificial intention can be joined with and lead to a great hero's insensitivity.

You thought yourself unmoved by an expression of appreciation which you should not have accepted as appropriately coming to you and which -- should you nonetheless have been tempted to accept it -- far exceeded what the events justified. You thought yourself unmoved -- until you felt jealousy flare up at his childish efforts "to make himself" important, and your self-conceit was exposed.

Of the heart's hardness -- and smallness --. Let me with open eyes read the book my days are writing -- and learn.

DH has been successful and engaged in "great" endeavors. He reminds himself that these are often easier than everyday tasks. One must not lose one's sensitivity for those whose lives are engaged with what appears commonplace (51:26, 56:24). Another problem is how one should respond to praise, especially if it is somewhat undeserved (55:26, 56:49, 59:4). One's reaction to attention given to others can indicate that one is not as indifferent to the presence or absence of praise as one imagines (56:42, 57:4). DH wants to be aware of the kind of person he is, of how hard and how small his heart can be.

23. 560604 "For He spake, and it was done: He commanded and it stood fast."

The Security Council in requesting DH to go as a mediator to the Middle East (cf. 56:11) asked him to report in one month. On June 4 the Security Council in accepting his report unanimously commended his efforts and asked him to continue them. Urquhart observes, however, that "the debate both before and after the vote reflected the emotional divisions and mutual fears and suspicions that persisted between the conflicting parties" (Urquhart, 1973, 153). The Psalm

160 | passage cited from The Book of Common Prayer (Ps 33:9, cf. 54:26) celebrates God's power in creation. DH may also have reflected on the two following verses: "The LORD brings the counsel of the nations to nought; he frustrates the plans of the peoples. The counsel of the LORD stands forever, the thoughts of his heart to all generations" (Ps. 33:10-11).

On this same date DH received an honorary degree from Upsala College, East Orange, New Jersey, a college named after DH's alma mater, the University of Uppsala. At this occasion DH spoke briefly about the Uppsala tradition and the implications of this heritage for world citizenship, suggesting that in Sweden representatives of this tradition at their best had learned patience in dealings with mightier powers and the importance of speaking for peace. Their spirit, he added finally, is one of peace (Public Papers of the S-G, 3:164-165).

24. 560610 How poor is not the "courage" which is recognized as meaningful, compared with the quiet heroism an unreflecting mind can reveal before the most inglorious, the most degrading of tests.

How favored by the gods is the one whose worth is tested in a context where courage for him has meaning -- perhaps even a tangible reward. How little he knows of his potential weakness, how easily does he not become caught in blinding self-admiration.

In describing the Uppsala tradition (see 56:23) DH had also spoken of the courage shown in following the guidance of one's ideals to ends which sometimes, at least temporarily, could be very bitter. On the following Sunday he reflects about a different kind of courage, the quiet heroism that is unrecognized and does not expect recognition (cf. 51:26, 56:22). While there are advantages in having one's courage tested in what appears to be a meaningful context, there is also the danger of succumbing to blinding self-admiration (cf. 25-30:14, 50:24, 55:27)

25. "Believe -- not to hesitate," but also: not to doubt. "Faith is God's union with the soul" -- yes, but thereby also the certainty of God's omnipotence through the soul: For God everything is possible, because faith can move mountains.

During June DH was preparing for official visits in July to Warsaw, Helsinki, Moscow, Prague, Belgrade, Vienna, and Geneva. This trip would bring him for

161 | the first time to the Soviet Union. Though the Middle East had not originally been included in the itinerary, the fact that there was lack of progress in converting what he called the legal cease-fire into a state of mind led him to return also to Jerusalem, Amman, and Cairo.

Before his January 1955 trip to Beijing for negotiations with Chou En-lai, DH charged himself, as he does in this waymark, to believe, not to hesitate (54:27). In 56:5 he states that midday weariness and lack of success must not be occasions for hesitation. Here he adds that he must also not doubt. There are only two other references to doubt in Waymarks. In 52:14 DH speaks of an intellectual doubt that hinders his interpretation of the spiritual reality he experiences. In 61:16 he prays that his doubt may be forgiven. Here doubt is contrasted with St. John of the Cross's definition of faith as God's union with the soul (54:7, 55:9, 57:47, 58:7). DH also alludes to the saying of Jesus (Matt 17:19, Mk 11:23) that where there is no doubt faith can move mountains. DH interprets this to mean that God's omnipotence is exercised through the soul united with God in faith. To speak of omnipotence, affirming that everything is possible, and that mountains can be moved is to use what might appear to be exaggerated figurative language. At the same time, given the negotiations DH was anticipating, it was more appropriate that he discover the limits of possibility than that he should have sought to prescribe them in advance.

26. The "large" context so easily obscures the "small" one. But without that humility and warmth which you must achieve in your relationship to those in whose personal lives you have become involved, you will not be able to do anything for the many. Without this you live in a world of abstractions where your solipsism, your hunger for power, and your destructive impulse will lack their only superior opponent: love. Love, which is the outflowing, without orientation toward an object, of a power freed in self-surrender, but which would remain a sublime form of transhuman-human self-assertion, powerless against what is negative within you, if it were not submitted to the discipline of human nearness and filled with its intimacy. It is better wholeheartedly to make one person good than to "offer oneself for humankind." For the one who is mature these are not alternatives but self-realizations implicit in the same decision, which mutually support one another.

162 | In this waymark DH emphasizes the essential role of intimate personal relationships in his life, even in carrying out his responsibilities as Secretary-General. He was aware of tendencies in his life toward solipsism (52:4), hunger for power (51:43), and destructive impulses (55:28, 57:6) which only love could tame. But even love, were it only a general disposition, could become powerless against these tendencies, even “a sublime form of trans-human self-assertion” (one thinks of the question DH asks about Jesus, “Does he offer himself for others . . . in sublime egocentricity?” [51:30]), were it not disciplined by what takes place in intimate daily personal relationships. It is in this context that one recognizes that it is better to make one person good than to offer oneself for all humankind. If one has sufficient maturity one recognizes that these are not mutually exclusive alternatives but ventures that give support to each other. DH’s experience at this point was limited, since he lacked the daily relationship that marriage would have provided and had to seek its equivalent in other ways (cf. 54:4). He was never wholly successful at this point and suffered from great loneliness (58:9).

27. It is better that one dies for the people than that the whole people perish.

“Who has this great power to see clearly into himself without tergiversation, and act thence, will come to his destiny.”

The waymark begins with the statement of Caiaphas in John 11:50. The Fourth Evangelist regards the statement as a prophecy foretelling the gathering of a new people of God through the death of Jesus, which was, of course, not what Caiaphas had in mind. The fact that DH emphasizes “is” in the passage indicates that he believes that there are situations that do call for such a sacrifice.

Under what circumstances, however, is it better that one person dies rather than the whole people perish? DH answers this question in the citation that follows. It is the first of five citations from Confucius: *The Great Digest & Unwobbling Pivot*, translation and commentary by Ezra Pound (New York: New Directions, 1951), 135 (cf. 56:30-32, 34). This citation is from the second of the Four Classics, known as *The Unwobbling Pivot*, which consists of discussion of three theses attributed to Tsze Sze, who was a disciple of Confucius.

As DH interprets the citation he is not saying that the one person may be made a sacrifice by others, but an individual who sees clearly that such an

163 | offering can be of great benefit to others can offer himself/herself. This must be done unequivocally (without tergiversation [the misspelling, “tergivisation,” in DH’s Swedish text comes from Pound]). When this is actually done such a person comes to his/her destiny. DH may have believed that this in some way was to be his destiny (53:11, 55:23, 55:29, 55:43, 56:39).

28. Courage? In the situation where the only thing that matters is a man’s faithfulness to himself the word lacks meaning. -- “Was he courageous? -- No, but logical.”

What must be determined in the interpretation of this waymark is what is meant by “a man’s faithfulness (loyalty) to himself.” DH speaks of faithfulness in three contexts. In 56:10 and 61:13 the virtues of faithfulness and courage are listed as characteristic of those who follow the way of Christian discipleship. In 55:7, 56:1, and 56:38 faithfulness is expressed with Jesus the Brother. In 51:62 Lord Jim in his last meeting with Doramin is said to have attained an absolute faithfulness to himself. It does not seem that the meaning of faithfulness in these different contexts differs significantly. It follows, therefore, that faithfulness to oneself can be consistent with being dedicated to live so that one’s destiny is to be used and consumed according to God’s will (56:1). While DH usually links faithfulness and courage, in this waymark he suggests that there can be situations where, if there is faithfulness, only that is at issue, for, given faithfulness, there is no choice but to do what may appear to be the courageous act. DH says such behavior should not be called courageous; one is simply being logical.

29. “Watchman, what of the night? Watchman, what of the night? The watchman said, The morning cometh, and also the night.”

“And the Lord said, If I find in Sodom fifty righteous within the city, then I will spare all the place for their sakes. --- Oh let not the Lord be angry, and I will speak yet but this once: Peradventure ten shall be found there. And he said, I will not destroy it for the ten’s sake.”

“But when they shall deliver you up, take no thought how or what ye shall speak: for it shall be given you in that same hour what ye shall speak. For it is not ye that speak, but the Spirit of your Father which speaketh in you.”

164 | The three scripture passages are cited in English from the KJV. The first passage, Isaiah 21:11-12, is an oracle concerning Edom from the time of the conquests of Assyria. The prophet is saying that there is to be a time of deliverance (morning) followed by renewed oppression (night). In the second passage, Genesis 18:26, 32, Abraham is interceding with Yahweh regarding Sodom, pleading that if only ten righteous be found there God might spare the city, to which condition God agrees. In the third passage, Matthew 10:19-20, there is a promise to those who go forth to proclaim the kingdom that when they are delivered up to oppressors they will be Spirit-led in their responses to the interrogations that may then occur.

These passages spoke to DH as he viewed what was happening in the summer of 1956. His hopes that there might be greater compliance with the armistice agreements in the Middle East were being disappointed. The situation further worsened as the United States and Great Britain abruptly withdrew their offers to help Egypt finance the Aswan Dam project, which led Egypt's president, Gamal Abdel Nasser, to nationalize the Suez Canal Company. There were to be greater troubles in the fall. DH may well have wondered whether there were enough righteous persons in positions of leadership, so that the world situation would not wholly deteriorate. He needed all the more the assurance that he might be enabled to give the leadership that the United Nations required. In the following waymarks (56:30-32) he draws upon Confucian thought to articulate more fully the kind of leadership to which he aspires.

30. The ultimate experience is one.

“Only the most absolute sincerity under heaven can bring the inborn talent to the full and empty the chalice of the nature. He who can totally sweep clean the chalice of himself can carry the inborn nature of others to its fulfillment, - - - this clarifying activity has no limit. It neither stops nor stays. - - - it stands in the emptiness above the sun, seeing and judging, interminable in space and time, searching, enduring - - -, - - - unseen it causes harmony; unmoving it transforms; unmoved it perfects --.”
Tsze Sze, not Eckhart.

The next three waymarks contain three citations from the Confucian Classics as translated by Pound. The first citation is again from *The Unwobbling Pivot*, attributed to Tsze Sze (cf. 56:27). DH wants to show that the ultimate mystical

165 | experience is one, whether the context of the experience be the East or the West. The citation is taken from four different paragraphs of Tsze Sze's third thesis (Pound, 173, 179, 181, 183). The chalice that must be emptied is the self. This makes possible service to others (53:21, 57:41). One shares in this way in an unlimited clarifying activity, which though invisible is effective, though unmoved it transforms and perfects. This, DH says, sounds like Meister Eckhart, but it is the teaching of a Chinese philosopher.

31. *Semina motuum* [the origin of the motion]. The forming power in us became will. In order to grow beautifully as a tree we must reach that rest in unity where the forming will again becomes instinct. -- Eckhart's "habitual will."

DH comments on the citation relating it to Eckhart's "habitual will" (cf. 56:11). There is first a forming power (the inborn talent or nature) that becomes will (sweeping clean the chalice). Through reaching rest in unity (standing in emptiness above the sun) this forming will again becomes instinctive (unmoving it transforms; unmoved it perfects). Thus there is movement from instinct, to will, to instinct again, though now the instinct is at a different level. The Latin expression, *semina motuum* (the origin of the motion), with which DH introduces his comments, and the reference to the growing tree are derived from Pound's translation of *The Great Digest*, attributed to Confucius himself (cf. 56:27). The complete passage in Pound reads: "One humane family can humanize a whole state; one courteous family can live a whole state into courtesy; one grasping and perverse man can drive a nation to chaos. Such are the seeds of movement [*semina motuum*, the inner impulses of the tree]. That is what we mean by: one word will ruin the business, one man can bring the state to an orderly course" (Pound, 59, 61).

32. "-- Looking straight into one's own heart --
(which we can do in the Father figure's mirror)
-- watching with affection the way people grow
(as in imitation of the Son)
-- coming to rest in perfect equity."
(as in the fellowship of the Spirit)

The unity of the ultimate experience corresponds to the unity of ethical experience. Even the Confucian world has its "trinity" of life's way.

166 | In this waymark DH inserts his comments in the citation, which is from the first paragraph of *The Great Digest*, attributed to Confucius. The paragraph as Pound has translated it reads as follows: “The great learning [adult study, grinding the corn in the head’s mortar to fit it for use] takes root in clarifying the way wherein the intelligence increases through the process of looking straight into one’s own heart and acting on the results; it is rooted in watching with affection the way people grow; it is rooted in coming to rest, being at ease in perfect equity” (Pound, 27, 29). In this Confucian description of ethical experience DH finds something largely equivalent to his understanding of the Christian trinity. There is the searching judgment of the self by the Father (41-42:23, 55:27), the affectionate observation of others by the Son (56:13), and rest in equity, which likens the fellowship of the Spirit (56:31). Finally DH observes that the unity of the ultimate mystical experience is at the same time a description of the unity of the ethical experience (cf. 55:65).

33. With the love of the one who knows everything,
With the patience of the one whose now is eternal,
With the righteousness of the one who has never
deceived,
With the humility of the one who has experienced all
possible deceptions.

The four virtues listed in this waymark, love, patience, righteousness, and humility, appear in this order in 56:10 (cf. 56:43, 56:45, 57:9), where they, together with faithfulness, courage, and stillness, are the inner markings that designate the course the Christian disciple is to follow. Five of these virtues are given a trinitarian identification in 56:1, righteousness and humility related to the Father, faithfulness and courage to the Son, and stillness to the Spirit. In this waymark DH is stressing the unity of God. Since he never identifies love and patience primarily with any one person of the Trinity, he very likely intends the four virtues to refer simply to God. It is God who knows everything, whose now is eternal, who has never deceived, though in relation to humankind God has experienced all possible deceptions. It may seem surprising, however, to speak of God’s humility. DH may be thinking of the fact that God is dependent on human beings and can through their unfaithfulness fail humanity (57:31). God in love knows everything but is eternally patient. He has the righteousness of having never deceived but accepts in humility the deceptions of others. God is the source of the virtues of love, patience, righteousness, and humility. Being surrendered to God DH hopes to be able to share and manifest these virtues in his own behavior.

"I believe verily to see the goodness of the Lord in the land of the living. O tarry thou the Lord's leisure: be strong and he shall comfort thine heart."

"But if nothing other than God is able to comfort you, surely he will also comfort you."

"Tragic is the man who possesses the light which is the hidden God . . . ; he is no longer able to live the average life, he must live without rest in the tension from exclusive demands."

"In the process of this absolute sincerity one can arrive at a knowledge of what will occur."

This waymark has two dates, the first of which, July 29, is DH's 51st birthday. Beginning with his 50th birthday in 1955, there are dated waymarks on or very near his birthday for six of the remaining seven years of his life (55:21, 57:28, 58:9, 59:4, 61:14). While DH had celebrated his 50th birthday at his summer home in southern Sweden, this year he found it necessary to remain in New York. The background for the second date, August 16, is the fact that on July 26 President Nasser had announced the immediate nationalization of the Universal Suez Canal Company. Also on July 24-26 there had been exchanges of fire across the Jordan-Israeli demarcation line. DH had issued a statement expressing his deep regret and strongly urging that the general cease-fire be implemented. For the next three weeks it appeared that the incidents had been contained. On August 16, however, there were breaches of the cease-fire on the Israeli-Egyptian demarcation line in which four Israeli citizens had been killed and eight wounded. The following day there were two retaliatory raids in which nine Egyptians were killed. In an effort to prevent further deterioration of the situation, DH issued statements on both August 16 and August 17 deploring these incidents (Public Papers of the S-G, 3:218-231). This is the context in which the citations in this and the following waymark are to be understood.

DH first cites The Book of Common Prayer version of the last two verses of Psalm 27 (cf. 54:26). The psalm, a prayer of a person falsely accused, concludes with an expression of confidence that God's goodness will be experienced. The second citation is in German from Meister Eckhart (Meister Eckehart Schriften, Büttner, 224; see also *Die deutschen Werke, Traktaten*, Quint, 5:29-130/481). The first two citations are linked by the word "comfort." In the psalm passage "comfort" has the older meaning of "strengthen," whereas in the Eckhart citation *trösten* has what is now the more common meaning of "comfort,"

168 | to relieve mental distress. The third citation is in French and has been attributed to Julien Gracq (pseudonym of Louis Poirier [1910-]), in the novel *Le Rivage des Syrtes* (1951). Though this book was well liked by DH (Beskow, 100), I have been unable to find the citation there. Its source remains thus far unknown. In this French citation DH indicates why comfort in both of the senses distinguished above is needed, for the person who possesses the light which is the hidden God is constantly subject to many demands that are often in tension with each other. The final citation is from Tsze Sze's third thesis in *The Unwobbling Pivot*, as translated by Ezra Pound (Pound, 175). It promises that a certain foreknowledge is gained through absolute sincerity.

35. "I cannot go to cure the body of my patient, but I forget my profession, and call unto God for his soul."

"We carry with us the wonders we seek without us."

Statements with many meanings -- because they contain the truth about all work for the one who seeks the kingdom of God.

The two citations in this waymark are from Thomas Browne, an English physician and philosopher, who confesses his faith in *Religio Medici* (J. C. Martin, ed., Oxford: Clarendon, 1964, II:6, 63; I:15, 15). In II:6 Browne states that the true object of our affection in others should be the soul and he tells of his practice of intercessory prayer. In I:15 Browne reflects on the wonders of nature and concludes that he need not travel to find them, for in "the cosmography" of his own self are found "all Africa and her prodigies." For DH these statements may have been important because they emphasize the wonders to be found in the self and the importance of the spiritual strength an individual self can exercise. He may also have observed that Browne in II:6 also adds, "... if God hath vouchsafed an eare to my supplications, there are surely many happy that never saw me, and enjoy the blessing of mine unknowne devotions. To pray for enemies, that is, for their salvation, is no harsh precept, but the practise of our daily and ordinary devotions." DH's final comment may refer to the citations in 56:34, as well as those in this waymark. On the occasion of his birthday and during the weeks that followed DH sought words from various sources that spoke to his condition, as he worked to bring about justice and peace in a bitterly alienated part of the world (cf. 55:65, 58:2, 58:3).

36. 560826 Uneasy, uneasy, uneasy --

Because -- where opportunity gives you the obligation to create -- you are satisfied to meet the demands of the hour, from day to day.

Because -- concerned about the esteem of others and jealous of their opportunities to gain "glory" -- you lowered yourself to wondering about the fate that shall befall what you have done and been.

How dead cannot a man be behind a facade of great competence, conscientiousness -- and ambition! Bless the uneasiness as a sign that there is still life.

August 26 was a Sunday. On August 23 DH had responded to questions at a press conference that had dealt chiefly with the Suez Canal dispute and the status of the cease-fire on the armistice demarcation lines between Israel and Jordan and Egypt, in view of the serious incidents of July and August. DH insisted that the cease-fire agreed upon in April had been given a legal status independent of other aspects of the armistice agreements. None of the parties to the cease-fire agreements had thus far formally rejected these obligations. At the same time *de facto* the cease-fire was in danger of breaking down (Public Papers of the S-G, 3:232-238).

As DH reflects on this situation he finds himself uneasy. He traces this uneasiness in part to his own faults. He has been satisfied to respond to the demands of the day and the hour, not recognizing sufficiently obligating opportunities to create (50:42, 56:39). He has been too much concerned about how the recognition given to him compares with that given to others (55:57) and has given more thought than he should to what will become of his achievements (56:3). He reminds himself that a person with great competence, conscientiousness, and ambition can in fact be dead, whatever appearance the external facade of such a life may give. What is meant is that in such a case there is contradiction between day by day behavior and the inner springs of life (50:33). DH takes some comfort, however, from the fact that the uneasiness he feels can be counted as evidence of continuing life in his case, for which he is grateful.

37. Two times now you have done him an injustice. Despite the fact that you were "right." Or more correctly: because you were right, and therefore in self-righteousness and unintelligent exercise of authority you stumbled along through ground where each step gave him pain.

DH must be thinking of his relations with an associate. Twice there have been occasions in which he exercised his authority and he can justify the decisions that were made and the actions that were taken. But he is nonetheless not satisfied with what he did. He feels that he acted self-righteously and unintelligently and caused this person unnecessary pain. Therefore he did him

170 | an injustice. Because one is "right" one can, if one is insufficiently sensitive, act in this way. Cf. 51:18, 56:26, 57:3, 57:48.

38. " - - with you: in faithfulness and courage."
No -- in self-discipline, faithfulness and courage.

DH is quoting an earlier waymark (56:1), trinitarian in structure, where he spoke of being before the Father in righteousness and humility, with the Brother in faithfulness and courage, and in the Spirit in stillness. Now he revises this list of virtues by adding self-discipline to those he seeks to share with Jesus the Brother. For other waymarks in which these virtues are listed, see 56:10 and 61:13.

39. 560830 E. L.: "To capture death"! Beyond all faith questions.

"To capture death." This is an idea you serve -- this idea that must conquer if a humankind worth the name is to survive.

It is this idea that demands your blood -- not the defective creation in which it in this historical period has been incarnated.

It is this idea that you must help to victory with all your strength -- not the human construction which just now gives you a public responsibility and responsibility-creating opportunities to move it forward.

Given this insight it should be easy for you to smile at critique of misunderstood decisions, ridicule of misinterpreted expressions of "idealism," and declarations of death upon what you to all outward appearances are giving your life.

But is it so? No -- because the baseness you yourself reveal in your reactions to others, about whose motives you know nothing, makes you -- rightly -- vulnerable before the pettiness you see in the interpretations of your own striving.

Only on one level are you what you can be. Only along one line are you free. Only at one point are you beyond time. The success of "Sunday's child" is only this: that he meets his destiny at this point, along this line, on this level.

The initials E. L. stand for Erik Lindegren (1910-1968), a Swedish poet, who was to be the successor to DH's seat in the Swedish Academy. During the first year

171 | of World War II he wrote *mannen utan väg* (the man without direction, Dikter [Stockholm: Bonniers, 1964], 9-21), a series of poems expressive of catastrophic destruction and human misery. The strophes of some of the poems were introduced by a series of infinitives. The beginning of such a strophe is suggested in the phrase "to capture death" that Lindegren had used in a letter to DH. The significance of the date, August 30, with which the waymark begins, is not known, unless it was the date the letter was received. The phrase "to capture death" could be taken as alluding to 1 Corinthians 15:26, "The last enemy to be destroyed is death." Very likely, however, Lindegren was not thinking of the phrase in this ultimate, religious sense. In addition to the different ways in which death is interpreted in the teachings of the several faiths, there is the death and destruction that the United Nations was designed to control. This is the idea DH says he is serving. It is an idea which he contrasts with the present reality of the UN, an idea for which he is willing to give his life if need be. It is this commitment that enables him to cope with the hostile critique to which he is often exposed. He chides himself for not fully living up to this commitment and thus being vulnerable to attack.

The expression "Sunday's child" very likely comes from the following children's rhyme:

Monday's child is fair of face,
Tuesday's child is full of grace,
Wednesday's child is full of woe,
Thursday's child has far to go,
Friday's child is loving and giving,
Saturday's child works hard for its living,
And a child that's born on the Sabbath day
Is fair and wise and good and gay.

"Sunday's child" is a figurative expression. DH was born on Saturday, July 29, 1905.

40. Two traits observed in today's mirror:

Ambitious: perhaps not a fault, but how short is not
the step to pride, or self-pity!
Unhappy -- and a killer of joy.

DH recognizes that he is ambitious and is aware of ambition's attendant dangers: pride if one succeeds, self-pity, if one does not. To be unhappy and therefore destructive of the joy of others is perhaps a more serious charge. For other waymarks in which references are made to ambition, see 45-49:5, 51:59, 55:39, 55:59, and 57:39.

41. In the suction from the vacuum when a nervous strain lets go -- without the nerves being able to relax -- the lust of the flesh gets its chance to reveal the loneliness of the soul.

DH held himself under a taut discipline and was again and again subjected to severe stress. He thought of the body as the playmate of the mind (61:7), but was aware that it had demands that must be met and there could be times when one was especially vulnerable to these demands (55:60). Here he describes such a situation. There were times that he felt both in body and soul an overwhelming need for human affection (cf. 51:50, 58:9). He did not, however, feel it necessary to satisfy these desires.

42. These “who have arrived,” these self-assured ones who go around among us dressed in the shining armor of their success and their responsibility. How can you let yourself be irritated by them? Let them enjoy their triumph -- on the level to which it applies!

It is strange that DH as Secretary-General of the United Nations should have been irritated by those who flaunted the signs of their achievements and success. Perhaps it was the fact that such persons felt they had arrived, where he felt himself still in process, striving towards goals he was not certain he would achieve. This suggests the level to which he felt their triumphs properly belonged. Cf. 56:22.

43. To live submerged in the heavy fluidum of the lower-human: lower-human in insight, feelings, and striving. Beware of the double danger -- to drown and to “float on top”, to sink to accepting this condition below the clear surface of the human, or to maintain your standard in a vacuum of “superiority”.

Certainly, even in this situation, “love and patience, righteousness and humility” are already conditions for your own salvation.

In the previous waymark DH has distinguished himself from certain “self-assured ones,” but as his thought continues he reminds himself that he must live in the sluggish flow such a human environment represents, where a lower-human style of thinking, feeling, and willing predominates. There is a two-

173 | fold temptation, to succumb by accepting such a standard as one's own, or to maintain a standard of "superiority" that does not relate to the needs of those among whom one lives. The "love and patience, righteousness and humility," that DH reminds himself are the conditions of his salvation, refer to 56:10 and 56:33. As 56:33 indicates, these are divine virtues, including the virtue of humility. It is humility that can lead a person who could feel superior to accept in love, patience, and righteousness a servant role. For earlier reflections on whether it is acceptable to regard oneself as "better than others," see 25-30:8,12. See the following references to humility: 53:13, 56:1, 59:4, 61:13.

44. 561101-7 "I will lay me down in peace, and take my rest: for it is thou, Lord, only, that makest me dwell in safety."
"Hold thee still in the Lord - - fret not thyself, else shalt thou be moved to evil."

During the week November 1-7, 1956 both the Suez crisis and the Soviet invasion of Hungary occurred. In response to the former DH was able to organize and deploy the United Nations Emergency Force, secure the withdrawal of British, French, and Israeli troops, and supervise the cleanup and reopening of the Canal. No comparable international settlement was possible in the case of the Hungarian invasion. In this time of extreme stress DH turns to the Psalms. Psalm 4:8 is from a lament, a prayer for deliverance from personal enemies. There was not much rest that week, but DH finds his rest in God. Psalm 37:7,8 is from a wisdom psalm in which the argument is directed to those discouraged by the injustices which apparently dominate the world. DH frequently reminds himself to be still before God (cf. 54:23, 55:7, 56:1, 56:12). Being still before God makes for patience and excludes the anger that tends only to evil.

45. Every moment
Eye to eye
With this love
Which sees everything
But overlooks
In patience,
Which is justice,
But does not condemn
If our eye
Mirrors its own
In humility.

174 | One does not fret oneself over those who carry out evil devices (Ps. 37:7) because one's inner attention is centered on God. We find in this poem the four virtues that in 56:43 DH stated were the conditions for his salvation: love and patience, justice (righteousness) and humility. The omniscient loving God is also patient. The righteous God does not condemn those who share the divine humility (cf. 56:33).

46. It was when Lucifer congratulated himself for what he achieved in his angelic ways that he became the tool of evil.

The identification of Lucifer (morning star) with the devil as a fallen rebel archangel may have arisen from a misinterpretation of Isaiah 14:12-14. DH in any case uses the Lucifer myth to reflect on the dangers of pride, not least with respect to what one achieves "in angelic ways." With respect to the Suez crisis DH had proved remarkably successful and was receiving much praise. He tells himself that even that which is achieved through love, patience, and righteousness can become the tool of evil if humility is lacking. Cf. 55:7, 56:1, 56:10, 56:26, 56:45, 56:49.

47. Imperceptibly our fingers are guided so that a pattern is formed as the threads are woven into the fabric.

In this waymark and in 56:49 and 56:51 DH affirms his conviction those who are surrendered to God's will are guided so that a larger purpose is served by what they do. It does not appear that DH thought of the divine will as achieving its ends more generally in this manner, so that even those carrying out evil devices (Ps. 37:7,14-15; cf. 56:44) were being guided in this fashion.

48. 561117 My motto -- if any:
Numen semper adest [a protecting power is always present].
Therefore: if uneasy -- why?

DH's most significant achievement during the Suez crisis was the successful formation of the United Nations Emergency Force, the first historical example of a quasi-military force with purely international responsibilities. It was formed in response to a UN General Assembly resolution of November 4 requesting the Secretary-General to submit a plan for such a force within forty-eight hours. DH was able to meet this deadline. The force was intended to keep the peace after the withdrawal of British, French, and Israeli troops from Egyptian territory and to ensure a satisfactory reopening of the Suez

175 | Canal. Egypt agreed in principle to the establishment of the UNEF. Questions remained as to how the UNEF could be constituted so that its foreign contingents would be acceptable in Egypt. More difficult was the question as to when and under what circumstances the UNEF would withdraw. DH wanted Egypt to agree that the UNEF should remain until the purposes for its coming had been achieved, this issue being subject to negotiation between Egypt and the UN. President Gamal

Abdel Nasser was understandably concerned that Egypt's national sovereignty be maintained. There was an interchange of messages between DH and the Egyptian Foreign Minister, Mahmoud Fawzi, which led to sufficient agreement so that UNEF contingents could begin to arrive in Egypt. DH accompanied the first Danish contingent on November 15 and went on to Cairo for further discussions the next three days with the Egyptian Government of this matter. On November 17 DH met with Foreign Minister Fawzi during the day and with President Nasser from 6 p.m. till 2 a.m. that night. In his November 20 report to the UN about these discussions, DH stated that in the functioning of the UNEF in Egypt it was expected that there would be "good faith" on the part of both the UN and Egypt (Public Papers of the S-G, 3:375-376, cf. 371, 381). This expectation of "good faith" could very likely be attributed to the numen which DH in his waymark dated November 17 states is always present. While he had reason to be uneasy (cf. 56:36) in these discussions, it was this confidence that reassured him. For an earlier use of the term "numen," see 54:16.

49. How humble the tool when it is praised for what the hand
has done.

As has been indicated above, DH was successful in his efforts as UN Secretary-General to resolve the Suez crisis and he received much praise for his remarkable energy and his skill and wisdom as a negotiator. President Dwight Eisenhower at a November 14 press conference stated: "The man's (DH's) abilities have not only been proven, but a physical stamina that is almost remarkable, almost unique in the world, has also been demonstrated by a man who night after night has gone with one or two hours' sleep, working all day and, I must say, working intelligently and devotedly" (Urquhart, 1973, 194). In this waymark DH explains why he received such praise with humility. He was only the tool that had been used by a power greater than his own (cf. 56:51).

50. Through injustice -- never justice.
Through justice -- never injustice.

176 | DH states the principles that guided him not only during the Suez crisis but more generally as Secretary-General. The result of injustice would never prove to be justice. When a wrong move had been made, such as the Anglo-French invasion of Egypt to resolve the Suez crisis, the only course to be taken was to retrace those steps. If one, on the other hand, intended to act justly, one must take extraordinary care lest some part of the result be injustice. This is the requirement that made his task so difficult (cf. 56:37, 57:48).

51. Someone put the shuttle in your hand. Someone had arranged the threads.

Once again using the imagery of weaving, as in 56:47, DH affirms his conviction that he has been aided and guided during this difficult period by a greater power. Note that in 56:49 DH is the tool in another hand, whereas in this waymark the tool (shuttle) is placed in DH's hand. This illustrates the flexibility with which DH uses this imagery.

52. 561125 "If, save for life, you give everything,
Then know you've still not given anything."

November 25 was a Sunday, which may have provided some occasion for relaxation. The previous day the UN General Assembly had approved the content of DH's report on his dealings in Cairo, including the agreement about the functioning of the UNEF in Egypt (Urquhart, 1973, 195-196). In this waymark DH makes the first of two citations from *Brand* by Henrik Ibsen (1828-1906), a Norwegian dramatist (*Samlede værker*, vol. 3, 37). The second citation was made on Maundy Thursday, 1961 (61:4). Ibsen wrote *Brand* in 1866 in protest against the failure of Sweden and Norway to come to the aid of Denmark in her 1864 war with Germany, that led to Denmark's loss of the duchies of Slesvig and Holstein. *Brand*, the main character in the drama, is a rural priest who rejects compromises. One must give all or nothing. The citation comes from the second act just before *Brand* accepts the call to be pastor in his home parish.

In interpretations of Ibsen's drama, there are different estimates of *Brand*, some regarding his demands as inhumane. He refuses to go to the deathbed of his mother, for she has not repented in the manner he has stipulated. Both his child and his wife die, in part as a result of *Brand*'s refusal to let concern for their health interfere with his understanding of his duty. How did DH

177 | understand Brand, as an ideal figure or a misled and misleading fanatic? It may not be possible to answer that question. DH did, however, take seriously the thought that it might be necessary for him to give his life in the line of duty (cf. 53:11, 56:39). At this time of general satisfaction with his leadership, he anticipates future crises when a more costly sacrifice on his part may be required.

53. 561129 Faulkner: Finally our wish remains to have drawn on the wall our "Kilroy was here."

The last redoubt of the enemy --. We can offer ourselves wholly for that which is beyond and above us -- and still hope that the memory of our choice shall remain bound to our name, or at least that at some future time it will be understood why and how we acted. It can at times seem that the bitterness we feel due to an unsuccessful achievement relates to the fact that the failure submerges the effort itself in oblivion.

O contradiction! O final resistance! If the goal alone can justify the sacrifice, how can you give even a shadow of importance to whether the achievement shall be remembered as connected with your name? How clear does it not thereby become that your action is also influenced by the vain, dead dream of "remembrance."

On January 25, 1955 William Faulkner (1897-1962), an American novelist who received the Nobel Prize for Literature in 1950, also received the National Book Award for Fiction. He introduced his response to this award with the following words: "By artist I mean of course everyone who has tried to create something which was not here before him, with no other tools and material than the uncommercialable ones of the human spirit; who has tried to carve, no matter how crudely, on the wall of that final oblivion beyond which he will have to pass, in the tongue of the human spirit, 'Kilroy was here.'" This response was published in the New York Times Book Review, February 6, 1955, where DH must have seen it (William Faulkner, *Essays, Speeches and Public Letters*, ed. James B. Meriwether, New York: Random House, 1965, p. 143). During World War II the words "Kilroy was here" were graffiti commonly used by American soldiers in occupied areas. DH does not quote Faulkner exactly, but he appears to take issue with him. There is this difference. Whereas Faulkner was speaking of creating texts, such as Waymarks, that would outlive their authors, DH is

178 | thinking of sacrifices, choices, achievements. Reflecting perhaps on his efforts during the past weeks, he insists that his commitment must be to a cause that transcends his own individual life history and that it is the success of that cause that matters, not the memory of his own individual achievement.

Whether DH was to be successful in the resolution of the Suez crisis was, as of the date of this waymark, not as yet determined. Despite the fact that 1,374 UNEF troops had come to Egypt as of November 27, the Anglo-French withdrawal was still being delayed and the question of how the canal was to be cleared of ships that had been sunk in it remained undetermined. DH was also still hoping that UN observers could be sent to Hungary, though thus far no reply had been received from the Hungarian government (Public Papers of the S-G, 3:311-312, 412-437; Urquhart, 1973, 197-200). For other waymarks referring to the theme of being remembered, see 50:26, 50:43, 51:11, 56:67, 57:18.

54. The answer was obvious:

“I believe that we should die with decency so that at least decency will survive.”

This waymark may refer to the Soviet intervention in Hungary. See above, p. 155, Public Papers of the S-G, 3:311-313. DH apparently assumes that the reader will be able to infer the question implied in this waymark from the answer, which answer he states was obvious. The answer is cited in English, though its source is not identified. DH may be reporting a conversation. He is saying that there are times when people must be prepared to die so that the values for which they have lived and which are manifested in the manner of their dying may survive. This theme has already been alluded to in 56:52. For other references to decency, see 55:9 and 55:39.

55. Hallowed be Your name,
not mine,
Your kingdom come,
not mine,
Your will be done,
not
mine,
Give us peace with You
Peace with others
Peace with ourselves
And free us from fear.

179 | In this prayer the first three petitions of the Lord's Prayer are in each instance followed by the emphasized words not mine. The primary emphasis is to be on the holiness of God's name, on the coming of his kingdom, on the doing of his will. Other waymarks that include petitions of the Lord's Prayer are 41-42:21, 52:3, 56:7, and 58:9.

Two petitions not cited in this or the other waymarks are, "Give us today our daily bread. Forgive us our sins as we forgive those who sin against us," petitions that deal with food and forgiveness (though DH does pray for forgiveness in 61:16). It should be noted, however, that the concluding portion of the prayer in this waymark is a prayer for peace. The prayer at this point shifts to the plural number, for peace must be social. This may be the way DH prefers to pray for food and forgiveness. If so, the prayer to be freed from fear could refer to the last two petitions of the Lord's Prayer, which is to some degree suggested in 56:7.

56. "He brought me forth also into a place of liberty: he brought me forth, even because he had a favour unto me.
The Lord shall reward me after my righteous dealing: according to the cleanness of my hands shall he recompense me."
And once again:
"For there is mercy with thee: therefore shalt thou be feared."

These passages from Psalms 18 and 130 may express DH's relief as he saw the approaching resolution of the Suez crisis. Psalm 18 is a thanksgiving psalm. V. 19 describes the deliverance that was experienced. The following verse (v. 20) is also in the past tense, but in the Prayer Book version DH cites it is in the future tense. The verse could thus indicate the basis upon which DH anticipates God will continue to deal with him. He reminds himself, however, of God's mercy by citing Psalm 130:4. This Psalm verse was previously cited in 56:9, when DH added the words, "Nevertheless -- and therefore -- Gethsemane." That possible future development may also be implied here.

57. 561224 Your own efforts "did not bring it about," only God -- but rejoice that God found use for your efforts in his work.
Rejoice that you felt that what you did was "necessary," but understand that even so you were only the tool of him

who through you added a tiny bit to the whole he formed for his purposes.

"It is in this abyss that you reveal me to myself: -- I am nothing, and I did not know it."

"If, without any side glances, God is certainly our goal, he must be the doer of our deeds. - - - This man does not seek rest. He is not disturbed by any trouble, - - - he must learn an inner solitude, wherever and with whomever he may be. He must learn to break through things, within them to lay hold upon his God."

This dated waymark is written on Christmas Eve. DH often made dated entries in his journal on the Christian festivals (cf. 54:27, 55:50, 55:53). This year he was thinking about the Suez crisis. On December 19 the United Nations Emergency Force had taken over all civil affairs responsibilities in Port Said at the entrance to the Suez Canal. On December 21 UN salvage ships had entered the canal to begin the clearance operation. On December 22 the Anglo-French troop evacuation had been completed, while the Israeli withdrawal had begun (Public Papers of the S-G, 3:406-409). DH attributes this favorable issue of events to God. He is grateful that his efforts were of some use, while stressing the fact that he has only been God's tool (cf. 56:49, 56:51) and that his contribution has been but a tiny part of a much larger whole. He reinforces this interpretation by citations from Thomas à Kempis and Meister Eckhart. He found in the writings of his favorite medieval mystics words that spoke to him on significant days in his life. The first citation from Thomas à Kempis (III:8) is the last of seven citations from *The Imitation of Christ* in Waymarks (*De l'imitation de Jesus-Christ*, De Beüil, 165-166). It concerns the need for humility. Thomas is saying that if one confesses one's nothingness grace will come. The second citation from Meister Eckhart is from a treatise concerned with detachment and the possession of God (Meister Eckehart *Schriften*, Büttner, 181, 182; see also *Die Deutschen Werke*, Traktaten, Quint, 5:202, 206, 207/509, 510). If God is the doer of our deeds we need not seek rest, nor are we disturbed by any trouble. It is essential for us, however, to break through things and to find and lay hold on God within them.

58. 561225 "Concerning the eternal birth" -- for me now this says all that can be said about what I have learned and have still to learn.

"So the soul in which the birth is to occur must live quite nobly: wholly unified and wholly self-contained.

--- You must have an exalted disposition, a burning disposition in which nevertheless an untroubled silent stillness rules."

On Christmas Day DH selects citations from two sermons by Meister Eckhart preached on texts related to the Christmas season, one on The Wisdom of Solomon 18:14, entitled "The Birth of God in the Soul," and the other on Luke 2:49, entitled "To See and to Do" (Meister Eckehart Schriften, Büttner, 63, 85). At the time of the celebration of the birth of Jesus, DH thinks of the eternal birth to which, according to Eckhart, all who follow Jesus are called. A high quality of life is required. There must be burning zeal, but at the same time an inner silent stillness. The repetition of the concept (silent stillness) emphasizes its great importance. For other waymarks in which DH stresses the importance of stillness, see 55:7, 55:65, 56:1, 56:10, 56:12, 61:13.

59. 561226 "It merely happens to one man and not to others ---, but he can take no credit to himself for the gifts and responsibility assigned to him. --- destiny is something not to be desired and not to be avoided. --- it is a mystery not contrary to reason, for it implies that the world, and the course of human history, have meaning."

This waymark, cited in English, comes from a source thus far unknown. It is the third of a series of dated waymarks during the Christmas holidays. December 26, the Second Day of Christmas, is the Day of St. Stephen the Martyr. The passage cited suggests that not all persons are persons of destiny. It happens to one and not to others. Credit may not be taken for the gifts and responsibilities received. That there are persons of destiny, however, implies that the world and the course of human history have meaning, despite the mystery that also remains. One is reminded of the agonizing quest for life's meaning expressed by DH in 52:20.

60. Vanity raises its ridiculous little head and holds the fool's mirror before you. For a moment the actor smiles and adjusts his features for the role. Only for a moment -- but one too many. It is at such times that you invite defeat and betray the one you serve.

DH did think of himself as a man of destiny (53:7, 53:11, 55:60, 56:1, 56:59, 57:37, 61:13), though he did not think that he should take any credit for

182 | the capabilities and opportunities that had been given him (56:51, 56:57). Nonetheless to think of oneself as a man of destiny very easily becomes an occasion for pride. One is tempted to strike the appropriate pose, to play the role before an imaginary audience. DH reminds himself that such games, even if they last but a moment, are self-defeating and involve betrayal of that to which one is called (cf. 55:26).

61. You ask if these notes are not in the final analysis a betrayal of the way of life which they themselves would stake out.

These notes --? They were waymarks set up when you reached a point where you needed them, a fixed point which must not be lost. And so they have remained. But your life has changed and you now reckon with possible readers. Perhaps you even desire them. Still, for someone it can be meaningful to trace a destined way of which the person in question did not wish to speak while he was alive. Yes, but only if your words have an honesty beyond conceit and self-indulgence.

This is the second waymark in which DH reflects about the significance of the journal he is keeping. In an earlier waymark (52:23) he mentions the possibility of readers. Here he says he may even desire that others read what he is writing. Yet he asks whether the entries in his journal may not themselves be a betrayal, an example of the vanity he criticizes in the previous waymark (56:60). He answers that what he has written are waymarks which at one time he needed, and once having set them up they became fixed points in the history of his life's development, which he has taken care to preserve. The changes that have taken place in his life lead him to believe that there will be those who will take interest in tracing the route over which his destiny has led him. But these reflections can only be published posthumously and they must be strictly honest and wholly free of all self-conceit.

It is strange to think that if DH had lived out his normal life expectancy as much as 25 years or more could have been added to his life, during which period no one would have seen this journal. What additional waymarks might he have written? How might he have edited the earlier waymarks? He very likely did edit an earlier draft of this manuscript by excluding some waymarks, for he introduces his journal with the motto, "Only the hand that erases can write the true account."

62. Forward! Your orders are given in secret. May I always hear them -- and answer.

Forward! Whatever the distance that I have put behind me, it doesn't give me the right to stop.

Forward! It is care with respect to the final steps below the summit which determines the value of all that may have gone before.

DH thrice summons himself to move forward. He is responding to orders given by God (56:13), given in secret when the soul listens, in stillness, to the voice of God (Aulén, E 65, Sw 100). The extent of the distance traveled thus far does not affect the summons to move on, nor can it ever be an excuse to stop. DH finally uses imagery from mountain climbing (cf. 25-30:1, 56:5, 59:114, 61:12) and points out how the final steps below the summit are the most important, determining the value of all that may have preceded them. He does not indicate, however, whether life is characterized by one ascent or by several ascents, each of them having its final steps.

63. We act in faith -- and wonders occur. Then we are tempted to make the wonder the basis for faith. In order to make amends for our weakness in losing the confidence of faith. Faith is, creates, and bears. It is not derived, not created, not borne by anything beyond its own reality.

Faith is a concept to which DH gave much attention. In his first reference to faith he rejects identifying it with assent to doctrines (41-42:24). He accepted St. John of the Cross's definition of faith as God's union with the soul (54:7). This calls for self-effacement, which implies that faith must escape observation (55:15), but at the same time faith is the certainty of God's omnipotence through the soul (56:25). If for God everything is possible, when we act in faith wonders occur. DH may be thinking of the way in which the Suez crisis had been resolved (56:58). He goes on to observe that the occurrence of wonders can mean that they become the basis for faith, rather than faith remaining the basis for wonders. Faith, he insists, must have primacy, having attributes that might otherwise be attributed to God. It cannot be derived from anything else.

64. 561231 "In the volume of the book it is written of me, that I should fulfil thy will, O my God: I am content to do it; yea, thy law is within my heart.

I have declared thy righteousness in the great congregation; no, I will not refrain my lips, O Lord; and that thou knowest."

184 | The last four waymarks of the year were very likely written on New Year's Eve. DH cites Psalm verses (Ps. 40:7-9) in which the Psalmist is summoned to fulfill God's will and indicates a willingness to do this. The passage continues with a reference to public confession of God's righteousness (RSV, "the glad news of deliverance"). DH makes such a confession in this journal. That is perhaps why it was important for him that Waymarks should eventually be read (cf. 52:23, 56:61).

65. Your trust was small. So much deeper should you bow, when it nonetheless happened to you according to your faith.

In this waymark two closely related words are used, trust (tillit) and faith (tro). In DH's use of these terms, trust implies an object to a somewhat greater extent than does faith (cf. 53:22). DH does not quantify his faith, but he does say that his trust was small. He is therefore all the more grateful for the divine response his faith has encountered (cf. 56:58, 56:65).

66. Gratitude and readiness. You received everything for nothing. Do not hesitate, when it is required, to give what in fact is nothing for everything.

The gratitude expressed in the previous waymark obligates DH to be ready without hesitation to give in return. He has gratuitously received everything. He is unable to fix any comparative value on that which he gives in return (cf. 55:66).

67. For every deed less and less bound to your name, for every step more lightly treading the earth.

Waymarks 64-67 are the reflections that the Psalm verses cited above have prompted. DH has been exhorting himself to manifest the readiness that gratitude calls for. He is grateful as the year closes that his deeds as Secretary-General are less and less bound to his name (cf. 50:26, 56:53). As he faces the future he is ready with every step to be more lightly treading the earth. (This language recalls a passage from Strödda blad ur Bertil Ekmans efterlämnade papper, 20, to which reference was already made in the comment on 51:24.) If death should be what is required, DH is prepared for it (55:43, 56:27, 56:39, 56:54).

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DH's efforts during this year were to a large extent devoted to the aftermath of the Suez crisis. While he had succeeded in organizing the United Nations Emergency Force and thereby achieving withdrawal of the British, French, and Israeli forces from the canal area, much negotiation continued with respect to the deployment of the UNEF in the Gaza Strip. Egypt was determined that Israel should reap no benefits from her aggression. Israel, on the other hand, sought security from fedayeen raids originating on the Egyptian side of the border and claimed the right to passage through the Suez Canal. No formal resolution of the differences between Egypt and Israel was achieved, but DH was able to establish good relations with Prime Minister David Ben Gurion of Israel and with Foreign Minister Mahmoud Fawzi of Egypt, as well with President Nasser. This personal diplomacy led to some relaxation of tension. Since, however, the agreements, especially on Egypt's side, could not be fully made public, lest there be a hostile reaction on the part of the Egyptian people, as well as the Arab world, the role of the UN was constantly vulnerable to unfavorable interpretation in the press (see 57:2).

DH gave much thought and personal attention in 1957 to the creation of the United Nations Meditation Room. His friend, the Swedish artist Bo Beskow, came in the fall and painted a fresco on the front wall. DH wrote the leaflet that is given to visitors. See Appendix B, 265-266; Public Papers of the S-G, 3:710-711.

During this year there are fifteen dated waymarks. DH notes the anniversary of the beginning of his work as Secretary-General and his re-election September 26 to a second term, but does not express his reaction to events during the year to the extent that he did in 1956. While he at no time entertained exaggerated hopes for success in his efforts as Secretary-General, he became during this year increasingly aware of the factors limiting what could be accomplished.

1. Soon night approaches -- --

Each day the first --. Each day a life.

Every morning the bowl of our being should be held forth to receive, to bear and to give back. Held forth empty -- for that which has gone before is to be mirrored only in its clarity, its form, and its breadth.

"... and those things which for our unworthiness we dare not, and for our blindness we cannot ask, vouchsafe to give us ..."

186 | DH again, as in 1950-1954, begins the year by citing the words "Soon night approaches," from the hymn his mother used to read on New Year's Day. This will be the last time these words are cited. He goes on to emphasize the importance of each day. One begins each day anew and each day one's life is lived in miniature. "The bowl of our being" is an Eastern metaphor, where rice is the staple food and the rice bowl the chief dish used in eating. The day is to be marked by receiving, bearing, and giving back, or rendering an account, at the day's end. The bowl, which represents the whole of one's life, is to be empty at the day's beginning. That which has gone before should have been assimilated, so that it is recognizable (mirrored) only insofar as it has contributed to one's life's clarity, its form, and its breadth. For other similar uses of the imagery of "mirroring," see 25-30:9, 41-42:10. The waymark closes with citation of a portion of a general collect from *The Book of Common Prayer* (cf. 54:26). The complete text of the collect is: "Almighty God, the fountain of all wisdom, who knowest our necessities before we ask, and our ignorance in asking; We beseech thee to have compassion upon our infirmities; and those things which for our unworthiness we dare not, and for our blindness we cannot ask, vouchsafe to give us, for the worthiness of thy Son Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen."

2. The most dangerous lesson: how we can be compelled to suppress the truth in order to help it gain the victory. If this is our duty in the role which destiny has assigned us, how straight must not our course be if we are not to founder.

DH holds that in our time the way to sanctification passes through the world of action (55:65). He is convinced that one should be able to carry out one's duties in public life without unacceptable moral compromise (cf. 56:50). In this waymark, however, he acknowledges that those who have certain kinds of work may have to suppress the truth in order to help it be victorious. In view of the strong statements he has made about "uncompromising inner love of truth" (55:37) and "an 'honesty' free of compromise" (55:39), he would be sharply aware of the moral ambiguity such a course of action could appear to involve. It should be noted that he speaks of being compelled "to suppress the truth," i.e., withholding certain information. He is not referring to disseminating misinformation. He may be referring to the fact that he could not report agreements that had been reached, especially with the Egyptian leaders (Urquhart, 1973, 219-222). DH implies that there is a straight course which can be followed in such cases whereby one can escape foundering, but he is aware of the difficulty of finding and remaining on this course.

187 | Additional light has been cast on this waymark by Kay Rainey Gray, a UN correspondent during DH's tenure as Secretary-General, who served on the executive committee of the United Nations Correspondents Association (UNCA). She recalls that late in 1956 during the Suez and Hungarian crises Wilder Foote, UN spokesman, suffered a heart attack, reducing communication with the press. Much of what was taking place, furthermore, was diplomatic and could not be made public. Gray writes: "In an unusual action the UNCA Executive Committee, meeting in camera, criticized the Secretary-General's 'withholding of news' from correspondents and was about to pass and make public a resolution critical of the S-G. When Hammarskjöld heard of this, he immediately informed the members through an aide that he would see them all immediately. As all 15 elected members sat around the conference table on the 38th floor, Hammarskjöld . . . listened to the complaints, admitted there was little he could say about some of the diplomatic negotiations, but 'withholding of the news? Never.' However he did state that if it were a question of peace, he would do the same again. . . . Returning to their own meeting after hearing from Hammarskjöld, the Executive Committee immediately decided not to pass the resolution of censure" ("United Nations Notebook: The Relationship of Dag Hammarskjöld with the Press," *Development Dialogue*, 1987:1, 46).

3. You saved him from victory and, after the defeat, out of badly needed malicious pleasure you fooled him. Certainly -- you have reason for sympathy.

The reader can only guess the circumstances to which DH refers. He speaks ironically to himself. He has "saved" an opponent from victory. Thereafter, badly needing "malicious pleasure" (*Schadenfreude*), he has misled the defeated opponent, perhaps, as Auden-Sjöberg suggest (*Markings*, 148), by showing him kindness.

The last sentence in which DH says he has reason for sympathy is somewhat ambiguous. "Sympathy" (the Swedish word is *förståelse*) is to be understood in the sense of sympathetic understanding, entering into or sharing the feelings or interests of another. Is DH again speaking ironically, saying that there is reason that he should be given such understanding, or is he saying that he should give such sympathetic understanding to this opponent? Auden's translation ("You have, indeed earned the right to a sympathetic audience") suggests the former. DH did not, however, as far as we know discuss with others his practice as an administrator in order to receive either critique or moral support. He may

188 | in this final word be exhorting himself to take some additional appropriate initiative toward the person whom he has bested. He may, on the other hand, be ironically referring to an imaginary audience (cf. 56:60), saying that he should not expect any, who might come to know what he has done, to give his behavior their approval. He may indeed have made the reference deliberately ambiguous to suggest both meanings.

4. Did the attack wound you -- despite its preposterousness
-- because it showed the absurdity of a little clerk playing
the hero's role? If so: could it have wounded you if the
clerk had not begun to believe himself to be the hero?
-- Not I, but God in me!

That DH did not seek sympathetic understanding for himself does not mean that he was invulnerable to what he considered unjust attacks from others. This waymark indicates how he sought to cope with such an attack. He says the attack was preposterous. He asks himself, however, whether he was reacting to the absurdity of someone far down in the institutional hierarchy being cast in a hero's role in the affair, or whether it was because this person also began to believe he actually was a hero. Not wholly translatable is the term DH uses for this person, calling him a "pinneberg." Pinneberg is the main character in the novel *Kleiner Mann - was nun?* (1933) by Hans Fallada (pseudonym of Rudolf Ditzen, 1897-1947 [Reinbeck bei Hamburg: Rowohlt, 1964]), a moving tale about the hardships of a lower middle class young couple in Germany during the period of great economic depression and political instability just preceding the establishment of the Third Reich. In view of DH's use of the term "pinneberg," one can inquire as to how much sympathetic understanding he had for this kind of a person (cf. 41-42:17, 55:56, 56:22).

In the final words of the waymark DH reminds himself that he must always remember God's presence in himself (53:6, 53:6, 54, 13, 54:19, 58:7). He had also in other waymarks referred to God's presence in the situations he encountered (55:6, 56:48). He has also said that it should be easy for him to smile at misunderstood critiques (56:39). It was in fact not easy, but each such occasion became an opportunity for renewed self-examination.

5. 570121 Destruction! What fury in your attack, how pitiful
your victory in that old body. You demolished everything,
you hurled a mind into abysses of pain -- and freed that
smile of final bliss.

189 | This dated waymark is written on the 17th anniversary of the death of DH's mother, Agnes Almquist Hammarskjöld. DH reflects upon the destructive attack of her final illness, the pain and distress she had to suffer. But he remembers also the final smile with which she entered the repose of death. This waymark recalls 56:2, in which he suggests his understanding of the significance of that smile. 56:2 is undated but was very likely written on or about the time of the anniversary of DH's mother's death the previous year. 59:42 and 59:44 may also refer to DH's mother.

6. 570224 One arrives at the point of acknowledging -- and feeling -- original sin, evil's dark counterpoint which is in our nature, yes, of our nature, yet not our nature. This, that something affirms the destruction of what we ourselves seek to serve, the misfortune even of those of whom we are fond.

Life in God is not a flight away from this, but the way to full insight about it: it is not our depravity which forces us into a fictitious religious solution, but the experience of a religious reality which brings the night side out into the light.

It is when we remain before the all-seeing eye of righteous love that we are able to see, dare to acknowledge and consciously suffer because of this, that something in us welcomes the catastrophe, wishes the failure, is stimulated by the defeat -- when it has to do with the sphere outside our narrowest self-interest. Thus the living God relationship is a precondition for the self-knowledge which enables us to follow a straight path and, in that sense, triumph and be forgiven -- from outside ourselves and by ourselves.

Until the 1983 revision of the church year in the Church of Sweden, four Sundays each year were observed as days of prayer, devoted to the four themes of repentance, the Reformation, missions, and thanksgiving. Hjalmar Sundén has called attention to the fact that the First Day of Prayer, with the theme of repentance, in 1957 fell on Sunday, February 24, the date of this waymark (Sundén, 14). DH observes the day by writing a dated waymark reflecting on the evil in human nature, which he calls original sin. This evil is in us, though our nature is not in its essence evil. It is destructive of everything outside of the narrowest sphere of self-interest. The closer one comes to God the more aware of this aspect of human nature one becomes. It is, therefore, not this

190 | dark fact about human nature that leads to the positing of “a fictitious religious solution.” Instead it is the fact that one has experienced the reality of God that enables one to acknowledge this human depravity, to bring “the night side” out into the light, and also to overcome it. This involves being forgiven, the third time forgiveness is mentioned in Waymarks (cf. 55:43, 56:6, 57:9, 57:30, 58:1, 60:1, 61:16). In this waymark DH speaks of being “forgiven by ourselves.” This is repeated in 57:9, but is later rejected in 57:30.

7. Oedipus, son of a king, winner of a throne -- favored by fortune and blameless -- is forced to consider the possibility, finally its actuality, that he also carries a guilt which makes it just that he should be sacrificed in order to save the people.

Oedipus is a hero of Greek mythology who is born in Thebes and abandoned at birth by his parents, because a Delphic oracle has declared that he is destined to kill his father. He is, however, spared from death and reared in Corinth as a foundling. When grown, not knowing his true parentage, he hears the same oracle about himself and leaves Corinth, in order to escape fulfilling it. Encountering a group of men who attempt to drive him off the road, among them Laius, the king of Thebes, Oedipus gives battle and unwittingly does kill his father. Going on to Thebes, in return for solving the riddle of the Sphinx and thereby bringing about the death of this monster, that has kept the city in a state of siege, he wins the throne of Thebes and marries the widowed queen, who is in fact his mother. The classic literary treatment of the myth is Sophocles' tragedy, *Oedipus the King*, which unfolds the discovery by the mother and her son of their incest (cf. 53:4). Jocasta, the queen, upon learning the truth commits suicide and Oedipus blinds himself and goes into exile.

The myth presents an interesting study of guilt. While Oedipus is guilty of manslaughter committed in hot temper, with respect to parricide and incest he is the victim of a cruel fate. In what sense is it “just that he should be sacrificed”? While DH elsewhere speaks of sacrifice as the complete surrender of the individual to the doing of God's will, which could mean advancing the common good of both the people and that individual (cf. 54:5, 55:9, 55:23), here sacrifice appears to mean the destruction of an individual as the result of evil circumstances, these circumstances being such that the welfare of the people requires that this destruction be willingly accepted (cf. 55:29, 56:27, 61:6).

8. Success -- for God's glory or your own, for the peace of other human beings or your own? The answer determines the outcome of your striving.

DH has earlier raised the question of the meaning of success (50:47, 56:3, 56:18). In this waymark he examines his striving for success. He wants to be certain that he has the right motivation in this effort. Is it for God's glory (54:19), or is he seeking his own? Is he striving for the peace of the world, or simply his own peace of mind (52:15)? He implies that it is his own motivation at this point that will profoundly influence the outcome of his efforts as Secretary-General.

9. 570407 How to live freeborn in constant awareness of all that is wrong in the past, all that is despicable in my present. How to be able -- daily -- to forgive myself?

Life judges me -- with the love of which I myself am capable. Judges with the patience which corresponds to the honesty in my striving to meet its demands and with a righteousness before which self-assertion's trivial attempts at explanation carry no weight.

The date of this waymark is the 4th anniversary of DH's leaving Sweden to take up his duties as Secretary-General. He does not look back with satisfaction upon his achievements during these years. Instead he asks how it is possible for him to live as a free person, given his constant awareness of all that is subject to criticism in the past, all that he regards as petty and mean in his present. How can he forgive himself, as this seems to be daily required? This is the fourth waymark in which there is reference to forgiveness (cf. 55:43, 56:6, 57:6, 58:1, 60:1, 61:16). He expresses an understanding of forgiveness he will later reject (57:30). He is judged by life (which in 56:21 is equivalent to God) with the love of which *he himself* is capable. Love and the process of judging are sometimes seen as in tension. Here love is one of the attributes that enters into the judging process. Love is a human possibility and is required of the one being judged. Another of life's attributes is patience, which examines the honesty of DH's striving to meet life's demands, though not necessarily his success at this point (see the relation between success and striving in the previous waymark). The final attribute is righteousness, which does not permit any rationalizations which DH might self-assertively attempt. See 56:33 where DH also links together love, patience, and righteousness in speaking of God.

10. What has life lost in the happiness he might have enjoyed had he lived? What has it gained in the suffering he escaped?

How foolishly we talk! The one who lives is the measure of life and the number of his days is reckoned in other terms.

In this waymark DH is thinking of how life-spans of different individuals may be longer or shorter. If a person's experience in its totality is that person's contribution to life, how does life gain or lose when a given individual life is long or short? What kind of judgment or measurement can here be made? This question, DH says, is a foolish one. The measure of a person's life is not taken in retrospect, but while one lives (cf. 50:46, 51:1). The actual chronological length of a person's life is another matter, which does not affect this measurement.

11. To see my pettiness, not in scourging self-disgust, not in pride at confessing it -- but as a threat to the integrity of my actions if I let it drop out of sight.

DH returns to the self-analysis found in 57:8 and 57:9. He uses an uncommon Swedish word for pettiness derived from the French *mesquinerie*, a fault to which he gives special attention. He rejects the alternatives of self-flagellation and a perverse pride in such confession (cf. 51:8). It is, however, essential for him to keep in constant view this tendency he finds in himself in order to safeguard the integrity of his actions.

12. How selfishly aesthetic our "sympathy" as a rule is, we see in those moments when we momentarily can make the basis for another's -- always threatened -- vital confidence our own, that is, when we can make that which for him makes it possible "to continue" the condition for our own self-preserving self-esteem.

In this -- as in other things -- realism is the opposite of profanation. The truth we must endure is reality without the reconciliation of time.

In the Swedish text this and the following waymark are joined together as one waymark with four paragraphs. DH does, however, appear to be discussing two somewhat different themes, though there may also be a relationship between them. In this waymark he questions what appear to be our good intentions

193 | and actions. Where our sympathy, our feeling of solidarity with another, can be the basis for that person's ability to continue to live at all, we can place the chief emphasis on what we are getting out of the relationship, the way in which it builds up our sense of our own importance. In such a case what is termed "sympathy" has really only the appearance of actual sympathy. "Aesthetic" may here be intended in a Kierkegaardian sense, as referring to a self-centered stage of life, when the question of what it means to live the moral life has not yet been seriously raised (cf. 50:37; see Søren Kierkegaard, *Either/Or* and *Stages on Life's Way*). DH insists that to be realistic about this matter is not to introduce profanation into an area of life that should be protected from critical disclosure. We must be willing to endure a true account of what is now taking place, even if only momentarily. It is well that this occurs prior to the reconciliation of what was with what ought to have been, which the passage of time can introduce into our remembrance of our relationships with others.

13. For the one being sacrificed -- who is also making the sacrifice -- only one thing counts: faithfulness -- alone among enemies and skeptics -- faithfulness despite the humiliation which has become the consequence and presupposition of faithfulness, faithfulness without any other support in hopes of restoration than can be found in a faith which reality seems so thoroughly to refute.

Would the sacrificial act have sublimity and meaning if the sacrificed one saw himself in the transfiguring light of martyrdom? What we have added was not there for him. And we must overcome it in order to hear his command.

This waymark has two parts, one referring to self-sacrifice more generally and the other to Jesus' sacrifice and the fact that he could not at the time he was making it foresee its outcome. DH insists that the one who offers himself/herself totally in the service of God cannot expect much support from others. He/she may well be surrounded by enemies and skeptics. The sacrifice will almost certainly involve humiliation (cf. 45-49:13, 57:44, 61:5). One's only support will be faith, which will all the time appear refuted by the reality one is constantly encountering.

But this, DH says, is precisely what Jesus experienced (cf. 51:29). This, furthermore, is what makes his sacrificial act sublime. If he had been able to see beyond the cross to the light of the resurrection, the cross would not have the meaning it has for us. What we have added in our glorification of the cross

194 | was not there for Jesus when he suffered and died. And we must overcome this glorified understanding of the cross by getting back to the historical crucified Jesus if we are to be able to hear and respond to Jesus' summons to take up our own crosses and follow him.

14. To win a security in which we give all criticism its due weight and humble ourselves before the words of praise.

DH describes a goal toward which he strives. He wants to feel so secure (cf. 50:3, 54:14) that he is able to accept and evaluate all criticism he receives (cf. 45-49:13, 56:39, 57:20, 57:49). With respect to praise, the appropriate response is humility. If his sense of security is due to the fact that God is working through him, he should not accept praise for what God does (cf. 55:26, 56:49, 59:4).

15. 570428 "There is no history but the soul's, there is no ease but the soul's."

April 28 was a Sunday. During the preceding week on April 24 the Egyptian government issued a declaration concerning the Suez Canal and the arrangements for its operation which it registered with the United Nations as an international instrument. Though the canal was declared open, Israeli shipping through the canal was still not permitted. At an April 25 press conference questions were raised with respect to Egypt's noncompliance at this point with the Armistice Agreement (Public Papers of the S-G, 3:561-577).

The citation from St.-John Perse. The words, "... there is no ease but the soul's," were perhaps relevant to DH's situation at that time. St.-John Perse is the pen name of the French diplomat and poet, Alexis Léger (1887-1975). DH first met Perse in 1955, but had been interested in his poetry for some time before that. He promoted the translation of Perse's poetry into Swedish and translated the poem *Chronique* himself, a passage of which translation he cites in 61:1. As a member of the Swedish Academy DH participated in the nomination and selection of candidates for the Nobel prize for literature, which Perse received in 1960.

Perse separated his careers as diplomat and poet quite sharply, which in part accounts for his use of the pen name St.-John Perse. From 1933-1940 he held the post of Secretary General of the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs, from which position he was forced to resign by intrigues relating to the Fall of France, which, in turn, forced him into exile. He remained in exile from 1940 to 1957,

195 | living during that time in the United States. During these years he returned again to literature, which had been set aside during his years as administrator in the French foreign ministry (St.-John Perse, *Letters*, translated and edited by Arthur J. Knodel [Princeton: Princeton U. Press, 1979], xiii-xiv). The poem that especially marks this return is *Exil* (1941), from which the citation in this waymark is taken (St.-John Perse, *Collected Poems* [Princeton: Princeton U. Press, 1971], v, 156-157, translation by Denis Devlin). In this poem Perse writes “about human exile, terrestrial exile in all its forms” (*Letters*, 548).

DH finds in the words he cites emphasis on the importance of the inner life of the individual. There the moving force of history is to be found. In the human soul is also to be found refuge from surrounding unease, even the possibility of returning to the home one has been forced to leave, as in the words preceding those cited Perse writes, “Behold, I am restored to my native shore . . .”

16. Dressed in this self which was created by judgments
of the indifferent, meaningless honors, duly recorded
“achievements” --. Strapped into the strait jacket of the
near at hand.

To step out of this, naked, on the edge of dawn --
accepted, invulnerable, free: in the light, with the light, of
the light. One, real in the one.

Out of myself as a hindrance, into myself as fulfillment.

This could be a comment on the citation from St.-John Perse in the previous waymark, though the theme developed has been expressed earlier (cf. 45-49:5). DH distinguishes between an inner self and an external self, which is an image and a reputation worn like clothing (50:13) and created by others, some of them indifferent, others bestowing meaningless honors, yet others compiling a list of “achievements.” All the while one is strapped into the expectations a daily routine defines.

DH imagines himself stepping out of all of this, beginning a new day as though it were a new life (57:1). The light symbolism of 56:16 may be recalled. The self can become a transparent lens by which the light is focused. DH is confident that in such an act of self-dedication he is accepted, protected from ultimate harm, and free. Aulén suggests that the final words of this waymark strikingly express DH’s conviction that the way of loving service is a combination of self-surrender and self-realization (Aulén, E 99; Sw 144-145; cf. 56:21).

17. 570525 Why deny yourself, you say, when it harms no one and does you good?

Yes, why -- if it isn't in conflict with the choice you made. Your own reaction when you have forgotten this condition -- a reaction as before a betrayal and a humiliating weakness -- is a sufficient answer to your question.

May 25 was a Saturday. Earlier in May DH had made a trip to Europe and the Middle East. He had spoken with Pope Pius XII and leaders of the Italian government in Rome, he had planned a second Geneva conference on the peaceful uses of atomic energy to be held in 1958, and he had had friendly conversations with David Ben-Gurion and Golda Meir. On May 16 there had been a press conference in which he was questioned about developments in the Middle East (Public Papers of the S-G, 3:577-585).

There does not appear, however, to be a direct relationship between these events and DH's reflections in this waymark. He did feel obligated to deny himself (55:60, 57:39). Yet how far must he go in this direction? It would seem that there could be no objection to doing that which harms no one else and does good to oneself. DH points out, however, that such behavior may conflict with the basic choice he has made (cf. 45-49:1, 53:21, 56:21, 57:47, 58:8). When he recalls this he reacts quite strongly. The words "a betrayal and a humiliating weakness" will appear again in 57:20 (cf. 57:32).

18. Everything in the present, nothing for the present. And nothing for your future reputation or your future ease.

This is one of several waymarks in which DH stresses the importance of the present (cf. 50:53, 51:6, 54:18). The present to which everything is to be devoted is God's eternal now (56:33), which by reason of God's patience may extend into the future. As to the future that is unrelated to God's eternal now, one is not to consider either one's future reputation (50:26, 56:53) or future ease and comfort, for which one may seek to make provision. (Note, however, the reference to a pension in 51:38.)

19. Suddenly -- without your help -- difficulties you have given your all to overcome are resolved. And you are tempted to keep yourself in the forefront whether it helps

the matter or not, perhaps even if it can do harm.

Do you then want to spoil even that to which your effort can entitle you? Only if your striving has been guided by a devotion to duty in which you have wholly forgotten yourself can you retain confidence in its value. But if that has been the case, your striving toward the goal should have taught you to rejoice when others reach it.

DH reminds himself that while it is important that goals be reached, it is not at all essential that he receive credit for such achievements (cf. 56:53). Others should be given the credit that is due them. Apparently a problem to which he has devoted great efforts has finally been resolved without his help. DH recognizes the temptation to keep himself in the forefront, though this may harm the cause. He insists that his devotion to duty must be such that he wholly forgets himself and thus is able to rejoice when others reach goals toward which he has been striving (cf. 57:8).

20. 570620 “-- a betrayal and a humiliating weakness --”
Therefore also this: that you suffer under criticism which is not justified? Yes, and weakened encounter your duty.

June 20 was a Thursday. The introductory words quoted are from 57:17. The reference to unjustified criticism that follows suggests that both dated waymarks have some relation to DH's responsibilities as Secretary-General. Urquhart reports that on June 8 the London Daily Telegraph published an article stating that the Gaza Strip was now to all intents and purposes under the control of Egypt. The article asserted that there were large numbers of Egyptian soldiers and two thousand Palestinian Arab policemen in the Gaza Strip, fedayeen were being trained, and UNEF soldiers were engaging in black-market activities. General E. L. M. Burns, the commander of the UNEF protested against these false reports, stating that they were typical of Western journalism at the time and followed strictly the Israeli line (Urquhart, 1973, 126). Meeting with the press on June 19, DH expressed himself more hopefully about the situation in the Middle East, calling it a period of convalescence, when too much attention should not be given to the lingering symptoms of the illness, while it was realistic to anticipate real and active reconstruction and rebuilding. DH may at the same time, however, privately have shared much of the impatience of his questioners. Using language from Shakespeare's *Macbeth*, he called it a time “full of sound

198 | and fury.” He acknowledged that his correspondence with various capitals in the Middle East had recently been somewhat one-sided, in that response to letters he had written was being delayed (Public Papers of the S-G, 3:593-601). Given the strict standard by which he judged himself, he may have blamed himself in some measure for the slow progress that was being made. Nonetheless, whatever his own “weakness” had contributed to the situation, he insists that the criticism under which he is suffering is unjustified (cf. 56:39), and its effect could be to further weaken him in his discharge of his duties.

21. 570623 “For he maketh the storm to cease: so that the waves thereof are still.

Then are they glad, because they are at rest: and so he bringeth them unto the haven where they would be.”

The date of this waymark was Sunday of the weekend that the Nativity of St. John the Baptist and the summer solstice were celebrated in Sweden. DH’s custom was to mark such dates with citations that spoke to his spiritual need. On this occasion he cites The Book of Common Prayer version of Psalm 107:29-30 (cf. 54:26), words from a psalm of thanksgiving perhaps sung by groups of pilgrims who came to Jerusalem to celebrate one of the feasts, offering thanks for escape from various dangers. While the NRSV translates the verbs in the past tense, the Prayer Book version is in the present tense. God is the one who makes the storm to cease and brings his people to the haven to which they are bound. It is in this way that the sound and fury of the world situation will be quieted so that the needed healing can take place (see above the comment on 57:20).

22. “The fives of exile --.” Always among strangers to that which has formed you -- alone. Always thirsting for water from the springs -- captive, not free to seek it.

The answer -- the hard, clean, severe answer: in the One you are never alone, in the One you are always at home.

This waymark may be a comment on the text cited in 57:21. DH begins with words from St.-John Perse’s poem “Exile” (Collected Poems, 156-157). DH may have been unable to be in Sweden for the Midsummer celebration. In a deeper sense, however, he could have felt that he was in exile, just as Perse found himself, living among those who had little understanding or appreciation

199 | of that which had formed him, while he was so “strapped into the strait jacket of the near at hand” (57:16) that he was unable to find refreshment from the springs upon which his spirit depended.

It is at this point that the psalm passage speaks to him. The answer is not easy to accept, it is hard and severe, but in fellowship with God (here called the One, cf. 55:28, 56:33, 57:16, 57:47) whatever his circumstances he is not alone, indeed he is always at home. In terms of his life journey he can have confidence that he will be brought safely through the storms to the haven he is seeking.

23. Result and reaction --. The strength of your rising uneasiness reveals the extent of your actual lack of freedom and of your isolation -- from unity.

Do not therefore concern yourself about this or that,
but follow the way you know even when you have left it.
“Nevertheless, not as I will, but as thou --”

DH continues his reflection about his relationship to the One. His efforts have brought about a result to which he has reacted with uneasiness (cf. 56:36). This has revealed his lack of freedom and his isolation. Note the stressed words “captive” and “alone” in 57:22. He is isolated, however, not from other people, but from unity, from the One. It is in the One that he is never alone. Thus, rather than concerning himself with anything else he must follow the way to which God has called him (52:1, 53:11, 55:39, 61:5, 61:12), a way that he knows even when he is not following it. DH cites finally the words of Jesus in the Garden of Gethsemane, which expressed Jesus’ submission to the will of his heavenly Father (Matt. 26:39 RSV, cf. 54:7, 56:9), omitting vill/wilt, the final word of verse 39.

24. He who is challenged by destiny
does not take offense at the
terms.

While DH has cited an author who states that not everyone is a person of destiny (56:59), he believes that he himself has been challenged by destiny (53:7, 55:60, 56:1, 57:37, 61:13). For this reason the principle, that one who receives such a challenge must accept it, not complaining about the terms that destiny offers, does apply to him.

- 200 | 25. For one whose task so obviously mirrors the unheard of in human possibility and duty, there is no excuse if he loses the feeling of “being called.” But in that feeling all that he is capable of has a meaning, nothing a price. Therefore: if he complains, he accuses -- himself.

DH uses the expression “the unheard of” (cf. 51:47, 51:62, 52:6, 54:5, 54:20, 54:25). He reminds himself that his task obviously has to do with this human possibility and that he must therefore not lose his awareness of his calling (59:4). It is in this context that everything he is able to accomplish receives meaning (55:54, 56:7, 56:13, 58:7), while nothing is to be regarded as a price he must pay (cf. 55:23, 57:38). There must therefore be no complaints, for they can be directed only against himself.

26. The myths have always condemned those who “turned back”, condemned them, whatever the paradise may have been that they left. Therefore this shadow over every deviation from your choice, “Journeyer to the East.”

DH referred more often to not looking back (51:22, 53:12, 56:13, 57:35, 61:5; cf. Luke 9:62) than to not turning back, though the two concepts have about the same meaning. In this waymark he speaks of the condemnation of such behavior in the myths. This also is to remind him not to deviate in any way from the choice he has made (56:21, 57:17, 57:27).

The expression “Journeyer to the East” (*Morgenlandfahrer*) is derived from the novel, *Morgenlandfahrt* (1932, Eng. trans., *The Journey to the East*, 1961), by Hermann Hesse (1877-1962). The novel, which DH had wanted to translate (Lindegren, 27-29), tells of an esoteric order led by one who appears as a servant. To be received into the order, one must have a purpose of one's own, comparable to the high dedication of the order.

27. 570720 Stealthily -- furtively. Shut out from the room, you must not peep through the keyhole. Either break down the door, or withdraw.

Stealthily -- furtively. Only because it would have appeared to people as a denial of the choice! All the same -- how correct the feeling of shame for what must for such reasons be kept secret, though it may later nonetheless turn out for the good.

201 | From June 29 to July 18 DH visited Copenhagen, Geneva, and Paris (Van Dusen, 229). Some time was also spent in Sweden. He had a summer home, Hagestad, a fisherman's cottage along the coast of southern Sweden. During the summer of 1957, with the help of his friend, Bo Beskow, he bought a nearby farmstead having a larger acreage. It is possible that in this waymark he is reacting to the way in which the negotiations for that purchase took place. When he had himself indicated interest in the farm a rather high selling price was named, whereas Beskow was able to buy it for considerably less (Beskow, 128-129). If the waymark relates to that transaction, DH expresses himself critically about the secrecy which, it was thought, had to be practiced. He could appear to have been acting contrary to his basic commitment. He approves of his feeling of shame, though at the same time he observes that the way he acted may finally have good consequences. DH was planning to return the fields to open heath, which met the approval of the Swedish authorities concerned with nature preservation, who wanted to save some such farms from being sold to real estate speculators. Backåkra, the name of the farm, is now administered by the Swedish Tourist Association as a memorial to DH. Articles he received on his extensive travels are displayed and a part of his library is kept there.

28. 570728 You are not the oil, not the air -- only the combustion point, the focus, where the light is born.

You are only the lens in the flood of light. Only like the lens can you receive, give, and own the light.

If you seek yourself, "in your own right," you hinder the meeting of the oil and the air in the flame, you rob the lens of its transparency.

Sanctification -- to be the light or in the light, effaced, so that it may be born, effaced so that it may be gathered and spread.

This dated waymark was written on a Sunday, the day before DH's fifty-second birthday (cf. 58:9 and 59:4, the birthday waymarks for 1958 and 1959). DH was at his summer home, Hagestad (Van Dusen, 146). He reflects about the meaning of his life, casting himself in the role of a catalytic agent, one who helps things happen, but is not the decisive agent in the happening, though he can frustrate that which might otherwise happen (54:10, 57:31). The images he uses have to do with light, its source, its gathering and focusing, and also the means by which it is spread (cf. 56:16). DH for a second time uses the term "sanctification." Whereas in 55:65 he stresses that sanctification requires involvement in the world of action, here he emphasizes the self-effacement that is required if the light is to be born, gathered, and spread.

- 202 | 29. You will know life and be acknowledged by it, according to the degree of your transparency -- that is, according to the extent of your ability to disappear as an end and remain solely as a means.

DH continues to reflect on the imagery of light. In earlier waymarks he has thought of himself as reflecting life according to his clarity or purity (25-30:9, 41-42:10, 57:1). In 56:16 and 57:28 he thinks of the essential transparency of a lens through which the light passes. If his life is to be a lens focusing the light, the passage of the light will be impeded to the extent to which he engages in self-seeking. This means that the degree of his transparency will depend on the extent to which he is able to disappear as an end in the life process, while remaining only as a means. The language DH uses is borrowed from the philosopher Immanuel Kant (1724-1804), who said that one should regard other persons as ends in themselves and never merely as means (see 50:52). If so, in one's relation to them one should regard oneself as a means to bring about what is good for them, rather than seeking to use them as a means to further one's own ends. Transparency means not to have mixed motives at this point.

30. 570903 "To forgive oneself" --? No, that isn't possible: we must be forgiven. But we can believe in forgiveness only if we ourselves forgive.

DH's Annual Report to the UN General Assembly was dated August 22, but the date of publication was September 4. A press conference to discuss questions related to the report was scheduled for September 5 (Public Papers of the S-G, 3:624, 629-656). On the date of this waymark he may, however, have remembered the wedding anniversary of his parents (September 3, 1890), both of whom were deceased, his mother, Agnes Almquist Hammarskjöld in 1940 (cf. 57:5), and his father, Hjalmar Hammarskjöld in 1953 (cf. 58:13). If he was noting this date, this is the only time he does so. He picks up the expression "to forgive oneself" from 57:9 and 57:6 and now rejects this as impossible, for "we must be forgiven." This requires, however, that we forgive others, which he stressed in his first reference to forgiveness (56:6, cf. 60:1). He could conceivably be thinking of the need for children to forgive their parents, not least when they are deceased. At this point they certainly are unable to forgive themselves. As long as we are alive, however, we are able to forgive others.

31. How frightful, our responsibility, If you fail it is God who, through your unfaithfulness to him, fails humanity. You imagine yourself able to be responsible before God; can you be responsible for God?

Though DH did not want to discuss the matter, at press conferences both on August 22 and September 5 questions were raised about whether he would accept appointment to a second term as Secretary-General (Public Papers of the S-G, 3:624-625, 653, 656). We may have in this and the following waymark some indication of his thinking on this matter. He had a very strong sense of his own responsibility (50:42, 54:10, 55:32, 58:7, 59:3). God is in a sense dependent on us, for through us God can fail humanity. This is what DH elsewhere calls God's humility (56:33). DH does not think he can bear the responsibility of answering to humanity on God's behalf why what should have been done was not done.

32. "Betray" --. Are you satisfied if you have checked and channeled the worst in you? The human condition is such that to fail at every moment to be one's best is a betrayal. How much more so in a situation where others have faith in you.

The Swedish words *svika* (fail, betray), *svek* (unfaithfulness) recur five times in this and the previous waymark (cf. 54:10, 57:17, 57:20). DH reminds himself that it is not enough simply to curb one's worst tendencies. One must at every moment be at one's best (cf. 25-30:12, 53:2, 56:20) or one is guilty of betrayal. This becomes even more important for the person in whom others have faith (cf. 51:2, 53:22).

33. 570926 "The best and most glorious to which one in this life can attain is that you are silent and let God work and speak."

Once you have grasped me, Slinger. Now into your storm. Now towards your goal.

On the date of this waymark DH was re-elected to a second term as UN Secretary-General. He was unanimously recommended by the Security Council and except for one spoiled ballot the vote in the General Assembly was unanimous (Public Papers of the S-G, 3:662). He reacts to this affirmation of

204 | his leadership by quoting from a sermon by Meister Eckhart (Meister Eckehart Schriften, Büttner, 67). If one must be one's best, the best is to surrender one's own will in such a way that God is permitted to work and speak. The comment that follows the citation suggests that DH anticipates that the next years will be more difficult than the years of his first term. The expression "Slinger" may come from St.-John Perse. In the poem "Anabasis," translated by T. S. Eliot, Perse writes, "Instigator of strife and discord! fed on insults and slanders, O Slinger! crack the nut of my own eye! my heart twittered with joy under the splendour of the quicklime, the bird sings O Senectus!" (Collected Poems, 109; Senectus in Latin mythology was the goddess of old age). For other citations from St.-John Perse, see 57:15, 57:22, 61:1.

34. 571001 "It's saying: everything is here
Awaiting you in good repair,
Thousands of beautiful songs;
Where have you been, yes, where?"

On October 1 the first session of the International Atomic Energy Agency opened in Vienna. DH had high hopes for the future potential of this new member of the UN family. Since he was unable to be present, his message to the meeting was read by Under-Secretary Ralph J. Bunche. In it he expressed his expectation that within a few decades nuclear energy could become one of the principle sources of power in the world and that this had immense potential significance for economic and social progress, especially in the economically less developed regions (Public Papers of the S-G, 3:666-669).

The poet cited is Erik Axel Karlfeldt (1864-1931). Karlfeldt was a contemporary of DH's father and for thirteen years both were members of the Swedish Academy. He was posthumously awarded the Nobel prize for literature in 1931. The lines are from a poem entitled "Det förgångna" (The Past; Erik Axel Karlfeldts Dikter [Stockholm: Wahlström & Widstrand, 1943], 196-198), which tells of spring in a rural Dalecarlian community as experienced by someone who has come back but is about to leave again. DH may have been wanting to relate optimism with respect to technological possibilities to the possibilities yet to be found in the rural countryside in Sweden, as well as throughout the world.

35. Don't look back. And don't dream of the future: it will
not give you back the past, nor satisfy other dreams of
happiness. Your duty and your reward -- your destiny --
are here and now.

205 | In addition to the conference on atomic energy, DH may have been thinking about his re-election as Secretary-General. If one takes into account the title of the poem from which the lines in 57:34 were cited, "Det förgångna" (the past), as well as the lines, "... everything is here Awaiting you in good repair," this waymark can be viewed as a comment on the lines cited, relating them to his situation. He strongly emphasizes living in the present (cf. 50:53, 51:6, 54:18). He must not look back (51:22, 53:12, 56:13, 61:5). The future will not give him what he misses from the past, nor satisfy other dreams of happiness. The "thousands of beautiful songs" are to be found here and now. Not only his duty, but also his reward (cf. 55:23) is in the present. Here his destiny is to be found.

36. Jesus' "lack of principles": he sat at table with tax collectors and sinners, he associated with prostitutes. Was it in order to win at least their votes? Did he perhaps think that he could convert them through such "appeasement"? Or was it because his humanity was deep and rich enough so that he also in them could make contact with that which is common, indestructible, on which the future must be built?

Three possible explanations of Jesus' consorting with what were thought to be the wrong kind of people are suggested. The first, to win votes, DH implies could have been self-serving. DH had not himself in Sweden engaged in campaigns to win votes, since he had worked in the civil service. Though he was elected to his position in the UN, it had not been necessary for him to campaign in order to be re-elected. The second possible explanation, that Jesus sought to achieve conversions by "appeasement," DH implies would have been ill-advised. He prefers to think of a third explanation, that Jesus sought to make contact with something common, indestructible, to be found in all people (cf. 41-42:25, 56:13, 56:14). The difference between the explanations does not have to do with what Jesus did, but with what his motives were (the first explanation) and how he regarded those with whom he had fellowship (the second and third explanations). DH does not explain what it might mean to attempt to convert by "appeasement," though he is probably suggesting that human nature is being evaluated more negatively when such a strategy is used. Insofar as "conversion" is sought, the practice of agape (the kind of love of which the New Testament speaks) requires confidence in its power, though it need not require any particular understanding of human nature. Aulén states that this waymark is interesting because it clearly indicates DH's aim of maintaining in all situations his positive view of human beings (Aulén, E 37; Sw 58). At the same time DH did acknowledge that he found original sin within himself (57:6). At this point a

206 | distinction should be made between human depravity before God and a general human capacity for civil righteousness, which even Martin Luther, despite his emphasis on human depravity, recognized. This was the basis on which the future with which DH as UN Secretary-General was concerned could be built (cf. 55:39). He will find such a positive understanding of human nature strongly emphasized in the Chinese classic, the Tao Te Ching (57:41).

37. 571006 Yes to God: yes to destiny and yes to yourself. If this is reality, the soul can perhaps be wounded, but it has the power to be healed.

“Endless the series of things without name
On the way back to where there is nothing.”

November 6, the date of this waymark, was a Saturday and DH may have been able to spend the weekend at his country house near Brewster, New York. In this and the next four waymarks he reflects about his unanimous reelection to a second five-year term as UN Secretary-General. The “yes” of 53:1, 53:12, and 56:7 is repeated. To say “yes” to God is to affirm both one’s destiny and oneself. There is optimism that though there may be wounds, there will also be healing. The quotation that follows is from chapter 14 of Arthur Waley’s translation of the Tao Te Ching, attributed to Lao-tzu and written in China sometime during the 3rd century B.C. (Arthur Waley, *The Way and Its Power*, [New York: Macmillan, 1934, 1956], 1959). DH had very likely purchased Waley’s translation and *The Parting of the Way: Lao Tsu and the Taoist Movement* by Holmes Welch (Boston: Beacon Press, 1957) about this time. Both of these books are to be found in the portion of DH’s library kept in the Royal Library in Stockholm. DH must have become interested in philosophical Taoism. He had a general interest in the thought of the Far East. The fact that Tao means “way” and the fact that there are some apparent parallels between the Tao Te Ching and the New Testament (Welch, 5-6) may have made him want to investigate this text more closely. The Tao Te Ching was written, furthermore, in large part as a guide to those having ruling responsibilities. According to Welch, the passage cited comes from a description of what Lao-tzu saw in a trance (63, 67). There will be another reference to the Tao Te Ching in 57:41, so that this group of waymarks is framed by references to this Chinese text.

38. The opportunity was given you anew -- as a privilege and a burden. The question is not: why did it so happen; or, where is it leading; or, what is the price? It is only: how do you make use of it? And about that only one can judge.

207 | The opportunity to which DH refers is his second term as Secretary-General. He was well aware of the burden this responsibility represented, but regarded it also as a privilege. In his statement to the UN General Assembly upon his reappointment he said: "The significance of what this Organization stands for, as a venture in progress towards an international community living in peace under the laws of justice, transforms work for its aims from a duty into a privilege" (Public Papers of the S-G, 3:663-664). His only concern had to do with the use he would make of this opportunity. With respect to the evaluation of that use, he felt himself primarily answerable to God.

39. You yourself said that you would accept the decree of destiny. But you lost your equilibrium when you discovered what this demanded of you: then you saw how bound you still were to the world which formed you, but which was denied you. You felt it was like an amputation, like a little "death," and even listened to those who insinuated that out of ambition you had deceived yourself. All will be lost. Why, then, whimper in the face of this little death? Take it to yourself -- quickly -- and with a smile, die this death and in freedom go further -- united with your task, whole in the moment's endeavor.

Though the theme of waymarks 57:37-41 has to do with DH's reappointment as UN Secretary-General, it does not follow that they were all written at the same time. In the following weeks he must have discovered some demand, some sacrifice, with which he had not fully reckoned previously. He could have been thinking about living in Sweden when he wrote about the world that had formed him and was being denied him. He reminds himself, however, of the commitment he had already made (57:37). Since all is eventually to be lost, he must be prepared to accept little "deaths" along the way. In 57:42-46 he will give thought to the larger death that also awaits him.

40. You have not done enough, you have never done enough, so long as the possibility remains that something of you can be of value.

This is the answer when you groan under what you regard as a burden and a risk prolonged ad infinitum.

208 | It may have been suggested to DH that he had already made a sufficiently significant contribution to the UN. He could with good conscience leave his task to others. He answers, however, that one has never done enough when it is possible that one could still be used for good in the position one occupies. During the fall of 1957 DH's artist friend, Bo Beskow, had come from Sweden to paint a mural on the wall of the United Nations Meditation Room that DH had planned (Beskow, 77-117). This and the previous waymark could reflect their conversations during the fall months of 1957.

41. The Uncarved Block --. Remain in the Center, your own and that of human responses. Act in terms of the goals this gives your life to the extent that this in every moment is possible for you. Act in this way without thought of consequences and without in anything seeking your own good.

"The Uncarved Block" is a concept DH has borrowed from the Tao Te Ching (Waley, chs. 19, 28, 32, 57). The Chinese word being translated is p'u, which has also been translated "original nature," "uncarved wood," "simple and honest" (Lin Yutang, *The Wisdom of Lao-tse* [New York: Random House, 1948], 120, 160, 266. This book was also included in DH's library.). P'u refers to the original, unspoiled, blank, childlike, untutored nature of the human being (Welch, 35-49). The word is generally used to mean simplicity or plainness of heart and living and implies the original goodness of human nature (Yutang, 106). We have noted above (57:36) that DH prefers to think of human nature in these terms. The term "Center" may also come from the Tao Te Ching (Yutang, 64). If so, it translates chung, the core, the original human nature, what is in the heart (cf. Waley, 147). DH refers to this concept again in 59:5. He uses the terms "Uncarved Block" and "Center" in expressing what has been for him a long-standing commitment. At the same time he may have been impressed to find that the three treasures or rules of the teaching in the Tao Te Ching are pity, frugality, and the refusal to be foremost of all things (Waley, ch. 67). Beskow tells us that Waley's translation of the Tao Te Ching was one of four books to be found after DH's death on the bedside table in his New York apartment (Beskow, 100).

42. Do not seek death. It will find you. Seek the way that makes death a fulfillment.

209 | This is the first of a series of five waymarks devoted to reflection on death. If DH in his earlier years may have had moments when he sought death (e.g., "Give me something to die for --!" 52:16), he now says that one need not seek death. One will be found by death. What one must seek is a way of living that can be fulfilled in death. In the Swedish text the word translated "death" (*förintelse*) could also be translated "annihilation" or "destruction." This makes it clear that DH was not thinking of death in romantic, sentimental terms.

43. Your body must become familiar with its own death --
in all its possible forms and degrees -- as a self-evident,
close at hand, and emotionally indifferent step on the way
towards goals you have found worth your life.

Though death is not to be sought, one must prepare for it. Its inevitability must be totally accepted and the possibility of its imminence must be recognized. Only in this way can it cease to be a factor that frustrates one's progress toward the goals to which one is committed (cf. 55:23, 56:19, 57:33, 61:5). Needless to say, what DH calls for is not easily achieved.

44. Death, as a stage in the sacrifice, is no doubt the
completion, but often abasement and never exaltation.

That death is referred to as a "stage in the sacrifice" indicates that for DH living sacrificially meant not simply being prepared to die but a total pattern of life which could eventuate in death. He stresses here that death, the completion of the sacrifice, can often appear to be the culmination of the humiliation preceding it (cf. 57:13). The sacrifice may, furthermore, not at all be recognized for what it is (cf. 45-49:13). As was indicated above (57:42), DH is not thinking sentimentally about death.

45. The ridge to the summit separates two abysses: a pleasure-tinged death wish (perhaps with an element of narcissistic masochism) and the animal fear arising out of the physical instinct for self-preservation. Only the one whose body has learned to treat itself as a means is free of dizziness.

Using mountain climbing imagery DH describes ascending a narrow ridge with the threat of falling into abysses on either side. There is both the death wish and the instinct for self-preservation that may prevent one from moving

210 | steadfastly in the direction that one's duty defines. The body must be strictly disciplined so that one is not distracted.

46. No choice is unaffected by how the personality sees its destiny, the body its death. It is finally at the level of the idea of sacrifice that decision is made in all the questions that life asks. Therefore it requires its time and its place -- if necessary with the right of precedence. Therefore the necessity for preparation.

This is the last of this series of five waymarks, which all in varying ways deal with death. There is a dualism of body and personality. Both must accept death. How this fact is viewed is decisive for all the vital decisions one makes. Death must therefore be given time, place, and even precedence in one's thinking. There must also be preparation.

47. Courage and love: equivalent and connected expressions for your bargain with life. You are willing to "pay" what your heart bids you to give. These are two interrelated responses of the sacrifice as an active contribution conditioned by the personality's self-chosen annihilation in the One. "God's union with the soul" -- in its fruit a union with people who do not check themselves before complete self-giving.

This is one of three waymarks (50:50 and 56:10 are the other two) in which the two words "courage" and "love" both appear. Love, however, in 50:50 is the love of desire and does not have the same meaning it has in 56:10 and in this waymark. Here and in 56:10 love has to do with a willingness to sacrifice oneself rather than the object of one's desires. But to do this requires courage. From one vantage point complete self-giving is self-annihilation, from another "God's union with the soul." Cf. 54:7, 55:9, 56:25, 58:7.

48. Did you choose your words correctly; what impression did you make; did they think that you wanted to ingratiate yourself -- and so on?

Is it questions such as these that keep you awake?
Have you lost the confidence that your intuitive reactions lead in the right direction? If so, you know the reason: that you have permitted hunger for "justice" to make you

self-conscious and to expel you from self-forgetfulness in performing the task. In this way, only in this way, can you be harmed by the opinions of the many.

DH was aware of the ambiguity related to the hunger for “justice.” His principle was “through justice -- never injustice” (56:50), yet he knew that despite being right one could through an unintelligent exercise of authority be unjust and cause pain (56:37). Here he suggests that he could avoid such errors by greater confidence in a self-forgetful, intuitive approach to his task. This would also have the benefit of making him less concerned about the impression he was making, less vulnerable to the opinions of the many (cf. 56:39).

49. Praise your critics, those for whom nothing is up to standard.

While it is possible to be harmed by criticism (cf. 57:48), one can also benefit from it. Those who are not satisfied even by one’s best efforts deserve praise. DH has come a long way from the attitude toward criticism that he describes in 45-49:13.

50. In its play the body can learn the pattern for acting. Its pleasure can show the way to suffering.

DH did not have much time for play, but he recognized its value. He admired the bright self-possession of a child at play (53:18). He felt that he had learned much from a sailing expedition with his staff (54:4). He calls his body a playmate and challenges it to be ready when the moment for the impossible comes (61:7). Mountain climbing, a form of play in which he did engage, did suggest for him a pattern for acting (56:5, 56:62). As for the relationship between pleasure and suffering, DH knows that the death wish can be pleasure-tinged (57:45). He may, however, be suggesting that the body that has experienced pleasure is better prepared, when this becomes necessary, to accept suffering.

51. 571222 The fool shouted in the marketplace. No one stopped to answer. In this way it was confirmed that his theses were irrefutable.

212 | On December 22, the Sunday before Christmas, DH was in Sweden, having the previous Friday delivered the Presidential Address at the annual meeting of the Swedish Academy on “The Linnaeus Tradition and Our Time.” After the Academy’s meeting he flew to Gaza to spend Christmas with the soldiers of the United Nations Emergency Force (Public Papers of the S-G, 3:701). This waymark indicates that DH may have been troubled by the charges of a Danish diplomat, Povl Bang-Jensen, deputy secretary of a UN committee appointed to interview Hungarian refugees. Bang-Jensen was insisting that other members of the committee had sabotaged the committee’s report. He had taken his allegations to the press and this had led to attacks on DH and other UN staff by a number of anti-Communist agitators (Urquhart, 1973, 244-245). The reference to the fool shouting in the marketplace may be drawn from Friedrich Nietzsche (1844-1900), who in *The Joyful Wisdom* (*The Gay Science*), #125, tells of a madman proclaiming in the marketplace the death of God (*The Complete Works of Nietzsche*, ed. Oscar Levy, vol. 10, *The Joyful Wisdom*, trans. Thomas Common [Edinburgh: T. N. Foulis, 1910], 167-169). Bang-Jensen’s charges were refuted. Even if they had not been refuted, it does not follow that theses that are unanswered are therefore irrefutable.

52. 571224 In your wind --. In your light --.
How small is everything else, how small are we --
and happy in that which alone is great.

At Christmastide in Sweden there are short days and much darkness. At Gaza on the shore of the Mediterranean, on the other hand, where DH was spending Christmas with the UNEF troops, there could have been much light as well as wind. DH explains his use of the symbols of wind and light in 56:16. He reflects on God’s greatness and on how good it is, despite one’s smallness, to be caught up in “that which alone is great.”

1958

The Middle East continued to claim a major part of DH's attention in 1958, though the area of primary concern shifted from the Gaza Strip to Lebanon. At the beginning of the year Egypt and Syria merged to form the United Arab Republic. In response, the kingdoms of Jordan and Iraq federated to form the Arab Union. In Lebanon the influx of Palestinian refugees had upset the Christian-Muslim balance and guerrilla activity against the pro-Western policy of President Camille Chamoun was being supported from the United Arab Republic. DH sought to deal with these problems through the United Nations Observer Group in Lebanon (UNOGIL) and negotiations with the United Arab Republic. A coup d'état in Iraq, however, led the United States to react by sending troops to Lebanon, while Britain sent troops to Jordan. Despite difficulties the UNOGIL continued to function in Lebanon, a new president was elected who gave a larger role in the government to Muslims, Western fears of greatly increased Russian influence in the Middle East subsided, and negotiations resulted in the withdrawal of American and British troops from Lebanon and Jordan.

There are six dated waymarks during 1958, one noting the day that DH was inducted for his second term as Secretary-General. On three successive Sundays of October he writes a number of poems, a form in which many of the remaining waymarks are written.

1. So shall the world each morning be created anew, forgiven
 -- in you, by you.

As at the beginning of the previous year, DH relates the beginning of the year to the beginning of a new day. Each day the world is created anew, which requires that it be forgiven. This is the sixth of eight waymarks in which there is reference to forgiveness (55:43, 56:6, 57:6, 57:9, 57:30, 60:1, 61:16). God, who is addressed in this waymark, is both the author and the locus of forgiveness. It is in God, in the creative, redemptive process which is God's being, that forgiveness takes place.

2. 580216 "-- show the light of thy countenance; and we
 shall be whole."

 "Believe me: to perfection belongs also this, that one so
 rises in one's work that all one's activity comes together in
 one work. This must happen in the kingdom of God - - -. For

I tell you truly: all the works that a human being achieves outside the kingdom of God are dead works, but those accomplished in the kingdom of God are living works. . . . as little as God is deprived of peace or changed by all his works, so little is also the soul, as long as it works according to the order of God's kingdom. These persons, therefore, whether they work or do not work, remain quite unmoved. For works give them nothing, and take nothing from them."

As background for this dated waymark it may be noted that on February 1 Egypt and Syria announced the formation of the United Arab Republic and on February 14 Jordan and Iraq announced the formation of the Arab Union (Urquhart, 1973, 262). At the UN press conferences during the first weeks of the year, most attention was given to the problem of disarmament. Mention was also made of a dispute that had arisen over a Tunisian blockade of French troops that had remained in Tunisia after Tunisia became independent in 1956. DH had used his good offices to win agreement that there could be transport of foodstuffs and other supplies needed for the sustenance of the troops (Public Papers of the S-G, 4:11-23, 31-36; Urquhart, 1973, 309-310).

February 16 was the Sunday before Lent, known in the Swedish calendar as Shrove Sunday. It was DH's custom to observe such days by citing passages from the Bible or from other authors (50:50, 56:9, 56:10, 56:57, 56:58, 57:21, 60:1, 61:4, 61:5). The first citation is part of a refrain in Psalm 80, which psalm is a group lament, a prayer for deliverance from national enemies, probably originating in the Northern Kingdom (Israel). The refrain recurs in verses 3 and 7, as well as providing the conclusion of the psalm. It is possible that the psalm was a liturgy in which the congregation made this recurring response. The prayer that God would show the light of his countenance (let his face shine) recalls the Aaronic benediction (Num. 6:25) and is a prayer for God's favor (cf. Ps. 31:16). In most of the versions (KJV, RSV, NEB), the prayer of the people is that they might be saved, which in the context of the psalm means that they are seeking victory, security, and freedom. In The Book of Common Prayer version, which DH cites, the prayer is to "be whole." This concept of wholeness (Vollkommenheit, perfection), especially as it applies to the life of the individual, is the theme of the citation from Meister Eckhart (Meister Eckehart Schriften, Büttner, 315). Wholeness requires unity in one's activity, which is achieved only in the kingdom of God. Only here are "living works" accomplished. At the same time a distinction is drawn between the soul (or

215 | the person) and the works that are performed. These works neither add nor detract. Whether they are performed or not, the person living according to the order of God's kingdom retains his/her tranquillity.

3. “- - in the kingdom of God, - -; - - all works are there the same, my smallest is there my greatest, and my greatest is my smallest. - - in themselves works are something diverse and bring the person into diversity. Therefore with them one always finds oneself close to the boundary of disharmony.”

The theme of works in the kingdom of God continues in another citation from Meister Eckhart (*Meister Eckehart Schriften*, Büttner, 315). In the kingdom of God there is no way in which the size or relative value of works can be evaluated. Viewed in themselves their diversity can threaten the unity of the life lived in God. Preoccupation with works can introduce disharmony into such a life.

4. “After the fireworks”; how much simpler life is, and how much more difficult. How much cleaner, and how frightening.

The words “After the fireworks” are in English. DH must have found the expression useful for describing situations in human relationships in which strong words have been spoken, feelings freely expressed, the pretenses that have enabled persons in fundamental disagreement to work together cast aside. This does simplify these relationships, but it can be difficult to continue them.

The expression could also be used to refer to relationships between nations. DH may have been thinking of France's bombing of Tunisia (see above 58:2). Violent actions did define more clearly the differences between nations, but the consequences were frightening. DH deplored every resort to violence. He saw the role of the UN as blunting the edges of conflict among the nations and through diplomatic processes wearing away the many differences so that solutions in the common interest could be found (*Public Papers of the S-G*, 3:653, 658).

5. This blasphemous anthropomorphism: that it is through suffering that God would nurture us. How far from this the affirmation of suffering when it strikes us because we followed what we saw to be God's will.

216 | DH objects to facile and well meaning explanations of suffering. He uses strong words to condemn the notion that God uses suffering as part of an educative process. Suffering, on the other hand, can be inescapable for those who seek to do God's will (51:29, 55:1, 61:10). Such suffering we should be prepared to endure, though it need not be interpreted in terms of a theodicy, as though it were all a part of God's plan. DH would perhaps be willing to say that there are practical but not theoretical solutions to the problem of evil.

6. The morning's pure, simple self -- and the first thing that it sees: the grotesque image in the fool's mirror of yesterday.

This waymark recalls 50:33, though there a particular experience seems to have been described. Here DH writes in more general terms of the difference between the awaking self emerging from its encounter with the springs of life in the night's ocean. The self possesses the potentiality for a wholly new beginning and then sees the grotesque image of its own immediate past. This image is seen in a fool's mirror (50:43). Why is what one sees so distorted? Is it because what one recalls is so often acts of self-admiration (25-30:14, 56:60)? Perhaps what is criticized here is simply the orientation towards yesterday. What is needed is a new beginning. The bowl of our being is to be held forth empty to receive the content of the new day (57:1).

7. 580410 In that faith which is "God's union with the soul" you are one in God and God is wholly in you, just as he for you is wholly in all that you meet.

In this faith you descend in prayer into yourself in order to meet the Other.

In the union's obedience and light, you see all stand like yourself alone before God.

Each deed is a continued act of creation -- conscious, because you have a human being's responsibility, but also directed by that power beyond consciousness which created man.

You are free from things but meet them in an experience which has revelation's liberating purity and disclosing activity.

In that faith which is "God's union with the soul" everything therefore has meaning.

So to live, and so to use what has been put in your hand

217 | On April 10, 1958, DH was inducted for his second term as Secretary-General. This waymark recording his reflections on this occasion may be compared with 53:4-13, his reflections as he began his first term. He continues to understand faith as unity with God, God in him, he in God (54:20, 55:8, 56:25, 57:47). He finds God present in all that he encounters (41-42:25, 55:6, 56:14), but also through prayer in profound inwardness he meets God, the Other, and with the insight his obedience gives him he sees how each individual stands alone before God. Through his deeds there is continued creation. These deeds include a conscious component in which human responsibility is exercised, but there is also transcendent direction from the power that created human beings. There is freedom in relation to event and circumstance, but also the capacity to recognize in them an unfolding divine purpose, so that everything has meaning (55:54, 56:7, 57:25). It is in terms of this awareness that DH wants to live and to use the opportunities and responsibilities that have been entrusted to him as Secretary-General.

8. Only in the human being has the creating evolution reached the point where reality confronts itself in evaluation and choice. Apart from the human being it is neither evil nor good.

Only when you descend into yourself do you experience, therefore, in the encounter with the Other, goodness as the ultimate reality -- unified and living, in him and through you.

DH continues in this waymark to reflect on God's creating activity. It has taken place through the evolutionary process (cf. 52:7) and it is at the level of human emergence, where there is for the first time the possibility of evaluation and choice, that one can speak of good and evil. Apart from this human capacity good and evil do not exist. The source of goodness is found through descending into oneself in order to encounter the Other (58:7). One does not simply encounter oneself. One encounters a transcendent ultimate reality, unified and living. One then lives in this reality and it in turn expresses itself through the instrumentality of one's self (50:52, 55:31, 57:37, 59:1).

9. 580729 Did you give me this inescapable loneliness in order that I should more easily be able to give you everything?

A few more years, and then? Life has value only through its content -- for others. My life without value for others is worse than death. Therefore -- in this

great loneliness -- to serve everybody. Therefore: how incomprehensibly great what has been given me, how insignificant what I "sacrifice."

Hallowed be thy name,
Thy kingdom come,
Thy will be done --

These reflections are written on DH's fifty-third birthday. He asks whether the meaning of the suffering his loneliness imposes upon him is that he might thereby be enabled to give everything to God (50:4, 51:32, 52:18). To this extent he is willing to see a divine purpose in suffering (cf. 58:5). He does not know how long he may have to live, but he does know that only in service to others does his life have value (50:42, 50:52, 53:3). Since he has been given such a great opportunity for such service, what he has had to give up pales into insignificance (55:23, 57:25). He cites the first three petitions of the Lord's Prayer, which express and undergird his commitment.

10. When you waken from the dream of doom and -- for a moment -- know: beyond all the noise, beyond all the fuss, the one real thing, love's cool, erect flame in the dimness of an early dawn.

It burns this body's fire to purity, elevates it in the flame of self-giving, destroys its closed microcosm.

Through it some have been chosen to be led to the threshold of final victory, to the creative act of sacrifice instead of that of bodily union -- in a thunderclap of the same dazzling power.

DH describes an awakening, this time not from encounter with the springs of life (50:33) but from the dream of doom, yet knowing in the early dawn, even if only for a moment, beyond all the confusion, the one real thing, which is love's cool erect flame. It may seem strange to speak of a cool flame. DH is speaking, however, of a flame that can purify the body's fire, so that the fire of sexual passion is transmuted into a flame of self-giving and the self's closed microcosm is destroyed. He goes on to compare the experience of the creative act of sacrifice with the experience of sexual intercourse. He suggests that the former also may have its dazzling orgasmic consummation. This is one way in which DH finds meaning in his celibacy (cf. 51:50, 52:17, 55:60). It must be remembered, however, that he also recognizes the importance of the intimacy of close personal

219 | relationships, even for the person who wants to live sacrificially (cf. 56:6). He would perhaps not make the intense loneliness he experienced a prerequisite for the life of self-giving and sacrifice to which he felt himself called.

11. 581005 Fading beeches bright against
The cloud's darkness.
The gale whips the forest mere's
Water steel gray.
Between bloodstains on the ground
Run tracks of deer --

The silence breaks its way through
The mind's defenses,
Leaving it naked before
Fall's clarity.

The remaining entries for this year are a series of poems that appear to have been written on three successive October Sundays. In the first poem the brightness of the beeches and the cloud's darkness are contrasted. The gale affects the color of the water, while on the ground is the crimson trail left by the badly wounded deer. In the second part of the poem the gale appears to have subsided. The silence exposes the mind to the clarity of the brightness with which the poem begins. In this and the following poems, where possible, DH's syllable count has been followed.

12. Endlessly are the
Pavanne's patterned steps
Repeated.
Words without content
Are dully bandied
Between us

The spider webs of
Forgotten intrigues
Snare our hands.

Choked in its fool's mask
My mind now moulders
All dried out.

220 | The pavane is a stately court dance by couples in ceremonial costume. A connection may be intended between the first two stanzas. Conversations may be as repetitious as the movements of the dance and may serve a less useful purpose. Intrigues have consequences even after they are forgotten and their webs can be strong enough to be ensnaring. A mask should not affect what is behind it, but when the mind projects a fool's image the effects can be deleterious.

13. 581012 The day slowly bleeds to death
Through the long gash
Where the horizon's edge has
Opened the sky.
Into its emptying veins
Seeps the darkness
The corpse stiffens
Enfolded by the night's chill.

Over the dead one are lit
The silent stars.

October 12 was the fifth anniversary of the death of DH's father, Hjalmar Hammarskjöld (1862-1953). He had died in the late afternoon as the sun was beginning to set. In the poem the imagery of dying is used to describe nightfall. The fading of the crimson sky is likened to the onset of death, the chill of the night to the cold corpse, the stars to candles lit at a wake. For other waymarks referring to DH's father, see 50:39, 51:7, 59:28, 59:35.

14. Lord -- yours is the day,
... I am the day's.

DH does not continue to reflect about the night. Instead two lines stress the importance of the day. It belongs to God and DH states that he belongs to the day. The couplet leads one to think of 1 Thessalonians 5:5 RSV, "For you are all sons of light and sons of the day; we are not of the night or of darkness."

15. "Single Form"

The falling ground swell, the
Muscle when it stretches
Obey the same law.

The line's light curve gathers
 The body's play of strength
 In a bold balance.

Shall my mind at last find
 This austere curvature
 On its way to form?

DH has given this poem a title to indicate that it is written about a piece of sculpture called "Single Form" by the British sculptor Barbara Hepworth. He borrowed this piece, a pure wooden column, from her 1956 New York exhibition and placed it in his office. He retained contact with her and received in 1961 a wooden abstract sculpture, "Churinga III," which she had made specially for him. He expressed deep appreciation for it and had it installed in his office. After DH's death Barbara Hepworth executed, as a memorial to DH, the great abstract sculpture "Single Form," which stands at the entrance to the Secretariat Building at the UN Headquarters (Urquhart, 1973, 43).

There is one law throughout nature, which includes the human body. A slightly curved line can show how in the body forces are balanced. The mind, which must seek to be formed, can be guided by the form that is discovered in the body.

16. 581019 Too tired for people
 ... You seek solitude,
 ... Though too tired to use it.

On the third Sunday in October DH confesses his weariness. Too weary for fellowship with others, he finds himself also too weary to use fruitfully the solitude he has sought. He had great capacity for work, little need for sleep, and did not often complain of weariness. The burden of the office must, however, have become greater in the final years (cf. 56:5, 61:12).

17. Wall of strength
 In attack,
 Wave of light
 In repose,
 Blown apart,
 Falling back
 From the lip's
 Bleached pale shore
 In froth, foam --

222 | This poem is about breakers on the seashore. The first four lines contrast the attacking strength with the light reflected in the water when the wave has spent itself. The last five lines describe the process by which the wave disintegrates, remaining only as froth and foam on the sea's sandy lip.

1959

During 1959 DH made two world tours visiting ten Asian countries in March and embarking on a trip to Africa in late December. He considered it important to be personally acquainted if at all possible with the leaders of nations who might have reason to turn to the UN for assistance. Such a request came in 1959 from Laos. This country found it difficult to achieve unity since its southern lowlands were oriented toward Thailand and the West and its northern highlands had ties with the pro-Communist North Vietnamese. When the right-wing Laotian government sought help from the UN to counter what was claimed to be Communist guerrilla activity, DH exerted all his efforts to prevent this crisis from becoming another skirmish in the cold war. While a UN subcommittee was sent to Laos despite Soviet objections to investigate the situation, DH placed more emphasis upon stationing a personal representative in Vientiane, the Laotian capital. A coup d'état at the end of the year and the emergence of a military regime in Laos diminished the possibility of a successful resolution of the tensions in Laos through the agency of the UN, though negotiations continued through 1960.

DH wrote only five prose waymarks in 1959, but there are one hundred eleven waymarks written in the poetic "haiku" form. Titles for sections of these haiku identify them with his early years in Uppsala, summers in Sweden, and the site of his country house at Brewster, New York, in the Hudson river valley. A group of haiku (59:63-70) recall also his trips to Asia and Africa. At Eastertide he was at Katmandu, Nepal, and he spent Christmas in Guinea, West Africa.

1. 590208 "But lo, thou requirest truth in the inward parts.
and shall make me understand wisdom secretly..

In "faith" -- a constant, living contact with everything.
"Before God" the soul is therefore in reality.

The first entry for 1959 has the date of the Sunday before Lent (Shrove Sunday, cf. 58:2). DH quotes from a penitential psalm, a prayer for healing and moral renewal (Ps. 51:6). There is parallelism in the two strophes of the verse, both stressing the importance of a person's inner life. In the NRSV the verse reads: "You desire truth in the inward being; therefore teach me wisdom in my secret heart." DH has repeatedly stressed the decisive significance of the inner encounter with God. There is parallelism also in DH's comment. Faith and being "before" God are equivalent (cf. 55:7 and 56:1). DH now wants to stress

224 | that one is at the same time thereby in contact with all things. To be before God and in God is to be in reality. This is the truth and the wisdom that is required, but also given in faith. "Reality" is a term DH often uses. Cf. 55:31, 55:65, 56:21, 56:63, 58:8, 59:101, 59:106.

2. -- conscious of the reality of evil, the tragedy of the life of the individual, and the demand for "dignity" in the shaping of one's life.

The dashes that introduce this waymark suggest that it is a continuation of the reflection in the previous waymark. Before God the soul is in reality, but conscious also of the reality of evil and of the tragedy that does befall many individuals. Nonetheless life is to be ordered with dignity. By dignity here is meant elevation of character, intrinsic worth, excellence, not simply the appearance of these virtues. Cf. 55:14.

3. 590209 That which distinguishes "the elite" from the masses is only an insistence on "quality".
And this with a sense of responsibility to all for all and to the past for the future, which reflects a humble and spontaneous integration in life -- in its infinite vistas and its never recurring present.

The reference to "dignity" in the previous waymark leads to reflection the following day on what it means to belong to those who are socially superior. It means to insist on quality and to do so with a sense of responsibility. There must be responsibility to and for the total human population, with concern for both the values of the past and the hopes of the future. Those who are in this sense "the elite" are at the same time conservatives and futurists. They are aware of infinite vistas and of the need for making the most of the present moment. The ordering of life they achieve is not labored, but it is marked by humility.

4. 590729 Humility is just as much the opposite of self-abasement as it is of self-exaltation.
Humility is not to make comparisons.
Resting in its reality the self is neither better nor worse, neither larger nor smaller, than something or someone else. It is -- nothing, but simultaneously one with everything. In this sense humility is total self-effacement.

To be nothing in humility's self-effacement, and yet, by virtue of the task, embody all its weight and authority, is the deportment of the one who is called. Before people, works, poetry, and art, to give what the self is able to contribute, and to receive, simply and freely, what is its due by virtue of its inner identity. Praise and blame, the winds of success and adversity, blow over this life leaving no trace and without disturbing its balance.
To this may the Lord help me --

Months have passed and the next entry is written on DH's 54th birthday. He picks up the reference to "a humble and spontaneous integration of life" in the previous waymark and reflects on the meaning of humility. Humility is a virtue that he seeks to exemplify, but its meaning is easily misunderstood. The key to its understanding is to recognize that humility does not call for making comparisons with anyone or anything else. In early waymarks (25-30:8,9,12) DH has insisted that each person is to be himself/herself and should be judged in terms of his/her abilities and potentialities. This self-realization is also paradoxically total self-effacement. The self resting in its reality and thus also in living contact with all reality (59:1) is by itself nothing. It exists only in its unity with everything. Humility is the willingness to accept the combination of being nothing and yet one with all things. This self-effacement does not, however, call for self-abasement in relation to others. The weight and authority of the task to which one has been called must be embodied. Similarly one gives and receives culturally as one is able to do so, simply and freely, expressing one's own inner identity. The one who lives in this way is indifferent to praise or blame, success or adversity. For other references to humility, see 53:13; 53:22, 54:2.

5. 590804 Simplicity is to experience reality not in relation to ourselves but in its holy independence. Simplicity is to see, judge, and act from that point in which we rest in ourselves. How much does not then fall away. And how does not everything else fall into place!
Resting in our being's center we encounter a world where everything in the same way rests in itself. Thereby the tree becomes a mystery, the cloud a revelation, the human being a cosmos, the riches of which we grasp only in glimpses. For the simple one, life is simple, but opens a book in which we never get beyond the first syllable.

226 | About a week later in another dated waymark DH reflects on the meaning of simplicity, a term which for him has positive implications (cf. 25-30:l, 53:20, 58:6). He has just written of the self giving and receiving “simply and freely, what is its due by virtue of its inner identity” (59:4). Simplicity has to do with how “reality” is experienced. In the previous waymarks “reality” has had a number of meanings, the reality which is God (59:1), the reality of evil (59:2), the reality of the self (59:4). In this waymark it is the reality of the natural and human world that is experienced. Humility has to do with how one views oneself, simplicity with how one views other persons and things. One is not preoccupied with their relation to oneself but grants them their “holy independence.” It is from this perspective that one sees, judges, and acts. This implies that one rests also in one’s own being’s center. Aulén commenting on this waymark points out that this does not mean self-centeredness but its exact opposite (Aulén, E 68; Sw 105). DH goes on to point out what this means for our understanding of nature and other human beings. We begin to recognize a richness of being, a richness that we are never able to exhaust.

The first five waymarks for 1959, though written in February, July, and August, are a connected chain knit together by the key-words reality, dignity, quality, humility, and simplicity. Together they form an extended meditation on the implications of faith, which is the life before and in God, for culture. In the poems that follow DH will share glimpses of the riches he has experienced.

6. 590804 Seventeen syllables
Opened the door
To memory, its meaning.

This waymark has the same date as the previous waymark. Here also a key-word relates these two waymarks. DH has said that in the book of life “we never get beyond the first syllable.” He now introduces a series of poems, all of which are written in seventeen syllables. This is a Japanese poetic form called “haiku” consisting of three lines, the first and third having five syllables and the second line having seven, a form of poetry especially practiced by Japanese Zen Buddhists. As UN Secretary-General DH traveled widely in Asia and he became increasingly interested in the thought and art forms of the East (cf. 56:30, 56:32, 57:l, 57:37, 57:41). He never had occasion, however, to visit Japan. Among his books was *An Introduction to Haiku, An Anthology of Poems and Poets from Basho to Shiki*, by Harold G. Henderson (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1958). DH has in the following poems followed the rule of writing three lines limited to seventeen syllables. He has not, however, sought to

227 | follow the five-seven-five rule for the number of syllables in each of the lines. A characteristic of the haiku poetic form is the inclusion of some word or expression that indicates the time of year (Henderson, 5). DH has observed this rule in many of the following haiku.

✦ From Uppsala

7. 590807 Red March evenings..
Death notices. Begin anew --.
What has ended?

The first group of haiku recall Uppsala, the city of DH's youth. Related to these poems is the last article DH wrote during the summer of 1961, "Slottsbacken" (Castle Hill, Svenska turistföreningens årsskrift 196. [Stockholm: Svenska turistföreningens förlag, 1962], 9-16) in which he describes the changing scene through the months of a year in Uppsala.

In the summer of 1959 DH had some days of vacation, first in Sweden and then at his country home at Brewster, New York. The date, Friday, August 7, the beginning of a weekend, very likely indicates when he began to write these poems. This haiku speaks of the end of days and the end of lives. There is also a summons to a new beginning as well as a query as to what ending that summons implies.

8. Plain night.
Deserted hall.
The woman in the window niche
Awaits dawn.

There is an area adjoining Uppsala known as the Uppsala plain, to which there are references also in 59:13, 59:15, and 59:16. The Uppsala Castle, built in the sixteenth century in Swedish Gothic style by the Vasas, in which DH lived with his parents while in Uppsala (see the introduction to 1925-1930) is situated so that on one side of the castle one can look out over the city of Uppsala, whereas on the other side one looks out on the Uppsala plain. In "Slottsbacken" DH states that Queen Kristina had an apartment in the castle and mentions the castle's high window niches. He wonders what the queen thought of "in the large, empty halls when the plain lay in darkness and rain beat against the windows. A charwoman cleaning offices in the building tells of one night with some surprise encountering her ("Slottsbacken," 11-12).

Whitebeam flowers.
The lilacs conversing
After bedtime.

The cockchafer is a large European scarab-like beetle (*Melolontha melontha*) destructive to vegetation. The whitebeam is an European ornamental tree (*Sorbus aria* or *Pyrus aria*) having leaves with white hairy undersurfaces, flat-topped clusters of white flowers, and red fruits. In "Slottsbacken" (9) DH writes, "Around the whitebeams on the Green Mound swarm the cockchafers." DH's interest in the various branches of biology is evident in several of the haiku. In 57:51 it was noted that he chose as the topic for his presidential address at the annual meeting of the Swedish Academy "The Linnaeus Tradition and Our Time."

10. The trees sway.
Silence.
A drop furrows hesitantly
The pane's darkness.

There is rhythmic movement in the trees but not enough wind to break the silence. As one looks through the window into the darkness one sees a drop of water slowly descending.

11. The lamp's light cone in the haze.
Winter moth's play
Around the shiny post.

Winter moths are any of several geometrid moths (as *Operaphtera brumata* or *Erannis tiliaria*) in which the females are often wingless. They are extremely destructive to vegetation. See "Slottsbacken," 12.

12. Gray snowbanks. Warm horse dung.
Farmyards rouse themselves
Surly in the morning.

Farmers begin to clean the barn somewhat glumly on an early winter morning.

13. 590809 The plain's horizon
And the perpendicular wall
Cross like fate lines.

229 | The date is a Sunday, two days later than that indicated for 59:7. The next dated haiku is 59:81 and the date about a month later. In this haiku a wall standing out against the Uppsala plain's horizon suggests the practice of telling fortunes by reading the lines of the palm, known as palmistry or chiromancy. The main lines are: the life line, which encircles the base of the thumb; the head line and the heart line (nearest the base of the fingers) which lie across the palm; and the fate line from the wrist to the second finger, which crosses the other lines. Since fortunes are read from these lines, all of them may be called fate lines.

14. Swollen streams 'neath Easter skies.
Evening.
On the table sweet violets.

No blossom figures more prominently in European literature than the English, March, or Sweet Violet (*Viola odorata*). Spring is strongly indicated.

15. This stone age night
The church spire on the plain
Erect like a phallus.

In stone age fertility cults, monuments were set up as phallic symbols. Ironically, church spires on the rural plain can suggest this bygone practice.

16. The sky opened in the East.
Blue sacrificial smokes
Rising on the plain.

The recurring reference to the plain suggests the same theme as in the previous haiku. Smoke rises from farm homes like smoke from ancient morning sacrifices.

17. Boy in the forest.
Throwing off his Sunday outfit
He plays naked.

A young boy in the forest on a warm summer day returns to nature.

18. The fountain plays.
Among white peonies
The digger wasp is hunting.

230 | The digger wasp (any of numerous wasps of the family Sphecidae) excavates a nest in soil or wood, which it provides with prey paralyzed by stinging.

19. Black falling stars.
The swallows' shrill cries
As meeting they mate in midair.

Swallows eat insect food, drink from water surfaces, and mate while on the wing. Their feet are small and weak from disuse.

20. In the naked poplar
This tune whose melody
Burst forth in the air.

Birdsong heralds spring before leaves have begun to appear.

21. The Easter lily's dew-drenched calyx.
The drop pauses
Twixt earth and sky.

The calyx is the outermost whorl of the typical flower formed by the sepals, which are usually green. The calyx of the Easter lily suggests the chalice Jesus used according to the Latin Vulgate version's accounts of the Last Supper. The drop about to fall from this calyx can be viewed as a sacrament in nature. Cf. 51:57.

22. New leaves at sunset,
After May rain.
A tergiversant fall to sin.

A Swedish spring can suggest the Garden of Eden, but one can incur guilt if enjoyment of spring leads to evasion of duties. Cf. 56:27.

23. Catchfly, brier --.
The hedgehog walked his beat
Around the sleeping castle.

The flytrap and the greenbrier are both carrion flowers. The hedgehog is also insectivorous. In "Slottsbacken" (9) DH states that the hedgehogs active during the night are also lovesick.

- 231 | 24. The stone quarry's dead pools.
In scrubby heather
The peacock moth flutters.

The peacock moth, also known as the emperor moth, is of the family Saturniidae. Despite its beauty it is found in drab surroundings.

25. In the castle's shadow
The flowers' petals closed
Long before evening.

The Uppsala Castle is so massive that evening comes somewhat earlier on its east side.

26. The castle windows saw them.
In gray blowing snow
Charles the Twelfth was filmed.

Charles XII (1682-1718) was king of Sweden 1697-1718. He invaded Russia, was disastrously defeated and had to spend five years in exile in Turkey. He was killed while besieging a fortress in Norway. His imperial plans were the ruin of his country. DH refers to the manner of his coronation in 51:15.

27. Smell of bread. Plain language.
The light faded
In the snow's whirling ashes.

As in the previous haiku there is blowing snow. Here it provides the context for everyday conversation near a bakery on a late winter afternoon.

28. More than years separate them
That evening stroll
On the empty street.

In a letter to a friend DH stated that he had experienced perpetual conflict with his dominating father whom he felt was deeply unlike himself and whose pressure he resented (Van Dusen, 15). This haiku may recall difficulties they had understanding each other. Forty-three years separated them. For other references to DH's father, see 50:39, 51:7, 58:13, 59:35.

- 232 | 29. During the New Year's night
The shadows of black elms
Protected the graves.

DH's parents lie buried in the Uppsala cemetery, where DH is also buried in the family plot. Note the series of New Year's waymarks (50:1, 51:1, 52:1, 53:1, 54:1, 57:1) in which the words "Soon night approaches" from the hymn DH's mother used to read on New Year's Day are cited.

30. Ten years maturing.
Ten years of waiting.
Soon: twenty years in the earth.

DH could be recalling visiting the grave of his brother, Åke, whose career as general secretary of the Permanent Court of International Justice at The Hague was cut short by his early death in 1937.

31. Arzareth's morning light
Long spring evenings
Which sought for their own meaning.

Arzareth (a Hebrew name that means "another land") is mentioned in the explanation in 2 Esdras 13:45 of the vision of the coming of the Messiah ("Through that region there was a long way to go, a journey of a year and a half; and that country is called Arzareth" RSV). It is said that the ten northern tribes were wondrously brought to this country, from whence they will return in the last times. In Deut. 29:28 ("The LORD uprooted them from their land in anger, fury, and great wrath, and cast them into another land, as is now the case"), which passage purports to be from a sermon by Moses foretelling the future but which was quite likely written during the period of the exile, those being brought into "another land" are being punished. DH, however, is thinking of the hope the 2 Esdras reference suggests.

32. He lowered his eyes
So as not to see the body
And desire it.

DH recalls how on one occasion he coped with sexual desire. Cf. 50:21, 51:50, 59:100.

- 233 | 33. My home sent me out
To deserted spaces.
Few seek me. Few hear me.

This and several of the following haiku express loneliness that DH may have begun to feel at an early age. He is neither sought, nor, insofar as he calls, heard. For other references to loneliness, see 25-30:13, 50:4, 51:32, 52:16, 52:18, 52:19, 52:24, 55:46, 58:9.

34. Denied the sought one,
He longed himself to deserve
To be the one sought.

An early unsuccessful attempt at friendship leads DH to strive to be the one whom others court. Cf. 50:20, 59:40.

35. The box on the ear taught the boy
His father's name
Was hateful to them.

From 1914-1917 during World War I, DH's father, Hjalmar Hammarskjöld, was prime minister of Sweden. His administration was unpopular and he found it necessary to resign, returning to his position in Uppsala as governor of the province of Uppland. During the period the Hammarskjöld family lived in Stockholm, DH must have experienced some of the public antipathy against his father.

36. He fell in the somersault.
All could laugh
At one who was so timid.

It is recalled that DH was proficient in gymnastics (Van Dusen, 24). He may have observed another boy being ridiculed for failing to execute a somersault due to an all too timid approach. Cf. 55:47, 59:91.

37. His moral lecture
Fumed with hate.
What could have driven a child that far?

234 | A child expresses extreme moral indignation. DH suggests that the aversion expressed was not wholly righteous and wonders how a child could be driven to hate to this extent.

38. They laid the blame on him.
He did not feel to blame
But he confessed it.

Just as a child can be driven to condemn unduly, he can also be driven to confess an offense that was not his own.

39. He was not wanted.
When he nonetheless came
He could but watch them play.

This and the following haiku could be a remembrance of DH's loneliness as a child. Cf. 59:34.

40. School was over. The yard empty.
Those he was seeking
Had found new friends.

A child being educated privately comes to the public schoolyard, but those with whom he had hoped to play have found other friends.

41. *Caprifolium*.
In the gray twilight
He awakened to his sex.

Due to the abiding influence of Linnaeus, botany is an important subject in Swedish secondary education (cf. 59:9). The *caprifolium* is a plant of the family *Caprifoliaceae* (as the honeysuckle or the woodbine). DH may have learned about his own sexuality from studying this flower or he may recall an incident he associated with this flower.

42. By the lilac hedge
Free from "duties"
She found again the land of youth.

235 | The reference could be to DH's mother, to whom DH was deeply devoted. She was nearly forty when he was born. He may have felt as a child that she was much occupied with "duties," but if so he may be recalling how on one occasion by the lilac hedge she joined him in the land of youth. For other references to DH's mother, see 56:2, 57:5, 59:44.

43. Winter twilight darkens
Beyond the window pane.
The caged bird's breast bleeds.

There are only a few hours of winter daylight in Sweden. The stress of long period of darkness and being caged could lead a bird to self-destructive behavior.

44. The parcels fell in slush
But she smiled away fear
After the mishap.

One can imagine DH dropping into slush parcels he was carrying for his mother and being deeply grateful for the smile with which she removed his dismay. Cf. 59:42.

45. Spring-clear morning light
Wakened the butterfly cotillions
To new life.

Butterflies emerge from their cocoons to new life in the spring and their graceful flight is likened to an elaborate formal dance.

46. You will never return.
Another man
Will find another city.

DH is aware that he cannot go home again to Uppsala, nor will he be the same person that he once was as his life destiny leads him even to new shores.

47. Crowberry tickles the neck.
Above the azure depths
Floats a buzzard.

The haiku 47-62 are entitled "Summer." DH is recalling his memories of summers in Sweden. He was an active member of the Swedish Tourist Association and had a keen appreciation of Sweden's natural beauty. The crowberry (*Empetrum nigrum*) is a small low growing shrub of arctic and alpine regions. DH is lying looking up into the sky and sees a floating buzzard, from whose vantage point what lies below must be like a deep azure sea.

48. Gray lichens.
Red berries.
Strokes upon the shore's harpstring.
Hush -- the loon sleeps.

The setting is a lakeshore on which waves are beating as though a harpstring were being plucked. There is lichen on the rocks and the red berries may be lingonberries. The loon, skillful in diving for fish, is resting.

49. He found a new ranunculus.
Saw no more than we,
But went further.

Ranunculus is a large and widely distributed genus of herbs, including buttercups, which have mostly yellow flowers with five petals and five sepals. The new ranunculus was found not because the finder was more observant, but because he made a greater effort and went further.

50. Fragrance of linden trees.
Dusk.
We dreamed about finding
The death's-head moth.

Linden trees have fragrant blossoms. The death's-head moth is a very large European hawkmoth (*Acherontia atropis*) with markings resembling a human skull on the back of the thorax.

- 237 | 51. The humus under the alder trees
Hid from us
The orchid's secrets.

The alder (*Alnus*) is a tree of the birch family that grows in the wet soils of Europe. By the orchid's secrets may be meant the symbiotic relationship between a mycorrhiza fungus and the roots of the orchid, enabling it to grow.

52. In an oak copse a stone slab
For offering men
To appease the sea wind.

While there is evidence that there was human sacrifice in ancient Sweden, few details are known about this practice. A large flat stone near the sea could have been used for such a purpose. The god of the sea, according to the Edda, was Njörd. DH frequently refers to sacrifice. Cf. 55:29 and 61:6.

53. West cuckoo, the best cuckoo.
Her husband was dead
And the two cows sold.

A Swedish rhyme derives omens from the call of the cuckoo, depending on the direction from which the cuckoo is heard. In Swedish, as in English, "west" and "best" rhyme. The complete rhyme from which the first line of this haiku is cited is: "North cuckoo, good cuckoo; south cuckoo, death cuckoo; east cuckoo, consoling cuckoo; west cuckoo, best cuckoo." The farmer's widow has experienced some of what the earlier portions of the rhyme refer to as well.

54. The northern warbler's first trill
Over the pale ice fields
Thaws the heavens.

European warblers of the family *Sylviidae* are noted songsters, in contrast to the cuckoo. When this migratory bird is first heard in the spring in Lapland, the heavens begin to be freed from the icy grasp of winter.

55. White glacier crowsfoot,
Alone among the rocks.
Frost where the shadow falls.

238 | The white glacier crowfoot also belongs to the genus *Ranunculus* (cf. 59:49). It blooms in the mountains of Lapland before the frost is wholly gone.

56. The window's glow faded away,
The gate closed:
Lark song, wings' quivering --

The window's glow may have been due to either the rising or the setting sun. Since the lark sings as it flies, quivering wings can be associated with its song.

57. Orient of pilgrimage years
By the dark river
Under the lindens.

DH alludes to a collection of poems by Verner von Heidenstam (1859-1940, cf. 45-49:2) entitled *Vallfart och vandrings år* (Years of Pilgrimage and Wandering, 1888; *Samlade verk*, vol. 1, [Stockholm: Bonniers, 1943]), the first section of which was entitled "Memories and Myths from the Orient." Heidenstam received the Nobel Prize for Literature in 1916.

58. Clattering steps on the wharf.
Glitter. Gull cries.
A new day born guiltless.

Another waymark about gulls is 45-49:11. In that waymark DH walking along a Stockholm quay views a gull as a shameless, well-fed bird of carrion, but also recalls gulls in another context, their shrill cries, his awakening to a new day. This haiku expresses this latter recollection.

59. Midge dance.
Blast furnace smoke.
Viper asleep
Near the wild strawberry patch.

There are in Sweden ironworks in the countryside, using charcoal for the smelting of iron. This is why midges, vipers (*Vipera berus*), and wild strawberries can coexist with a blast furnace (cf. 59:61).

60. Thunder muted rooms.
The river's roar round the isle
Where he sought tansies.

239 | Ironworks were often located near rivers in the forest regions of middle Sweden. The tansy (*Tanacetum vulgare*) has small, round, yellow flowers, a strong aromatic odor, and its leaves have a very bitter taste. Tansy tea was thought to cure all ills. The herb's Latin name is derived from the Greek word *athanasia*, meaning immortality.

61. When lightning struck
Ironmasters stepped down
From their portraits' shadowed land.

In the manor house of a rural ironworks portraits of several generations of ironmasters are hung. For a moment lightning makes these portraits fully visible.

62. Steep Swedish hills.
Before the coachman
Tugged the horse cruppers sweaty.

DH recalls riding in a carriage up steep hills that made the horses become sweaty. It appeared as though the hindquarters were doing all the work.

✦ Far away

63. Like glittering sunbeams
The flute notes reach the gods
In the birth grotto.

The haiku 63-70 are entitled "Far Away." On a trip to Katmandu, Nepal, in March, 1959, DH visited the birth site of Gautama Siddhartha, known as the Buddha, which is in Kapilavastu in NE India on the frontier between Nepal and Sikkim.

64. Himalaya's icy cliffs
Beyond the hills
In Easter's Vézelay.

While in Katmandu DH was able to arrange a flight into the Himalayas to view and photograph Mt. Everest and other surrounding peaks. He wrote a report of his visit to Katmandu and this flight in "A New Look at Everest," *The National Geographic*, 119 (January 1961), 86-93. The evening before making this flight he visited the Buddhist shrine of Swayambhunath outside the city of Katmandu.

240 | Since the mountains are holy to the people of Nepal as the abode of the gods, DH felt it appropriate that they be approached in the spirit prompted by the visit to the shrine. He writes of that visit. "The air had the freshness of a spring night at Easter time in Burgundy. The association may seem farfetched, but the hills around led my thoughts to the land about Vézelay, where a shrine rises in the same way as a goal of pilgrimage" (89). Vézelay, about 140 miles southeast of Paris in the former duchy of Burgundy, is a village built around the historic basilica of St. Mary Magdalene, where what are said to be relics of this saint are preserved. From the time that the basilica was dedicated in the beginning of the 12th century it became an important pilgrimage center, though the influx of pilgrims has dwindled in recent years. Large numbers of people come, however, for July 22, the feast day of St. Mary Magdalene. DH had visited Vézelay when in 1948 he worked in Paris for the Organization for European Economic Cooperation. Apropos the reference to Easter, it should be noted that in 1959 the date of Easter was March 29.

65. Monkeys.
The moon woke them --
Round the earth's navel
Turned the ladder's prayer wheels.

When DH and those guiding him visited at night the shrine of Swayambhunath, monkeys were awakened and chattering gathered around them. DH states that two Tibetan monks in high boots walked around the stupa, turning the prayer wheels as they passed. Buddhist stupas are cone shaped mounds of varying sizes, sometimes having an earthen core, sometimes containing a temple or a chamber for sacred relics within its mass. They are decorated with images of the Buddha. Some stupas are burial sites, containing the ashes of religious leaders. Others commemorate places where the Buddha supposedly halted in his journeys. The stupa shape suggests to DH the myth of the earth's navel. The idea that certain holy places are the navel (center) of the earth is widespread. Jerusalem is so regarded in Ezekiel 5:5 and 38:12.

66. Rest place.
Charcoal fires are lit --
Submerged in the mirror pool
Vishnu rests.

Another evening while in Katmandu, DH visited a site called the Twenty-two Fountains. Cold waters of a mountain stream burst forth through many openings from a long stone ramp. A small square pond built of stone lies beside

241 | the ramp. Resting in the pond lies a statue of the sleeping Vishnu, submerged so that only the upper parts of the body break the surface of the water. The charcoal fires, to which DH refers, were at a nearby rest site where pilgrims on their way to the Swayambhunath shrine were preparing food. DH felt that the sleeping Hindu god and the Buddhist monks at the Swayambhunath shrine “crystallized two of the great spiritual currents that have grown out of the meeting between man and the mountains” (“A New Look at Everest,” 92).

67. With trumpet fanfare
The Christmas night mass's sacrifice
Was announced.

On a five-week tour of Africa beginning December 22, 1959, DH spent Christmas in Guinea. The haikus 67-70 reflect on this experience. In this haiku he may be suggesting that a triumphalist interpretation of Jesus' death is somewhat inappropriate. Cf. 57:44 and 60:3.

68. Sounds of soughing palms and beating waves
Joined the hymns
from the land of snow.

Guinea is near the equator and even the Holy Land enjoys a Mediterranean climate. Many Christmas hymns, however, were written in northern lands and presuppose snow and ice in the bleak midwinter.

69. The bodies' orgasms
In the warm summer night's
Flickering thunderbolts.

In 58:10 DH also relates sexual orgasm to the discharge of lightning and accompanying thunder. Here it would appear that it was lightning that made this behavior visible.

70. With the thrill of desire
The sun drenched body sank
In the swell's saltiness.

There is the suggestion of sublimation in this haiku. Enjoying the sun and the freshness of the ocean was sensual gratification that DH could fully experience. Cf. 51:50, 55:60.

71. Moonlight on this path
 A warm autumn evening --.
 Far away a heart stops.

DH had a country home near Brewster, New York, in the Hudson Valley (see Beskow, 108-116). Some or all of the following haikus may have been written there. In this haiku, life at Brewster, pleasant on a warm moonlit autumn evening, is contrasted with death far away. DH could have been thinking of Laos or the Middle East.

72. A balcony in the forest:
 A thousand bow-strokes,
 Short light signals.

In this haiku DH may be contrasting his weekend home, where someone could have played a violin, with scenes from a novel by Julien Gracq, *Un balcon en forêt* (1958, *Balcony in the Forest* [New York: George Braziller, 1959]). The setting of the novel is the beginning of World War II. A French lieutenant has been assigned to command an isolated blockhouse overlooking a road in the middle of the forest near the Belgian border and the Meuse River. There is no action during the winter, but during a night in late spring light signals are finally seen heralding the long anticipated attack.

73. April snow.
 The cardinal sought refuge
 In the white forsythia.

This haiku is a study in red and white. There is the unexpected late white April snow from which the cardinal seeks refuge in the white forsythia. Forsythia is an ornamental shrub named after the British botanist, William Forsyth (d. 1804). Its flowers, which are usually yellow, appear before the leaves in early spring.

74. The car ripped open the belly,
 But it was silent
 When borne aside.

243 | One of DH's Swedish friends recalls that he and DH witnessed this accident while walking near DH's country home in Brewster (Van Dusen, 164).

75. The trees rustle in the wind.
Sails out on foggy seas
Beyond earshot.

On land the rustling trees can be both seen and heard, while on sea fog hides the sails from sight and they are too distant for any sound to be heard.

76. She came out of the birdhouse
At my whistle.
But turned disappointed.

DH could apparently achieve an effective birdcall, but the bird having seen who was calling turned away.

77. Your body, your mind --
Only entrusted goods
For a baton bearer.

DH does not identify himself with either his body or his mind. He is a baton bearer running a lap in a relay race and his body and mind have been entrusted to him so that he might run his part of the race most effectively. Cf. 61:7.

78. When he saw them all flee
The skunk concluded
He was king of the beasts.

One can be left alone, not only due to fear and respect but also by reason of disgust and aversion. One should be able to tell the difference between these two kinds of reactions in others.

79. On the parlor table
The book became dusty
And the text was lost.

A book can be honored by being given a favored place, but if the dust on the book indicates it is never read, the message it contains is effectively lost.

244 | 80. When the gods play
They seek a string
That has not been touched by human hands.

This is another way of expressing the total demand of religious commitment. DH speaks of “gods” playing on a human instrument. Whatever the religion, the claims made are exclusive and absolute.

81. 59091 May I be offered
To what fled not the offering
In the offered one.

September 13 was a Sunday. During the previous week DH had been involved in what were to him frustrating maneuvers in the Security Council between a Western majority and the Soviet Union over the situation in Laos (Urquhart, 1973, 340-346). DH writes about Jesus and prays that he might be offered to the same commitment that in Jesus led him to be willing to go the way of the cross. Hjalmar Sundén suggests that this haiku completes the final “May I --” of 54:13 (Sundén, 69-70). To follow Jesus is to share Jesus’ willingness to be sacrificed. Cf. 50:46, 54:5, 55:23.

82. God took human form
In the offered one
When he chose to be offered.

This is a statement about the incarnation. DH is saying that the decisive moment in which the divine took human form was when Jesus chose to be sacrificed, so that the will of God could be done. It follows that the incarnation continues as the will of God is done through human lives, and especially so when there is repetition of Jesus’ choice to go the way of sacrifice. Cf. 45-49:13, 51:29.

83. Denied any outlet
Heat metamorphosed
The coal into diamonds.

Diamonds are formed as under extreme heat carbon crystallizes to form the hardest substance known. DH is suggesting that the heat and pressure of circumstance can have a comparable effect on a human life.

245 | 84. Beauty. Goodness.
In the wonder's here and now
Suddenly became real.

DH does not want to base faith upon wonders (56:63), but he does not deny that wonders occur. His very existence can be regarded as a wonder (55:38). The awareness to which this haiku refers may be similar to the one described in 55:54.

85. Since he knew not the question
He found it easy
To give the answer.

The questions DH wrestled with were. Does life have a meaning? (56:21) How do you make use of the opportunities you receive? (57:38) Do you create. Do you destroy. (59:86) Those not clearly understanding the questions life asks (57:46) might think them easy to answer.

86. Do you create? Do you destroy?
These are the questions
For your ordeal.

The word used for "ordeal" (järnbörd) means holding a piece of glowing iron in order to establish one's innocence. DH was constantly examining himself (e.g., 50:33, 55:8, 55:27). Aware that the alternatives were to create or destroy (55:40), he recognized destructive urges in himself (55:28, 56:26, 57:6). At the same time he had a strong sense of how through faith one could become linked with and expressive of the creating will active in the world (41-42:25, 56:63, 58:7-9).

87. The cicadas shrieked,
The air glowed a fiery red
Their last evening.

The cicadas (Cicadidae) are insects the larger portion of whose life span is spent in the nymph stage. Adult males have drums on the sides of the abdomen, with which sounds thought to be sexual calls can be made and heard for long distances. They appear at harvest time and the fiery air may refer to the heat as well as the rays of the setting sun.

- 246 | 88. Nebulae of starlings
Whirling by
In the cold regions of space.

DH makes frequent references to birds (cf. 51:33, 51:44, 51:57, 59:19, 59:54, 59:56, 59:58). The starling (*Sturnus vulgaris*) is a gregarious European bird introduced into the United States in 1890 and now very common in some parts of the East. It gathers in enormous flocks in the autumn and such a flock on the wing is a memorable sight, the simultaneous turns of the birds in the air being very remarkable.

89. Trees, waters, the moon's crescent --
All this night
In trembling osmosis.

Osmosis here refers to a process of interaction, probably the reflection of trees and moon on the rippled surface of the water, this accounting for the trembling.

90. To live so as to suit others?
It is with yourself
That you must live.

DH may in this haiku be referring to David Riesman's description of the "other-directed person" in his book *The Lonely Crowd* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1952), which book was in DH's library. DH repeatedly emphasizes that he must live for others (50:42, 50:52, 53:3, 55:39, 58:9), but it does not follow that he must therefore constantly be seeking the approval of others (cf. 55:30, 56:39).

91. He fell from the ledge
When he tried to crawl,
Too afraid to walk erect.

To proceed with too great caution can in some situations be more dangerous than to master one's fears and to proceed in a more usual fashion. Cf. 55:47, 59:36.

92. The grass was rain drenched.
His bare feet sought the source of their growth
In the soil.

247 | This haiku recalls 52:9. Walking barefoot on the wet grass, DH is made keenly conscious of the fact that he, together with other plants and animals, has grown out of the soil.

93. Alone in his hidden growth
He found fellowship
With all growing things.

Though DH affirms the distinctiveness of what creating evolution has reached in the human being (58:8), in this waymark he affirms his kinship with all living creatures. The growth that has to do with evaluation and choice is, however, a hidden growth, as compared with more readily recognizable physical development.

94. When he interprets
What he'd rather forget
He speaks to the future. (Paul La Cour)

Paul La Cour (1902-1956) was a Danish poet. Five of his books were in DH's library. One of them, *Fragmenter af en Dagbok* (1948, *Fragments of a Journal* [København: Gyldendal, 1951]), in which he discusses poetry, but also offers a personal testimony on how to live in the modern world, became an inspiration to many Danish writers. La Cour was concerned about the crisis in Europe dating back to World War I. It is his interpretation of these painful memories that is of value for the future.

95. Our oneness, creating
Beyond the body's bounds,
With it as input. (T. E. Lawrence)

DH felt a kinship with T. E. Lawrence (1888-1953), also known as Lawrence of Arabia. Lawrence's book, *Seven Pillars of Wisdom* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1935) was in his library. Both Lawrence and DH had manifested a remarkable bodily stamina, Lawrence in order to achieve an Arab unity that transcended tribal divisions, DH in order to achieve a world order transcending national divisions.

96. On the Barbary coast
This barren outpost
for the Queen of Heaven.

248 | The Barbary coast is the coast of the Mediterranean from Egypt to the Atlantic ocean. Though North Africa is largely Muslim, some Christian churches are to be found, the one to which DH refers dedicated to Mary, Mother of our Lord.

97. 591025 The books having been balanced,
Nothing binds me.
All awaits me, prepared.

October 25 was a Sunday. DH has earlier spoken of balancing the books as a “person repays his debt through concentrating in the existential moment all the energy which has been life’s obligating gift to him” (50:53). He has found it more difficult not to be bound to the world that formed him (57:39), or to the name and reputation he was seeking to achieve (56:53, 56:67). As he writes this haiku, however, he does feel free, prepared, and open to all that may come.

98. Wherever we may hide ourselves:
These salt sprays
From the sun-lit breakers.

This and the following haiku tell of experiences while sailing. DH had much appreciated an earlier sailing expedition with members of his UN staff (54:4).

99. Still far from the shore
The ocean’s freshness frolicked
In shiny bronze leaves.

The imagery DH uses to describe the ocean’s freshness is drawn from the forest with which he was more familiar. Cf. 61:10.

100. Because it did not find a mate,
They called the unicorn
A pervert.

Rumors that DH was homosexual have made it necessary for his biographers to discuss this question (see Emery Kelen, Hammarskjöld [New York: G. P. Putnam’s, 1966], 153-165; Van Dusen, 83-84, 221-222). Their investigations indicate that these rumors were groundless. The following explicit references to sexual desire in Waymarks are heterosexual (50:21, 51:50, 58:10). DH felt that

249 | he could only be celibate (52:17), though he did not find this an easy course to follow (55:60, 56:41, 59:32). He was especially aware of the loneliness such a way of living entailed (52:18, 52:24, 55:46). This haiku is a protest against the way in which his celibacy was interpreted.

101. 591106 Stripped of the self's secure splendor,
He finds, naked,
His reality. (O'Neill: Billy Brown)

November 1 was also a Sunday. DH was interested in the dramas of Eugene O'Neill (1888-1953). After O'Neill's death, he, together with Karl Ragnar Gierow, arranged for the premier production of the unpublished play, *Long Day's Journey into Night*, by the Royal Dramatic Theater in Stockholm (Urquhart, 1973, 41-42). Billy Brown is the lead character in the play, *The Great God Brown* (Eugene O'Neill, *Nine Plays*, New York: The Modern Library, n.d.). A feature of the play is that the characters wear masks. In the final scene Billy Brown, stripped of his clothes and having laid aside his mask, finally discovers who he is. Cf. 51:16, 54:15, 57:16.

102. He offered his life
For the welfare of others,
But wished them
evil.

DH is aware of the ambiguity of motives, that a life could be offered in sublime egocentricity (51:30). Here he suggests that if a sacrificial act represents simply external obedience, it may be coupled with an evil wish directed at the act's beneficiaries.

103. What the satyr
In the mirror ridiculed
He purchased with his life.

Satyr, according to Greek mythology, were hairy little men, with short tails and pointed goat-like ears, who lived in forests and mountains, were fond of wine and revelry, and followed Dionysus, the Olympian god of the power of nature shown in the vine. There could be an allusion in this haiku to *The Great God Brown* (cf. 59:101). Dion (Dionysus?) wears a mask representing Pan and refers to Silenus (a satyr). In Act 2, Scene 3, Brown seizes Dion by the throat

250 | and calls him a drunken bum, whereupon Dion staring into Brown's eyes says triumphantly, "Ah! Now he looks into the mirror! Now he sees his face!" Dion, who is very ill, then dies. Brown begins to wear Dion's mask and attempts to play a double role as both Dion and Brown. At the end of the play Brown is himself killed, accused of having murdered Dion.

104. Let them keep
All the small secrets
They have so anxiously protected.

Much of the effort to achieve national security concerns itself with keeping secrets. DH here may be suggesting that many such secrets are insignificant and not worth the effort made to guard them. He must, nonetheless, as Secretary-General have had to keep secrets, and he was aware of the moral problems this could involve (cf. 57:2).

105. This contingent
Encounter of possibilities
Calls itself "I".

DH has reflected that he might never have existed (51:38). Yet what might never have been has come to have this strong sense of self-consciousness.

106. I ask. Why this "I"?
Why here? -- And the "I" loses
Its reality.

Problems arise if the self is not taken for granted. If one seeks explanations as to why the self should be, or why it should exist in this time and place, the self can lose its reality.

107. This morning the birds' song
Filled the mind
With the night's cool tranquility.

This is an example of literary impressionism well suited for the haiku form. The birds' song in the morning prolongs in the mind the cool restfulness of the night.

251 | 108. The words did not exist,
Which would have captured
His desire and his fear.

Not all experiences, whether they have to do with what is wanted or what is dreaded, can be articulated.

109. The book remained unopened --
Naked I saw
Death's instruments naked.

DH was apparently planning to read, but on this occasion he saw armaments for what they are, instruments of death, and felt himself denuded in their presence, while the book he had brought with him remained unopened.

110. The goldenrod shakes.
The wind blows open
The milkweed's white parachute.

The wind that shakes the goldenrod also spreads the seed of the milkweed, which is carried by what appears to be a white parachute.

111. Like dishonest stewards
We squander his goods
For our salvation.

The allusion is to the parable of the dishonest steward (Luke 16:1-9), who was accused of squandering his master's goods and who when he saw that he was to lose his position sought to provide for his future welfare by substantially reducing the stated obligations of his master's debtors. The parable concludes with the suggestion that there was prudence in the steward's behavior and that worldly wealth, which belongs to God, can be used so as to contribute to salvation. DH very likely does not believe, however, that such an extenuating explanation can be offered for our squandering of what God has given us.

112. The heavens so blue
As over the snow crest
During his last ski-run. (Gösta Lundquist)

252 | Gösta Lundquist (1905-1952), photographer, editor of Svenska turistföreningens årsskrift, and, like DH, a member of the Swedish Alpine Club, had hiked with DH in Lapland. DH had published two articles in the 1947 and the 1951 issues of this annual about such expeditions, in which articles some of the photographs had been provided by Lundquist, who appears to have been particularly interested in photographing northern Sweden.

113. While the shots reverberated
He sought the life of words
For life's sake.

Much of DH's effort as Secretary-General consisted in seeking to activate the living power of words in the midst of armed hostility, so as to save lives.

114. Risk, purity --
This struggle with the mountain
My self resistant.

DH uses mountain climbing imagery to comment on his life's struggle. It involves risk and he wants to maintain integrity. There are external difficulties to be overcome, but at the same time he constantly encounters opposition within himself. For other examples of the use of mountain climbing imagery, see 25-30:1, 25-30:7, 56:5, 56:62, 61:12, 61:19.

115. No verbal lashes
Disturbed his peace
In a space resoundingly singing.

As 59:113 indicates, DH made use of the power of words in his struggle. He also suffered from verbal assaults. Here he recalls undisturbed peace in an ambient nature, the harmony of which he describes musically.

116. For him who believes
The last miracle
Shall be greater than the first.

DH not only believes but also hopes. He has stated that when we act in faith miracles occur, though we must avoid the temptation of making such miracles the basis for faith (56:63). Nonetheless he anticipates a final miracle even greater than the miracle of his becoming Secretary-General (cf. 52:20, 53:4).

1960

DH was in Africa at the opening of this year on a tour which had begun December 21 and which continued until the end of January, during which time he visited twenty-four countries, territories, or regions. Problems continued during the year in Laos and DH sought to cope with them by sending a special representative to Vientiane to coordinate UN activities there. These efforts did not prevent Laos from becoming increasingly involved in the struggle between the superpowers in Indo-China, which struggle was finally to draw the U.S. into the Vietnam war. These concerns were wholly overshadowed, however, by the Congo crisis which began in July and which was to occupy DH throughout the remaining months of his life.

The Republic of Congo was formed as the Belgian Congo received independence on June 30. DH had anticipated problems since the Belgians had not prepared the Congolese to accept their new responsibilities. On July 7 the new republic sought and received membership in the UN. Disorders soon developed and on July 13 the Congo requested military assistance from the UN to help maintain public order. The Security Council authorized DH to respond to this request and he organized the Operation des Nations Unies au Congo (ONUC, the UN Force in Congo) composed largely of troops from other African countries. He also sought to provide UN technical assistance to replace departing Belgians. The situation in the Congo was complicated by the secession of the mineral rich Katanga province, unsuccessful attempts to secure the departure of Belgian troops, lack of discipline in the Congolese army, and division in the central government, with the president, Joseph Kasavubu, attempting to dismiss the prime minister, Patrice Lumumba, and the head of the army, Joseph Mobutu, announcing a coup and expelling the Soviet-bloc embassies. DH sought to maintain an impartial UN presence in the Congo and became for this reason attacked from all sides. There were increasingly harsh Russian attacks on the UN action in the Congo, led by Nikita Krushchev, including a call for DH's resignation. DH had said he would resign if his service was no longer in the best interests of the UN Organization. Since, however, Krushchev was proposing that the Secretary-General be replaced by three persons representing the Western powers, the socialist states, and the neutralist states, each having veto power over the others, DH stated that this arrangement would make it impossible to maintain an effective executive. He therefore told the General Assembly that he would remain at his post as long as especially the smaller nations wished him to do so, which evoked a tremendous standing ovation from the overwhelming majority of delegates (Public Papers of the S-G, 5:194-201).

254 | In the leadership crisis in the Congo, the U.S. sided with President Kasavubu and was successful, despite DH's efforts to postpone such a decision, to seat the faction led by President Kasavubu in the General Assembly. Toward the end of the year the Congo crisis deepened, as Lumumba, who had been receiving ONUC protection at his house in Leopoldville, attempted to join his supporters in Stanleyville, because he was troubled by the UN recognition Kasavubu had received. Before Lumumba reached Stanleyville, however, he was arrested and detained with the consent of both Kasavubu and Mobutu, his rivals for leadership in the Congo. Neither the Security Council nor the General Assembly could agree on how to respond to this situation.

There are only six waymarks for this year, five of them dated. DH did engage in other literary activities, however, writing an article for *The National Geographic* magazine on his visit to Nepal (see 59:63-66) and translating St.-John Perse's poem *Chronique* into Swedish, which translation he cites in 61:1 (cf. 57:15, 57:22).

1. Easter 1960 Forgiveness breaks the chain of causality through the fact that the one who "forgives" -- in love -- takes upon himself the responsibility for the consequences of what you did. It therefore always involves sacrifice.
The price of your own liberation through the sacrifice of another is that you yourself must be willing in the same way to liberate, irrespective of the cost.

On Easter Day 1960 DH reflects again about forgiveness (cf. 56:6, 57:6, 57:9, 57:30). Whereas he has previously said that in the experience of God we are forgiven and that it follows that we must in turn forgive, he now examines more closely what it means when a person "forgives." What occurs is that the chain of causality which binds bad consequences to the evil deeds that have been committed is broken, as another person by forgiving takes upon himself/herself these consequences. Forgiveness for this reason always involves sacrifice. The date DH has given this waymark clearly indicates that he relates forgiveness to what Jesus achieved through his suffering and death, for Easter is the celebration of the great liberation Jesus' sacrifice has brought to humankind. This liberation continues in our time as those who are themselves forgiven are willing to live sacrificially so that others might be forgiven (cf. 56:10). Each of us must share in breaking the chain of causality between the evil deeds of others and the bad consequences following upon such deeds by taking upon ourselves those consequences. We must do so, DH insists, irrespective of the cost. What

Imagery DH used at a February 18 press conference suggests that DH may have believed such an understanding of forgiveness could have implications also for relations between nations. Speaking of the situation in the Middle East, where in an atmosphere of general distrust reactions to reactions tended to become increasingly stronger, he said, " ... we have to, if possible, break a chain reaction How you break such a chain reaction is extremely difficult to say, because in fact you must come to grips on both sides with the situation" (Public Papers of the S-G, 4:543-544).

2. When I think of those who have preceded me, I feel like it is the dead time remaining at a party after the guests of honor have left.

When I think of those who will follow -- or remain -- I feel that I am helping to prepare for a celebration, the joy of which I shall not share.

This is the only undated waymark written during 1960. It may have been written after the events of the summer. On May 18 an American U-2 spy plane was shot down over the Soviet Union. This led to the collapse of the Paris summit meeting and terminated the Ten Nation Committee on Disarmament. The period of "peaceful coexistence" between the USA and the USSR that had obtained for the past four years came, temporarily at least, to an end. While the USA and the USSR were at the outset able to agree to support DH's efforts to resolve the Congo crisis, the expulsion of the Soviet-bloc embassies from Leopoldville and DH's refusal to take sides in the struggle between Lumumba (supported by the USSR) and Kasavubu (supported by the USA), led Krushchev to become increasingly bitter in his attacks upon DH's Congo policy, charging him with dangerously exceeding his powers and calling for his resignation (Urquhart, 1973, 467-472).

DH was aware that implacable Soviet opposition had led to the termination of Trygve Lie's tenure as Secretary-General. He can see a similar opposition forming against himself. In this waymark he sees himself living between the times. There have been high moments in the past, but those who were the actors in those events have left the scene. How far back in time his thinking at this point goes we cannot tell. As far as his present activity is concerned, DH feels that he is preparing for a coming celebration in which he does not expect

256 | to share. The historical period in which he is living is characterized more by ebb than by flow. This does not alter his insistence that in his own life the primary stress must be placed on the present (51:6, 54:18, 57:18, 57:35). The reference to the future is at the same time basically optimistic. DH anticipates a coming celebration.

3. *Christmas Eve 1960* How fitting it is that Christmas follows Advent. -- For the one who looks ahead the manger is located on Golgotha and the cross is already raised in Bethlehem.

“Struggle, suffer
Death’s affliction,
That our conscience
Peace be given
And might find an opened heaven.”

“I will lay me down in peace, and take my rest: for it is
thou, Lord, only, that makest me dwell in safety” (Psalm IV)

“Thou hast showed thy people heavy things: thou hast
given us a drink of deadly wine.

Thou hast given a token for such as fear thee: That they
may triumph because of the truth.” (Psalm LX)

This waymark was written on Christmas Eve 1960. Thus it comes before three dated waymarks written in late November and early December. This is the only instance in Waymarks where dated entries have not been placed in chronological order. DH may have wanted this year to stress the relationship between his meditations at Easter and Christmas. Christmas Eve is the high point of the Christmas celebration in Sweden. On that day in the late afternoon people often attend a Christmas prayer service and return home for a festive Christmas dinner and the exchanging of gifts. DH meditates on the Advent season that precedes Christmas, a time of preparation and penitence, having some of the same relationship to Christmas that Lent has to Easter. Advent also reminds us that Christmas will be followed by Lent, for it draws our attention to the sin and evil that Jesus comes to overcome. He overcomes it, however, only through suffering. Therefore in the midst of the joy of Christmas we look forward to the cross.

This understanding of Christmas is set forth in Sweden’s best loved Christmas hymn, “All Hail to You, O Blessed Morn,” by Johan Olof Wallin (1779-1839, *Den svenska psalmboken 1937, # 55*). DH cites the last lines of the third stanza of that hymn. The stanza begins as follows:

257 | He will shed tears just as we do,
Perceive our need, support us too
With his own spirit's power.
Reveal to us his Father's will,
Our cup of woe with mercy fill
To sweeten sorrow's hour.

At this point the lines DH cites follow, which I have translated quite literally. In the midst of the joy of Christmas DH recognizes its deeper meaning, which he finds expressed in the hymn used to open the early Christmas morning service (*julotta*) in the Swedish churches.

Two psalm passages follow (Ps. 4:9; 60:3-4), one expressing the confidence of the believer, the other, however, referring to times of trouble during which that confidence may be tested, when the assurance of the faithful ones has to do not so much with their own personal safety, as with their certainty that the cause to which they are committed will conquer.

4. 601126 The winter moon
Is caught in the branches.
The promise heavily demanded my blood.

Round about the trees slept,
Naked against the night sky.
"Nevertheless, not as I will . . ."

The burden remained mine.
They did not understand my entreaty.
And all was silence.

Then the torches and the kiss.
Then the gray dawn
In the palace.

How does their love help?
Now all that matters is
Whether I love them.

258 | November 26 was the Saturday before the first Sunday in Advent. In the lectionary of the Church of Sweden Matthew's account of Jesus' triumphal entry into Jerusalem is read on that Sunday. DH had already in 53:11 stated that one must not permit the jubilation of the triumphal entry to hide the fact that beyond it was the cross. Thus the passion motif found in 60:1 and 60:3 is continued in this poem.

DH combines his own conviction that he is being called to give himself sacrificially with reflection on Jesus in the Garden of Gethsemane (cf. 54:7, 56:9, 56:10). Like Jesus, DH feels that he has a commitment which others do not understand. While the setting is a winter night, the words, "Nevertheless, not as I will, (but what thou wilt)" (Matt. 26:39 RSV), recall Jesus' prayer. The fourth verse of the poem makes the reference to Jesus' arrest and trial more explicit. DH knew that many third world nations had great affection for him, but was not certain that their help would be sufficient to see him through the dangerous period that lay before him. In any case the basic question was not how much others loved him, but the extent of his love for them.

The crisis in the Congo had begun in July when UN troops were requested to help maintain public order by the newly formed Republic of Congo. During the fall the situation had deteriorated and there was no longer united support in the Security Council for the policies DH had initiated (see above the introduction to 1960). He very likely felt that he had been betrayed by those who should have sustained him. Yet he felt a continuing strong obligation to the people of the Congo.

5. 601202 The tension heightened.
In the noonday heat
Wills slackened.

The night flared up.
Phosphorescently
The jungle groaned in the grip of the storm.

They paid
The full price of love
For what the others won.

Morning mist.
 The first warbling of birds.
 Who recalled the night's sacrifices?

On November 27 Prime Minister Patrice Lumumba, troubled by the UN's recognition of President Joseph Kasavubu's delegation to the General Assembly, left his residence in Leopoldville, which was being guarded by ONUC troops and sought to join his supporters in Stanleyville, his political base. He was arrested and mistreated by Colonel Joseph-Désiré Mobutu's troops, which were loyal to Kasavubu. DH wrote letters on December 3 and 5 to Kasavubu asking that due legal process be followed in the case of Lumumba and that representatives of the International Red Cross be permitted to visit him (Public Papers of the S-G, 5:237-241).

This poem, written on a Friday, may reflect DH's premonitions with respect to the arrest of Lumumba, as well as his distress over other military action in the Congo. Due to the heat not so much happened during the day. At night there could be fighting, as well as a storm. Victory for some meant death for others. DH did not want to see Africans killing Africans (cf. 55:62). He feared also that the night's sacrifices would be forgotten.

6. 601203 The way,
 You shall follow it.

Success,
 You shall forget it.

The cup,
 You shall empty it.

The pain,
 You shall conceal it.

The answer,
 You shall learn it.

The end,
 You shall endure it.

260 | The following day DH states his own commitment in poetic terms. He has throughout the years sought to follow “the way” (52:1, 53:11, 57:23, 61:5, 61:12). The word, *lycka*, translated “success” (cf. 56:39) can also be translated “happiness” (cf. 50:1, 50:3, 54:4, 57:10, 57:35). The cup refers to Jesus in the Garden of Gethsemane (cf. 54:7, 56:9, 61:4). Pain for DH can have a positive significance, but it must be concealed (50:47, 51:10). For DH the answer is not something he continues to seek. It is something he already knows and yet still must learn (57:8, 57:17, 57:22, 57:40). He is finally determined to endure to the end (cf. 61:12).

1961

As the Congo crisis continued the event that cast a dark shadow over the year of 1961 was the death of Patrice Lumumba, who the previous November after leaving the UN protection provided him was arrested, kept in custody, and on January 17 taken to the secessionist Katanga province, where he was murdered. That Lumumba was in fact dead was not acknowledged until February 13. Many charged DH with being responsible for Lumumba's death, though neither the Security Council nor the General Assembly had authorized the ONUC (the UN force in the Congo) to intervene in the struggle for political power taking place in the Congo in such a way that this tragedy, once Lumumba had been arrested, could have been prevented. In response to Lumumba's death and the subsequent killing of six of his political supporters a somewhat stronger mandate was given to the ONUC, though this action was opposed by both Russia and France, who refused to give any further financial support to the UN action in the Congo.

During the spring and summer some progress was made in reconstituting the central Congo government and there were hopes that the secession of Katanga could be ended. In September DH came to the Congo hoping to arrange a meeting between Cyrille Adoula, Congo's prime minister, and Moïse Tshombe, the leader of secessionist Katanga. Just prior to his coming, however, an ill advised and poorly executed ONUC action in Katanga to arrest foreign mercenary soldiers caused several days of fighting in which the ONUC was forced to take a defensive posture. In order to negotiate a cease-fire DH decided to meet Tshombe in Ndola, Northern Rhodesia (now Zambia). On the night of September 17 his plane crashed as it approached the Ndola airport leaving no survivors.

Several commissions investigated the circumstances of the crash but were unable to determine the exact cause of the disaster. More recently an explanation has been offered by David Beaty, himself an experienced pilot, in *Strange Encounters: Mysteries of the Air* (New York: Atheneum, 1984, 121-129). Beaty states that there is reason to believe that Tshombe, the man whom DH was flying to meet, was responsible for DH's death. Somehow DH's plane was left unguarded for some hours in Leopoldville. One of Tshombe's secret agents posing as a technician is said to have boarded the plane and removed the map carrying the flight information about the landing field at Ndola. On the plane was a manual containing an approach chart for another airfield with the very similar name Ndolo and this manual was found in the wreckage, opened and folded back to

262 | show the Ndolo chart. The height of Ndolo above sea level is 951 feet. The height of Ndola, however, is 4,160 feet. It is also alleged that when the pilot of DH's plane approached Ndola and radioed for a position check, the traffic controller there gave him incorrect information. The cause of the accident would then be that DH's pilot coming into the Ndola airport and unacquainted with it allowed the aircraft to descend too low. As a result it struck trees and crashed.

Another detail in the mystery difficult to explain is the fact that sixteen hours elapsed between the time of the crash and the discovery of the wreckage. Though the Secretary-General's plane had been sighted as it flew over the Ndola airport while making its approach, though there were eighteen aircraft stationed at Ndola, which could have been sent up on an hour's notice, and though the crash occurred only nine miles from the airport, a search for the missing plane did not begin until late the following morning, the plane being found in the early afternoon. Had the search been made earlier, though DH's injuries were so severe as to be fatal, Sergeant Julien, one of the crew, might have survived (Kelen, 268-271).

DH's death left the Congo crisis unresolved, but a decade after the Congo had received its independence its president, Joseph Mobutu (later Mobutu Sese Seko) declared: "The Democratic Republic of the Congo is a living testimony to what the United Nations Organization is capable of when it is given the appropriate means. In the Congo, the United Nations defended the sovereignty of a country which certain covetous interests were ready to compromise. The United Nations fulfilled one of the essential functions which the Charter prescribed to our Organization, that of assuring and guaranteeing the respect of the territorial integrity and the independence of each State Member" (Urquhart, 1973, 594).

The waymarks written during 1961 reveal suffering and weariness, but also DH's continued dedication and willingness to follow to the end the way he believed he had been called to go. Of the nineteen waymarks, all but five are dated. The undated waymarks are, however, closely related to the preceding dated waymarks.

I. 610213-610313

"O You who led us to this naked life of the soul, destiny
Hovering over the waters, will You relate, some earthly
evening,
Whose the hand is that clothes us with fable's
burning tunic - - -?"

263 | On February 13 it became known that Patrice Lumumba and two of his associates, Maurice Mpolo and Joseph Okito had been killed, very likely shortly after they had been taken to Elizabethville in Katanga province on January 17. Some days later six of Lumumba's supporters were secretly arrested, flown to Bakwanga in South Kasai, and summarily executed. In reprisal fifteen Kasavubu and Mobutu supporters were executed by firing squad in Stanleyville. These were the first political assassinations that had occurred during the Congo crisis. On February 14 the Soviet government issued a statement in the Security Council containing the following charges against DH: "The murder of Patrice Lumumba and his comrades- in-arms in the dungeons of Katanga is the culmination of Hammar skjöld's criminal activities. ... His actions place a dark stain on the whole United Nations. Not only can such a man not enjoy any confidence; he deserves only the contempt of all honest people. There is no place for Hammar skjöld in the high office of Secretary-General of the United Nations and his continuance in that office is intolerable" (Public Papers of the S-G, 5:342). In replying to these charges DH said, "It is vain to argue with those for whom truth is a function of party convenience and justice a function of party interest. But for others it may be essential that some facts are recalled and clearly and simply put on record" (Ibid., 343). He went on to point out that, given the way in which the UN Charter and the resolutions of the Security Council limited the use of the United Nations Force in the Congo, after Lumumba had fled from his residence in Leopoldville, where he was receiving UN protection, the UN Force had neither the power nor the right to liberate him from his captors. A Security Council resolution was finally adopted on February 21 calling for measures to prevent the occurrence of civil war in the Congo, urging the immediate withdrawal and evacuation of all Belgian and foreign military and paramilitary personnel and political advisers not under UN command, requesting all states to prevent the entry of such personnel into the Congo, and ordering an immediate and impartial investigation to ascertain the circumstances of the death of Lumumba and his colleagues (*Ibid.*, 356-357). The following weeks were devoted to strong efforts on DH's part to secure compliance with this resolution on the part of the recalcitrant Belgian and Congolese authorities.

In the first three waymarks for 1961 DH expresses his feelings during these weeks in three citations. The first is from his Swedish translation of the poem *Chronique* by St.-John Perse (*Krönika*, Bonniers, 1960, 21; Perse, *Collected Poems*, 586-587; cf. 57:15, 57:20, 57:33). The translation had been made in the summer of 1960 prior to the Congo crisis (Public Papers of the S-G, 5:459). It was read by other members of the Swedish Academy and used in the deliberations that led to Persé's being awarded the Nobel Prize for literature on October 26, 1960.

264 | In a letter to DH, Perse states that the poem has America as its setting (Letters, 666-667). The last line of the citation alludes to a story about the Greek hero, Hercules, known for his strength but not his intelligence. When he sends a beautiful captive maiden, Iole, home to his wife, Deianira, she responds by sending a splendid robe as a gift to Hercules. She has anointed the robe with the blood of the centaur, Nessus, whom Hercules had killed when it sought to kidnap Deianira. Nessus before dying had told Deianira to take some of his blood and use it as a charm if Hercules were ever to love another woman more than her. Hercules on putting on the robe is seized with fearful pain, as though he were in a burning fire. He remains in such pain until he brings about his own death through lying down on a great funeral pyre on Mt. Oeta (Edith Hamilton, *Mythology* [New York: New American Library, 1953], 171-172).

In the first two lines that DH cites from his translation of *Chronique*, clearly God is addressed. In the second line DH has used the Swedish word *svävar*, which recalls Genesis 1:1 ("God's spirit hovered over the water" JB) to translate the French word *errante* (wandering). Interestingly *svävar* is a change from *irrar* (roving aimlessly), which DH uses in the 1960 published translation and may thus be a revision. The burning tunic can represent the pain inescapably attendant upon the exercise of power, sometimes done unwisely. The question is whether God has ordered things in this way, or whether some other hand is here at work.

2. "Be not your own pathetic fallacy, but be
Your own dark measure in the vein,
for we're about a tragic business - - -"

The second citation is from the play *The Antiphon* (1958) by Djuna Barnes (Selected Works of Djuna Barnes [New York: Farrar, Straus and Cudahy, 1962], 205). Barnes (1892-1982) was an expatriate American author in Paris from 1920-1940. DH had bought her novel *Nightwood* (1936) in Paris in 1948 and upon coming to New York discovered her in semi-retirement. They occasionally dined together and when *The Antiphon* appeared in 1958 he persuaded her to allow him and Karl Ragnar Gierow, the director of the Swedish Royal Dramatic Theater, to translate it for a premiere production in Stockholm. It was translated in the early summer of 1960 and first performed on February 17, 1961. Due to the Congo crisis DH could not be present. The setting of the play is an English manor house, badly damaged by German bombardment during World War II. The cast is a family that has been called

265 | together at this ancestral home. The family has been so long divided that they are strangers to each other. An interpreter of the play writes: "For all real purposes, the civilized world of Western man has already died when this play begins. No hope is possible. ... Miranda (whose lines DH cites) ... voices the play's dark theme: to have been born at all is a disaster. Conception is murder, and all men stand condemned. The human race is grasping, power mad, and status seeking" (James B. Scott, Djuna Barnes [Boston: Twayne, 1976], 132).

It may seem strange that a play with such a bleak, pessimistic theme should have interested DH. The play did, however, articulate a reality about the human situation that had to be faced. DH was also challenged by its esoteric language, the narrow audience to which it was addressed. From the Swedish translation he uses the cited lines to exhort himself not to be his own appealing falsification, but to be his own hidden measure in life's vein, for a tragedy is in the process of unfolding.

3. "I became also a reproach unto them: they that looked
upon me shook their heads.
Help me, O Lord my God: O save me according to thy
mercy."

DH concludes this series of waymarks expressing his reactions to the consequences of the death of Lumumba and the other assassinations in the Congo by citing The Book of Common Prayer version of Psalm 109:25-26 (cf. 54:26). The psalm is a lament of one who has been falsely accused. While there are those who do support him, DH has become a reproach to people in the Congo, to the nations of the Communist bloc, to some Western powers, and to some also of the neutralist states. He prays to God for help.

4. *Maundy Thursday 1961*

["God, answer me, in the jaws of death!]
Is it of no saving worth
What man's striving will can prove?
He is the God of love."

"Then thought I to understand this;
but it was too hard for me,
Until I went into the sanctuary of God."

266 | Maundy Thursday came on March 30 during renewed debate in the General Assembly on the situation in the Congo. DH for the second time quotes from Henrik Ibsen's *Brand* (*Samlede værker*, vol. 3, 167, see 56:52). The lines cited are the concluding lines of the play. As Brand sinks down before the descending avalanche which is to bury him, he cries out in extremis asking God whether the human will's achievement can contribute anything at all to that person's salvation. A voice heard through the thunder states that God is love.

DH may in a similar sense feel himself overwhelmed by power... beyond his control. Can the human will avail at all under such circumstances? If one links the answer that God is love to the date of this waymark, which suggests the love implicit in the account of Jesus in the Garden of Gethsemane, DH has already affirmed the power of such love (55:1). (It can be noted that Bertil Ekman makes reference to the passage DH has cited, observing that the lonely mountain upon which Ibsen's *Brand* expires does not become a Golgotha [*Strödda blad*, 33]).

A further answer to the question with which DH is struggling is given in the psalm passage (Ps. 73:16-17) cited in *The Book of Common Prayer* version (cf. 54:26). The Psalmist inquires about the prosperity of the wicked. In the sanctuary of God he perceives that their prosperity is only temporary, for they will be destroyed. What is more important, he finds that the righteous person experiences a nearness to God that exceeds anything that could otherwise be desired.

5. *Pentecost 1961*

I don't know who -- or what -- put the question. I don't know when it was put. I don't remember that I answered. But I once did answer yes to someone -- or something.

From that time comes my certainty that existence is meaningful and that my life, therefore, in self-surrender, has a goal.

From that time I have known what it means "not to look back," and "not to be anxious about tomorrow," Led through life's labyrinth by the Ariadne-thread of the answer, I reached a time and a place where I knew that the way leads to a triumph which is a catastrophe and to a catastrophe which is triumph, that the cost of life commitment is reproach and the depth of humiliation the

exaltation that is possible for a human being. After that the word “courage” lost its meaning, since nothing could be taken from me.

As I continued on the way, I learned, step by step, word by word, that behind every saying of the hero of the gospels stands one man and one man’s experience. Also behind the prayer that the cup might pass from him and the promise to empty it. Also behind each word from the cross.

Christian festivals were important to DH, not only Christmas and Easter, but also Pentecost. He often chose such occasions to write waymarks. In this waymark, written a few months before his death, he tells about his life commitment and what it has meant for him. He does not know who or what posed the question, but he did give an affirmative answer to someone or something (cf. 45-49:5). He doesn’t try to fix the time, not even with the help of this journal (though he might have referred to 51:47, 53:1, 54:5, 55:19). Very likely his “yes” was a growing affirmation of a destiny that he only gradually was able to understand, but which led to a certainty that life is meaningful and that one reaches its goal through self-surrender.

Though he can speak of God in both personal and impersonal terms (who or what, someone or something), his commitment is related to Jesus. Since making it he has understood the meaning of Jesus’ teaching, “No one who puts his hand to the plow and looks back is fit for the kingdom of God” (Luke 9:62 RSV; cf. 51:22, 53:12, 56:13, 57:35), as well as, “So do not worry about tomorrow, for tomorrow will bring worries of its own. Today’s trouble is enough for today” (Matt. 6:34).

The reference to being led through life’s labyrinth by the Ariadne-thread of his commitment is imagery drawn from Greek mythology, the second time DH has used this imagery. For an account of the myth see the comment on 55:18. In the myth Theseus slays the Minotaur and uses the Ariadne-thread to find his way out of the labyrinth. While DH makes some use of this myth, his understanding of victory does not come from Greek mythology, for the way that he is following is one in which triumph and catastrophe, exaltation and humiliation, are strangely linked. His guide along this way has been Jesus, especially Jesus’ words in the Garden of Gethsemane and from the cross (cf. 45-49:13, 51:29, 56:10).

268 | DH has in following this way gained a new understanding of courage, a virtue that he prizes most highly (cf. 50:46, 51:62, 54:23, 56:1, 56:10, 56:24, 56:38). The meaning of courage changes somewhat when total self-surrender has taken place (cf. 55:15, 57:47, 59:4). One need not defend oneself, for one has nothing left to lose (cf. 56:28). Insofar, however, as courage refers to fearless service on the behalf of others, the need for courage remains (cf. 61:13).

6. Lifted out of my torpor,
Freed from all that bound me,
Washed, trained, adorned,
I reach the threshold.

Asked if I have the courage
To go my way to the end,
I give the answer
Irrevocably.

Blinded I see the gate
Open to the arena
And go out naked
To meet death.

The combat begins. Calm
In exultant strength I fight
Till they throw the net
And I am caught.

I have seen the others.
Now I am the chosen one
Who is tied firmly to the block
To be sacrificed.

Dumb, my naked body endures
The blows as it is stoned.
Dumb, as I am cut open and
My heart laid bare --

600707 - Spring 1961

269 | The dates appended to this waymark related it to the whole period of the Congo crisis. On July 7, 1960 the Republic of Congo's application for membership in the UN was accepted by the Security Council. Due to the fact that the Belgian colonial rulers had not helped the Congolese to prepare for self-government, within a week the new republic was falling apart in conflict and chaos. On July 12 UN military assistance was requested, to which request the Security Council responded on July 13 (Public Papers of the S-G, 5:16-27). From this date on DH had official responsibility to attempt to bring about an orderly, peaceful development in the newly independent nation, an effort that was to continue until his death. In this poem he expresses his premonition that this effort may cost him his life.

DH imagines possible ways in which he might die. One should not, however, allow the fact that he did actually die within a few months to lead to a too literal interpretation of this imagery. He may have been thinking chiefly of the termination of his effectiveness as UN Secretary-General. The figurative speech in the first stanzas is drawn from the way in which Roman gladiators were expected to fight to the death in the arena. DH imagines himself entering the arena and fighting with exultant strength, though there is no indication that he kills others in so doing. The imagery changes as he imagines death as a human sacrifice on an altar (cf. 55:29). Yet again the imagery changes as he is stoned. The fact that he remains dumb suggests Isaiah 53:7. The second stanza of the poem may express DH's commitment to follow the way to the end (60:6), whatever the consequences might be.

7. 610608 Body,
My playmate!
Neither master
Nor slave,
You shall be sustained
By the mind's vitality,
And in return stimulate it
With your light fire.

But body,
Playmate,
You must not hesitate,
Nor fail me,
If the moment comes
For the impossible.

270 | June 8 was a Thursday. The previous week on May 30 DH had received an honorary degree at Oxford, where he had also delivered his last major address, "The International Civil Servant in Law and in Fact" (Public Papers of the S-G, 5:471-489). Upon his return to New York he was able to give some thought to the construction and decoration of the new UN library, which after his death was to become his memorial.

In this waymark DH recognizes the needs of his body, given the unceasing pressures being brought to bear upon him. He uses the language of body-mind dualism. The body is the mind's playmate, thus neither master nor slave. In a sense DH implies a tripartite anthropology, for the self who is speaking (neither body nor mind) might be identified with the spirit. The body is both sustained by the mind and stimulates it with its "light" fire (cf. 58:9). What will at last be required may be impossible. Nonetheless the body must not fail or hesitate (cf. 56:5).

8. Late night hours'
Sleepless questions;
Did I act correctly?
And why did I act
As I did?
To take again the same steps,
Repeat the same words,
Without finding the answer --

This poem may express second thoughts about DH's decisions and actions during the Congo crisis. He has consistently been concerned about why he acts as he does (cf. 55:39, 57:8). He does not imagine, however, that if he were able to retrace his steps he would be able to find better answers. The human situation is such that one must act obediently in faith and hope without being able to see the final issue of what one does (cf. 57:48).

9. I wait
Where they place me
Naked against the target,
Nailed fast
By the first arrows.
The bow is bent once again.
The arrow whistles
-- by me.
Are they playing?

Did the hand tremble?
Or was it the wind?

What do I fear?
If they strike
And kill,
What is this
To bewail?

Others have gone before.
Others follow --

In this poem DH imagines death by execution. He is already nailed to the target by the first arrows, but thereafter the arrows miss, which fact he does not understand. He tells himself that it doesn't matter. Whether he lives or dies is insignificant. Others have died in this way before and yet others will follow. The poem may symbolically refer to the opposition he is experiencing as Secretary-General and the fact that he is nonetheless permitted to continue. Whether he is driven out of office or not does not matter. It has happened to others. He must continue to serve as long as he can.

10. 610611 Called
 To bear it,
 Separated
 To test it,
 Chosen
 To suffer it,
 Free to
 Deny it,
 I saw
 For a moment
 The sail
 In the sun storm,
 Alone
 On the wave crest,
 Distant,
 Bearing from land.

I saw,
For a moment.

272 | June 11 was a Sunday. The poem bearing this date has two parts, one which refers to DH's commitment, the other to the hope that sustains him. He is called, separated, chosen, but also free to deny all this. At the same time he sees the distant sail in the sun storm, bearing away from land. Aulén calls this poem "a vignette of farewell," and suggests that we have here one of the few waymarks in which DH thinks of victory over death (Aulén, E 154; Sw 221-222). If so, two other waymarks that touch upon this theme are 52:14 and 55:55.

II. 610618 He will come
Between two gendarmes
Lean and sunburned,
A little bent
As though he apologized
For his strength.
His features tense,
But with a calm gaze.

He will throw his jacket
And with his shirt opened
Take his place against the wall
To be shot.

He has not betrayed us
And he meets the end
Without weakness.
When I am anxious,
It is not for him.
Do I fear an urge in myself
To be thus destroyed?
Or is there
In the abyss of my being
One who awaits permission
To fire the shot?

For the following Sunday, June 18, there is a dated poem in which an execution is imagined, though DH is not himself the victim. The vividness of the description suggests that DH may be thinking of an actual individual. The fact that the man is sunburned would suggest that he is Caucasian. DH finally asks himself whether he seeks such destruction (cf. 57:45), or whether there is in the abyss of his being

273 | the desire to destroy. He does not deny that he may share the destructive impulses, which impulses others permit themselves to express (see 57:6).

12. 610706 Tired and alone.
 So tired
 Your heart aches.
 The melting snow
 Trickles down the rocks.
 Your fingers are numb,
 Your knees tremble.
 It is now,
 Now, you must not let go.

 The way of the others
 Has resting places
 In the sun
 Where they meet.
 But this
 Is your way,
 And it is now,
 Now, that you must not fail.

 Weep,
 If you can,
 Weep
 But do not complain.
 The way chose you --
 And you must be thankful.

During the summer of 1961, in addition to the continuing Congo crisis, there was also tension in Tunisia. On July 6, President Habib Bourguiba of Tunisia requested new talks concerning the total evacuation of French troops from the Bizerte base in Tunisia, to which request President Charles de Gaulle was to give a negative reply (Urquhart, 1973, 532). The date for this waymark, a Thursday, was just before DH left for Paris where he was to attend the meeting of the Economic and Social Council July 8-15.

DH was known for his remarkable ability to work almost night and day with very little rest. This was often required in order to respond to crises which

274 | required immediate attention. Though he rarely mentions it, he was at times very tired (cf. 58:15). The Swedish artist, Bo Beskow, had spent a week with DH in late June and remarks about how tired, restless, and pessimistic he had found DH to be (Beskow, 181).

In this waymark he is thinking of his work and of how difficult it is to continue when tired and alone. He uses the imagery of mountain climbing to describe what is being required of him (cf. 56:5, 56:62, 57:45, 59:114). A climb can become more and more difficult as one approaches the summit, Despite the strain he must not let go. Others may have it easier, with frequent resting places in the sun. His, however, is a different way and it chose him. He may weep, but he must not complain. He must be thankful.

13. 610719 Have mercy
Upon us.
Have mercy
Upon our striving,
That we
Before you,
In love and faith,
Righteousness and humility,
May follow you,
In self-discipline and faithfulness and courage,
And meet you,
In stillness.

Give us
A pure heart
That we may see you,
A humble heart
That we may hear you,
A loving heart
That we may serve you
A believing heart
The we may live you.

You
Whom I do not know
But to whom I belong.

You
 Whom I do not understand
 But who have dedicated me
 To my destiny.
 You --

On July 19, the date of this waymark, shooting did break out in Bizerte, with large Tunisian casualties. DH had planned to go on from Paris to Cairo and Delhi, but found it necessary to return to New York for a Security Council meeting about the events in Bizerte (Urquhart, 1973, 532-533). On this occasion DH writes a prayer which Van Dusen calls the longest and fullest declaration of his faith (Van Dusen, 202). It begins in the plural number with a plea for mercy. We pray for mercy upon our striving. Words important for DH follow: love, faith, righteousness, humility, self-discipline, loyalty, courage, stillness. It is as one has a believing heart that one may "live God," not simply live in God, but "live God" (cf. 54:19). The prayer closes with reference to the mystery of God. DH does not claim to know or to understand, but he is convinced that he belongs to God and that God has dedicated him to his destiny. He addresses God in personal terms. Finally the prayer which begins in the plural number ends with singular pronouns. DH is speaking for himself to God. "You --."

14. 610730 Awakened
 I heard anew,
 Awake,
 The cry that waked me.

Kept watch,
 Resting like one drowned
 In the ocean depth's darkness
 Fretted by light
 From everywhere,
 Nowhere.

Heard
 One last time
 Far away
 The cry
 From terror's loneliness,
 In adversity's fellowship.

Who the hunted one,
 Who the silent hunter
 Over the foggy sea
 Among the black trees
 Long before daybreak?

The date, July 30, is a Sunday, the day following DH's 56th birthday. He has just returned from a trip to Tunisia to ascertain the facts regarding the hostilities between the French and the Tunisians at Bizerte, where he had not been well received by the French authorities (Urquhart, 1973, 534-541).

The experience recorded in this poem occurred at night, "long before daybreak." There is a cry that awakens him. He can only keep watch as one submerged in the deep darkness of the sea, a darkness interlaced by mysterious light. He hears again the cry from far away, telling of lonely terror, but also of the fellowship of those in such need. He wonders, who is hunting whom in the sea mists and under the dark trees?

15. 610802 "Thou hast moved the land, and divided it; heal the sores thereof, for it shaketh."

"- - - then I understood the end of these men. Namely, how thou dost set them in slippery places; and castest them down and destroyest them."

"And they remembered that God was their strength -"

Three days later on August 2 DH cites The Book of Common Prayer version of three psalm passages (cf. 54:26). The first (Ps. 60:2) is from a group lament expressing distress over the fragmentation of the one-time Hebrew empire under the united monarchy. DH also cited this psalm in the Christmas Eve 1960 waymark (60:3). He may be thinking of the fragmentation of the Congo and of the wounded condition of the land. The second passage (Ps. 73:17-18) is from a psalm meditation on the relation between evil and God's justice. DH reminds himself that the prosperity of the wicked is only temporary. This psalm was previously cited on Maundy Thursday 1961 (61:4). The final passage (Ps. 78:35) is from a psalm recounting God's glorious deeds and Israel's unfaithfulness. Even in the midst of their faithlessness the people from time to time remember that God was their strength. It is to this assurance that DH clings.

Forgive
 My doubt,
 My anger,
 My pride.
 Bend me
 By your grace.
 Raise me
 By your severity.

The repeated instances of Israel's faithlessness enumerated in Psalm 78 cited in the previous waymark may have prompted this prayer. DH has confessed such faults as preferring his own will to God's (55:8), seeking his own glory (55:26), being jealous of others (56:22, 56:36). This, however, is the only prayer in Waymarks in which he explicitly asks God for forgiveness, mentioning specifically his doubt, anger, and pride. He asks God to bend him with his grace and raise him with his severity or strictness. One would perhaps have expected the attributes with which the two petitions are related to be reversed. This prayer suggests, however, that for DH the grace of God is the source of the greatest judgment (cf. 45-49:13). God's grace is, however, intimately related to the severity of his justice and his saving strength. Those who unrepentantly oppose God's will shall ultimately be defeated. Those, on the other hand, who have suffered themselves to be abased by God's grace can hope to be raised by his severity.

17. 610806 Far from the chattering troop,
 From the green dusk under the treetops
 And the branches over the jungle paths
 Where leopards' eyes
 Gleamed in the night.
 Alone,
 In the white plastered room
 With the banister and the dangling rope,

 He sat on the window sill
 And saw the snow fall
 And the cars rush by
 With their fiery eyes.

No one saw
 When one day he jumped for the rope's loop,
 Got entangled, his breast constricted,
 And choked to death.
 No one saw --
 And who had ever understood
 His efforts to be happy,
 His moments of confidence,
 His constant uneasiness
 In longing for something
 He only vaguely remembered?
 And yet we were all fond of him
 And we missed him
 For a long time.

W. H. Auden has entitled this dated waymark "Elegy for my pet monkey, Greenback" (Markings, 219). While on a visit to Africa, DH was given a pet monkey in Somalia, which he kept in his apartment (Gray, 52-53). On one occasion when no one was present the monkey became accidentally entangled in a loop of rope, which was part of the play equipment provided for him, and choked to death. DH expresses his grief over the death of his pet in this poem.

In view of DH's own impending death, the elegy becomes a haunting parable. DH had come to be very much at home in New York and yet he longed for much that he, of course, well remembered from his homeland. As is evident from several of this year's waymarks, he may have wondered whether on some occasion he in the performance of his duties would become entangled in circumstances that would cost him his life.

18. 610806 The meadow's huge
 Green wave
 Over the rolling ridge
 Crowned by white spume,
 A thousand ox-eye daisies
 Blushing
 When the midsummer sun
 Sinks red
 In the hot haze
 Over Poughkeepsie.

Seven weeks have gone
 And seven kinds of flowers
 Have been mowed.
 Now the corn broadens
 In expanding fruitfulness.
 Was it here,
 Here, that paradise appeared
 For a moment
 During the midsummer night?

Given the same date (August 6, a Sunday) is a poem telling of his experience of summer at his country home at Brewster, New York. DH recalls being there at midsummer (cf. 57:21). In the weeks that have passed many different kinds of flowers have come and gone and the harvest is approaching. That he is much more at home in New York than was his pet monkey is evidenced by the fact that on the midsummer night, though far from the Swedish festivities, paradise appeared, if but for a moment!

19. 610824 Is it a new land
 In another reality
 Than that of the day?
 Or have I lived there,
 Before the day?

Awakened,
 An ordinary morning with gray light
 Reflected from the street,
 Awakened --
 From the dark blue night
 Above the timberline
 With moonlight on the moor
 And the ridge in shadow.
 Remembered
 Other dreams,
 Remembered
 The same mountain country:
 Twice I was on the ridges,
 I stayed by the remotest lake
 And followed the river

To its sources.
 The seasons have changed
 And the light
 And the weather
 And the hour
 But it is the same land.
 And I begin to know the map
 And the directions.

The last waymark dated less than a month before his death deals also with memories of Sweden, in this case hiking in Lapland, and the different setting of the life that he is now living. He wonders about the relation of dreams and memory to everyday reality. He concludes that despite changes and differences they do belong to the same land. The poem ends on the hopeful note that he is beginning to know the map and the directions.

Waymarks thus begins and ends with mountain climbing imagery. In the first waymark DH writes, "I am being driven farther into an unknown land, the ground becomes harder, the air more sharply cold." Then follows a question: "Shall I arrive? Where life rings out -- one clear simple note in the silence" (25-30:1). He speaks later of the struggle of the climb, "when the morning's freshness has been changed to midday weariness, when the leg muscles quiver under the strain, the trail seems endless, and suddenly nothing will work out just as you wish" (56:5). He reminds himself that "it is care with respect to the final steps below the summit which determines the value of all that may have gone before" (56:62). In recent weeks he has confessed his weariness: "Tired and alone. So tired your heart aches. The melting snow trickles down the rocks. Your fingers are numb, your knees tremble. It is now, now, you must not let go" (61:12). Yet in this final recorded entry he recalls, "Twice I was on the ridges, I stayed by the remotest lake and followed the river to its sources." There have been and will be many changes, but he is confident that it is the same land and that he is beginning to know the map and the directions.

Old Creeds in a New World

The world in which I grew up was dominated by principles and ideals of a time far from ours and, as it may seem, far removed from the problems facing a man of the middle of the twentieth century. However, my way has not meant a departure from those ideals. On the contrary, I have been led to an understanding of their validity also for our world of today. Thus, a never abandoned effort frankly and squarely to build up a personal belief in the light of experience and honest thinking has led me in a circle: I now recognize and endorse, unreservedly, those very beliefs which once were handed down to me.

From generations of soldiers and government officials on my father's side I inherited a belief that no life was more satisfactory than one of selfless service to your country--or humanity. This service required a sacrifice of all personal interests, but likewise the courage to stand up unflinchingly for your convictions concerning what was right and good for the community, whatever were the views in fashion.

From scholars and clergymen on my mother's side I inherited a belief that, in the very radical sense of the Gospels, all men were equals as children of God, and should be met and treated by us as our masters in God.

Faith is a state of mind and the soul. In this sense we can understand the words of the Spanish mystic, St. John of the Cross: "Faith is the union of God with the soul." The language of religion is a set of formulas which register a basic spiritual experience. It must not be regarded as describing, in terms to be defined by philosophy, the reality which is accessible to our senses and which we can analyse with the tools of logic. I was late in understanding what this meant. When I finally reached that point, the beliefs in which I was once brought up and which, in fact, had given my life direction even while my intellect still challenged their validity, were recognized by me as mine in their own right and by my free choice. I feel that I can endorse those convictions without any compromise with the demands of that intellectual honesty which is the very key to maturity of mind.

The two ideals which dominated my childhood world met me fully

282 | harmonized and adjusted to the demands of our world of today in the ethics of Albert Schweitzer, where the ideal of service is supported by and supports the basic attitude to man set forth in the Gospels. In his work I also found a key for modern man to the world of the Gospels.

But the explanation of how man should live a life of active social service in full harmony with himself as a member of the community of the spirit, I found in the writings of those great medieval mystics for whom “self-surrender” had been the way to self-realization, and who in “singleness of mind” and “inwardness” had found strength to say yes to every demand, which the needs of their neighbours made them face, and to say yes also to every fate life had in store for them when they followed the call of duty, as they understood it. “Love” - the much misused and misinterpreted word - for them meant simply an overflowing of the strength with which they felt themselves filled when living in true self-oblivion. And this love found natural expressions in an unhesitant fulfillment of duty and in an unreserved acceptance of life, whatever it brought them personally of toil, suffering - or happiness.

I know that their discoveries about the laws of inner life and of action have not lost their significance.

This I Believe, vol. 2, ed. Raymond Swing (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1954), 194-196; *Public Papers of the S-G*, 2:194-196

A Room Of Quiet

This is a room devoted to peace and those who are giving their lives for peace. It is a room of quiet where only thoughts should speak.

We all have within us a center of stillness surrounded by silence. This house, dedicated to work and debate in the service of peace, should have one room dedicated to silence in the outward sense and stillness in the inner sense.

It has been the aim to create in this small room a place where the doors may be open to the infinite lands of thought and prayer.

People of many faiths will meet here, and for that reason none of the symbols to which we are accustomed in our meditation could be used.

However, there are simple things which speak to us all with the same language. We have sought for such things and we believe that we have found them in the shaft of light striking the shimmering surface of solid rock.

So, in the middle of the room we see a symbol of how, daily, the light of the skies gives life to the earth on which we stand, a symbol to many of us of how the light of the spirit gives life to matter.

But the stone in the middle of the room has more to tell us. We may see it as an altar, empty not because there is no God, not because it is an altar to an unknown god, but because it is dedicated to the God whom man worships under many names and in many forms.

The stone in the middle of the room reminds us also of the firm and permanent in a world of movement and change. The block of iron ore has the weight and solidity of the everlasting. It is a reminder of that cornerstone of

The material of the stone leads our thoughts to the necessity for choice between destruction and construction, between war and peace. Of iron man has forged his swords, of iron he has also made his ploughshares. Of iron he has constructed tanks, but of iron he has likewise built homes for man. The block of iron ore is part of the wealth we have inherited on this earth of ours. How are we to use it?

The shaft of light strikes the stone in a room of utter simplicity. There are no other symbols, there is nothing to distract our attention or to break in on the stillness within ourselves. When our eyes travel from these symbols to the front wall, they meet a simple pattern opening up the room to the harmony, freedom, and balance of space.

There is an ancient saying that the sense of a vessel is not in its shell but in the void. So it is with this room. It is for those who come here to fill the void with what they find in their center of stillness.

*UN Headquarters leaflet, April 1957, revised December 1957.
Public Papers of the S-G, 3:710-711.*

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true dialogue
in an Age of Mistrust?
*The encounter of
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Lou Marin

Dag Hammarskjöld Foundation

Uppsala 2010

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 the debate alternative perspectives of often unheard voices.

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Preface

Dag Hammarskjöld was known for his wide interests and contacts, and for his capacity to interweave nature, art, science and politics into a tapestry of varied but complementary colours and textures, creating a harmonious and integrated whole. For him, philosophy, poetry and politics not only had their first letter in common; combined, they constituted a passion, the fourth in this mutually reinforcing collection of ingredients that made him such a remarkable international civil servant with an enduring impact.

Hammarskjöld's impressive correspondence, which went far beyond the limits of his professional duties as narrowly defined, included exchanges with many individuals representing these various spheres of life and thinking. Among the thinkers he engaged with intellectually was Martin Buber. Evidence of this was even found in the debris from the plane crash near Ndola in then Northern Rhodesia, in which Hammarskjöld died in the early hours of 18 September 1961. A copy of Buber's *Ich und Du* was among the scattered items collected from the wreckage. During his last flight Hammarskjöld had been using the time to continue the translating of Buber's work into Swedish, which he had recently started: a task bordering on the impossible, but very much in keeping with the unlimited ambitions of Hammarskjöld's intellect.

Accepting on Dag Hammarskjöld's behalf the posthumously awarded Nobel Peace Prize in Oslo on 10 December 1961, the Swedish ambassador to Norway, Rolf Edberg, referred in

his short speech to this engagement, which was such clear evidence of the attraction of thought between the second Secretary-General to the United Nations and Buber:

... perhaps we can think that he found something that was essential to himself in the last book that he was engaged in translating, the powerful work *Ich und Du* [I and Thou], in which the Jewish philosopher Martin Buber sets forth his belief that all real living is meeting. He himself believed that there were invisible bridges on which people could meet as human beings above the confines of ideologies, races, and nations.¹

The notion of dialogue promoted by Buber was similarly an integral and substantial part of Hammarskjöld's approach to life. In one of his postings on his Hammarskjöld blog, biographer Roger Lipsey draws attention to this: 'His respect for the word was immeasurably great. His recognition of its frequent corruption in public life was also great.'² Lipsey also reproduces an exchange from a press conference in January 1955, when a journalist enquired of Hammarskjöld what he would do with all the information from conversations after he had visited China. Hammarskjöld's recorded answer was: 'Well, the risk of mistakes and false initiatives may be reduced. The possibility of saying the right word at the right moment may be increased.'

1 http://nobelprize.org/nobel_prizes/peace/laureates/1961/hammarskjold-acceptance.html.

2 <http://www.dag-hammarskjold.com/2009/07/dialogue-part-i-right-word-at-right.html>.

Maurice S. Friedman is by far the hitherto most authoritative author dealing with Martin Buber. He published several monographs comprising the most comprehensive work on the philosopher (frequently referred to in the following essay). In 1960 he added a postscript to chapter 23 (on ‘social philosophy’) to the revised edition of his pioneering study, *Martin Buber: The Life of Dialogue* (first published in 1955), in which he shared his observation that Dag Hammarskjöld echoed Buber’s call for renewed ‘contact and communications across geographical and political boundaries’.³

As Manuel Fröhlich summarised, ‘Buber’s analysis of the underlying forces that dominate the Cold War scenario, which for him basically was an age of distrust, also influenced a number of speeches by Hammarskjöld who shared Buber’s diagnosis that many of the political and military problems were in fact problems of human behaviour, trust and communication.’⁴

This essence of dialogue remains more relevant than ever in times where ‘otherness’ is all too often misconstrued as alien. Despite today’s much higher degree of mobility (physically as well as mentally, and in

terms of communication technology), the global divide has not been bridged, and antagonisms based on different religions and other identity-forming beliefs and convictions persist. More than ever, we are living in a world of fear and misunderstanding, in which differences dominate over commonalities. In this light, reflections on the relevance of dialogue, as testified in the communication between Hammarskjöld and Buber, are as relevant for politics today as they were half a century ago.

The ‘age of mistrust’ has not yet come to an end. It continues, despite efforts such as this to bring back into public discourse ideas that remain as relevant today as they were at the time of the correspondence between Hammarskjöld and Buber. But this is no excuse for not reminding ourselves and others that tools to address most of the issues confronting us in our search for a better future have already been thoroughly explored. After all, more dialogue rather than less might not be such a bad idea in our times either.

Henning Melber

³ <http://www.religion-online.org/showchapter.asp?title=459&C=393>.

⁴ Manuel Fröhlich, “‘The Unknown Assignment’: Dag Hammarskjöld in the Papers of George Ivan Smith’, in ‘Beyond Diplomacy: Perspectives on Dag Hammarskjöld’, Uppsala: Dag Hammarskjöld Foundation, 2008 (Critical Currents no. 2), p. 16. The publication is accessible for download at www.dhf.uu.se.



In the course of a three-week visit in 1959 to the Middle East and Africa, UN Secretary-General Dag Hammarskjöld spent three days in Israel where he held talks with government officials. He also took the opportunity to visit the famous philosopher Professor Martin Buber.

Photo: UN Photo

Can we save true dialogue in an Age of Mistrust?

The encounter of Dag Hammarskjöld and Martin Buber

Introduction

The personal encounter of Dag Hammarskjöld and Martin Buber was as short in duration as it was intense in intellectual exchange. It took place during the later years of both men's lives, between 1958 and 1961, and consisted of a short correspondence and three personal meetings. Buber lived longer than Hammarskjöld and gave some a memorial interview in Hammarskjöld's honour. This special relationship, which both men also characterised as a personal friendship, takes on a special significance in that one of Hammarskjöld's last acts before the fatal air crash in Ndola, Zambia, in September 1961, was to work on a draft translation of Buber's book *I and Thou*.

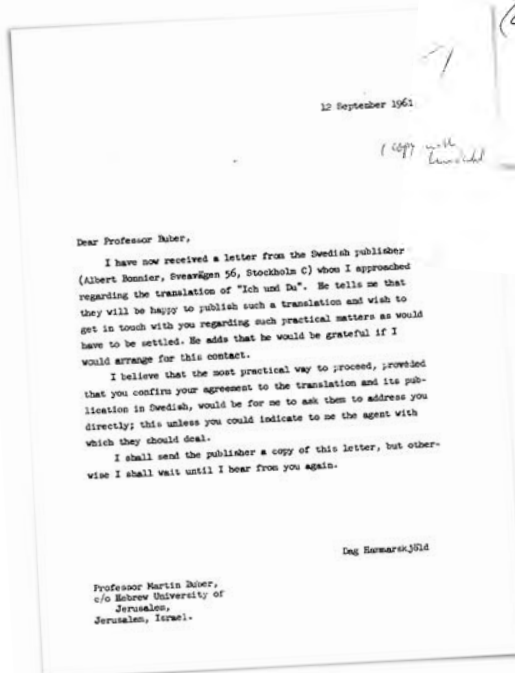
This essay is not the first on their encounter. Biographers of Buber and of Hammarskjöld have already paved the way, and to a great extent this text is based on their preceding research. I have sub-divided their encounter into two phases, each of them initiated by Hammarskjöld after reading a work of Buber's. Whereas, hitherto, information on their encounter has been gathered to show their similarities, I have focused as much on the differences between them, and the difficulties that were bound to arise when

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Since 2001 he has lived in Marseille as a journalist, author, translator and publisher. He is an administrative member of CIRA (Centre International de Recherches sur l'Anarchisme). His work includes *Albert Camus et les libertaires (1948-1960)* (Égrégories Editions, 2008), *Le don de la liberté (Les Rencontres Méditerranéennes Albert Camus, 2009)* and *Albert Camus et sa critique libertaire de la violence (Indigène Éditions, 2010)*. He is also the author of *Camus and Gandhi: Essays on Political Philosophy in Hammarskjöld's Times* (Critical Currents, no. 3, Dag Hammarskjöld Foundation, 2008).

Hammar skjöld tried to interpret and transfer Buber's concept to a sphere it had not been written for. These differences became clear in the period immediately following Hammar skjöld's death, in the projects Buber undertook at that time, and will be presented in a final chapter, entitled 'Outlook', in order to start a discussion on topics that touch on today's problems and have to do with the legacy of both Hammar skjöld and Buber. I think the tension resulting from these different outlooks will be fruitful for further discussion.

The fact that it was Hammar skjöld who read and interpreted Buber much more than the other way round, justifies, I believe, a certain imbalance in this text with respect to the two men's works – that is, my decision to examine more extensively the content and intellectual background of those parts of Buber's texts that Hammar skjöld explicitly referred to in his letters and press conferences.



A few letters from Buber's and Hammar skjöld's correspondence

I » The ‘Walls of Distrust’ within the ‘Age of Mistrust’

The encounter of Dag Hammarskjöld and Martin Buber, phase I (1958–59)

When the great Jewish philosopher Martin Buber (1878–1965) spoke about his encounter with the second Secretary-General of the United Nations, Dag Hammarskjöld (1905–1961), in a speech for the Swedish Radio in 1962, entitled ‘Memories of Hammarskjöld’ (Buber 1962a: 57–59), he not only talked about their common understanding of the Cold War and the current incapacity of states’ representatives to take part in true dialogue, but went on rather mysteriously:

But I sensed, looking at and listening to him, something else that I could not explain to myself, something fateful that in some way was connected with his function in this world-hour (Buber 1962a: 58).

Buber continued with his account of their relationship instead of exploring in more depth what he meant by ‘something fateful’. Did he think that because of Hammarskjöld’s function his good intentions were doomed to failure? Or did he even mean that he sensed Hammarskjöld’s impending death? As for Hammarskjöld, was this sense of destiny, this inescapable duty concerning his office at this ‘world-hour’, something he started to regret during his encounter with Buber? Did he already feel that he might not survive this critical moment in the Cold

War? Did he have an unconscious hunch that his final project, resulting from his relationship with Buber – namely, translating Buber’s major work on dialogue, *I and Thou* – would not be accomplished, and that his desire for a wide-ranging, long-term and intensified contact with Buber, whom he admired, would be unfulfilled? In his letter of 26 August 1961 to Buber, Hammarskjöld was boldly outspoken about the kind of relationship he was hoping for:

If this all works out, may I tell you how much it would mean to me also by providing me with a justification for a broadened and intensified contact with you personally.¹

It is surprising to see so much wishful thinking on the part of the usually realistic Hammarskjöld, who knew when he wrote this that Buber was already 83 years old.

1 Kungliga Biblioteket Stockholm, Dag Hammarskjöld Samling (hereafter KBS DHS), Dag Hammarskjöld, Letter to Martin Buber, 26 August 1961. Some but not all of the letters that Dag Hammarskjöld and Martin Buber exchanged are published in Nahum N. Glatzer and Paul Mendes-Flohr (eds) (1991), *The letters of Martin Buber*, New York: Schocken Books, which is an abridged version of Martin Buber *Briefwechsel aus sieben Jahrzehnten* (1972/73/75), edited by Grete Schaefer, 3 vols, Heidelberg: Lambert Schneider.

The itinerary of the encounter and the letter exchange between Dag Hammarskjöld and Martin Buber has been well documented in German and English by several authors. They all agree that no direct influence of Buber's philosophy was discernable in Hammarskjöld's writings before Hammarskjöld contacted Buber for the first time in April 1958.² One of Hammarskjöld's biographers, Henry van Dusen, points out that the Secretary-General had even visited Jerusalem three times before (April-May 1956; May 1957; December 1957) without contacting Buber or showing any intention of visiting his house (van Dusen 1967: 215). Van Dusen even invited Buber's English translator and main biographer, Maurice Friedman, to examine carefully Hammarskjöld's posthumously published memoirs, *Markings* (1965), to prove that there was no evidence of influence by Buber in these. After reading them, Friedman made some remarks on similarities, for example that for both of them 'to live meaningfully meant to live in response to the demand of the situation'; that both showed respect for the word and would not allow it to be misused, as this would show contempt for man; furthermore, that their approach to conflict with another person included both

an objective detachment as well as a capacity 'to experience his difficulties subjectively'; finally, that both 'knew a realistic and active mysticism which does not turn away from the world' (Friedman 1988: 311). Nonetheless, Friedman confirmed van Dusen's judgement when it came to exploring the fundamental differences between them:

There are, however, *differences* between *Markings* and Buber's thought, one of which is that while Buber was also decisively influenced by Meister Eckhart, Hammarskjöld seemed to remain Kierkegaardian precisely in the way that Buber did not, i.e., focusing on the I-Thou relationship with God somewhat at the expense of that with man. There was, indeed, a Kierkegaardian quality of loneliness and isolation about Hammarskjöld even in the midst of his intense activity, which Buber did not share. Hammarskjöld, too, was concerned about the tension between 'being' and 'seeming', but he saw no resolution of this tension in authentic interhuman contact as Buber did. What is more, in Hammarskjöld's concern for God and others there was a note of denial of the self that was very foreign to Buber (Friedman 1988: 312).

It is striking that in both phases of their relationship, it was Hammarskjöld who initiated the contact by writing to Buber. It was Hammarskjöld who read and interpreted Buber, not the other way round. Essentially, Hammarskjöld felt the urge for contact with Buber after reading English translations of his essays, so already in his first letter of 16 April 1958, only five days after his re-election for a second term as Secretary-General of the United Nations, he wrote:

2 See most notably: in German, Fröhlich (2002: 192-211), and occasional discussions on Buber's influence elsewhere in this book), Fröhlich (2005: 97-114), Friedman (1999: 489-501); and in English, Friedman (1983: 303-331), van Dusen (1967: 215-219), Hodes (1972: 153-171). Manuel Fröhlich explains that there were 'parallel ways' in the sense that Hammarskjöld's 'quiet diplomacy', established during his negotiations in China in 1955, were an implementation of central elements of Buber's philosophy of dialogue without his knowing it – a thesis which will be discussed in the section on the second phase of their encounter (Fröhlich 2002: 253-283; Fröhlich 2005: 108-111).

My reason for sending you these lines is that I just read the newly published American edition of your collection of essays, 'Pointing the way'. I wish to tell you how strongly I have responded to what you write about our age of distrust and to the background of your observations which I find in your general philosophy of unity created 'out of the manifold'. Certainly, for me, this is a case of 'parallel ways'.³

He finished the letter by expressing the wish to visit Buber when he – Hammar skjöld – was next in Jerusalem. But only two days later, Hammar skjöld wrote again, having learned that Buber was currently in the United States:

Today I see from the papers that you are at Princeton for guest lectures. Please may I most warmly invite you to visit us at the United Nations if and when it might suit you. I would be happy and proud, indeed, to receive you here.⁴

He even gave the telephone number of his office. This fact and the devoted tone of his letter show Hammar skjöld's eagerness to meet Buber. He enclosed a copy of his first letter, sent to Buber in Jerusalem.

Buber's speech at the Community Church and the first encounter with Hammar skjöld in New York, 1 May 1958

Buber himself was on his third trip to the United States, which lasted from March to early June 1958. He and his wife Paula (*née* Paula Winkler) had been given a house for the duration of their stay in Princeton, New Jersey. Both were elderly: Buber had just celebrated his 80th birthday, and Paula was to die on their way back to Israel, in Venice. During his sojourn in the United States, Buber was holding informal conversations with chosen students of Professor Friedman at Princeton, but more important concerning his predisposition towards meeting Hammar skjöld was a speech he was about to give in New York 'at the end of April' (Buber 1958: 364) on Zionism and the Israeli-Arab question. The speech was to be given to the American Friends of Ichud ('Association' or 'Union') – a group formed by Buber and his friends in Palestine, in 1942) – who were having a big meeting to celebrate Buber's birthday as well as commemorating the 10th anniversary of the death of Judah Magnes, the former president of the Hebrew University in Jerusalem and a close friend of Buber's in the Ichud and the League for Jewish-Arab Rapprochement and Co-operation in Israel. This celebration was to take place at the Community Church in New York, attended by several thousand people (Friedman 1988: 236). A quarrel took place between Isidor Hoffman (the Jewish chaplain at Columbia and a leading American pacifist), Erich Fromm (who was anti-Zionist) and Friedman (then chairman of the US Ichud) as to whether Buber should speak as the last and main orator. The conflicts in

3 KBS DHS, Dag Hammar skjöld, Letter to Martin Buber, 16 April 1958.

4 KBS DHS, Dag Hammar skjöld, Letter to Martin Buber, 18 April 1958.

the aftermath of the celebration led to Friedman's resignation as chairman and to the splitting of the Zionist Ichud mother group in Israel from her more and more anti-Zionist daughter group in the US (Friedman 1988: 446). Friedman recounts that Buber's speech

...lasted for almost an hour and was an ambitious attempt to present an overview of the whole Zionist movement with the split between those who wanted to achieve Zion by diplomatic means and those like Buber and his friends, who believed in organic colonization and in Jewish-Arab good-neighbourliness and cooperation (Friedman 1988: 236-37).

Such had been the antagonism between Theodor Herzl and Martin Buber long ago at the very beginning of the Zionist movement. In this highly sensitive celebration speech, still unpublished as far as I know, Buber stated explicitly, according to his own notes for the speech:

In the days of Hitler the majority of the Jewish people saw that millions of Jews have been killed with impunity, and a certain part [of the Jewish people] made their own doctrine that history does not go the way of the spirit but the way of power.⁵

This passage provoked severe criticism by the Jewish press in the US and in Israel. In the months that followed, Buber repeatedly regretted having said that Hitler had killed 'with impunity', for Hitler had lost the war as well as his life and that was his punishment. But he remained decidedly

insistent about the essence of what he had said. In a 'rectifying communication' to the editor of *Ha-aretz*⁶, one of the few Israeli newspapers that didn't criticise him for his speech, he confirmed:

I must add now that the part of the Jewish people did not change this opinion even after Hitler's defeat. I oppose now as I opposed then, with all my force, those who believe in the doctrine of 'Not by the spirit, but by power' and act upon it.⁷

In response to this controversy, Buber felt obliged to write an article for the American Jewish press with the intention of further explaining his views. This was published in *Congress Weekly* and later included in the paperback edition of Buber's book *Israel and the World* (Friedman 1988: 237). Here, Buber still maintained:

Within a part of the Jewish people, gruesomely affected by the victory of the sub-human over the human, the false doctrine lasted, even as the sub-human had been toppled... It has been by the spirit that this people survived through all times, unbowed, challenging unfortunate destiny. With the methods of the spirit alone, the Zionist movement took her position in Palestine and has already achieved the first legal titles. Only by strictly following the guidance of the spirit could it hope to create something greater than merely one more state amongst the states of the world...

5 Martin Buber, quoted by Friedman (1983: 237).

6 *Ha-aretz*: Israel's oldest daily newspaper, founded in 1918, today published in Hebrew and English. The English edition is sold together with the *International Herald Tribune*, affiliated to the *New York Times*, and appears as a weekly.

7 Martin Buber, quoted by Friedman (1983: 237).

We only recognised how deeply the evil had already penetrated into a part of the people, when this fact could no longer be overlooked. Meanwhile, in opposition to the proposals [of Buber and the Ichud] for a bi-national state or a Jewish part within a federation of the Middle East, the unfortunate partition of Palestine has been carried out, the abyss between the two peoples has been torn wide open, battle has raged... But one day it happened that, contravening all orderly conduct of war, a gang of armed Jews attacked an Arab village and annihilated it...⁸ Here it was a matter of our own, of my own crime, an assault of the Jew on the spirit. Even today, I cannot think of it without feeling guilty. Our fighting belief in the spirit has been too weak to prevent the outbreak and expansion of the demonic false doctrine.⁹

Thus Buber's political confession, reflecting his mental disposition in the aftermath of his speech, just before travelling from Princeton to New York to meet Hammarskjöld. Buber proposed the meeting with Hammarskjöld in his letter of 22 April 1958:

I want to thank you for your two letters. What you tell me in your letter to Jerusalem is very important for me. I think to go to New York April 29 for 3 days. Would it suit you if I come to see you May 1 in the afternoon? (on April 30 I have no leisure at all).¹⁰

From the dates given by Buber, it is clear – although neither Friedman nor Buber himself gives a precise date for the speech at the Community Church (Friedman [1988: 236] talks of 'spring' 1958 and Buber [1958: 364] of the end of April) – that Buber delivered the speech on 30 April, the day when he had 'no leisure at all'. Thus, Buber met with Hammarskjöld, who was essentially a diplomat, involved in power politics in the context of the Cold War at the same time that Buber was reflecting on his own experiences of nearly 50 years of involvement with the Zionist movement, and was publicly denouncing 'diplomatic means' (Friedman 1988: 237) as strongly as he had done many years before in his very early quarrel with the purely diplomatic approach of Theodor Herzl (Friedman 1982: 53–73). And yet, Buber showed no resentment about entering one of the towers of worldwide power politics and diplomacy to meet Hammarskjöld, even saying that the latter's impression when reading *Pointing the Way* had been 'very important' to him.

8 Buber is referring here to the incident on 9 April 1948 at Deir Yasin, an Arab village which was attacked by unified troops of Irgun ('National Military Organisation in the Land of Israel' and the Stern-Gang/LEHY ('Fighters for the Freedom of Israel'). During this attack 254 Arab inhabitants – men, women and children – were reportedly killed (Buber 1958: 368–369). From 1931 to 1948 Irgun operated as an armed group of revisionist Zionists under Jabotinsky, and after 1948 it was slowly integrated into the Israeli Defence Forces. The Stern-Gang/LEHY was an underground armed group opposed to the British Mandate of Palestine, which carried out political assassinations of the British authorities and Palestinian Arabs and killed UN mediator Folke Bernadotte in September 1948; it was then banned by the new Israeli government under a new anti-terrorist law, but LEHY activists benefited already on 14 February 1949 from a general amnesty granted by Israel.

9 Buber (1958: 367–368), translated from the German by Lou Marin as no English edition of 'Israel and the Command of the Spirit' was available to the author. The only English version is in the 1963 revised paperback edition of the original text by Buber (1948, hardcover), *Israel and the World. Essays in a Time of Crisis*, New York: Schocken Books.

10 KBS DHS, Martin Buber, Letter to Dag Hammarskjöld, 22 April 1958.

Before their meeting in Hammarskjöld's office at the UN building, which lasted about two hours, Hammarskjöld gave instructions that they should not be interrupted under any circumstances (van Dusen 1967: 216). Buber speaks about this first meeting in his memorial address:

When we then met in the house of the organization so remarkably named the United Nations, it proved to be the case that both of us were indeed concerned about the same thing: he who stood in the most exposed position of international responsibility, I who stand in the loneliness of a spiritual tower, which is in reality a watchtower from which all the distances and depths of the planetary crisis can be descried... We were both pained in the same way by the pseudo-speaking of representatives of states and groups of states who, permeated by a fundamental reciprocal mistrust, talked past one another out the windows. We both hoped, we both believed that still in sufficient time before the catastrophe, faithful representatives of the people, faithful to their mission, would enter into a genuine dialogue, a dialogue dealing with one another out of which would emerge in all clarity the fact that the common interests of the peoples were stronger still than those which kept them in opposition to one another (Buber 1962a: 57–58).

During their meeting Hammarskjöld also mentioned that he would like to quote Buber's remarks on the need to combat the prevailing mistrust. Hammarskjöld was already preparing for an address he was due to give in June 1958 at Cambridge University (Hodes 1972: 160). Furthermore, Hammarskjöld suggested

for the first time the possibility of translating 'Hope for this Hour' into Swedish, together with two or three other essays in *Pointing the Way* (Hodes 1972: 162).

Before examining that in more detail, we need to draw attention here to the fact that when Buber addressed himself publicly in terms of criticism he used the term 'representatives of states and groups of states', whereas when he spoke positively of his hopes and perspectives for the future he always used the expression 'representatives of the people'. These are not necessarily the same, and hint at a symptomatic difference in Buber's outlook, also hinting at the different spheres of his experience within the Zionist movement. Whereas, Hammarskjöld, for his part, was entirely concerned with the power politics of states' representatives.

Hammarskjöld: Respect for the word

It is not that Hammarskjöld was unaware that there were other domains where the capacity for true dialogue needed to be restored. This awareness is evident in his letter to the poet and translator Erik Lindegren with whom he was working at the time on a translation of the poet Saint-John Perse:

I saw the other day old Martin Buber – he really is a great man – who said that he felt that we had come to a stage where the individual life had been completely gobbled up by political life and that political life now represents a world without any exit and without any entry. He talked about our de-humanised existence where language has ceased to have its normal function of communication in order to establish a living contact between human

beings. I think he is basically right, and I think that is one reason why the poets should add a new dimension to their task as guardians of straight human communication where the respect for the word is still maintained.¹¹

Apparently, for Hammarskjöld this was a justification for his evaluation work on literature within the Swedish Academy as well as his translation work, which would soon turn to an interest in translating Buber into Swedish. One of Hammarskjöld's biographers, Manuel Fröhlich (2005: 101), points here to a phrase Hammarskjöld wrote in his diary (later published as *Markings*) on 1 August 1955:

Respect for the word is the first commandment in the discipline by which a man can be educated to maturity – intellectual, emotional and moral... To misuse the word is to show contempt for man (Hammarskjöld 1964: 101).

But Fröhlich (2005: 105–06) also highlights the fact that Hammarskjöld wanted to re-establish respect for the word first and foremost in his very own domain, international diplomacy. Another biographer, Emery Kelen, testifies— without giving a precise date – that at a press conference Hammarskjöld was defending his 'quiet diplomacy' with explicit reference to two philosophers of dialogue:

I do believe, to use what has become a famous term, thanks to Camus and Buber and others – I do believe that development in human terms of what they call dialogue is badly needed (Kelen 1966: 132).

For the moment, we can overlook the fact that Camus, too, did not write for the realm of diplomacy but for society, and that he was known as a philosopher of revolt as well as dialogue.

The corollary of absence of word and trust is fear and mistrust. In fact, when Hammarskjöld was seeking to make contact with Buber, the Cold War was in full swing, and more often than ever the Security Council was blocked because of vetoes by one or more of its members. Each conflict ran the risk of quickly accelerating into an imminent threat of nuclear war between the superpowers. In April 1958, at the time of the first encounter between Hammarskjöld and Buber, the Security Council quarrelled about a charge by the Soviet Union that the United States were overflying the Arctic region without their permission. As a reaction, the US proposed a monitored inspection zone, the proposal rejected in turn by the Soviet Union. Unusually, Hammarskjöld spoke out in this Security Council debate, implicitly referring to Buber's critique of the current crisis by stating that the basic reason

is the crisis of trust from which all mankind is suffering at the present juncture and which is reflected in an unwillingness to take any moves in a positive direction at their face value and a tendency to hold back a positive response because of a fear of being misled (Hammarskjöld 1958: 71a).

Hammarskjöld also spoke of the relation between governments and individual citizens in this statement, but in a fundamentally different way from Buber:

¹¹ Martin Buber, Letter to Erik Lindegren, 3 May 1958, quoted by Fröhlich (2002: 202 and 2005: 101).

Each government is in close contact with the opinion of the man in the street in its own country. For that reason, I am sure that all governments are in a position to confirm my statement that the peoples are eagerly and anxiously expecting leadership bringing them out of the present nightmare. The government taking a fruitful initiative will be hailed as a benefactor by the peoples (Hammar-skjöld 1958a: 71).

This is an entirely different view from Buber's, the latter regarding 'the man in the street' as an atomised individual totally oriented to, and obeying, the large collective such as the nation or the state (via media propaganda), not acting as a conscious participant in a small community and hence as a true and independent personality in opposition to and demanding something from his or her government.

Hammar-skjöld in Cambridge: 'The Walls of Distrust', 5 June 1958

The award of an honorary doctorate for Hammar-skjöld at Cambridge University was approaching, and Hammar-skjöld gave a major address there entitled 'The Walls of Distrust' (Hammar-skjöld 1958b: 90–95) on 5 June 1958. In this he quoted explicitly and at length from Buber's speech 'Hope for this Hour' (Buber 1952: 220–229), as he had already told Buber was his intention when they met:

In an address in Carnegie Hall in New York, in 1952, Martin Buber had the following to say: 'There have always been countless situations in which a man believes his life-interest demands that he suspect the other of making it his object

to appear otherwise than he is... In our time something basically different has been added... One no longer merely fears that the other will voluntarily dissemble, but one takes it for granted that he cannot do otherwise... The other communicates to me the perspective that he has acquired on a certain subject, but I do not really take cognizance of his communication as knowledge. I do not take it seriously as a contribution to the information about this subject, but rather I listen for what drives the other to say what he says, for an unconscious motive... Since it is the idea of the other, it is for me an 'ideology'. My main task in my intercourse with my fellow-man becomes more and more... to see through and unmask him... With this changed basic attitude... the mistrust between man and man has become existential. This is so indeed in a double sense: It is first of all, no longer the uprightness, the honesty of the other which is in question, but the inner integrity of his existence itself... Nietzsche knew what he was doing when he praised the 'art of mistrust', and yet he did not know. For this game naturally only becomes complete as it becomes reciprocal... Hence one may foresee in the future a degree of reciprocity in existential mistrust where speech will turn into dumbness and sense into madness...' Martin Buber has found expressions which it would be in vain for me to try to improve.¹²

So Hammar-skjöld, as Fröhlich (2005: 104) put it, made politics with Buber 'in the best sense of the word'. Hammar-skjöld's political application of Buber's thinking, as he inter-

¹² Martin Buber (1952), quoted by Hammar-skjöld (1958b: 93).

preted it, was immediate, concerning his efforts to overcome the cleavage between East and West at the level of United Nations power politics. But wasn't that too quick? Did Hammar skjöld in his hasty interpretation of Buber really grasp his thinking in depth, and in all its aspects – to begin with, his analysis of crisis and his proposed solution?

Buber's 'Hope for this Hour'

As surprising as it is to see to what length Hammar skjöld quotes Buber's 'Hope for this Hour', it is also important to look at what he didn't quote. Buber started his address by saying that the three principles of the French Revolution – freedom, equality, fraternity – had broken asunder. Fraternity had been deprived of its meaning, the encounter of human beings, so the two remaining watchwords had been turned against each other. Buber said this had become clear to him since World War I, when direct dialogue was becoming ever more difficult and rare. In another address, in 1953, 'Genuine Dialogue and the Possibilities of Peace', Buber depicted war as the great enemy of dialogue, and opposed war and speech:

War has always had an adversary who hardly ever comes forward as such but does his work in the stillness. This adversary is speech, fulfilled speech, the speech of genuine conversation in which men understand one another and come to a mutual understanding (Buber 1953a: 236).

So far, Hammar skjöld could surely agree. In 'Hope for this Hour', Buber went on to hail philosopher Robert Hutchins for stating that the essence of the Civilization of the Dialogue is communication, mutual respect and

understanding. Then followed the passages on the current age and the art of mistrust which Hammar skjöld quoted. Buber continued by asserting that despite the progressive decline of dialogue and a corresponding, universal growth of mistrust, there was still a basic need for man's existence to be confirmed by the other. As dialogue was blocked this basic need set out on two false ways:

...he seeks to be confirmed either by himself or by a collective to which he belongs. Both undertakings must fail. The self-confirmation of him whom no fellow-man confirms cannot stand. With ever more convulsive exertions, he must endeavour to restore it, and finally he knows himself as inevitably abandoned. Confirmation through the collective, on the other hand, is pure fiction...it cannot recognize anyone in his own being, and therefore independently of his usefulness for the collective (Buber 1952: 225).

In this way Buber criticised the contemporary atomisation of individuals, perceiving it as a corollary of the incapacity of state officials to communicate. Thus governments were *not* in close contact with the man on the street, and the man on the street was *not* able to express his basic needs. Moreover, in his essay 'The Question to the Single One', Buber described the 'man in the crowd' as being 'pushed', and as embodying 'non-truth' and 'un-freedom' (Buber 1936: 64).

Solutions begin, according to Buber, with the drawing of 'demarcation lines'. The opponent is not 100 per cent an ideologue; that is only one part of his wholeness and 'manifoldness' (we might even consider to find here in part of what Hammar skjöld refers to in his first

letter of 16 April 1958 as ‘unity created “out of the manifold”’). The ideological view of the opponent in the age of mistrust is a reduction of his personality. To overcome this reduction is a precondition for real dialogue between the two camps. But now followed the essential for Buber:

They who begin must have overcome in themselves the basic mistrust and be capable of recognizing in their partner in dialogue the reality of his being. It is self-understood that these men will not speak merely in their own names. Behind them will be divined the unorganized mass of those who feel themselves represented through these spokesmen. This is an entirely different kind of representation and representative body from the political (Buber 1952: 227).

Obviously, Buber didn’t expect solutions on the level of power politics and state representatives. And he went on:

These men will not be bound by the aims of the hour, they are gifted with the far-sightedness of those called by the unborn; they will be independent persons with no authority save that of the spirit... (Buber 1952: 227–28).

Buber wasn’t thinking of people like Hammar-skjöld here; in fact, due to the obligations of his function, the latter was entirely concerned with the political principle; in his years as UN Secretary-General Hammar-skjöld succeeded in furnishing the position with considerable ethical authority as well as political power (Fröhlich 2002: 347–351 and 361–372). Now it becomes clear why Buber’s main biographer and friend Maurice Friedman could write (1988: 333):

‘Buber was a social anarchist in the biblical sense.’

Buber concluded his address ‘Hope for this Hour’ with a hint of who these men (and women) are that oppose power politics only with their spirit:

The representatives of whom I speak will each be acquainted with the true needs of his own people, and on these needs will be willing to stake themselves. But they will also turn understandingly to the true needs of other peoples, and will know in both cases how to extract the true needs from the exaggerations. Just for that reason they will unrelentingly distinguish between truth and propaganda within what is called the opposition of interests (Buber 1952: 228).

There is no doubt that Hammar-skjöld fitted into this description and that Buber was never so strict in his rejection of power politics that he was unwilling to embrace such rare men to be found in the political sphere. But it is equally clear that Buber was talking mainly of ‘representatives’ outside the political sphere – ‘independent persons’ capable of listening to their own and other people’s true needs – whom he was looking out for from his fabled ‘watchtower’, from which he observed the ‘planetary crisis’.

Buber’s conception of the ‘Crossfront’

In other texts of *Pointing the way*, Buber was in this sense beginning to talk of a ‘cross-front’ to be forged, for example at the end of ‘The Validity and Limitation of the Political Principle’ (1953b):

There is, it seems to me, a front – only seldom perceived by those who compose it – that cuts across all the fronts of the hour, both the external and the internal. There they stand, ranged side by side, the men of real conviction who are found in all groups, all parties, all peoples, yet who know little or nothing of one another from group to group, from party to party, from people to people. As different as the goals are in one place and in another, it is still *one* front, for they are all engaged in the one fight for human truth... Those who stand on the crossfront, those who know nothing of one another, have to do with one another (Buber 1953b: 218–219).

In ‘Genuine Dialogue and the Possibilities of Peace’ Buber again referred to this concept of a crossfront for a solution, that is the re-structuring of true dialogue:

To the task of initiating this conversation those are inevitably called who carry on today within each people the battle against the anti-human. Those who build the great unknown front across mankind shall make it known by speaking unreservedly with one another, not overlooking what divides them but determined to bear this division in common (Buber 1953a: 238).

Hammar-skjöld was, in Buber’s understanding, part of the crossfront, but the main participants of the crossfront would stay outside the political – independent, free and unbound by the aims of the political sphere. I think that therein lies a certain and very humbly expressed regret concerning Buber’s relationship with Hammar-skjöld. For Buber the political sphere was far too poisoned by

the prevailing atmosphere of distrust, propaganda and non-communication for there to be any realistic hope that it would yield the solution. The best those working in the political sphere could achieve was to prevent the earth from being literally destroyed by nuclear warfare – sadly enough this would really mean something: the precondition of all life and social reconstruction. But in the long run, according to Buber, the toppling of the Cold War system as well as the related thinking and consciousness had to be initiated from elsewhere. I think Buber uttered this regret in his 1962 eulogy broadcast on the Swedish Radio, precisely through the word ‘but’ – the only ‘but’ in the entire eulogy – which I quoted near the beginning of this essay. Buber sensed in Hammar-skjöld ‘something fateful that was connected with his function in this world-hour’. Hammar-skjöld was, as it were, fatefully bound up with the political sphere due to his function.

Hammar-skjöld’s particular interpretation of Buber’s contemporary and political texts was very understandable due to the necessity of immediate application imposed by his function. But Buber’s philosophy meant more than this. Whereas Hammar-skjöld spoke of the ‘Walls of Distrust’, referring explicitly to the Cold War and the ‘Wall/Iron Curtain’ dividing Europe, Buber spoke of an more long-term ‘Age of Mistrust’, which went far beyond the Cold War situation. In order to explore what Buber meant by this it is necessary to discuss the basic stream of his thinking that was related to Zionism and his hope for a re-structuring of the Jewish community through the Kibbutz village communes.

*Buber's 'Paths in Utopia':
Village communities as the basis
of his worldview*

It is very interesting to see which of the books by (and on) Buber were in Hammar-skjöld's private library, as listed by Manuel Fröhlich (2005: 99, note 5). On the list are many of Buber's books on Hasidic literature and tales, as well as *Pointing the Way* and the first biography of Buber by Maurice Friedman – but none of Buber's writings on Zionism, Palestine and the Kibbutz communities. There is no surprise in this, as it is in his writing on the Kibbutz communities that Buber comes nearest to anarchism. Notably, in the most important of these works, *Paths in Utopia* (Buber 1950), he explored the history of practical community experiments from the first utopian attempts of Robert Owen up to the broad Kibbutzim movement in Palestine and Israel. Buber reminded his readers of the tradition of thinkers such as Proudhon, Kropotkin and Gustav Landauer (1870–1919) – the nonviolent anarchist who was murdered in 1919 during the reactionary repression of the Bavarian Republic of Councils and who, together with Franz Rosenzweig, was Buber's closest friend – and placed them in sharp contrast with Hegel, Marx and Lenin. For Buber, this represented the antagonism between a federalist socialism and a centralised state tradition of socialism. It was the contradiction between self-organised collectivisation and community, on the one hand and Soviet forced collectivisation and state nationalisation, on the other; the contradiction between Moscow and Jerusalem, as Buber put it symbolically at the end of his book. In the practical tradition of federalist socialism, based on voluntary efforts, a natural unity of all the different concrete implementations

of group and community life was emerging, whereas in the tradition of centralised socialism there was a prevailing dogmatic uniformity, compulsion, no diversity, no free will to federate 'out of the manifold' – that is, no constant creativity to meet the challenges of daily life.

Buber wrote *Paths in Utopia* in the midst of World War II, from about 1942 to 1945 (he settled in Palestine after persecution in Germany in 1938). One of the last chapters of this book is called 'In the Midst of Crisis'. Here, Buber developed from the core of his thinking – his analysis of the 'Age of Mistrust' – a historical vision of re-structuring society and community. Buber located the outbreak of the crisis as 30 years before – that is, at the beginning of World War I. But for Buber, this crisis was simply the result of man's historical development. Man had piled up more and more technical inventions but the core of *human* development had always been the creation of a social world through mutual aid (as defined by Kropotkin). According to Buber, this human development had fallen far behind technical progress in the historical development of man.

At an early stage, and until the middle ages, this social creativity developed within a social structure of groups, associations and communities, different and diverse as they were. Power centres were to be found at an early historical stage but:

to the political sphere in the stricter sense, the State with its police-system and its bureaucracy, there was always opposed the organic, functionally organized society as such, a great society built up of various societies, the great society in which men lived and worked, competed

with one another and helped one another; and in each of the big and little societies composing it, in each of these communes and communities the individual human being, despite all the difficulties and conflicts, felt himself at home as once in the clan, felt himself approved and affirmed in his functional independence and responsibility (Buber 1950: 131).

Here, the individual learned what responsibility is all about. This decentralised structure, where some states may have been existing on the margins but did not dominate communities, prevailed until about the middle ages, according to Buber. Then came the fundamental change:

‘All this changed more and more as the centralistic political principle subordinated the de-centralistic social principle’ (Buber 1950: 131).

The centralised state weakened the free communities and marginalised them. And the political principle infiltrated into communities, cooperatives and associations, into the consciousness of their members, thus over-politicising society. So society adapted to the state – not the other way round. Individuals and small communities submitted themselves totally to centralised power, in democratic as well as totalitarian ways.

Everywhere the only thing of importance was the minute organization of power, the unquestioning observance of slogans, the saturation of the whole of society with the real or supposed interests of the State (Buber 1950: 132).

Within the modern, centralised world, where the structure of associations and small

communities is weakened or even destroyed, individuals find themselves atomised. They are – Buber quotes Proudhon – but ‘a heap of dust animated from without by a subordinating, centralist idea’ (Buber 1950: 29). Without the former structure of communities and associations, and having nowhere where he/she feels ‘at home’, the individual becomes scared, is full of fear. Out of this fear the individual develops mistrust and hands him/herself over to a large collective, a state or a nation. The individual develops a will to obey unconditionally.

And the most valuable of all goods – the life between man and man – gets lost in the process; the autonomous relationships become meaningless, personal relationships wither; and the very spirit of man hires itself out as a functionary (Buber 1950: 132).

The functionary, the modern bureaucrat as a result of centralised statist society: that was literally the contrary of what Hammar-skjöld originally conceived to be the ethics of a functionary – being answerable not to one party or another, or any particular interest group, but only to the whole of a nation (or the planet). For Buber, by contrast, the emergence of the functionary, the bureaucrat, was the outcome of the false development of man, where the individual had become just ‘a cog in the “collective” machine’ (Buber 1950: 132). Whereas Hammar-skjöld conceived of his ethics as a functionary as ‘strictly un-political’ (Fröhlich 2002: 120) and as a continuation of his family tradition of Swedish officialdom (Fröhlich 2002: 214), the bureaucrat was for Buber the peak and the symbol of the political principle, unable due to his function to act on the basis of personal relations or true ethical judgements,

with the responsibility only for carrying out orders from above without regard for the person concerned (the Weberian ideal type). Of course, this is Buber's general analysis, not his personal judgement of Hammar skjöld. Buber never formulated his theories in an absolute way, in the sense that literally no one could be an exception. He regarded Hammar skjöld as an exception in the sphere of the political principle – but the norm within this sphere was definitely otherwise.

Thus, for Buber, the structured society of the past has been lost because of the dominance of the centralised state principle. This is the crisis, the 'Age of Mistrust'. The first task in re-structuring society should be, according to Buber, defying the sovereignty of the political principle over society. This could be achieved not through political organisation, but only through the strong will of the peoples to administer and develop the planet by working together, not against each other. In this way the question of contemporary socialism was posed for Buber. He rejected collectivisation in the sense of state socialism. He also rejected the principle of being represented, because true community, cooperation and association required active participation on common matters and couldn't survive without that will. A society could only re-structure itself through the organic co-operation of these associations and communities based on active participation. They were the groups 'out of the manifold' working together. By this process, the social structure would regain the power to expand the demarcation line and to push back the political principle. It was not actually a question of the absolute or nothing. The demarcation line had always to be tested and verified anew according to new historical situations – this was, according to Buber, the task for humanity's spiritual

conscience, and maybe also for the occupant of the spiritual 'watchtower' as Buber described himself in his Swedish Radio speech for Hammar skjöld (Buber 1962a: 33). For Buber, community was always an idea, not a fixed principle. It had become, for practical reasons, more a question of survival than of romance or enthusiasm. Buber was certainly thinking here of the the early Kibbutzim communities and the hardship their pioneers (Chaluzim) had to endure. Buber longed for a resurrection of village communes (Kvuzas), not those of the past, but contemporary ones with integrated agriculture, handicraft and industry (a concept derived from Kropotkin). There would surely be some sort of representation there, too, but not an abstract representation of amorphous de-structured masses of individual voters. There would be concrete representation based on common production and common experience. For Buber only such a community of communities was a 'Commonwealth'.

This notion of a 'community of communities' – as well as the historical concept of a structured communal society that existed until the middle ages, before the intrusion of the centralised state – derived from Buber's highly influential early friend, the nonviolent anarchist Gustav Landauer (Buber 1950: 46–57; Wolf 1994: 10; Seemann 1997: 74–91; Wolf 1997: 210–226; Wolf 2001: 35–48). In *Pointing the Way* there is one article dealing with this antagonism of centralisation and decentralisation ('Society and the State', Buber 1951: 161–76) and another commemorating the revolutionary and nonviolent legacy of Gustav Landauer ('Recollection of a Death', Buber 1929: 115–20) though not quite dealing with his historical community concept as in *Paths in Utopia*.

*Buber's 'Society and the State':
What is Hammar skjöld's unity
'out of the manifold'?*

It is not quite clear to me whether Hammar skjöld's agreement with Buber's 'general philosophy of unity created "out of the manifold"' derived from a reading of 'Society and the State'. There is no such literal formulation in that particular text. Nonetheless and at first sight, there are paragraphs that support the idea that Hammar skjöld was referring to that essay:

The society of a nation is composed not of individuals but of societies...groups, circles, unions, co-operative bodies, and communities varying very widely in type, form, scope, and dynamics. Society (with a capital S) is not only their collectivity and setting, but also their substance and essence... In so far as the mere proximity of the societies tends to change into union, in so far as all kinds of leagues and alliances develop among them – in the social-federative sphere, that is to say – Society achieves its object (Buber 1951: 173).

Here Buber leaves a task of unification to the State, which could have been regarded by Hammar skjöld as the part he was to occupy within Buber's general philosophy:

Society cannot, however, quell the conflicts between the different groups; it is powerless to unite the divergent and clashing groups; it can develop what they have in common, but cannot force it upon them. The State alone can do that (Buber 1951: 173).

But does that really fit into Hammar skjöld's description of a 'unity "out of the manifold"'? After all, the State steps in here as an outside agency to force a unity out of clashes and conflicts occurring within the manifold. This isn't quite a natural unity 'out of the manifold'. Instead, it was from the viewpoint and for the sake of society that Buber called for a limitation of government power and its reduction to mere 'administration', so that society acquired the space to form a unity of its own, a community of communities. Buber formulated this demand in 'Society and the State' in the following way:

All forms of government have this in common: each possesses more power than is required by the given conditions; in fact, this excess in the capacity for making dispositions is actually what we understand by political power. The measure of this excess...represents the exact difference between Administration and Government. I call it the 'political surplus' (Buber 1951: 174).

That a reading of 'Society and the State' in combination with a knowledge of Buber's emphasis on the Kibbutzim village communes almost certainly led to the anarchist base of Buber's thinking, laid down by Landauer, proves a letter from a young scholar, Hermann Meier-Cronemeyer, writing to Buber on 15 August 1963:

For more than a year I have been writing a dissertation here in Jerusalem on the Kibbutzim, to which I will give the title 'History, Spirit and Shape'¹³. Though I started this work without any preliminary

¹³ Hermann Meier-Cronemeyer (1969), *Kibbuzim. Geschichte, Geist und Gestalt*, Hannover.

assumption – which surely is a disadvantage for a scientific work – I am more and more captured by one question, that is whether the Kibbutzim cannot or at least couldn't be regarded as anarchism taking shape. Only after reading your little script 'Society and the State' was I awakened to the fact that the youth movement not altogether wrongly considered itself to be 'un-political' – an argument in the face of which modern critics, when confronted with it, appear completely helpless, it seems to me. And they have to be helpless, unless the difference between 'social' and 'political', which you emphasise, cannot be seen. Isn't the reduction of the 'political surplus' quintessentially anarchist?¹⁴

Buber answers Meier-Cronemeyer very briefly that the notion of 'anarchism' doesn't suit him, because anarchism

indicates an abolition of the power relation – which is impossible as long as the constitution of the human being is as it is, rather than a respective demarcation and reduction of this relation as far as possible.¹⁵

Compared to *Paths in Utopia*, 'Society and the State' was less radical, and did not deal

with the historical proponents of anarchist federalism and pluralistic socialism to describe crisis and the necessary re-structuring of society. In *Paths in Utopia*, Buber's philosophy of a unity 'out of the manifold' was much more explicitly based on the history of producers' and consumers' co-operatives, community experiments and the Kibbutz movement. There, 'unity' was the federation of the manifold groups, co-operatives and units. And it remained clearly within the responsibility of the federated society to create this unity. Already in his chapter on Proudhon, Buber wrote so beautifully:

...so long as society was richly structured, so long as it was built up of manifold communities and communal units, all strong in vitality, the State was a wall narrowing one's outlook and restricting one's steps, but within this wall a spontaneous communal life could flourish and grow. But to the extent that the structure grew impoverished the wall became a prison (Buber 1950: 27).

And further on, Buber wrote about Proudhon's federalism: 'He refuses to equate a new ordering of society with uniformity; order means, for him, the just ordering of multiformity' (Buber 1950: 36).

Then Buber criticised Lenin's centralism in a similar way:

In the planned, all-embracing State Co-operative [Lenin] sees the fulfilment of the 'dreams' of the old Co-operatives 'begun with Robert Owen'. Here the contradiction between idea and realization reaches its apogee. What those 'Utopians', beginning with Robert Owen,

14 Hermann Meier-Cronemeyer, 'Letter to Martin Buber, 15 August 1963', in Buber (1975: 597); translation by Lou Marin. Unfortunately, neither this letter nor Buber's reply is included in the abridged English edition by Nahum N. Glatzer and Paul Mendes-Flohr (eds) (1991), *The letters of Martin Buber*, New York: Schocken Books.

15 Martin Buber, 'Letter to Hermann Meier-Cronemeyer, 22 September 1963', in Buber (1975: 608); translation by Lou Marin. Finally, in his letter to Meier-Cronemeyer Buber recommends for further reading his article 'The Validity and Limitation of the Political Principle' (Buber 1953b: 208-19).

were concerned about in their thoughts and plans for association was the voluntary combination of people into small independent units of communal life and work, and the voluntary combination of those into a community of communities. What Lenin describes as the fulfilment of these thoughts...is an immense, utterly centralized complex of State production-centres and State distribution-centres, a mechanism of bureaucratically run institutes for production and consumption, each locked into the other like cog-wheels (Buber 1950: 123).

Finally, describing the voluntary principle of the Kibbutz village communes, Buber wrote:

...nowhere, as far as I see, in the history of the Socialist movement were men so deeply involved in the process of differentiation and yet so intent on preserving the principle of integration (Buber 1950: 1945).

In fact, this is – more precisely than in ‘Society and the State’ – Buber’s ‘general philosophy of unity created “out of the manifold”’. Lest, Hammar skjöld most likely never read that book, and apparently didn’t give ‘Society and the State’ too much attention when he read *Pointing the Way*. After all, I suppose Hammar skjöld was thinking – when formulating this phrase ‘unity created “out of the manifold”’ to Buber in his first letter – more of Buber’s crossfront at the end of ‘The Validity and Limitation of the Political Principle’, where there are formulations such as: ‘As different as the goals are in one place and in another, it is still *one* front...’¹⁶. And there

is the explicit word ‘manifold’ – ‘We wish to perceive his manifoldness and his wholeness, his proper character...’¹⁷ – but this relates to an individual personality. Besides, the reference to ‘Hope for this Hour’ also fits better with Hammar skjöld’s assumption that he and Buber are thinking in ‘parallel ways’. For him, what he read of Buber and the way in which he used him politically was very closely related to the idea of the political sphere trying to break through the ‘Walls of Distrust’ in the political communication of power politics. Practically, that meant at the same time widening the manoeuvrability of the United Nations and the leadership powers of the Secretary-General – which was quite different from the demand for merely administrative function as described by Buber in ‘Society and the State’. Buber, on the contrary, never thought that a real way out of the crisis, a re-structuring of true community and society, could come from the sphere of the political principle – hence his demand for a demarcation line with the political sphere to be pushed back as far as possible.

The Jerusalem encounters 1958/59: Buber’s ‘The Validity and Limitation of the Political Principle’

Although Hammar skjöld and Buber were occupied with different spheres from which rescue in the ‘Age of Mistrust’ might be generated, they both considered themselves part of the ‘crossfront’, to use Buber’s term, so their encounter continued. On two occasions when Hammar skjöld visited Jerusalem they met at Buber’s house in the suburb of

¹⁶ See the quotation above (p.19) in this text; Buber (1953b: 218).

¹⁷ See Buber (1953b: 227).

Talbiyeh: in September 1958 (early in the month, as Hammarskjöld returned to New York on 13 September) and in January 1959 (again early on, as Hammarskjöld returned to New York on 9 January) (Hodes 1972: 160). There were two press conferences in New York, after Hammarskjöld's second Jerusalem visit, in which he referred to their meetings. At the press conference on 16 January 1959 Hammarskjöld stated that meeting Buber had been

one out-of-way tourism with a strong personal accent. I had the pleasure of paying a personal call on Professor Martin Buber for whom I have a sincere admiration (Cordier/Foote 1974: 322).

An interesting point emerges from the follow-up press conference on 5 February, when a journalist, Mrs Kay Rainey Gray from the *Greenwich Times* asked Hammarskjöld to say more about the content of these meetings:

After [the second Jerusalem visit], Professor Buber was quoted by the press as saying that your conversation concerned the relationship between philosophy and politics from Plato down to our days, in particular, discussion of his essay, 'The Meaning and Validity of the Political Principle' [correct title: 'The Validity and Limitation of the Political Principle'; L. M.] (Cordier/Foote 1974: 325).

Hammarskjöld, in his reply, first rectified a misunderstanding on Mrs Gray's part that he supposedly intended to translate the whole of the essay collection, *Pointing the Way*, into Swedish, saying that he would never have time for that, but then confirming his wish

to translate 'some three or four essays', notably in the final part of the book¹⁸. Already summarising his impressions after both meetings in Jerusalem, Hammarskjöld also went on more generally:

On very many points I see eye to eye with him; on other points, naturally there must be nuances. But as to the basic reaction, I think that he has made a major contribution and I would like to make that more broadly known.¹⁹

Thus, they had not been in complete agreement. Unfortunately, Hammarskjöld gave no hint as to where the differences and the 'nuances' lay, for example, when they discussed 'The Validity and Limitation of the Political Principle'. This article closes, as we have shown above, with an outline of Buber's concept of a crossfront, and as we suppose that Hammarskjöld could agree on that, we should mention that the first part of this essay does not deal with 'philosophy and politics from Plato down to our days'. Plato isn't even mentioned in this text. Moreover, in the first part Buber discusses Jesus and his statement about giving unto Caesar what is due to Caesar, to God what is due to God; of course, the aim in discussing this edict of Jesus is to draw a demarcation line with the sphere of the political principle. Plato, on the other hand, is discussed at length by Buber, at the beginning of 'Society and State', in a very negative way as an early historical example of someone who confuses the social with the political sphere.

¹⁸ Hammarskjöld, quoted by Cordier/Foote (1974: 325).

¹⁹ Hammarskjöld, quoted by Cordier/Foote (1974: 326).

*Buber's 'Plato and Isaiah':
The power-entangled intellectual
versus the powerless prophet*

There is one further reference that is connected with the second meeting in Jerusalem in January 1959. This was their last personal encounter, but also the most intimate, when Hammarskjöld stayed on to dinner and spent the whole evening at the house of the Buber family. Aubrey Hodes came to know Buber in 1953 as a member of a Kibbutz in the hills of Nazareth and became a regular friend and visitor. He wrote about this second Jerusalem meeting in January 1959:

Buber sometimes spoke with me about this evening – the last time he saw Hammarskjöld. And he has written that ‘in the centre of our conversation stood the problem that has ever laid claim to me in the course of my life: the failure of the spiritual man in his historical undertakings’ (Hodes 1974: 160).

That was the Plato topic. We can deduce from this that they spoke more about the general ‘Age of Mistrust’ than about the short-sighted, but contemporary Cold War ‘Wall of Distrust’ – more about the depth of the crisis and its solution than about short-term politics. Buber apparently defined the subject. Concerning Plato, Buber was not referring to the beginning of ‘Society and State’, but most likely to another essay, according to Hodes:

[Buber] illustrated this failure [of spiritual man in his historical undertakings] by Plato’s abortive attempt to establish his just state in Sicily, which broke down when his friend and disciple, Prince Dion,

was assassinated. This was a theme which always fascinated Buber. He returned to it again and again in conversation, and wrote about it in his essay ‘Plato and Isaiah’, which formed part of the inaugural lecture he delivered at the Hebrew University in 1938 (Hodes 1974: 160).

Buber’s lecture ‘Plato and Isaiah’ opposes two thinkers about the spirit and their relation to the political principle. The first part deals with Plato’s three visits to Sicily where he wanted to establish his spiritually enlightened just state. He was confronted with Dionysios II, a tyrant he became acquainted with. But Plato’s view was that government rule was in crisis and decay, so he wanted to convince the tyrant to govern in a new, spiritual, intellectual way to bring about a just state. Plato had a friend in Sicily, Dion, a prince who had become a Platonic philosopher himself and wanted to help him convince the tyrant. On his third and last visit to Sicily, Plato was disappointed by the tyrant’s inability to understand the intellectual truth Plato was convinced he himself possessed. After Plato’s return to Athens in 360 B.C., his friend Dion toppled the tyrant in order to establish the just state by himself. Soon Dion was accused of creating a new tyranny and was murdered in 354 B.C. In a letter to Sicily, Plato defended his friend Dion and his power politics.²⁰ In his text on the subject, Buber presupposed the historical story and was very critical of Plato, regarding his efforts as a failure. Buber quoted Kant in his critic of Plato:

[Kant] wrote: ‘Because the wielding of power inevitably destroys the free judge-

²⁰ For an extended historical discussion see for example: Michael Erler (2007), *Platon*, Schwabe Verlag: Basel.

ment of reason, it is not to be expected that kings should philosophize or philosophers be kings, nor even to be desired' (Buber 1938a: 104).

To Plato's approach to power, Buber opposed an alternative approach, the biblical one of the prophet Isaiah. With this opposition, Buber insisted on his judgment that philosophers and intellectuals such as Plato were not the owners of an everlasting truth – while saying that according to the Jewish prophets the spirit (philosophical truth) derived from God, not from any human being. Buber concluded:

Isaiah does not believe that spiritual man has the vocation to power. He knows himself to be a man of spirit and without power. Being a prophet means being powerless, and powerless confronting the powerful and reminding them of their responsibility... To stand powerless before the power he calls to account is part of the prophet's destiny. He himself is not out for power, and the special sociological significance of his office is based on that very fact (Buber 1938a: 108).

Buber, the religious socialist, spoke with the prophet of an 'invisible sovereignty' to which Isaiah felt responsible, the 'sovereignty of God':

But he knew nothing and said nothing of the inner structure of that dominion. He had no idea; he had only a message. He had no institution to establish; he had only to proclaim. His proclamation was in the nature of criticism and demands... But this sovereignty of God which he pro-

pounded is the opposite of the sovereignty of priests... That is why his criticism and demands are directed toward society, toward the life men live together... So, the criticism and demands are directed toward every individual on whom other individuals depend, everyone who has a hand in shaping the destinies of others, and that means they are directed toward everyone of us. When Isaiah speaks of justice, he is not thinking of institutions but of you and me, because without you and me, the most glorious institution becomes a lie... When the mountain of the Lord's house is 'established' on the reality of true community life, then, and only then, the nations will 'flow' toward it (Isa. 2:2), there to learn peace in place of war (Buber 1938a: 109–111).

Here we have already all the ingredients of the forthcoming, Landauer-inspired *Paths in Utopia* that Buber was still to write. If Buber was talking about his favourite subject in his conversation with Hammarskjöld in January 1959 in a similar perspective like he has written it down in 1938, then there was no or very little room for Hammarskjöld's functioning in the world of power politics as Secretary-General of the United Nations. When Buber spoke of renewal or re-structuring he always meant it to start from the bottom of society and face-to-face-relationships between ordinary citizens. Encounter, conversation, dialogue and unity 'out of the manifold' had to be realised through individuals turning to each other rather than standing in awe of the glorious institutions that should decide for them.

Hammar skjöld wanted, nevertheless, to try to renew and restructure the political sphere via the United Nations. In his function he had no choice to this effort. But he had no real understanding of the differences between the spheres and dimensions of politics and society. Engaging in dialogue in society or a community was not the same as doing so in an institution dealing with the interests of superpowers. I think this was what Buber meant when, in his commemorative address in 1962 for the Swedish Radio, 'Memories of Hammar skjöld', he spoke about sensing something 'fateful that in some way was connected with his function in this world-hour' (Buber 1962a: 58). I guess, that here we have a glimpse into the natural 'nuances on other points' that Hammar skjöld referred to at the press conference in New York after the Jerusalem meetings.

That notwithstanding, Buber had a deep sympathy with Hammar skjöld's efforts to tame the superpowers, notably in a time of crisis and danger when the planet was on the brink of nuclear warfare, for Buber knew that his re-structuring of society from below would take time and could suffer setbacks (as could be shown, for example, today in the case of the finally diagnosable failure of the Kibbutzim movement). He felt sympathy for Hammar skjöld as a man of action in the sphere of politics who 'suffered the inner torments of an ethical mystic who had to grapple with always complex and often sordid political problems' (Hodes 1972: 161) and who was, Buber thought, doomed to failure in the end because his mission was impossible.

Dag Hammar skjöld and Martin Buber on the Arab-Israeli conflict

Attitudes to David Ben-Gurion

Aubrey Hodes in addition proposed a more psychological interpretation of that sympathy, deriving from Buber's constant disappointment concerning his relations with, and the politics of, the Israeli prime minister David Ben-Gurion (1948–53 and again 1955–1963):

I gained the impression that [Buber's] relationship with Hammar skjöld gave him that contact with an active man of State which he had despaired of having with Ben-Gurion (Hodes 1972: 161).

As a matter of fact, according to Hodes, during the two Jerusalem meetings

the conversation touched briefly on Israeli–Arab relations, and more specifically on the problem of the Arab refugees, on which Hammar skjöld was concentrating at the time... On 15 June 1959 Hammar skjöld submitted to the U.N. General Assembly a comprehensive report on the Palestinian refugee problem²¹. This incorporated some of the ideas he had discussed briefly with Buber during their talks in Jerusalem (Hodes 1972: 161–162).

This hints at a mutual influence between Hammar skjöld and Buber on that problem. In fact, there is much more to say on Buber and Hammar skjöld concerning the

²¹ Dag Hammar skjöld, 'Proposals Submitted to the General Assembly for the Continuation of United Nations Assistance to the Palestine Refugees, New York June 15, 1959', in Cordier/Foote (1974: 414–436).

Israeli-Arab question. Manuel Fröhlich quotes a letter Hammarskjöld wrote on 29 April 1958, only two days before their first meeting at the UN building in New York, to his friend and international civil servant of the UN, George Ivan Smith:

I am happy that Buber struck a chord in your U.N. soul as it did in mine. What a truly remarkable fellow and what an influence he might have on his own people if they really listened... If we could make him understand our philosophy on Israel it might be of value beyond the human and personal sphere.²²

Apparently, we have to consider here the interesting fact that up to their first meeting in May 1958 Buber did not understand the reasons that the United Nations uniquely blamed Israel for the Suez crisis. According to Buber, there had likewise been a blockade by Egypt of Israeli shipping in the Suez Canal and the Gulf of Aqaba. Buber, for his part, had already publicly expressed opposition to Israel's military invasion of the Sinai, which Ben-Gurion had commanded in the autumn of 1956. Notably, Buber had protested in the name of Ichud in an open letter to Ben-Gurion against the army's massacre of the people of Kafr Kassem on 29 November 1956, where

workers and female workers who came on trucks home to their village [where a curfew was imposed] were torn off the trucks, put up on the roadside and shot by machine guns. It has been reported of a large number of murdered (Buber 1956a: 350).

In fact, 43 inhabitants of the village were killed, men, women and children alike. As a result of the protest by Ichud, eight soldiers who participated were sentenced to between seven and 14 years' imprisonment, but were released in 1959 following an amnesty (Buber 1956a: 351). Buber also held Ben-Gurion responsible for the disastrous consequences of the Suez war, for Israel: the reversal of the position of the United States versus Israel resulting from the Sinai war effort, and furthermore, that the Soviet Union had been brought by this into closest proximity through their military support for Nasser (Friedman 1988: 338). Maurice Friedman describes Buber's position at the time:

When I wrote Buber about the Sinai invasion, he responded, in December 1956, 'Of course, the situation is particularly heavy for me who cannot settle it in my mind by "opposing" principles to it. By the way, I had sharply opposed in Ichud (i.e. Ichud; L.M.) a more radical resolution thanking the U.N., an institution in which I cannot put any trust.' The U.N. had issued a resolution condemning Israel, and Buber could not go along with that any more than with Ben-Gurion's action (Friedman 1988: 338).

22 Dag Hammarskjöld, Letter to George Ivan Smith, 29 April 1958, quoted by Fröhlich (2008: 16). A comprehensive and comparative study of Hammarskjöld's and Buber's agreements and differences in relation to their overall perception of the Israel-Palestine problem would be very interesting, but by far exceeds the frame of this essay and must be left to further exploration.

The most furious clash between Buber and Ben-Gurion occurred at the Jerusalem Ideological Conference in August 1957, when Buber responded to a speech by Ben-Gurion. Buber's response, 'Israel's Mission and Zion'²³, is quoted by Friedman (1983: 341):

Behind everything that Ben Gurion has said...there lies, it seems to me, the will to make the political factor supreme... This 'politicization' of life here strikes at the very spirit itself. The spirit with all its thoughts and visions descends and becomes a function of politics.

Buber compared Ben-Gurion with some of the kings of biblical Israel (King Ahab, for example) who 'employed false prophets', and he refuted Ben-Gurion's claim that the Messianic idea was still alive within his politics:

In how many hearts of this generation in our country does the Messianic idea live in a form other than the narrow nationalistic form which is restricted to the In-gathering of the Exiles? A Messianic idea without the yearning for the redemption of mankind and without the desire to take part in its realization, is no longer identical with the Messianic visions of the prophets of Israel...²⁴

Did Hammarskjöld really tell Buber during their meetings that he had had – after some initial suspicions – an excellent and friendly

relationship with David Ben-Gurion? In her memoirs, Golda Meir, who wrote that Hammarskjöld often talked with Ben-Gurion on 'Buddhism and other philosophical topics', even asserted that Hammarskjöld held 'Ben-Gurion for an angel'.²⁵ In a letter to Ben-Gurion of 4 September 1956, Hammarskjöld openly admitted that through their correspondence and their philosophical discussions he gave more attention to the Israeli side of the conflict, and he asked himself how long and to what extent he could still justify this (Fröhlich 2002: 369). Hammarskjöld and Ben-Gurion even still exchanged friendly notes at the end of September 1956 on their private understanding and philosophical talks, when Ben-Gurion had already drawn up plans for Israel's military invasion of the Sinai, which led to the Suez crisis (Urquhart 1984: 157–158).

The problem of the Palestinian refugees

Nevertheless, Hammarskjöld's strategy on 20 April 1958 – if there was one – to make Buber 'understand our philosophy' had seemingly, at least in part, paid off:

In his report to the General Assembly of the United Nations, 'Proposals Submitted to the General Assembly for the Continuation of United Nations Assistance to the Palestine Refugees, New York June 15, 1959' (Hammarskjöld 1958c), Hammarskjöld recommended the continuation of the United Nations Relief and Works Agency (UNRWA) in Palestine and its work in the Palestine refugee camps within Arab countries. The report recommended not only aid for physical

23 This text is not available to the author, as it is published only in the revised paperback edition of Martin Buber's original (1948, hardcover), *Israel and the World. Essays in a Time of Crisis*, New York: Schocken Books.

24 Martin Buber, 'Israel's Mission and Zion', quoted by Friedman (1983: 341).

25 Golda Meir quoted by Fröhlich (2002: 305, note 339).

survival, but also argued that the refugees needed to be integrated into the economic life of the Near East, whether through repatriation or resettlement (Hammar-skjöld 1958c: 414–36).

In response to this report – and surely influenced by their Jerusalem meetings only some months before – Buber issued in the name of Ichud a press conference-statement on 15 September 1959, ‘On the Hammar-skjöld Report and the Arab Refugee Problem’. Besides, the UNRWA had been initiated by the first UN mediator, the Swedish Count Folke Bernadotte, during the first Arab-Israeli War of 1948–49 (Persson 2008: 22). The Ichud press conference was held in Buber’s home and the statement was edited by him:

‘Ichud’ welcomes the Hammar-skjöld report on the Arab Refugee problem... Drawing the problem out of its usual emotional, philanthropic and moralistic context and cleverly avoiding political bias and open political discussions he surveyed the economic facts which should make it desirable for the Arab States and Israel to work for a final solution of the Refugee-question. At the same time he showed that international money spent on UNRWA could be turned into a substantial help for the whole region’s development as providing training to the refugees which are ‘a reservoir of manpower which in the desirable general development will assist in the creation of higher standards for the whole population of the area’. For quite a considerable time we have demanded that in the approach to the Arab Refugee-Problem one should avoid its connection with final political

solutions in the area. Even before a peace solution and treaty are arrived at, one should start with practical work on the basis of real cooperation between all parties concerned: Israel, the Arab States, the refugees themselves, the U.N., the Great Powers and others... [By this], ‘progress regarding the political and psychological obstacles will be sought in a constructive spirit and with a sense of justice and realism’... We propose that Israel should formally invite all nations to join in an immediate and urgent action to resettle the refugees in Israel and the Arab States, according to the U.N.-resolutions and the principles of the Hammar-skjöld-report...provided they undertake ‘to live at peace with their neighbours’. Further, Israel will pay compensation to refugees settling in Arab States or elsewhere.²⁶

Unlike this positive response from one of Israel’s major opposition organisations, the Arab reaction to the Hammar-skjöld report was much more critical. Arab representatives suspected that the continuation of UNRWA for an unlimited time amounted to an attempt to postpone a solution for the refugees and the Near East conflict as a whole. This reaction, in turn, spurred Hammar-skjöld to deliver a clarification in a ‘Statement on the Continuation of UNRWA in the Special Political Committee of the General Assembly, November 10 1959’ (Hammar-skjöld 1959a: 491–93). Here, Hammar-skjöld passionately repeated his plea for his recommendations in his former report and

26 KBS DHS, Ichud, On the Hammar-skjöld Report and the Arab Refugee Problem. Statement made by the Ichud-Association at a Press-Conference held in the home of Prof. Martin Buber, Jerusalem, on 15.9.59.

the continuation of UNWRA ‘for all the time and to all the extent necessary’ (Hammar-skjöld 1959a: 491). Regarding the Arab criticism – which came, ‘frankly, somewhat to my surprise’ – he clarified:

When I have pronounced myself in favor of the ‘indefinite’ continuance of UNRWA, that obviously means that I do not – any more than anybody else, I guess – find myself in a position to say for how long such assistance will actually be needed. But I sincerely hope that the time will be short. As the recommendation aims at the continuance of the assistance until the underlying problem is resolved, it means that I try to relieve this issue of the fundamental uncertainty that has for so long enshrouded it (Hammar-skjöld 1959a: 492).

Thus, in these hostilities, Hammar-skjöld had a real and reliable ally in Buber and Ichud, especially during the period after their personal encounters. Unfortunately, a settlement on the refugee problem did not come about, as the ‘underlying problem’ could not be resolved and neither side was willing to separate the refugee problem from a final political solution, as Buber and Ichud had proposed. After Hammar-skjöld’s clarification and another 16 meetings, the Special Political Committee of the General Assembly extended the UNRWA mandate for three years, and after that again for three years, and so on up until today (Hammar-skjöld 1959a: 493).

Furthermore, Ichud – and Buber – had also a long tradition of protesting against the expropriation of land belonging to the Arab population now expelled from the territory

of Israel.²⁷ But all these demands had hurt themselves at the Ben Gurion government. We find further proof of the contrast Buber was made between statesmen like Ben-Gurion and Hammar-skjöld in a protest note he formulated in 1961, ‘To the Refugee Problem’. Buber criticised in the name of Ichud a speech of Ben-Gurion’s before the Knesset where the latter described free choice for the Arab refugees as an ‘insidious proposal’, urging the refugees instead to settle in Arab countries (Buber 1961: 370). In his very critical response to this, Buber wrote under points 2 and 4:

The position of the Prime Minister is not only contrary to repeated resolutions of the United Nations General Assembly, but also contrary to all principles that have been adopted by the civilised world, and contrary to the Declaration of Human Rights, on the basis of which masses of refugees, among them a considerable amount of Jews, have returned to their former residence... The solution of the Arab refugee problem is only possible in full cooperation with all parties concerned: Israel, the Arab States, the refugees and the UNO. To begin with, there should be established *common* technical committees. They should deliberate together the planning and the way of consolidation of the refugees with ‘constructive attitude and in the spirit of justice and realism’ (Hammar-skjöld), whereupon the economic, demographic, human and especially security conditions of such an operation have to be taken into account (Buber 1961: 371).

²⁷ See for example Ichud (1953), ‘Ein Protest gegen die Enteignung arabischer Böden’, in Buber (1983: 334–37).

Hammar skjöld, Buber and Psalm 73

So not only did Hammar skjöld use Buber in his practical political work, Buber also used Hammar skjöld in his criticisms of and demands directed at the Israeli government. But a considerable part of Buber's sympathy for Hammar skjöld did not arise from these political debates. Both had been influenced by Eckhart von Hochheim, known as Meister Eckhart (1260–1328), a medieval Dominican theologian. Eckhart was a Christian mystic who identified God with thinking, mental activity. For him, creation was an ongoing process – like thought – without beginning and without end. According to Eckhart, God could not be recognised through knowledge, but only in a mystical moment, a spark. Eckhart inspired Hammar skjöld to an understanding of mysticism that turned decidedly towards the world and that demands worldly deeds in order to follow Christ. Hammar skjöld took from Eckhart a concept of self-abandonment in the sense of opposing personal egocentrism; an understanding that God is ever anew born in the soul of a human being who is instinctively prepared and willing to sacrifice himself in order to receive the confidence of God, and to lead a spiritual life in this sense as 'habitual will' (Fröhlich 2002: 149–155; Nelson 2007: 102–06). As a Hasidim, Buber was interested in the more Jewish traditions of mysticism, but he already knew Eckhart's work very early in his life, notably from the rediscovery by his friend Gustav Landauer of this medieval heretic pursued by the Catholic inquisition, (Hinz 2000). Hodes raises this common interest of Hammar skjöld and Buber in his account:

Buber had a high regard for Hammar-

skjöld's intellectual abilities. Hammar skjöld, he told me, was an outstanding interpreter of the medieval German mystics, and in particular of Meister Eckhart. 'But he was not as austere as some people thought. In my talks with him I found him warm and capable of reaching a true understanding,' he said. 'Hammar skjöld told me,' he added, 'that there were two books he kept near him and read passages from almost every day. One was the writings of Eckhart. And the other was – can you guess? Not the New Testament. But the Psalms. He had a deep knowledge of the Psalms, and when I referred to Psalm seventy-three he quoted part of it to me. This is, as you know, my favourite among all the Psalms. And it was one of those to which Hammar skjöld too felt closest' (Hodes 1972: 161).

Psalm 73 was especially dear to Martin Buber. He read it at Franz Rosenzweig's funeral. Franz Rosenzweig (1886–1929), after Landauer, was the second most influential person and friend in Buber's life. During the Weimar Republic they both translated the Bible from the original Hebrew into German. Furthermore, four lines from Psalm 73 were inscribed on Buber's tombstone at his own request. These four lines are:

*And nevertheless I am always with you,
You have taken hold of my right hand.
You guide me with your counsel
And afterward you take me into honor.²⁸*

Buber gave an interpretation of this Psalm in one of his books, *Good and Evil: Two*

²⁸ Quoted by Friedman (1983: 410).

*Interpretations*²⁹, which has been summarised by Friedman (1983: 410–12). The psalmist says therein that if he – the psalmist – has a pure heart, God is always with him. This revelation, that God is continually with the psalmist is symbolised not as a word of God but as a gesture: that God has taken his ‘right hand’. Buber compared this to a father who takes his little son by the hand in the dark. God is giving a guiding ‘counsel’, but this doesn’t mean that the psalmist is relieved of the responsibility of directing his own steps and making his own decisions. The image was then applied to Buber’s perspective on death, identifying his own suffering with that of his people through the Holocaust and the war in Palestine – that suffering (as God, the continually Present One) now takes man away and accompanies him right up to his death. ‘Honour’, Buber finally claimed, does not lie in a heaven after death, nor in some glorious afterlife, but in the ‘fulfilment of existence’. The psalmist enters into a timeless eternity; the pure heart of man has vanished but so has the separation from God. So both Buber and Hammar skjöld were united in their knowledge of and interest in existential poetry and literature.

Hammar skjöld and his memorandum for the Nobel Prize Committee

Given the assumption that a considerable part of their sympathy for one another came from their love of poetry and literature, it

is no surprise that Hammar skjöld wrote in June 1959 a four-page memorandum on Martin Buber for the Nobel Prize Committee in Sweden (Hodes 1972: 62–67; Nelson 2007: 97–102; Hammar skjöld 1959b). Hammar skjöld showed therein his admiration for Buber, but at the end – and somehow in contradiction to his evaluation prior to his conclusion – he proposed Buber for the Nobel Peace Prize (to be decided by a special committee appointed by the Norwegian Parliament) rather than the Prize for Literature. Hammar skjöld started his evaluation by characterising Buber’s philosophy as ‘humanistic internationalism built on basic elements of Jewish thought’³⁰. Hammar skjöld was aware of the outstanding position of Buber within Jewish thought, which had been unjustly marginalised because of opposition to Buber within the Israeli establishment. Here, Hammar skjöld even stated that Buber was somewhat wiser in the long run than Ben-Gurion, maybe because of Buber’s clear and outspoken intentions to achieve reconciliation with the Arab population:

If Ben-Gurion and his predecessors have taken up the legacy of militant nationalism which characterized historic Israel, Buber can be said to have given new life to essential features of the prophetic inheritance. One might venture to predict that this time as well the voice of the prophet will be shown to penetrate further into the future than the voice of the military leader.³¹

29 Martin Buber (1953), *Good and Evil. Two Interpretations*, New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons. The interpretation can be found in the first of two essays, ‘Right and Wrong. An Interpretation of Some Psalms’, Ch. 4, ‘The Heart Determines (Psalm 73)’, pp. 31–50.

30 Aubrey Hodes gives the most extended account of the memorandum, including several quotations (1972: 162–67); this Hammar skjöld quote is on p. 162.

31 Dag Hammar skjöld, quoted by Hodes (1972: 163).

The hailing of the prophetic inheritance is astonishing here given the political implications of the prophetic tradition in Buber's philosophy, as has been widely discussed above. In his further review of Buber's writings Hammarskjöld paid for the first time special attention to *I and Thou* – the first edition for the United States was published in 1958 – and Buber's philosophy of dialogue, declaring the text to be a 'key work in Buber's philosophical writings'³². Echoing what he wrote to Erik Lindegren, Hammarskjöld went on:

Summing up the importance of Buber the philosopher in the context that interests us, one might say that...he has been fruitful and inspiring through his philosophical writings in spheres intimately connected with poetry. Further, on the basis of his philosophy, as a shaper of opinion, he has become one of those who has most eloquently defended those forms of contact between people which poetry wants to serve: and in so doing he has remained firmly rooted in spiritual realities... Nevertheless, the objections are obvious: he is a man of eighty, with his life's work behind him, and his creation falls only indirectly within the spheres covered by the Nobel Prizes... In spite of the admiration for Buber which these lines reflect, I would hesitate to see him rewarded with the Nobel Prize for Literature. A more natural form of recognition might be the Peace Prize.³³

Hodes has his doubts that Hammarskjöld pushed this recommendation as far as he really could, for then he would have written himself to the special Norwegian committee (Hodes 1972: 165). The Swedish Committee duly transferred the recommendation to the Norwegian Parliament, but the Peace Prize would have been given to Buber only if there had been an Arab counterpart, equally engaged in Arab-Israeli rapprochement as Buber. The Egyptian writer Taha Hussein was mentioned, but then dismissed because he had not advocated peace with Israel in a comparable way to Buber. Thus, the proposal was dropped because Buber was too far ahead of his time! Already in 1949, Hermann Hesse had initiated a campaign for Buber to be awarded the Nobel Prize for Literature. At that time the proposal had been dropped because the Nobel Prize Committee did not want to award the prize to an Israeli as UN mediator Count Folke Bernadotte had been murdered on 17 September 1948 by members of the Israeli terrorist organisation, the Stern Gang (or Lohamei Herut Yisrael, 'Fighters for the Freedom of Israel', LEHY):

It is now well established that the decision to kill the UN mediator was made by the Central Committee of the LEHY, which included Yitzhak Yezernitzky-Shamir. LEHY saw Count Bernadotte as the main obstacle to an Israeli annexation of Jerusalem and to Jewish control of *all* Palestine³⁴. [Yitzhak Shamir went on to

32 Ibid: 164. The topic of dialogue will be explored at length in the article on the second phase of their relationship.

33 Ibid: 164. To say that Buber's work falls only indirectly into the sphere of literature is – to my mind – to overlook the impact of his unique poetic art of freely adapting the Hasidic mystic tales and stories.

34 According to two plans of Folke Bernadotte from 27 June and 16 September 1948, Jerusalem should have remained an Arab territory (this first plan was rejected by both Israel and the Arab States) and then placed under UN control (this second plan was likewise abandoned after the assassination of Bernadotte) (Persson 2008: 22–24).

serve as Prime Minister of Israel in 1983–84 and 1986–92; L. M]. The man who held the gun is believed to have been Yehoshua Cohen (Persson 2008: 25).

Immediately after the assassination of Folke Bernadotte, Buber wrote an article criticising the fascination with the murder and the hero worship of the assassins within the Israeli population:

The heads of the assassins – or the assumed assassins – are today encircled in the eyes of the man in the street by the brilliance of lie, by the nimbus of abject romance. All of those who failed in the years of crisis to prepare and do the right thing, upraise now the real or alleged murderers into the status of heroes and standard bearers of the nation. But murder from ambush will always be only cruel and abhorrent, and every murder will only be crime and atrocity. A murder committed in the name of a people disintegrates the lives and the hopes of just this people. With the word ‘Thou shalt not murder!’ we also understand the commandment: Thou shalt not murder the soul of your people (Buber 1948a: 309).³⁵

Furthermore, as we have seen, Buber and Ichud were appealing publicly for the continuation of the UNWRA refugee relief programme that Bernadotte initiated. Thus, in the cases of nomination for the Nobel Prize Buber was punished twice despite his outspoken national self-criticism and his efforts for Arab-Israeli reconciliation. Although he did not really want to admit it, Buber was of course disappointed and sad

about this insensitivity. Apparently, here, in the field of personal authenticity, of poetry and literature, Buber lost the distance that he was able to maintain very well in his political debates and human rights engagements. It seems to me that in this regard he was too trustful of Hammarskjöld, up to the point of becoming vulnerable – something which had been registered by his friends and led to some strange behaviour:

Ernst Blumenthal, a friend of Buber’s from Jerusalem, learned about Hammarskjöld’s memorandum in the summer of 1959, during a visit to Sweden. He revealed some of its contents to Buber. But he never told him about the final paragraphs and Hammarskjöld’s reasons for not proposing him for the Literature Award and suggesting the Peace Prize instead. Buber’s friends concealed this from him: and as far as we know he never discovered the truth. It is not clear whether the Nobel episode created any breach between Buber and Hammarskjöld. What is certain is that there was no contact between them for the next two years (Hodes 1972: 167).

35 Buber (1948: 309), translated by Lou Marin.

Hammar skjöld wanted, nevertheless, to try to renew and restructure the political sphere via the United Nations. In his function he had no choice to this effort. But he had no real understanding of the differences between the spheres and dimensions of politics and society. Engaging in dialogue in society or a community was not the same as doing so in an institution dealing with the interests of superpowers. I think this was what Buber meant when, in his commemorative address in 1962 for the Swedish Radio, 'Memories of Hammar skjöld', he spoke about sensing something 'fateful that in some way was connected with his function in this world-hour' (Buber 1962a: 58). I guess, that here we have a glimpse into the natural 'nuances on other points' that Hammar skjöld referred to at the press conference in New York after the Jerusalem meetings.

That notwithstanding, Buber had a deep sympathy with Hammar skjöld's efforts to tame the superpowers, notably in a time of crisis and danger when the planet was on the brink of nuclear warfare, for Buber knew that his re-structuring of society from below would take time and could suffer setbacks (as could be shown, for example, today in the case of the finally diagnosable failure of the Kibbutzim movement). He felt sympathy for Hammar skjöld as a man of action in the sphere of politics who 'suffered the inner torments of an ethical mystic who had to grapple with always complex and often sordid political problems' (Hodes 1972: 161) and who was, Buber thought, doomed to failure in the end because his mission was impossible.

Dag Hammar skjöld and Martin Buber on the Arab-Israeli conflict

Attitudes to David Ben-Gurion

Aubrey Hodes in addition proposed a more psychological interpretation of that sympathy, deriving from Buber's constant disappointment concerning his relations with, and the politics of, the Israeli prime minister David Ben-Gurion (1948–53 and again 1955–1963):

I gained the impression that [Buber's] relationship with Hammar skjöld gave him that contact with an active man of State which he had despaired of having with Ben-Gurion (Hodes 1972: 161).

As a matter of fact, according to Hodes, during the two Jerusalem meetings

the conversation touched briefly on Israeli-Arab relations, and more specifically on the problem of the Arab refugees, on which Hammar skjöld was concentrating at the time... On 15 June 1959 Hammar skjöld submitted to the U.N. General Assembly a comprehensive report on the Palestinian refugee problem²¹. This incorporated some of the ideas he had discussed briefly with Buber during their talks in Jerusalem (Hodes 1972: 161–162).

This hints at a mutual influence between Hammar skjöld and Buber on that problem. In fact, there is much more to say on Buber and Hammar skjöld concerning the

²¹ Dag Hammar skjöld, 'Proposals Submitted to the General Assembly for the Continuation of United Nations Assistance to the Palestine Refugees, New York June 15, 1959', in Cordier/Foote (1974: 414–436).

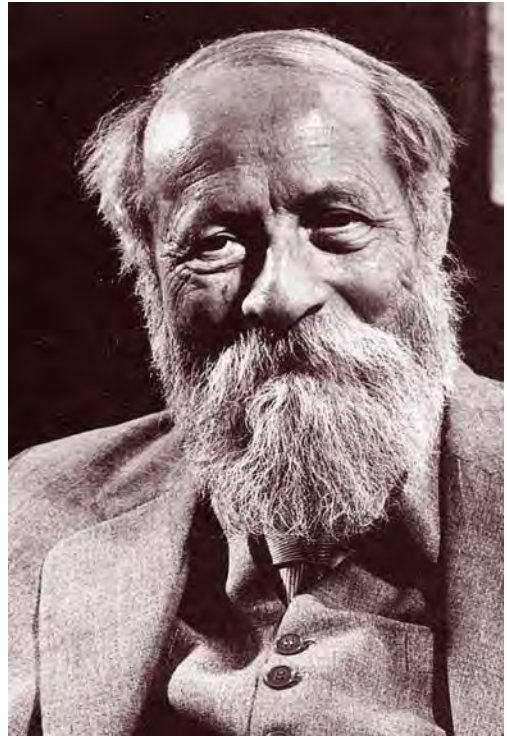
II » Perspectives on dialogue

The encounter of Dag Hammarskjöld and Martin Buber, phase 2 (1961 and after)

On 17 August 1961, after an interval of two years, Dag Hammarskjöld resumed contact with Martin Buber by writing a letter to him at the Hebrew University in Jerusalem. Thus, again it was Hammarskjöld who took the initiative, and again it was after his reading of a book of Buber's, *Between Man and Man* (Buber 1955):

The last few days I have been reading some studies of yours which I had not seen before. They are the five papers which have been published in English under the collective title 'Between Man and Man', and I think especially of 'Zwiesprache', 'Die Frage an den Einzelnen', and parts of 'Was ist der Mensch'.

After having finished reading these studies, I feel the need to send you again a greeting – after far too long a time of silence, understandable only in the light of the pressure of circumstances. In what you say about the 'signs', about the 'questions' and true response and about the Single One and his responsibility, with reference also to the political sphere, you have formulated shared experiences in ways which made your studies very much what you call a 'sign' for me. It is strange – over a gulf of time and a gulf of differences as to background and outer



Martin Buber

experience – to find a bridge built which in one move, eliminates the distance. This was all I wanted to tell you and I do not believe that any further comments would add or clarify anything.³⁶

³⁶ KBS DHS, Dag Hammarskjöld, Letter to Martin Buber, 17 August 1961.

In the second part of his letter, Hammar-skjöld referred to his continuing intention of trying to translate Buber, although a first attempt to translate the first part of Buber's early mystical literature, published for the first time in German already in 1907, *Die Legende des Baalschem* (Buber 1907, 1956b), had apparently not been finished.³⁷ Hammarskjöld:

I still keep in my mind the idea of translating you so as to bring you closer to my countrymen, but it comes increasingly difficult to choose and of course I can not envisage any more extensive work. Also, the more I sense the nuances in your German, the more shy I become at the thought of a translation which, at best, could render only a modest part of its overtones.³⁸

Martin Buber replied enthusiastically on 23 August 1961 from his house in the Talbiyeh suburb of Jerusalem :

I want to thank you for your letter. It is for me, even more than what you said in our first talk, a token of true integral understanding, – rather a rare gift in this world of ours.

Were I asked, which of my books a Swede should read first, I should answer: 'The most "difficult" of them all, but the most apt to introduce the reader into the realm of dialogue, I mean: "I and Thou".' As you may not know the Postscript to the new edition, I am sending you a copy, together with a paper on language I gave last year.³⁹

37 See Urquhart (1984: 40–41 and 520).

38 KBS DHS, Dag Hammarskjöld, Letter to Martin Buber, 17 August 1961.

39 KBS DHS, Martin Buber, Letter to Dag Hammarskjöld, 23 August 1961. The paper on language, mentioned additionally by Buber, has not yet been found by the author and therefore cannot be considered more deeply here.

It is astonishing here to witness that Buber, who in his philosophy of dialogue gives so much importance to awareness of and sensitivity towards the other, the You part of the dialogue, completely ignores the severe constraints Hammarskjöld refers to as a result of his duties as Secretary-General of the United Nations ('I can not envisage any more extensive work'). On the other hand, Buber's insisting on a translation of *I and Thou* as his key work on dialogue shows how dear this book still was to Buber, nearly 40 years after its first publication in 1923.

In fact, *Between Man and Man*, which was the original catalyst for Hammarskjöld's resuming contact with Buber, contains, in contrast to the German compilations of all Buber's writings on the principle of dialogue (Buber 1954/1962/1984), only two basic texts – that is 'Dialogue' (originally written in 1929) and 'The Question to the Single One' (originally written in 1936), referred to by Hammarskjöld in his letter by their original German titles. Whereas 'What is Man?', a series of inaugural lectures of Buber during his first year as a Professor at the Hebrew University in Jerusalem, 1938, and published in German only in 1948 as 'Das Problem des Menschen', has not been considered an integral part of the canon of Buber's writings on dialogue, though it is related to the subject.

Notwithstanding the texts Hammarskjöld mentions in his letter of 17 August 1961, it would be appropriate here to start with Buber's cardinal work on dialogue philosophy, that is *I and Thou*. At the same time, we should also recall that Hammarskjöld had already developed his own concept of 'quiet diplomacy' as a dialogue philosophy for the political sphere.

Hammarskjöld's intention to refine his already existing concept of 'quiet diplomacy'

This concept of 'quiet diplomacy' had been formed by Hammarskjöld during the US-China crisis, in relation to the imprisonment of US pilots at the end of the Korean War in 1954–55, and was one that he practised and refined throughout his period of office as Secretary-General of the United Nations. The political scientist Manuel Fröhlich called it, instead, 'vertrauliche Diplomatie' (confidential diplomacy, but not in the sense of secret; see Fröhlich 2002: 279) and went into the details of the negotiations during the US-China crisis to deduce key elements that Hammarskjöld developed there – quite some time before Hammarskjöld came to know or got into contact with Buber, which led Hammarskjöld later on, in his initial letter to Buber of 16 April 1958, to refer to their proceeding in 'parallel ways'. For Hammarskjöld, the role of the Secretary-General in pursuing quiet diplomacy started with a belief in personal talks – at the time of his voyage to Peking China was not even a member of the United Nations (it joined the organisation in 1971). He was looking for an atmosphere of privacy, to some extent protected from public debate. In diplomatic negotiations, Hammarskjöld interpreted in a preferably objective, unemotional and detached way the opinions of his counterpart. He wanted to show personal integrity and honesty in his demands as well as empathy for the other and a desire to save the latter's face when it came to solutions (Fröhlich 2002: 253–282). Hammarskjöld was surely lucky to find a counterpart such as Zhou Enlai, who appreciated Hammarskjöld's humble intellectualism during their Peking talks. One should not forget, however, that Zhou Enlai's political margins

during the negotiations at the time coincided with a new emerging Chinese interest in gaining more independence from the Soviet Union after Stalin's death.

When Hammarskjöld contacted Buber three years later, the former's concept of 'quiet diplomacy' had undergone some changes in the light of experience. The tasks had become more and more difficult and at the time of the Congo crisis, 'quiet diplomacy' had come across certain limits.

Although it was *Between Man and Man* that made Hammarskjöld resume his correspondence with Buber, it is very likely that he had already read and come to know *I and Thou* (Buber 1970) by this time – only one month before his sudden death. As has been mentioned at the end of the section on the first phase of their encounter, Hammarskjöld, in his memorandum to the Swedish Academy, written in June 1959, described *I and Thou* as a key work of Buber's philosophy and

the work in which Buber best succeeded in presenting a coherent and pregnant formulation of his basic concept.⁴⁰

One of the early biographers of Hammarskjöld, Henry P. van Dusen, confirmed:

Hammarskjöld was already familiar with *I and Thou*. He had included a fairly extended discussion of it in his commendation of Buber for the Nobel Prize (van Dusen 1967: 218).

The Australian journalist, then UN Information Director and close friend of Hammarskjöld, George Ivan Smith (Fröhlich 2008), wrote in a letter to Buber in October 1961, a very short time after Hammarskjöld's death:

40 Dag Hammarskjöld quoted by Hodes (1972: 163).

I was a personal assistant to Mr. Hammar-skjöld during a number of his trips to the Middle East and to Asia and, as well as being professional colleagues, we were also friends. He talked to me so often about your works and on several occasions gave me inscribed copies of them as gifts.⁴¹

As Hammar-skjöld read *Between Man and Man* only a short time before his death, it is legitimate to suppose that *I and Thou* figured prominently in these talks mentioned by George Ivan Smith. Notably, in debates with the staff of the Secretariat on questions of awareness as a basic factor within the concept of ‘quiet diplomacy’, Hammar-skjöld even organised sessions where they read selected parts of *I and Thou* together, as testified by Andrew Cordier (Fröhlich 2002: 279).

Thus, the immediate interest Hammar-skjöld took in Buber’s philosophy of dialogue and *I and Thou* should be at first sight interpreted within the context of Hammar-skjöld’s continuing efforts to develop and refine the instruments at hand for a successful conduct of dialogue within the political sphere and in diplomatic negotiations.

The mystery and romantic anti-romanticism of I and Thou

Although Hammar-skjöld admired the language of *I and Thou* from a poetic point of view, as a philosophical work the book is very hard to read, let alone to translate. In a prologue to his new English translation of *I and Thou* from 1970⁴², Walter Kaufmann

– approached by Buber’s son Rafael to do a new translation – several times described the book as ‘untranslatable’ (Kaufmann 1970: 1). Many contemporary readers were appalled by the style Buber employed in this work – his political and social writings, even his later works on dialogue are much more accessible – finding it imprecise, pretentious, almost romantic, and further marred by Buber’s habit of inventing new German words. Kaufmann seemed to confirm this view:

The style of *Ich und Du* is anything but sparse and unpretentious, lean or economical. It represents a late flowering of romanticism and tends to blur all contours in the twilight of suggestive but extremely unclear language. Most of Buber’s German readers would be quite incapable of saying what any number of passages probably mean (Kaufmann 1970: 24).

Kaufmann went on to say that because of his writing style Buber had been criticised for being concerned only with ‘Schöngeisterei’ (aesthetics), an assessment that contrasts sharply with Hammar-skjöld’s praise for the work’s poetry, as we shall see below. But the content of this book is anything but romantic. Drawing attention to the Jewish cultural heritage of Buber, Kaufmann in his prologue goes to the heart of what the book is:

The sacred is here and now... The only possible relationship with God is to address him and to be addressed by him, here and now – or, as Buber puts it, in the present. For him the Hebrew name of God, the tetragrammation (YHWH), means HE IS PRESENT. *Er ist da* might be translated: He is there; but in this context it would be more nearly right to say: He is here (Kaufmann 1970: 25–26).

41 KBS DHS, George Ivan Smith, Letter to Martin Buber, beginning of October 1961.

42 A first English translation by Ronald Gregor Smith appeared in the UK in 1937. The first American edition, already revised (including some remarks made by Buberhimself) appeared in 1958 – the year in which Hammar-skjöld made contact with Buber.

Buber distinguished in his book between the basic word pairs I-You and I-It and elaborates on all of their further significations (Buber 1970: 53). Only within the personal I-You relationship is God present. Every I-It relation deals with objects and objectification, even of human beings, and that is why He or She is a part of I-It. Buber divides the realms of true dialogue into three: (1) a person can have a dialogue with nature (a tree, Buber puts forward as an example), or an animal (Buber's takes the example of a cat); (2) a person can have a dialogue with men – that is, with other persons (into that relation language enters); and (3) a person can have a dialogue with spiritual entities (he/she feels addressed by such entities and responds with a creative act, not necessarily with language) (Buber 1970: 56–57). Thus, for Buber true dialogue is not necessarily something that only occurs between human beings. In his afterword of 1957, so eagerly sent to Hammarskjöld in his letter of 23 August 1961, Buber demonstrates this in the example of relations with pets:

Man once 'tamed' animals, and he is still capable of bringing off this strange feat. He draws animals into his own sphere and moves them to accept him, a stranger, in an elementary manner to accede to his ways. He obtains from them an often astonishing active response to his approach, to his address – and on the whole this response is the stronger and more direct, the more his relation amounts to a genuine You-saying (Buber 1970: 172).

Thus, according to Buber, true dialogue without language or conversation between a person and an animal is possible; here the animal is part of the I-You relation; whereas Buber also talks about the 'sickness of our

age' (Buber 1970: 104), where most relations between persons, human beings, are not true dialogue, because one person is usually either ignored or only experienced or used like an object – that is, subordinated by the other. Nevertheless, for Buber, the second realm of possible dialogue, the sphere of a dialogue between man and man, remains the most important for resolving this crisis of our times. Kaufmann explains:

The centrality of human relationships in this book is so plain that critics have actually noted with surprise and protested with complete incomprehension that there should be any mention at all of a tree and of a cat. The central stress falls on You – not Thou. God is present when I confront You. But if I look away from You, I ignore him. As long as I merely experience or use you, I deny God. But when I encounter You I encounter him (Kaufmann 1970: 28).

Thus, for Buber a real encounter happens within the realm of actual daily life with all its risks. The two persons who are meeting live entirely in the present and each other's presence. There is no precondition:

The relation to the You is unmediated. Nothing conceptual intervenes between I and You, no prior knowledge and no imagination... No purpose intervenes between I and You, no greed and no anticipation... Every means is an obstacle. Only where all means have disintegrated encounters occur (Buber 1970: 62–63).

We will keep this passage in mind when it comes to the discussion of whether diplomacy, negotiations or political talks with

their hidden or explicit interests, purposes and preconditions are possible realms of true dialogue. For Buber, the ideal situation of dialogue is within a loving relationship, as he himself experienced in his marriage to Paula Winkler (1877-1958), the latter coming from a Catholic background in Munich and converting to the Jewish faith:

Marriage can never be renewed except by that which is always the source of all true marriage: that two human beings reveal the You to one another (Buber 1970: 95).

But God isn't simply the beloved one in another person; he is more the invisible, unnameable *Between*, dissolving itself into responsibility for the other:

This is no metaphor but actuality: love... is between I and You. Whoever does not know this, know this with his being, does not know love... Love is responsibility of an I for a You... Relation is reciprocity (Buber 1970: 66).

For Buber, even an atheist who lives in a true dialogical relation with reciprocity – I would rather prefer the term 'mutuality' – can find God; naming is irrelevant here (Reichert 1996). That, again, is due to the Jewish tradition of his philosophy, as Kaufmann emphasises:

The Hebrews did not visualize their God and expressly forbade attempts to make of him an object – a visual object, a concrete object, any object. Their God was not to be seen. He was to be heard and listened to. He was not an It but an I – or a You (Kaufmann 1970: 33).

But here Buber showed his Hebrew humanism, because he also cites particular persons from literary, cultural or religious history like Socrates, Jesus, Goethe and Buddha as representatives of true dialogue, whereas Napoleon, the political conqueror, embodies the negative example:

– But what if a man's mission requires him to know only his association with his cause and no real relation to any You, no present encounter with any You, so that everything around him becomes It and subservient to his cause? How about the I-saying of Napoleon? Wasn't that legitimate?...

– Indeed, this master of the age evidently did not know the dimension of the You. The matter has been put well: all being was for him *valore*⁴³... there was nobody whom he recognized as being. He was the demonic You for the millions and did not respond; to 'You' he responded by saying: It... (Buber 1970: 117).

Nonetheless, Buber was a rather optimistic philosopher: a final component of his philosophy of dialogue contains the optimistic possibility of *Umkehr* (return) for any individual, whatever sphere they live in. In Kaufmann's words:

One of the central concepts of the book is that of *Umkehr*. This is Buber's German rendering of the Hebrew *t'shuvah* and means return... The Jewish doctrine holds that a man can at any time return and be accepted by God... What the Hebrew tradition stresses is not the mere

43 A note by Kaufmann – 'Value. But the Italian word can also mean worth, courage, fitness' – in Buber (1970: 117).

state of mind, the repentance, but the act of return (Kaufmann 1970: 35–36).

Now we have all the ingredients Buber thought necessary for true dialogue. It contains an I-You relationship, where the other is not regarded as a mere object. It requires the sensitivity that allows oneself to be addressed and to address the other in a manner characterised by awareness. It involves taking the risk of meeting the other without a preconception, without egoistical interest, without tactical strategy or preconditions, in order to create something new in common. It requires a desire for true dialogue on both sides, that is reciprocity or mutuality. It means taking responsibility for the other party in the encounter. If someone treats the other as a mere value or object, he is not dealing with dialogue, but with an I-It relation. Nevertheless, in principle, *Umkehr* is possible for everyone.

Buber's example of the ideal dialogue: The Forte Circle in Potsdam, 1914

Buber originally had a plan for publishing several works on his dialogue philosophy (Kaufmann 1970: 49–50). He abandoned the plan, but his subsequent works on dialogue, after *I and Thou*, most of which are included in the book that Hammarskjöld read, *Between Man and Man* (Buber 1955), tried to exemplify in much more accessible language topics and problems that arose out of *I and Thou*. It is very interesting to see what Hammarskjöld concentrated on when he wrote to Buber: the 'signs', the 'questions' and 'true response' as well as 'the Single One and his responsibility, with reference also to the political sphere'.

In 'Dialogue' (Buber 1929), Buber gives an extended example, from his long political life, of an occasion when he felt he had experienced the ideal of true dialogue. Strangely enough, it is at the same time an early and – as it turned out – premature attempt to establish a kind of League of Nations or United Nations:

The date is Easter 1914. Some men from different European peoples had met in an undefined presentiment of the catastrophe, in order to make preparations for an attempt to establish a supra-national authority. The conversations were marked by that unreserved, whose substance and fruitfulness I have scarcely ever experienced so strongly. It had such an effect on all who took part that the fictitious fell away and every word was an actuality. Then as we discussed the composition of the larger circle from which public initiative should proceed (it was decided that it should meet in August of the same year) one of us, a man of passionate concentration and judicial power of love, raised the consideration that too many Jews had been nominated, so that several countries would be represented in unseemly proportion by their Jews... Obstinate Jew that I am, I protested against the protest. I no longer know how from that I came to speak of Jesus and to say that we Jews knew him from within, in the impulses and stirrings of his Jewish being, in a way that remains inaccessible to the peoples submissive to him. 'In a way that remains inaccessible to you' – so I directly addressed the former clergyman. He stood up, I too stood, we looked into the heart of one another's eyes. 'It is gone', he said, and before everyone we gave one another

the kiss of brotherhood. The discussion of the situation between Jews and Christians had been transformed into a bond between the Christian and the Jew. In this transformation dialogue was fulfilled. Opinions were gone, in a bodily way the factual took place (Buber 1929: 5–6).

This example has been called ‘the original experience of dialogic’⁴⁴ for Buber. It involved the so-called Forte Circle and the Easter meeting of 1914 took place in Potsdam. The Forte Circle existed from 1910–15 and was an international effort, begun by European intellectuals witnessing the danger of the coming war, to build a supranational organisation, a forerunner of the League of Nations, founded in 1920. The Easter meeting in Potsdam was an intense meeting that went on for three days. It was attended by the Dutch initiator, Frederik Van Eden (a social reformer and utopian, and a follower of Henry David Thoreau, who also kept up a vigorous interchange with writers and activists like Upton Sinclair, Mahatma Gandhi and Rabindranath Tagore) and his fellow countryman Henri Borel (a writer); Martin Buber, Gustav Landauer (the nonviolent anarchist and close friend of Buber’s), Erich Gutkind (a German-Jewish philosopher of religion and science), Florens Christian Rang (lawyer and former protestant minister), all of them from Germany; and two Swedes, Poul Bjerre (psychoanalyst and writer) and Theodor Gustav Norlind (writer). The author and peace activist

Romain Rolland originally planned to join the meeting but could not attend. The clash of arguments Buber was describing above was with Florens Christian Rang. Thereby, Buber started a conversation on Jewry and Christianity with Rang that lasted until the latter’s death in 1926 (Friedman 1982: 180–184). The joint international effort of the Forte Circle was a failure, but represents one of the now forgotten prescient evaluations of the European situation before the war, and one which moreover had a vision of how to solve it. The Forte Circle dissolved in 1915 because some of its members – Gutkind, Rang and notably Buber himself – had suddenly taken up propaganda for the war on behalf of their country. That infuriated Gustav Landauer, who accused Buber of having turned into a ‘Kriegsbuber’ (Warmonger Buber) (Friedman 1982: 193) and told him so bluntly in May 1916, according to Maurice Friedman:

[H]e denied Buber the right to speak publicly of the events of the war and ‘to incorporate these confusions into your beautiful and wise generalities’. ‘I confess that it makes my blood boil when you single out Germany without qualification as the only redeemer nation without reference to how Germany in the last decades had pursued colonization through conquest.’ ‘That is War Politics!’, Landauer exclaimed... ‘The community that we need is far from all that war means today’ (Friedman 1982: 200).

But Buber and Landauer remained in close contact, their relationship of dialogue remained intact and their friendship lasted until the reactionary murder of Landauer in 1919. Mainly because of Landauer’s criticism,

44 The quoted formula comes from Manfred Voigts (2001), ‘Martin Buber – Entscheidung und Gemeinschaft’, in Richard Faber and Christine Holste (eds), *Der Potsdamer Forte-Kreis. Eine utopische Intellektuellenassoziation zur europäischen Friedenssicherung*, Würzburg: Königshausen & Neumann, p. 107.

but also for other minor reasons (such as the explicit census of Jews in the German Army in 1916, which led Buber back to his original Zionist position that the German War had nothing to do with the obligations of the Jewish community) he slowly gave up his pro-war position. That was a fundamental experience for Buber and the reason he no longer advocated a mysticism that could make one blind. Instead, Buber embraced the vision that dialogue is opposed to war and cannot go along with war propaganda. It is very likely that Hammarskjöld knew nothing about this background, this personal *Umkehr* of Buber's. For Buber, dialogue philosophy was a return to realism and a dissociation from pure mysticism, whereas for Hammarskjöld Buber remained a mystic even within the latter's books on dialogue.

It is interesting to read Buber's later version of this original and ideal dialogue experience when he described it in another philosophical work, without reference to the concrete historical background, which does not show Buber in a very favourable light. The fact, however, that Buber even repeated the account of this experience in another of his works on dialogue philosophy – which was not, unfortunately, included in *Between Man and Man* and therefore could not have been read by Hammarskjöld – shows how important this historical example was for Buber. We find this passage in 'Elements of the Interhuman', first published in German in 1953 (Buber 1954/1962/1984: 269–298)⁴⁵, under the explicit chapter title, 'Genuine Dialogue'. Here, the passage on the particular dialogue he experienced in 1914 reads as follows:

But where the dialogue is fulfilled in its being, between partners who have turned to one another in truth, who express themselves without reserve and are free of the desire for semblance, there is brought into being a memorable common fruitfulness which is to be found nowhere else...The interhuman opens out what otherwise remains unopened.

This phenomenon is indeed well known in dialogue between two persons; but I have also sometimes experienced it in a dialogue in which several have taken part. About Easter of 1914 there met a group consisting of representatives of several European nations for a three-day discussion that was intended to be preliminary to further talks. We wanted to discuss together how the catastrophe, which we all believed was imminent, could be avoided. Without our having agreed beforehand on any sort of modalities for our talk, all the presuppositions of genuine dialogue were fulfilled. From the first hour immediacy reigned between all of us, some of whom had just got to know one another; everyone spoke with an unheard-of unreserved, and clearly not a single one of the participants was in bondage to semblance. In respect of its purpose the meeting must be described as a failure (though even now in my heart it is still not a certainty that it had to be a failure); the irony of the situation was that we arranged the final discussion for the middle of August, and in the course of events the group was soon broken up. Nevertheless, in the time that followed, not one of the participants doubted that he shared in a triumph of the interhuman.

45 The first English translation was by Ronald Gregor Smith, in Buber, Martin (1965), *The Knowledge of Man*, London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd., pp. 72–88.

One more point must be noted. Of course it is not necessary for all who are joined in a genuine dialogue actually to speak; those who keep silent can on occasion be especially important. But each must be determined not to withdraw when the course of the conversation makes it proper for him to say what he has to say. No one, of course, can know in advance what it is that he has to say; genuine dialogue cannot be arranged beforehand. It has indeed its basic order in itself from the beginning, but nothing can be determined, the course is of the spirit, and some discover what they have to say only when they catch the call of the spirit (Buber 1953c: 79–80).

Here again Buber has told this story without admitting that he himself was soon to be among those advocating war. But again it must be emphasised that Buber was only temporarily a proponent of war and that the insight gained from his personal failure led him to oppose dialogue and war in his philosophical thinking. So with the help of Landauer's severe criticism Buber came back two years later to his cherished Jewish motto, 'Not by might but by spirit' (Friedman 1982: 193).

Now we can deduce some further elements of true dialogue from the experience of the Forte Circle. The partners should turn to each other with truthfulness and should express themselves without reserve. Even very controversial views will always be judged with respect and understanding on the basis of truth. Furthermore, it is not necessary for every participant in true dialogue to speak, or speak much. But one should be able to respond in the presence of the other when addressed. No participant knows in advance

what his words will be; genuine dialogue has to be spontaneous and cannot be prepared beforehand.

What did Hammarskjöld do with these elements of Buber's philosophy of dialogue? How did he interpret and use them for his political sphere, the terrain of diplomacy? Are diplomatic negotiations even imaginable without intense preparation and the working-out of a tactical strategy beforehand?

The 'Signs' and the Mehé experience

In his letter of 17 August 1961 Hammarskjöld wrote that he had read *Between Man and Man* 'with reference also to the political sphere'. It is quite obvious that he was instantaneously relating the philosophy of dialogue of Buber to his everyday life as Secretary-General of the United Nations, where he had to deal with diplomacy and negotiation talks with states' representatives or conflicting partners of new emerging states, as in the Congo crisis which was at its peak when Hammarskjöld resumed contact with Buber. Nevertheless, Buber made only small and occasional references to the political sphere in his works on dialogue, which were primarily written not for the political sphere but for the social sphere.

Thus, when Hammarskjöld approved what Buber wrote on 'Signs' it is very likely that he was reading it with special reference to his own situation within the political sphere. 'The Signs' is the title of a section in Buber's text 'Dialogue' (Buber 1929: 10–13), the sequel to *I and Thou* in the canon of his writings on dialogue philosophy – and the first text published in *Between Man and Man*. Here, Buber states that in contemporary

times men are not aware of the signs when they are addressed by the other for dialogue. They do not see, feel, observe these signs. They lack presence and attentiveness, because they live in an armour:

Each of us is encased in an armour whose task is to ward off signs. Signs happen to us without respite, living means being addressed, we would need only to present ourselves and to perceive. But the risk is too dangerous for us, the soundless thunderings seem to threaten us with annihilation, and from generation to generation we perfect the defence apparatus... Each of us is encased in an armour which we soon, out of familiarity, no longer notice. There are only moments which penetrate it and stir the soul to sensibility (Buber 1929: 10–11).

Signs are not something extraordinary; they address a person within the realms of daily life. But men have, in their armour, turned off their receivers most of the time. Nonetheless, signs signal what is happening in the world:

What occurs to me addresses me. In what occurs to me the world-happening addresses me. Only by sterilizing it, removing the seed of address from it, can I take what occurs to me as a part of the world-happening which does not refer to me. The interlocking sterilized system into which all this only needs to be dovetailed is man's titanic work. Mankind has pressed speech too into the service of this work (Buber 1929: 11).

Hammar skjöld undoubtedly rediscovered here within a philosophical concept the common ground he had found with Buber on the causes of the present 'Wall of Dis-

trust' within Cold-War political and diplomatic discourse. The representatives of the superpowers wear their armour and, thus, cannot read the signs of a real address, of true intention of dialogue. Buber went on already to make parallels between 'signs' and 'questions'. He explained what he meant by being addressed:

...it is said into my very life; it is no experience that can be remembered independently of the situation, it remains the address of that moment and cannot be isolated, it remains the question of a questioner and will have its answer⁴⁶.

(It remains the question. For that is the other great contrast between all the busyness of interpreting signs and the speech of signs which I mean here: this speech never gives information or appeasement) (Buber 1929: 12).⁴⁷

As in *I and Thou*, Buber illustrated in 'Dialogue' this major task of recognising the signs of being addressed by a particular experience, but this time a negative experience. This example is given in the section 'A Conversation', immediately following the section 'The Signs'. It concerns an experience where Buber missed to read the signs. This experience

...was brought home to me by an everyday event, an event of judgement, judging that sentence from closed lips and an unmoved glance such as the ongoing course of things loves to pronounce.

46 The English translation is not very precise here.

In the German original it is clear that the the questioner is looking for an answer, not that he will definitely get an answer (Buber 1954/1962/1984: 156).

47 The brackets are Buber's.

What happened was no more than that one forenoon, after a morning of 'religious' enthusiasm, I had a visit from an unknown young man, without being there in spirit. I certainly did not fail to let the meeting be friendly, I did not treat him any more remissly than all his contemporaries who were in the habit of seeking me out about this time of day as an oracle that is ready to listen to reason. I conversed attentively and openly with him – only I omitted to guess the questions which he did not put. Later, not long after, I learned from one of his friends – he himself was no longer alive – the essential content of these questions; I learned that he had come to me not casually, but borne by destiny, not for a chat but for a decision. He had come to me, he had come in this hour. What do we expect when we are in despair and yet go to a man? Surely a presence by means of which we are told that nevertheless there is meaning (Buber 1929: 13–14).

Again, Buber recounts the example in a very mysterious manner, with no names, no further information about the background or what actually happened to the young man, and omitting his own personal involvement. Again, it was an experience at the beginning of World War I, the period when Buber made one of the biggest mistakes of his life by advocating war on behalf of German nationalism (and by calling on Jews living in Germany to participate). Like many writers, poets and artists of expressionism, some existential mystics like Buber were also suddenly attracted by war as a means of liberating themselves from the so-called degeneration of society. Buber is not very courageous here in deleting the background. This is notwithstanding the fact that the encounter with the young man was part of Buber's *Umkehr* – turning away from his warmonger

position. The young man he mentioned had a name, Mehé, and the encounter with him happened in July 1914. Friedman tells the story as follows:

About this time...Buber was given to hours of mystic ecstasy. The illegitimacy of this division of his life into the everyday and a 'beyond' where illumination and rapture held without time or sequence was brought to Buber by 'an event of judgement' in which closed lips and an unmoved glance pronounced the sentence (Friedman 1982: 187–188).

Buber didn't read the signs of his encounter with Mehé. Later, he learned from a friend that Mehé had died; but why, under what circumstances? Mehé came to Buber not for a chat, but with a question. He had to decide whether or not to go to war if called up; that is, whether or not to love life:

The decision was one of life or death. But not in the sense that many assumed. Mehé did not commit suicide, as some commentators have asserted. Rather he died at the front in the First World War, as Buber himself wrote me, 'out of that kind of despair that may be defined partially as "no longer opposing one's own death".' Even in a psychologising age such as ours, the difference between actual suicide and such despair should be evident. The 'something monstrous that was getting ready to consume history and mankind' is the qualitatively different era that began with the First World War, continued with the Second, and outstripped imagination in the Nazi extermination camps, Hiroshima and Nagasaki, and the 'Gulag Archipelago'. In such situations those who do not fight wholeheartedly against their death

will certainly be killed, whereas those who do *might* remain alive... Buber experienced this event as a judgement and responded to it with a 'conversion' which changed his whole life. Buber's feeling of guilt was not based on any illusion of omnipotence, as if he *should* have been able to remove Mehé's despair no matter what... In Mehé's case what made Buber personally guilty in the exact sense in which he himself later defined existential guilt was that he withheld himself, that he did not respond as a whole person to the claim of the situation... This withholding himself did not arise through any conscious decision or wilful detachment but through a habitual way of life which removed him from the everyday to a 'spiritual' sphere which had no connection with it...he still was not 'there' for Mehé, who had come to him in that hour. It is not that he did not *say* the right thing but that he failed to make real, insofar as was up to him, the possibility of genuine dialogue that that hour offered (Friedman 1982: 188-189).

Thus, out of this negative experience, Buber learnt lessons. When he realised, some years later what he had done, this reflection contributed to his recovery from a pro-war position and led to a rejection of mysticism in an isolated, individual manner of self-denial, without connection to the other. Buber wrote thus in 'Dialogue':

Since then I have given up the 'religious' which is nothing but the exception, extraction, exaltation, ecstasy; or it has given me up. I possess nothing but the everyday out of which I am never taken. The mystery is no longer disclosed, it has escaped or it has made its dwelling here where everything happens as it happens. I know no

fullness but each mortal hour's fullness of claim and responsibility (Buber 1929: 14).

Thus, here we have an example of what Hammar skjöld wrote in his letter to Buber on reading the 'signs' when a person is addressed, as well as the 'Single One and his responsibility'. I think, Hammar skjöld could easily transfer the necessity to be present and aware in encounters within diplomacy, the necessity to read the 'signs' in the political sphere – although for Buber the Mehé experience helped an *Umkehr* where he turned away from an isolated, individual inner mysticism, which lies at the core of Hammar skjöld's own religious philosophy of mysticism as depicted in *Markings*.

'Responsibility' and 'conscience' in Buber's 'The Question to the Single One'

It is no surprise, then, that the follow-up text Buber wrote on his philosophy of dialogue, 'The Question to the Single One' (Buber 1936), was a critique of the individualist philosophies of Max Stirner (1806-1856) and Søren Kierkegaard (1813-1855). In this critique, Buber challenged the modern interpretation of man as an isolated individual. Within this interpretation the individual always seeks a solitary relationship with God, as is the case with Kierkegaard's philosophy and biography. Thus, modern individualist philosophy neglects the relational character of the human being, symbolised in Kierkegaard's rejection of his possible marriage with Regine Olsen. For Buber, who embraced a personal, dialogic philosophy, a relationship with God is inseparable from the relationship with fellow human beings, thus

God can only be found through relations with human beings and not by isolating the Single One from these relations. Whether this interpretation of Kierkegaard by Buber is right or wrong is not of primary interest here.⁴⁸ We just have to consider the fact that Hammar skjöld obviously didn't reject the book because of Buber's critique of the mystical essentialism of Kierkegaard, which seemed to be close to Hammar skjöld's own concept of faith hitherto. Nonetheless, what Hammar skjöld hinted at in his letter of 17 August 1961 were passages of the book not necessarily connected with the parts where Buber criticised Kierkegaard.

When Hammar skjöld mentioned the 'Single One and his responsibility, with reference also to the political sphere', I am quite sure that he was referring to a section in Buber's 'The Question to the Single One', entitled 'The Single One in Responsibility' (Buber 1936: 65-71). Here, Buber elaborates on the relationship between community and personal responsibility. We know from the discussion of the first phase of the encounter between Buber and Hammar skjöld how important community was to Buber, whether the community of the Kibbutz or the larger community of the Jewish Nation. My view is that in the following passage he was thinking merely of the latter. Yes, Buber was a kind of Jewish nationalist, but he adopted a unique, pluralistic and very moderate nationalism without letting individual responsibility be subordinated. That is why he first describes in this text the fact that

the community to which a man belongs does not usually express in a unified and unambiguous way what it considers to be right and what not right in a given situation. It consists of more or less visible groups, which yield to a man interpretations of destiny and of his task which are utterly different yet all alike claim absolute authenticity. Each knows what benefits the community, each claims your unreserved complicity for the good of the community (Buber 1936: 67).

Now comes into play what Hammar skjöld might have called 'the reference to the political sphere':

Political decision is generally understood to-day to mean joining such a group. If this is done then everything is finally in order, the time of deciding is over. From then on one has only to share in the group's movements... The group has relieved you of your political responsibility. You feel yourself answered for in the group; you are permitted to feel it (Buber 1936: 67).

But this is exactly what Buber rejects. For him it is a negation of the I. The I within the I-You relationship is as important as the You. In other words: The You can be a person, but can also be God speaking through the individual *conscience*. For Buber, God is concerned with the entirety of all relationships; life within a group cannot be separated from life without that group or even demand that God is only valid without that group. That would render all dialogical I-You relationships within the group irrelevant and run counter to the notion of an all-embracing as well as all-in-between presence of God. Buber called that a curtailment of God's realm:

⁴⁸ There are scholars who think Buber's criticism of Kierkegaard denies some reverse tendencies and that there are possible bridges that could be built from Kierkegaard to Buber, see for example Henting (2002).

The relation of faith to the one Present Being is perverted into semblance and self-deceit if it is not an all-embracing relation. 'Religion' may agree to be one department of life besides others which like it are independent and autonomous – it has thereby already perverted the relation of faith (Buber 1936: 67–68).

Thus, the Single One is in constant dialogue with persons from his group or community as well as with God. In a given situation where the Single One is addressed, and called upon to respond, he cannot follow solely the rules of the group. That, precisely, is the individual responsibility of the Single One:

Certainly the relation of faith is no book of rules which can be looked up to discover what is to be done now, in this very hour. I experience what God desires of me for this hour – so far as I do experience it – not earlier than *in* the hour... My group cannot relieve me of this responsibility, I must not let it relieve me of it; if I do I pervert my relation of faith, I cut out of God's realm of power the sphere of my group. But it is not as though the latter did not concern me in my decision – it concerns me tremendously... I may before all have to do justice to it, yet not as a thing in itself, but before the Face of God; and no programme, no tactical resolution, no command can tell me how I, as I decide, have to do justice to my group before the Face of God (Buber 1936: 68).

The first two sentences in this quotation help explain why the great social scientist of Hasidic tradition, Gershom Scholem, called Buber a 'religious anarchist' and his philos-

ophy 'religious anarchism'⁴⁹. Buber rejects here the Jewish religious law in the sense of a presupposed order or ethical norm to be blindly followed in a given situation of existential decision. Buber, however, is totally concentrated on the present moment and does not rely on norms because for him these norms have become mere rituals; they have been institutionalised and thus lack life and creativity:

That means: the presence of the encounter breaks through or undermines the rules provided by religion or social institutions for the relations to God respectively between man and man. Indeed, they challenge the codifying institutions themselves (Reichert 2002: 25).

However, the decision that demands an encounter, which has to be taken in the presence of the other and not by relying on prescribed norms, was not meant to be ethically arbitrary. There is a place, according to Buber, where decision is made, it is an inner place and it is called *conscience*:

He [who is addressed in a decisive situation] may even hold firm with all his force to the 'interest' of the group – till in the last confrontation with reality a finger, hardly to be perceived, yet never to be neglected, touches it. It is not the 'finger of God', to be sure; we are not permitted to expect that, and therefore there is not

49 Gershom Scholem, here quoted by Reichert (2002: 26). The article by Scholem that the quote comes from is 'Martin Bubers Deutung des Chassidismus', in Scholem, Gershom (1997) *Judaica 1*, Frankfurt-am-Main: Suhrkamp Verlag, sixth edition, pp. 165–206, especially p. 197.

the slightest assurance that our decision is right in any but a personal way... The finger I speak is just that of the 'conscience'... I point to the unknown conscience in the ground of being... The certainty produced by this conscience is of course only a personal certainty; it is uncertain certainty; but what is here called person is the very person who is addressed and who answers (Buber 1936: 69).

Buber's recourse to a concept of 'conscience' showed that even in the presence of a given situation, the decision to be made cannot be devoid of ethical behaviour. There are always preliminary ethical decisions that shape 'conscience'. What is simply meant by this is that the ethical decision has to be renewed in each different situation. Thomas Reichert pointed to these ethical decisions:

Apparently, by uttering the basic word I-Thou, there have nonetheless been made pre-decisions about the activity to envisage, resulting from the presence and the recognition of the other and the way of being self, for example that one cannot torture the other, or murder him, or disrespect him as a human being (Reichert 2002: 31).

Finally, Buber summarised:

I say, therefore, that the Single One, that is, the man living in responsibility, can make even his political decisions properly only from that ground of his being at which he is aware of the event as divine speech to him; and if he lets the awareness of this ground be strangled by his group he is refusing to give God an actual reply (Buber 1936: 69-70).

Buber concluded this chapter with a vision of the 'crossfront' that we know already from 'The Validity and Limitation of the Political Principle' in *Pointing the Way* (Buber 1953b):

What I am speaking of has nothing to do with 'individualism'...I consider the human person to be the irremovable central place of the struggle between the world's movement away from God and its movement towards God. This struggle takes place to-day to an uncannily large extent in the realm of public life, of course not between group and group but within each group... Only those who are bound and free in this way can still produce what can truly be called community... His responsible decision will thus at times be opposed to, say, a tactical decision of his group. At times he will be moved to carry the fight for the truth, the human, uncertain and certain truth which is brought forward by his deep conscience, into the group itself, and thereby establish or strengthen an inner front in it. This can be more important for the future of our world than all fronts that are drawn today between groups and between associations of groups; for this front, if it is everywhere upright and strong, may run as a secret unity across all groups (Buber 1936: 70).

What was Hammarskjöld referring to when he talked about the 'questions'?

There is one other notion that Hammarskjöld mentioned in his letter of 17 August 1961: 'the "questions" and the response'. It is not absolutely clear to me to what text in

Between Man and Man Hammarskjöld was referring to here. As I see it, there are two possibilities. The last and very decisive section of Buber's 'The Question to the Single One' (Buber 1936) is called 'The Question' (but in the singular, not in the plural), whereas the last text in Buber's *Between Man and Man*, 'What is Man?', a series of lectures he gave at the Hebrew University beginning in 1938 (the first book edition in Hebrew was published in 1942), deals with the four anthropological 'questions' (plural) of Kant: (1) What can I know; (2) What ought I to do?; (3) What may I hope?; (4) What is man? It is possible to add the quest for 'response' to both of them. Hammarskjöld may have been referring more to the last chapter of 'The Question to the Single One', because he mentioned the topic at the same time as mentioning the topic of the 'Single One and his responsibility'; moreover, the need for a 'responsible response' (Buber 1936: 80) was expressed at the beginning of this essay. On the other hand, 'What is Man?' has also been related to Buber's writings on dialogue, although it constitutes more of an anthropological journey through philosophical history, and despite the fact that this text was not included in the German compilation of his works on dialogue, *Die Schriften über das dialogische Prinzip* (Buber 1954/1962/1984). Buber himself said in his preface to the 1948 German edition, *Das Problem des Menschen* that he wanted the major works on dialogue to be classified historically with 'What is man?' and set aside from his contemporary theories (Buber 1948b: 5).

In the first paragraph of his letter of 17 August 1961, Hammarskjöld already mentions

having read 'parts of "Was ist der Mensch"'⁵⁰. Unfortunately, there is no hint as to which parts Hammarskjöld meant. Thus, in the following we will deal with just two chapters of 'What is man?' that very possibly chimed with Hammarskjöld's most urgent concerns.

Buber's chapter on 'The Question'

But let us start with the first possibility: the last chapter of 'The Question to the Single One', called 'The Question'. Here, Buber discussed the contemporary crisis of man in relation to the person as well as to truth by taking up the necessity of decision in a given situation with the help of a person's 'conscience', which we discussed above in relation to the topic of the responsibility of the Single One. But this freedom of decision was actually threatened, especially before and in 1936 when Buber wrote the text while still living in the Germany of the Nazis.⁵¹ It was threatened by what Buber calls collectivisation:

The question by which the person and the truth have become questionable to-day is the question to the Single One. The person has become questionable through being collectivized (Buber 1936: 80).

⁵⁰ Hammarskjöld spoke in his letter of the German title 'Was ist der Mensch?' for this text comprising lectures by Buber during the summer term of the Hebrew University in its first year of existence, 1938. But the German publication of these lectures had a slightly different title, *Das Problem des Menschen* (The Problem of Man), and was not published before 1948; see Buber (1948).

⁵¹ After coming under much pressure from Nazi Germany Buber moved to Palestine in 1938, only a short time before the November pogrom in which his house and furniture in Heppenheim were destroyed.

During the decades around the turn of the century, Buber continued, there had been a fight against the Nietzschean concept of an arbitrary, self-centred I, which had led to the recognition of being bound 'to a people, to a family, to a society, to a vocational group, to a companionship in convictions' (Buber 1936: 80). But now, in the 1930s, this had gone off in a seriously wrong direction, according to Buber:

But it came about that a tendency of a quite different origin and nature assumed power over the new insights, which exaggerated and perverted the perception of bonds into a doctrine of serfdom. Primacy is ascribed here to a collectivity⁵². The collectivity receives the right to hold the person who is bound to it bound in such a way that he ceases to have complete responsibility. The collectivity becomes what really exists, the person becomes derivatory. In every realm which joins him to the whole he is to be excused a personal response (Buber 1936: 80).

Buber drew the conclusion in relation to truth, in the sense that this dispense of the personal response corrupts truth:

The truth, on the other hand, has become questionable through being politicized (Buber 1936: 81).

Buber now elaborated in a few paragraphs on the 'sociological doctrine of the age', which was guilty of contributing to this process of dispossessing the individual from the respon-

sibility for human truth. So instead of Max Stirner's saying 'True is what is Mine' (arbitrary), the collective says today: 'True is what is Ours' (politicised). Buber concluded:

But in order that man may not be lost there is need of persons who are not collectivized, and of truth which is not politicized.

There is need of persons, not merely 'representatives' in some sense or other, chosen or appointed, who exonerate the represented of responsibility, but also 'represented' who on no account let themselves be represented with regard to responsibility... That man may not be lost there is need of the person's responsibility to truth in his historical situation. There is need of the Single One who stands over against all being which is present to him – and thus also over against the body politic – and guarantees all being which is present to him – and thus also the body politic (Buber 1936: 82).

Hammar skjöld may well have seen a connection with his 'political sphere' here, but this might also have been a misconception, in great part due to an inappropriate translation of the German expression 'öffentliches Wesen' as 'body politic'⁵³. But then again, Hammar skjöld may have read this passage as another early version of the 'crossfront' concept elaborated above in the discussion on the first part of his encounter with Buber.

⁵² When talking of 'collectivity', Buber was always thinking of big collectives like states or nation states, that is nations without an inner dialogical structure of different groups.

⁵³ As a translator of German origin, I am not quite satisfied with the use of 'body politic' for the German expression 'öffentliches Wesen' here. Buber does not mean only the political sphere when talking of 'öffentliches Wesen', but is also referring to society and the discussions within the social sphere as opposed to the political sphere.

Buber's questions in 'What is Man?'

Now let us turn to the second possibility. There is a high probability that we can identify more precisely the 'parts of "Was ist der Mensch?"' that Hammarkjöld mentioned in his letter of 17 August 1961 without giving a concrete hint of which parts he meant. As there are only two chapters where Buber did not go into more detail on the views of certain specific philosophers (Aristotle, Kant, Hegel, Marx, Feuerbach, Nietzsche, Kierkegaard, Husserl, Heidegger, Scheler) in respect of the four anthropological questions posed by Kant (of which the fourth is 'What is man?'), I propose to concentrate on the first part of the chapter entitled 'The Crisis and its Expression' and on the last chapter of the text, 'Prospect'.

In the 'The Crisis and its Expression' we find an early philosophical version of the more concrete analysis of contemporary crisis that Hammarkjöld had read two years before in *Pointing the Way* (1957). The fact that this early version had been written as far back as 1938 shows that Buber did not regard the fascist decades as an isolated crisis but as a continuum that began with World War I and stretched far into the post-World-War-II period.

According to Buber, the first reason for the contemporary crisis was a sociological one:

It is the increasing decay of the old organic forms of the direct life of man with man. By this I mean communities which quantitatively must not be too big to allow the men who are connected by them to be brought together ever anew and set in a direct relation with one another, and

which qualitatively are of such a nature that men are ever anew born into them or grow into them, who thus understand their membership not as the result of a free agreement with others but as their destiny and as a vital tradition. Such forms are the family, union in work, the community in village and in town (Buber 1938b: 157).

Thus, Hammarkjöld found here, in short, a summary of the more detailed *Paths in Utopia*, which he apparently never read and which has been discussed above in section on the first phase of their encounter. Some anarchist interpretations of Buber (for example, that of French libertarian sociologist Michael Löwy [Löwy 2001: 37–38]) rightly connect these segments of 'What is man?' to similar, but more extended and detailed passages in *Paths in Utopia*.⁵⁴ Moreover, in his analysis of 'What is man?', Löwy pointed to the use of an old Jewish cultural image by Buber when elaborating on the reasons for the contemporary crisis. This image is a man-made artificial monster, the 'Golem', which was believed to be possessed by an evil power (Löwy 2001: 37), a coldness without soul. It was a clay figure made by a Rabbi to prevent attacks on Jews, but ends up destroying or being destroyed by the Rabbi; the Golem could only destroy or be destroyed⁵⁵:

The second factor can be described as one of history of the spirit, or better, of the soul... I should like to call this peculiarity

54 Löwy also published a study of Jewish messianism and libertarian thought; see Löwy, Michael, *Erlösung und Utopie. Jüdischer Messianismus und libertäres Denken*, Berlin: Karin Kramer Verlag.

55 This explanation comes from a note by the translator of *Between Man and Man*, Walter Kaufmann. It is note number 14 in Buber (1955: 208).

of the modern crisis man's lagging behind his works. Man is no longer able to master the world which he himself brought about: it is becoming stronger than he is, it is winning free of him, it confronts him in an almost elemental independence, and he no longer knows the word which could subdue and render harmless the golem he has created (Buber 1938: 158).

There were three realms where man was lagging behind his works, Buber said here. Firstly he made a critique of modern machinery. Although Buber was not anti-modern but advocated a future re-structuring of society, necessarily different from what has been before, nevertheless for Löwy Buber's critique was a romantic protest against modern capitalist-industrial civilisation (Löwy 2001: 38). So Buber wrote about technology that machines, originally invented in order to serve men in their work were now subordinating men to their service; they were no longer tools, extensions of men's arms, but men had become their extension. The second realm was the market economy, where the production and utilisation of goods 'spread out beyond man's reach and withdrew [themselves] from his command' (Buber 1938: 158). Thirdly, Buber pointed to the political sphere. There, World War I had exposed men to unleashed powers, the use of gas as a weapon for example, that exceeded all human purposes and brought unimaginable extermination to both sides:

Man faced the terrible fact that he was the father of demons whose master he could not become (Buber 1938: 158).

It is not too difficult to extend this analysis to the Cold War situation and the nuclear

threat Hammarskjöld was confronted with at the beginning of the 1960s in the United Nations, which eventually led to the Cuban missile crisis after his death.

The other part of 'What is man?' that Hammarskjöld might have been referring to in his letter of 17 August 1961 is the last chapter, entitled 'Prospect'. Here, at the end of his presentation of the history of anthropological philosophy, Buber juxtaposed the traditions of individualism and collectivism in the face of the actual, contemporary situation, the historical apogee of fascism and national socialism in the 1930s:

In spite of all attempts at revival the time of individualism is over. Collectivism, on the other hand, is at the height of its development, although here and there appear single signs of slackening. Here the only way that is left is the rebellion of the person for the sake of setting free the relation with others (Buber 1938: 202).

Now, after these totalitarian ideologies, a 'third alternative' was about to emerge, according to Buber; this was the time of dialogue – not a revival of arbitrary individualism but encounters between mature and present individuals who are bound to their community but are not willing to give up their responsibility for decision. Thus, the essence of human life is neither individualism nor collectivism, neither I nor Thou, but a third sphere, and that is the '*Between*' (with reference to the title of the American edition, *Between Man and Man*). It had a spiritual connection to Buber's belief that God is present in every personal encounter, between I and Thou. Buber explained the 'Between' in more detail in the last pages of the book:

I call this sphere...the sphere of 'between'. Though being realized in very different degrees, it is a primal category of human reality. This is where the genuine third alternative must begin... The view which establishes the concept of 'between' is to be acquired by no longer localizing the relation between human beings, as is customary, either within individual souls or in a general world which embraces and determines them, but in actual fact *between* them... In a real conversation (that is, not one whose individual parts have been preconceived, but one which is completely spontaneous, in which each speaks directly to his partner and calls forth his unpredictable reply)...a real lesson...a real embrace...a real duel and not a mere game – in all these what is essential does not take place in each of the participants or in a neutral world which includes the two and all other things; but it takes place between them in the most precise sense, as it were in a dimension which is accessible only to them both (Buber 1938: 203–204).

Given this new perception of the 'Between', Buber described this third sphere – which for him also constituted the sphere of the divine – as the initial point of a philosophical turning point where neither the individual nor the collective would be the focus:

In the most powerful moments of dialogic, where in truth 'deep calls unto deep', it becomes unmistakably clear that it is not the wand of the individual or of the social, but of a third which draws the circle round the happening. On the far side of the subjective, on this side of the objective, on the narrow ridge, where *I* and *Thou* meet, there is the realm of 'between' (Buber 1938: 204).

After this Buber gave an answer to Kant's fourth question, 'What is Man?', which Hammar skjöld may have been referring to in his letter of 17 August 1961 when he wrote of 'the "questions" and the response'. At the end of the essay, Buber conceived that dialogue and the sphere of the 'Between' was his own response to Kant's question:

That essence of man which is special to him can be directly known only in a living relation... We may come nearer the answer to the question what man is when we come to see him as the eternal meeting of the One with the Other (Buber 1938: 205).

Was Hammar skjöld's intending to resign in September 1961?

In looking more closely at the topics that Hammar skjöld mentioned explicitly in his letter of 17 August 1961 after reading *Between Man and Man*, we rediscover early versions of topics that had been already discussed during their three personal meetings during the first phase of their encounter within a more obvious framework of current political matters. What was different was that this time, these topics were embedded in a more philosophical approach to dialogue. Hence we suppose that, again, Hammar skjöld had been reading these texts and signalling his will to occupy himself with the tremendous task of translating *Ich und Du* from German into Swedish, in order to draw directly on what he read – 'with reference also to the political sphere' (Hammar skjöld) – with the purpose of improving his practice of silent or quiet diplomacy. But was that really his purpose? We may experience quite a surprise in the following.

When Dag Hammarskjöld resumed contact with Buber, the Congo crisis with which he was concerned was not only far advanced but was also going in a dangerous direction. Hammarskjöld's skills were, of course, still badly needed, and diplomatic negotiations with the Katanga secessionists under Tschombé were still possible. But the danger of real entanglement by UN peacekeeping troops in warlike engagements with secessionist Katanga was getting more and more imminent. That is why Hammarskjöld flew to Ndola at great personal risk on 17 September 1961, a journey from which he did not arrive alive.⁵⁶ But had Hammarskjöld already realised that the intervention of UN peacekeeping troops in the Congo was doomed to disaster? What did Hammarskjöld mean by hinting, during the last weeks of his life, at a possible resignation from his function as Secretary-General after the Congo crisis? Brian Urquhart, then a staff member of the United Nations Secretariat, a close and confidential friend of Hammarskjöld's and one of those entrusted with administering the deployment of peacekeeping forces to the Congo, wrote of Hammarskjöld's penultimate voyage to the Congo, just after his renewal of contact with Buber:

In early September, Hammarskjöld decided to make another visit to the Congo. He did this in the belief that he must personally try to resolve the Katanga secession problem, which would otherwise poison the forthcoming session of the General Assembly as it had the pre-

vious one. His intention was to bring Prime Minister Adoula⁵⁷ and Tschombe together in an act of national reconciliation. I believe that he then intended to resign from his post as Secretary-General (Urquhart 1991: 174).

Hammarskjöld repeated this intention in early September 1961 to Mongi Slim, a possible successor as Secretary-General, as well as to Adnan Pachachi, the Iraqi ambassador to the UN. To the former, Hammarskjöld said he would resign only if his mission to solve the Congo crisis failed; to the latter he said in a more general way that he would resign anyway after the Congo crisis (Urquhart 1984: 565).

Translation problems and Hammarskjöld's new view of I and Thou

We should keep this intention in mind when reading the continuation of the correspondence between Hammarskjöld and Buber. Just before leaving on this penultimate voyage to the Congo, Hammarskjöld answered Buber's letter of 23 August 1961, in which the latter had sent *Ich und Du* and made his proposal that Hammarskjöld should translate his most difficult work. Hammarskjöld responded on 26 August:

Yesterday I got your kind letter and also the last German edition of 'Ich und Du'

⁵⁶ For a full overview of the Congo crisis of 1960–62, involving the United Nations peacekeeping troops in direct warlike battles during the history of their existence, see especially the impressively detailed memoirs of Brian Urquhart (1984: 389–520 and 545–589; and 1991: 145–188).

⁵⁷ In midsummer 1961 Hammarskjöld managed to install a new prime minister after the murder of Lumumba and the Mobutu's first putsch in the Congo. The Congolese parliament was not yet completely out-manoeuvred and elected as president the moderate and sensible Cyrille Adoula, as someone who appeared prepared and willing to take up negotiations with Katanga (Urquhart 1991: 174).

with the postscript. I am certain that I am reading you correctly if I see reflected in your reply a silent 'Aufruf' that I try a translation of this keywork, as decisive in its message as supremely beautiful in its form. This decides the issue and, if I have your permission, I shall do it even if it may take some time.⁵⁸

This was the first surprise, because apparently Hammarskjöld instantly took up Buber's proposal, notwithstanding the constraints of his office which he had referred to in his letter of 17 August. Had he already made up his mind to resign after the Congo crisis? It is not quite clear how decided he was about this perspective at that time, but things had been deteriorating very fast in the Congo for quite some time already, and they had become so bad that even one of his other closest friends, Albert Schweitzer (1875-1965), had written frankly to Hammarskjöld in a letter on 7 March:

As an old African, I hold the opinion that there will be a minor death toll, if one lets the Africans fight their vendettas against each other by their own, without outer interference.⁵⁹

This letter led to a considerable cooling of the friendship between Hammarskjöld and Schweitzer. However, even if Hammarskjöld's intention of soon resigning as Secretary-General was not really serious – but then it would have made no sense to tell

it to Slim and the others – Hammarskjöld would probably have completed the translation of *Ich und Du* within his scheduled time of two months (!) for finishing a first version (Urquhart 1984: 41). It is amazing to see how Hammarskjöld could finish the most complicated translations alongside the tremendous amount of work he was engaged in as Secretary-General. In 1960, he had already completed the translation of Djuna Barnes' *The Antiphon*⁶⁰ and in summer of the same year he translated the poem *Chronique* by Saint-John Perse⁶¹, about whom Hammarskjöld himself, according to Urquhart, admitted that '[his] French was so complex as to make translation practically hopeless' (Urquhart 1984: 39).

We have already learnt that the second English translator of *Ich und Du*, Walter Kaufmann, thought, at first view, that Buber's main philosophical book would be untranslatable. Apparently, Hammarskjöld, even in the midst of the Congo crisis, saw this tremendous task rather as a personal challenge than a burden which he should refrain from taking on. Thus, Hammarskjöld continued in his letter of 26 August to Buber:

I am, in fact, today getting in touch with the main Swedish publishing firm asking them whether they would accept my of-

⁵⁸ KBS DHS, Dag Hammarskjöld, Letter to Martin Buber, 26 August 1961.

⁵⁹ Letter from Albert Schweitzer to Dag Hammarskjöld, 7 March 1961, quoted by Fröhlich (2002: 184). For more information on the relationship of Hammarskjöld and Schweitzer see Fröhlich (2002: 170-192).

⁶⁰ Djuna Barnes (1892-1982) was an US-American novelist and playwright. Her last play was *The Antiphon* (1958), dealing with an incestuous relation between child and mother.

⁶¹ Saint-John Perse, a pseudonym for Alexis Saint-Léger Léger (1887-1975), was a French diplomat and poet and had been awarded the Nobel Prize for Literature in 1960. There was an extended correspondence between Dag Hammarskjöld and the poet throughout the six years before Hammarskjöld's death. See for more information Marie-Noëlle Little (ed.), (2001), *The Poet and the Diplomat. The Correspondence of Dag Hammarskjöld and Alexis Leger*, Syracuse: Syracuse University Press.

fer. When I have their reply, I shall write to you again in order to have your final reaction and so that you might ask your agents to get in touch with the publisher for the necessary formal arrangements.⁶²

At the end of the letter, Hammar skjöld expressed his hope of resuming thereby 'a broadened and intensified contact' with Buber.

The main Swedish publishing firm belonged – and remains today – to the Bonnier family. Hammar skjöld conferred at various times with different members of the family on matters to do with his translations and publishing projects: Albert, Jytte, and Gerhard Bonnier as well as Georg Svensson, another director of the publishing house. In fact, on the same day that he replied to Buber, Hammar skjöld wrote a letter to Jytte Bonnier. And here we have another big surprise, with special regard to the fact that *Ich und Du* has always been regarded all over the world as a philosophical work that explains and illuminates all aspects of an encounter and a dialogical situation:

You may know that for quite some time I have played with the idea to translate some of the key parts of Martin Buber's work. It is at least as exacting from the point of view of form as Perse or Barnes, and in a sense German is worse than English or French. However, it has been a most challenging thought. Now Buber himself has, so to say, pushed me over the brink, as I have just received a letter from him which I may regard as a 'call' to me to translate 'Ich und Du' which of course is the culminating crystallisation of his mystical thought and, from the point of

view both of form and content, not only a key work in modern philosophy, but moreover one of the few great poems of this age. To such a 'call' I feel that I should respond, and for some time ahead I shall therefore, in odd hours, instead of reading, try to make this translation.⁶³

What is really striking here is the fact that Hammar skjöld did not think of the validity of such a translation for true dialogue in terms of improving the approach to diplomatic negotiation. Instead, he stressed the beauty of the form, the literary style of Buber – in contrast to many readers of the time, as attested by his English translator Walter Kaufmann. Hammar skjöld even went on to underline his admiration for the style:

A book like that one is the very opposite to 'box office', and I guess most publishers would look at it with considerable scepticism, especially as I would not like it published as a philosophical or theological work but as a work of pure literature. However, Buber is Buber, and while Mann and Hesse are well known in Sweden, Buber, as the third in some sense the greatest one in Germany of that generation, has been left aside. That may justify the publishing venture, and perhaps the name of the translator might add a few copies to the sale.⁶⁴

Hammar skjöld even ended the letter by expressing the additional intention of translating the Danish poet Paul La Cour⁶⁵ into

62 KBS DHS, Dag Hammar skjöld, Letter to Martin Buber, 26 August 1961.

63 KBS DHS, Dag Hammar skjöld, Letter to Jytte Bonnier, 26 August 1961.

64 Ibid.

65 Paul La Cour (1902–1956) was a Danish poet whose poetry changed with the mood of the times. After living in Paris in the 1920s, he brought modern influences into Danish literature. His reflections on art after World War II influenced other writers.

English and said, furthermore, that he envisaged translating Hermann Hesse's 'Morgenlandfahrt', describing this as 'another temptation of mine'⁶⁶. Apparently, he envisaged he would have enough time for these endeavours in the near future – after resigning from his office?

We note here first and foremost Hammar-skjöld's characterisation of Buber's *I and Thou* as 'pure literature'. What did that mean? Was Hammar-skjöld thinking of his aborted translation of Buber's early literary work, *The legend of Baal-Schem* (Buber 1907, 1956b)? Or was he unconsciously regretting his memorandum to the Swedish Academy in which he had proposed Buber for the Nobel Prize Peace Prize rather than for the Nobel Prize for Literature? And why did he not mention the importance of Buber's key work on the philosophy of dialogue for his work of diplomacy and negotiation in the ongoing Congo crisis and after, that is for the 'political sphere', as he had always done before? Did he not believe in that any longer? Did he seriously want to resign?

A further letter, written a fortnight later, 12 September 1961, to Georg Svensson of Bonnier's, confirms this impression that the 'political sphere' was no longer of central interest to Dag Hammar-skjöld:

Buber's prose is exceedingly difficult and I shall have to make a first version which makes the sense crystal clear and a second version representing a maximum approximation to his intensely beauti-

ful, intensely personal, but also intensely Old-Testament-German prosody.

I may end by saying that this is really something I am very happy to do – also for the publicly unavowable reason that this translation in a certain sense is a personal declaration.⁶⁷

Thus, at this stage, Hammar-skjöld definitely showed more interest in the mysticism and literary aspects of Buber's philosophy of dialogue than in its political implementation – which had still been his central interest when resuming contact with Buber after reading *Between Man and Man* – making his translation effort henceforth more than ever a 'personal declaration'. Did this amount to a kind of testimony that he would resign from his office as true dialogue no longer seemed possible to him within the diplomatic framework of the United Nations?

Hammar-skjöld's recommendation of John Steinbeck to Buber

Before we try to answer this decisive question, we turn to the fact that there was an interlude in the letter exchange between Hammar-skjöld and Buber concerning the US-American writer and novelist John Steinbeck (1902–1968), a friend and neighbour of Hammar-skjöld's in New York⁶⁸, and also a regular visitor to Sweden and a per-

66 KBS DHS, Dag Hammar-skjöld, Letter to Jytte Bonnier, 26 August 1961, Post-Scriptum. 'Morgenlandfahrt' can be translated as 'Oriental Voyage'. In this Post-Scriptum, Hammar-skjöld also enquires about what works of Buber had already been translated into Swedish.

67 Dag Hammar-skjöld, Letter to Georg Svensson, 12 September 1961, quoted here in Fröhlich (2002: 206, note 437).

68 The addresses of their private apartments in New York were 125 East 73rd Street for Hammar-skjöld and 206 East 72nd Street for Steinbeck. Thus, they were living only one street apart.

sonal friend of the painter Bo Beskow⁶⁹ in Hagestad, who was painting portraits at that time of both Steinbeck and Hammarskjöld. Bo Beskow had known Steinbeck personally since the winter of 1936–37. Beskow also introduced Steinbeck to Hammarskjöld in 1953 (Hovde 1997: 98–99). Steinbeck was awarded the Nobel Prize for Literature in 1962. The extensive correspondence between Hammarskjöld and Steinbeck shows their close relationship (Hovde 1997: 103–129), which was deepened by occasional dinner invitations when the Steinbeck family spent evenings with Hammarskjöld in his own apartment and by Hammarskjöld's visits to the Steinbecks' more distant and isolated property at Sag Harbor, Long Island. Eventually, Hammarskjöld even went so far as to send Buber a letter of recommendation about Steinbeck when the latter was planning a trip to Israel. This letter of Hammarskjöld's to Buber was written on 5 September 1961 and was entirely dedicated to introducing Steinbeck to Buber:

As my friend, John Steinbeck, is going to visit your country, I wish to send with him my warm personal greetings. Of course, he is in no need of an introduction. Such an introduction is provided by 'The Grapes of Wrath', 'Of Mice and Men', and most recently by 'The Winter of our Discontent', not to mention his other works. He is, as you will know, one of those observers of life in our generation, who feel that its survival will depend on our ability to know ourselves and to stick to basic human values with the will to pay what it may cost. I know that you may have no time to receive him, but I

also know that he would be very happy if you could – and so would I.⁷⁰

Hamarskjöld had also sent letters of introduction concerning Steinbeck's forthcoming trip to the Middle East to Abdel Nasser and David Ben-Gurion. Steinbeck had been in search of politicians in a position of authority, who brought 'temperament and character' to their offices, which were very rarely seen in Steinbeck's view. Steinbeck wanted to find thereby natural leaders, 'the truly moral man' who could be trusted as not being opportunistic or corrupt (Hovde 1997: 99). On the same day that he wrote to Buber in Jerusalem (5 September), Hamarskjöld sent a letter to Steinbeck enclosing *Between Man and Man* and explicitly recommending the reading of 'the first paper "Dialogue" and the last "What is Man?"', which showed, by the way, a shift in Hamarskjöld's focus of interest compared with his first letter to Buber referring to the book on 17 August 1961 – a shift towards the more historical dimension of the anthropological question, as well as to the community-oriented parts and the 'Between' –philosophy in 'What is Man?'. However, neither the vast three-volume biography of Buber by Maurice Friedman nor the 1100-page volume by Steinbeck's biographer Jackson J. Benson (Benson 1984) makes any mention of Steinbeck visiting Buber in Israel in late 1961. Apparently, they never met.

Hamarskjöld at work on I and Thou on his last flight

The last letter Hamarskjöld sent to Buber was written on 12 September 1961, the day that Hamarskjöld left New York for his

69 Bo Beskow (1906–1989) studied art in Stockholm, Rome, Paris and Portugal. He was a painter and writer. His paintings used Christian motifs.

70 KBS DHS, Dag Hamarskjöld, Letter to Martin Buber, 5 September 1961. See also Hovde (1997: 129).

last and fatal journey to the Congo. Hammarskjöld informed Buber of the positive response he had received from the Bonnier publishers, this time from Albert Bonnier:

I have now received a letter from the Swedish publisher (Albert Bonnier, Sveavägen 56, Stockholm C) whom I approached regarding the translation of 'Ich und Du'. He tells me that they will be happy to publish such a translation and wish to get in touch with you regarding such practical matters as would have to be settled. He adds that he would be grateful if I would arrange for this contact.

I believe that the most practical way to proceed, provided that you confirm your agreement to the translation and its publication in Swedish, would be for me to ask them to address you directly; this unless you could indicate to me the agent with which they should deal...⁷¹

Buber received this more formal letter of Hammarskjöld's, on the procedure for the envisaged Swedish translation of *Ich und Du*, in Jerusalem only on 18 September 1961,

an hour after he had heard over the radio about the latter's death in the plane crash in the Congo. Thus the dialogue between the two men was a present reality from both sides even after Hammarskjöld's death (Friedman 1988: 318).

In his letter of October 1961, quoted above⁷², George Ivan Smith indicated that Hammar-

skjöld was talking to his colleagues about Buber right to the very end, but no longer about implementing parts of Buber's dialogue philosophy into his strategy for political encounter, diplomacy and negotiation:

By a series of chance I was not with him on his last trip to Africa. Dr. Linner⁷³ 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 him saying before the aircraft took off referred to your work and to medieval mystics. 'For them', Dag said, 'love meant a surplus of energy and an overflowing of strength which filled them when they lived in true selflessness'...

Forgive my intrusion but I did feel that Dag would have wanted me to share with you this knowledge of how closely you and your work were with him at the very end of his life.⁷⁴

In this last quotation from Linner, Hammarskjöld's language was more that of his own mysticism in *Markings* (Hammarskjöld 1964) than Buber's dialogical approach. Whereas Hammarskjöld still used 'selflessness' in the sense of a renunciation of the self, for Buber it was a mature personality – the 'Single One', with an upright opinion and 'conscience' – that could serve best for a

71 KBS DHS, Dag Hammarskjöld, Letter to Martin Buber, 12 September 1961.

72 KBS DHS, George Ivan Smith, Letter to Martin Buber, beginning of October, 1961.

73 Dr. Sture Linner, Sweden, was the 'Chief in Office' of the United Nations Operations in the Congo (ONUC) from 1960–61.

74 KBS DHS, George Ivan Smith, Letter to Martin Buber, beginning of October, 1961.

personal encounter with the other in a dialogical situation. In the Congo, Hammarskjöld even discussed with Linner details of his translation and requested Linner to go through the typewritten draft pages he had already finished (Fröhlich 2002: 205–206).

At almost the same time as receiving Smith's letter Buber received another letter – on 5 October 1961 from Dag's nephew Knut Hammarskjöld, also about the draft translation:

Now that I have brought the body of my uncle Dag Hammarskjöld back from Africa, I regard it as my duty to report to you that among the few personal effects he had with him on his last flight were two texts (in German and English) as well as twelve typewritten pages of your *I and Thou*. The latter was the beginning of the first draft of his translation of your work into Swedish that he had completed shortly before his departure from New York.⁷⁵

Knut is confusing many things here. Hammarskjöld carried a German and English book version of *I and Thou* with him on his trip to the Congo, as well as a 12-page typewritten draft in Swedish, which he left in Leopoldville, and a further, seven-page handwritten draft, also in Swedish, very likely the continuation, which he took with him on his flight to Ndola and which was found in scattered pages at the site of the plane crash. Thus, it is clear from various sources that Hammarskjöld was working on the translation during his last flight (Fröhlich 2002: 206). Urquhart wrote:

Hammarskjöld's briefcase, which survived the crash intact, gives the only known detail of what went on in the aircraft during the flight. Hammarskjöld continued his translation of *Ich und Du*, his flowing script filling the pages of the yellow legal-size pad. The writing was firm and neat, and there were very few corrections (Urquhart 1984: 588).

Martin Buber responded very emotionally on 10 October 1961 to George Ivan Smith's letter:

I want to thank you for what you tell me in your letter and particularly for the information about Hammarskjöld's translating some of my book even at Leopoldville and it seems, even after it. This is a fact most dear to my heart. I had a letter from Bonnier's about his wish to bring the book into Swedish by finding another translator. In my answer to him I suggested to put at the head of the book the words: 'At the wish of Martin Buber this translation is dedicated to the memory of Dag Hammarskjöld, who planned to do it himself and began to work at it few days before his death.'⁷⁶

The Bonnier publishers kept their promise. The new translators were Margit and Curt Norell, and the dedication Buber requested appears on the first page of the publication, and has done ever since the first edition of the book in Swedish in 1962.⁷⁷

75 Knut Hammarskjöld: 'Knut Hammarskjöld to Martin Buber; Geneva, October 5, 1961', in Glatzer and Mendes Flohr (1991: 641–642).

76 KBS DHS, Martin Buber, Letter to George Ivan Smith, beginning of October, 1961.

77 See for example the current Swedish publication of Martin Buber (1990), *Jag och du*, reprint of the 1962 Bonnier edition, Ludvika: Dualis Förlag.

At the end of September 1961, an article in the Stockholm newspaper *Dagens Nyheter* had confirmed the plan to publish the translation of *I and Thou* by another translator as an act in honour of Hammar skjöld (Friedman 1988: 318). Only a few days later, on 1 October 1961, the *New York Times* published a similar article. It read:

When he died Sept. 18, Secretary-General Dag Hammar skjöld left an unfinished literary project that had occupied his mind even as he prepared to depart for the Congo. The project was a translation he had planned of a work by the contemporary Jewish philosopher Martin Buber, 'Ich und Du' ('I and Thou'). The day before he took off for Africa, Mr. Hammar skjöld wrote to Dr. Georg Svensson of Stockholm's leading publishing house, Bonnier's, that he planned to work on the translation in the months ahead and would have it completed by January. He wrote that he anticipated that the project would not be easy because it would be necessary to have Buber's meanings clear and to find just the right linguistic form for what he termed 'Buber's intensely beautiful, intensely personal and Old Testament German prose'. The letter to Dr. Svensson reflected Mr. Hammar skjöld's admiration for the Vienna-born Jewish philosopher, whose essays have a marked mystical element. The Secretary-General said that he wanted to do the translation because it would mean something of a personal declaration for him. He indicated that he had found that Buber's ideas often corresponded to his own...⁷⁸

On 22 October 1961, a front page story in the *New York Herald Tribune* predicted that the Nobel Prize for Literature would be awarded to Buber, in response to a 'final recommendation' by Hammar skjöld as expressed to the Bonnier family in his letters on the translation plan (Friedman 1988: 319). But again, and for the third time, Buber did not receive the award. The 1961 Prize for Literature was given to the Bosnian writer Ivo Andric. And the Peace Prize was awarded – posthumously, for the first and only time – to Dag Hammar skjöld.

In 1962 Buber gave the speech on the Swedish Radio, 'Memories of Hammar skjöld' (Buber 1962a), already quoted at the very beginning of this text on phase I of their encounter. Again, in 1963, Buber tried to give a Dag Hammar skjöld Memorial Lecture at the Hebrew University in Jerusalem, entitled 'Serving Spirit in the Realm of Power'. This lecture had been planned as part of a public series of about 30 distinguished lectures dedicated to the memory of Hammar skjöld on five continents. Each lecturer could choose a university in his country as his platform. Unfortunately, Buber's health did not permit him to give the lecture (Friedman 1988: 319).

78 KBS DHS, 'Translation of Work by Buber was planned by Hammar skjöld', copy of the article with no signature or hint of authorship, in *New York Times*, 1 October 1961.

III » Outlook: Can we save true dialogue in an ‘Age of Mistrust’?

Discussion of Hammarskjöld’s and Buber’s alternatives if dialogue fails

Hammarskjöld had his own interpretation of Buber and, furthermore, this interpretation varied according to his intentions in the changing situations of the last years of his life. The reduction of Buber’s philosophy of dialogue to ‘mysticism’ and ‘pure literature’, as revealed in Hammarskjöld’s last letters to the Bonnier family, was already present in some parts of the memorandum Hammarskjöld wrote on Buber to the Swedish Academy in June 1959. Then, Hammarskjöld wrote:

The mysticism of personal spiritual life⁷⁹ – the terminology is warranted however less than adequate – which Buber developed during the influence of Hasidism as well as from Christian medieval mysticism, separates itself in a decided way from the rational materialism...as from the formalistic orthodoxy and religious intolerance...⁸⁰

By resuming and amplifying this interpretation in his letters to the Bonniers, Hammarskjöld neglects the biographical fact that Buber’s *I and Thou* as well as his other dialogical writings are in great part due to Buber’s explicit turning away from mysticism, due to his *Umkehr*, triggered by the Mehé

Experience and Landauer’s severe criticism of Buber’s political position on World War I and its causes. *Die Legende des Baalschem* which Hammarskjöld had already tried but not succeeded in translating was originally published in 1907, before Buber’s turning away from mysticism (Buber 1907).

Buber’s perception of Hammarskjöld as an exception in the political sphere

As far as Buber’s interpretation of Hammarskjöld is concerned, we can deduce from his public appraisals after Hammarskjöld’s death that Buber was finally able to have trust in the United Nations because of his personal encounter with him. During the Suez crisis he still distrusted the United Nations, but for some years after Hammarskjöld’s death he even quoted statements of Hammarskjöld’s on the Arab-Israeli refugee problem. But his trust remained very much connected with the unique personality of Hammarskjöld. When Buber entitled the speech he planned to give in 1963 ‘Serving Spirit in the Realm of Power’ he may have substantiated his argument with quotations from his own *I and Thou* his view that a statesman or a businessman who serves the spirit is a possibility (Buber 1970: 98). Likewise, he could again answer the question he had already answered in the last section of ‘Dialogue’:

79 The term ‘mysticism of personal spiritual life’ (in Swedish, ‘personlighetsmystik’ was taken by Hammarskjöld from the protestant theologian Nathan Söderblom (1866–1931).

80 Hammarskjöld (1959), quoted by Nelson (2007: 99).

You ask with a laugh, can the leader of a great technical undertaking practise the responsibility of dialogue? He can (Buber 1929: 38).

But this he can do only as a Single One, as an exception to the rule. It was in this sense, I believe, that Buber perceived his friendship with Dag Hammarskjöld: as a ‘covenant of peace’, as Buber’s biographer Maurice Friedman called it (Friedman 1988: 303). As Hammarskjöld died, the covenant too died. And Buber felt, according to Friedman, that Hammarskjöld had been abandoned within the United Nations:

In Hammarskjöld, Buber saw a man of good will who tried to do something but who had been abandoned. ‘Doing his utmost,’ Buber said to Meyer Levin⁸¹, ‘Hammarskjöld still lacked the technical means to carry out his peace mission, and so he was martyred in his death’ (Friedman 1988: 318).

I don’t know what Buber meant by ‘technical means’ here, whether he agreed with the military engagement of the UN in the Congo or whether he was referring to moral, political or financial support from some states (France, Great Britain and the United States threatened to withdraw their financial contributions to the UN during the Congo crisis a few days before Hammarskjöld’s death and had already started to do so). I imagine that Buber knew little about the complicated matters on the ground during the last week of Hammarskjöld’s life in relation to the Congo

crisis (Urquhart 1984: 545–589). Therefore, I would like to draw attention here to Buber’s more general perception of Hammarskjöld’s having been abandoned in the sense that recalls Buber’s words in his Swedish Radio speech of 1962, about ‘something fateful’ being connected with Hammarskjöld’s ‘function in this world-hour’, as quoted at the very beginning of this text. I hold that Buber thought that maybe some few and exceptional personalities could keep to ‘the spirit’ within the realm of power, but that the realm of power politics in general had still not become a sphere where he, Buber, wanted to act in the future and above all, a sphere from which he expected a re-structuring of society and an *Umkehr* to true peace to emerge. The events of subsequent years, the further developments in the Congo, the Cuba crisis and the nuclear threat, confirmed the impression that for Buber diplomatic means, negotiation and dialogue in the political sphere had come to the end of their possibilities. That is why Buber was obliged to reflect on what to do, when dialogue – at least within the realm of power – failed. And he definitely had some answers: amongst these were education and civil disobedience.

Buber’s first alternative: Education

In *Between Man and Man* Buber included two texts on education: ‘Education’ (Buber 1955: 83–103), written already in 1926, and ‘The Education of Character’ (Buber 1955: 104–117), written in 1939. Education had always been an important part of Buber’s life and activities, notably in his profession as an assistant professor and honorary professor of the ‘Freies Jüdisches Lehrhaus’ (Free Jewish Teaching Institute) in Frankfurt-am-Main between the two World Wars, from 1924 to 1933. Buber reopened the ‘Frankfurter Lehrhaus’ in 1933

81 Meyer Levin (1905–1981) was a US-American journalist and novelist, one of the first writers of ‘documentary novels’. He became aware of Anne Frank’s diary and was one of the first to recognise the literary and dramatic potential in it.

after the seizure of power of the Nazis and taught Jewish culture to his students as well as the basics of Zionism in order to prepare them for their exile in Palestine (Friedman 1999: 280). Then again, he taught in Palestine from 1938 to 1951 at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. At the end of his text 'Society and the State', Buber already proposed education as an alternative in a time of crisis and distortion of the political sphere:

But there is a way for Society – meaning at the moment the men who appreciate the incomparable value of the social principle – to prepare the ground for improving the relations between itself and the political principle. That way is Education, the education of a generation with a truly social outlook and a truly social will (Buber 1951: 175–76).

Apparently, for Hammar skjöld education was not a sphere where he wanted to be or where he could have been active if dialogue failed. Thus, he didn't mention the two texts on education in *Between Man and Man* in his letters to Buber.

Buber's second alternative: Civil disobedience

Buber advocated a second alternative in case true dialogue failed: civil disobedience. Within a situation of nonviolent resistance or civil disobedience there certainly is a kind of coercion of the opponent, but the word is still respected, dialogue is not abandoned or rejected and can be resumed at any time. During the last years of Hammar skjöld's life, the world witnessed the rise of Martin Luther King, Jr. (1929–1968) and his civil rights movement for the emancipation of African Americans in the south of

the United States. Martin Luther King was directly influenced by Buber as well as by Albert Camus. Buber's biographer Maurice Friedman wrote in relation to the imprisonment of Martin Luther King during the civil rights campaigns in Montgomery in 1956 and Birmingham in 1963: The two books that King took with him to prison were Camus' *The Rebel* and Buber's *Between Man and Man* (Friedman 1988: 450).

Friedman was, among many other things, a creative interpreter of Buber's philosophy and wrote two books, *Problematic Rebel* and *The Hidden Human Image* (Friedman 1963 and 1974), in which he elaborated on his theory of an opposition between the 'Modern Promethean' type of rebel who advocated an 'all-or-nothing rebellion', like the Black Power Movement, marked by despair, and the 'Modern Job' type of rebel who advocated a 'trust-and-contending rebellion', like King, Thoreau, Gandhi and Camus (Friedman 1974: 348). Friedman wrote in his biography on Buber:

In 1961, I sent Buber a copy of the baccalaureate address that I gave at the University of Vermont in which I pointed for the first time to that common attitude of Buber and Camus that in *Problematic Rebel* (1963) I was to identify as that of the 'Modern Job' – the attitude in which dialogue and rebellion, trust and contending are inseparably coupled... In 1958 in a panel which we shared on Buber and Literature at a University of Michigan intercollegiate conference, the distinguished American literary critic R. W. B. Lewis told me that at the Salzburg Festival in Austria, Camus had said to him that he did not mind being called religious in Buber's sense of the term (Friedman 1988: 153–154).

Here we have a more contemporary understanding of Camus as a philosopher of revolt as well as of dialogue. As far as Martin Luther King is concerned, on several occasions, in his writings and speeches, the influence of Buber's philosophy is explicit, as Friedman shows:

Nonviolence 'does not seek to defeat or humiliate the opponent, but to win his friendship and understanding.' Its goal is the 'creation of the beloved community.'... Nonviolent resistance, to King, is the narrow bridge between acquiescence and violence... 'We who engage in non-violent direct action are not the creators of tension,' King points out. 'We merely bring to the surface the hidden tension that is already alive'... But again like the Modern Job, the rebellion is not for the sake of any one person or group but for the sake of the brotherhood of all men. 'Segregation, to use the terminology of the Jewish philosopher Martin Buber, substitutes an 'I-it' relationship for an 'I-thou' relationship and ends up relegating persons to the status of things'.⁸²

When writing his essay on Gandhi, Buber was already impressed by Gandhi's decision not to give up nonviolence even in the midst of the independence movement's increasing tendency to use violent means (Buber 1930). Friedman says the same of Martin Luther King when the latter was challenged by a 'nihilistic philosophy born out of the conviction that the Negro can't win'⁸³:

Willing like Job to stand alone even against his friends, King repeatedly stated: 'If every Negro in the United States turns to violence, I will choose to be that lone voice preaching that this is the wrong way' (Friedman 1974: 350).

It must be mentioned here that this stand of Martin Luther King's was supported by Abraham Joshua Heschel (1907-1972), a life-long friend of Buber's who had worked with him in Jewish education at the 'Freies Jüdisches Lehrhaus' in Frankfurt. Heschel had fled from the Nazis to the United States and later participated as a Rabbi, in solidarity with the civil rights cause, on the marches led by Martin Luther King. There is a famous photograph showing Heschel next to Martin Luther King, Jr., in the front row of the famous Selma-to-Montgomery-marches in 1965. Heschel's participation in the campaign showed the high level of cooperation between US-American Jews and the Black civil rights movement (Heschel 2000: 20-38).

These liaisons show how close Martin Luther King, Jr., Gandhi and Buber were, although Buber did not want to be regarded as a pacifist by principle. Moreover, he disliked the vision of mass movements of civil disobedience, because he feared that the crowd at a mass demonstration cannot be a true community and instead was an accidental mingling of atomised individuals, a meaningless sample of molecules. Thus in 1962, Buber wrote in a short address for the centenary of the death of the inventor of this concept, the US-American anarchist Henry David Thoreau (1817-1862), that

Thoreau did not formulate a general principle as such; he set forth and grounded

82 The special quotations are from various writings of Martin Luther King, Jr., the quote as a whole from Friedman (1974: 346-48).

83 Martin Luther King, Jr., quoted by Friedman (1974: 349).

his attitude in a particular historical-biographical situation (Buber 1962b: 191).

In this sense, the strong influence of ‘conscience’ on a true decision made in a dialogical situation of responsibility by the Single One was the core of Buber’s understanding of civil disobedience. No surprise then, that ‘conscientious objection’ has often coincided with campaigns of civil disobedience and led, for example, Martin Luther King to his critique of the Vietnam War. Despite his hesitations concerning crowds and mass movements, Buber advocated more openly this kind of civil disobedience shortly after Hammarskjöld’s death, in face of the growing threat of a nuclear war at a time when his trust in exceptional personalities within the political sphere had vanished. Thus, in a second text on civil disobedience, in 1963, Buber wrote:

It is the possibility that in the course of the mutually outstripping bellicose surprises on the side of both partners, so to speak – with the seeming continuation of human institutions – the most dangerous of our powers will autonomously continue the game until it succeeds in transforming the human cosmos into a chaos beyond which we can no longer think.

Can the rulers of the hour command a halt to the machinery which they only seemingly master?... But if, as I think, the rulers of the hour cannot do this, who shall come to the rescue here while there is still time if not the ‘disobedient’, those who personally set their faces against the power that has gone astray as such? Must not a planetary front of such civil disobedients stand ready, not for battle like other fronts, but for saving dialogue? But

who are these if not those who hear the voice that addresses them from the situation – the situation of the human crisis – and obey it? (Buber 1963: 193)

We should think of the big international peace movements of the 1980s as well as the Eastern European dissident movements, and their working together within cross-bloc campaigns such as the Campaign for European Disarmament initiated by Edward P. Thompson, as examples of Buber’s planetary front and ‘crossfront’ and as the real saviours of dialogue and the real prohibitors of nuclear war within Europe. Only due to these movements and their relentless pressure did politicians finally decide to listen to each other, which led to the removal of the Iron Curtain and the fall of the Berlin Wall, that is the end of the Cold War.

Hammarskjöld: Dialogue and the spiralling-down dynamics of extended political leadership

As for Hammarskjöld, he also based his understanding of dialogue on the legacy of Buber and Camus⁸⁴ (6). In a response to a question in a press conference on 19 May 1960 Hammarskjöld alluded to these two thinkers and then elaborated on his concept of dialogue in the political sphere, that is

84 Camus wrote a series of articles in the aftermath of the Second World War, *Neither Victims nor Executioners*. The French original had been quickly translated into English by Dwight Macdonald, an American. Therein, Camus opposed the word to war and characterised the current time as an age of fear, but he did not really write on the philosophy of dialogue; all in all Camus should be regarded, rather, as a philosopher of revolt/rebellion, see for example Lou Marin (ed.) (2008), *Albert Camus et les Libertaires (1948-1960)*, Marseille: Egrégories Editions.

his concept of so-called private, or silent or quiet diplomacy:

...dialogue requires quite a few things: objectivity, a willingness to listen, and considerable restraint. Those are all human qualities. No one of them is very remarkable, but they are all called for, and if they lead to a 'dialogue' I think it is very reasonable to let that dialogue develop within the more or less traditional framework, that is to say, a little bit out of the glare of publicity, which robs you of a few headlines but helps us all.⁸⁵

Another preoccupation for Hammarskjöld in respect of diplomatic dialogue was Buber's demand for awareness. In a letter to Eyvind Johnson⁸⁶ on 31 January, Hammarskjöld wrote that any participant of political dialogue

must push his awareness to the utmost limit without losing his inner quiet, he must be able to see the eyes of the others from within their personality without losing his own.⁸⁷

Andrew Cordier attested for the staff at the Secretariat that it was at exactly this point Buber that had been discussed by all of them:

We read together and discussed selected portions of I and Thou, relating to this basic factor in effective negotiation.⁸⁸

Furthermore, Hammarskjöld's biographer Manuel Fröhlich pointed to principles like confidentiality, or in Hammarskjöld words 'discretion, tact and prudence', concluding that this 'is a rule everywhere in political and diplomatic negotiations'⁸⁹. Hammarskjöld invented the 'Peking Formula', which meant that he could step aside from the immediate execution of a General Assembly resolution although he had an official mandatory responsibility for this resolution, claiming that he was equally responsible to the written and approved UN Charter as the basis of his negotiations. That gave him the possibility of taking a seemingly objective or neutral position during his personal talks with Zhou Enlai and the Chinese side. If one wants to, it is possible to see this negotiation strategy as an interpretation of the Buberian concept that the Single One was not only responsible to the norms of the community he had to represent, but also to his 'conscience'.

Nevertheless, the Peking Formula had been the starting point for a controversy about the personal sphere of independence and leadership power of the Secretary-General of the United Nations that led to the phrase habitually used in relation to United Nations crisis resolution matters, 'Leave it to Dag', which points to an ever-extending power sphere for the Secretary-General. At the end of Hammarskjöld's term of office, this independent interpretation of his acts more due to the written Charter and its legal obligations than his role as a direct executioner of resolutions of the General Assembly or the Security-Council had developed into a source of severe criticism. Brian Urquhart remembered

85 Hammarskjöld, quoted by Cordier/Foote (1974: 606).

86 Eyvind Johnson (1900–1976) was a Swedish writer and translator of Camus and Sartre into Swedish; he was awarded the Nobel Prize for Literature in 1976.

87 Hammarskjöld, quoted by Fröhlich (2002: 278).

88 Andrew Cordier, quoted by Fröhlich (2002: 279).

89 Hammarskjöld, quoted by Fröhlich (2002: 260).

the opposition Hammarskjöld encountered as a result of his conception of an enhanced power role for the Secretary-General:

Today, everybody thinks Hammarskjöld was a huge success story. In reality, he had been completely paralysed. The Russians and the French didn't talk to him any longer, and a bunch of other people did no longer want to have anything to do with him. At the end of his mandate he was done.⁹⁰

Alan James, a researcher on the role of the Secretary-General, even described this mood among politicians after the Hammarskjöld term:

Why, to put it harshly, was he allowed to get away with so much for so long?⁹¹

Thus, an increase in power for the Secretary-General didn't improve conditions for dialogue in the political sphere in the long run. With more power for the Secretary-General, at times even states' representatives turned away from true dialogue with Hammarskjöld. But, according to Buber, a key precondition for true dialogue is reciprocity or mutuality in the will for dialogue. After the initial success story during the US-China crisis, quiet diplomacy no longer worked as the one and only means of conflict resolution. And the tactics of Moïse Tschombé, the then President of the secessionist Republic of Katanga, deliberately agreeing to and then again withdrawing from negotiation, finally led to the death of Hammarskjöld.

Moreover, an excess of power for the Secretary-General of the United Nations stood in contradiction to Buber's concept of reducing the power politics of the political sphere to mere administration. Furthermore, the other conditions Buber held necessary for genuine dialogue, such as taking the risk of meeting the other without preconceptions, without egoistical interest, without tactical strategy or preconditions, in order to create something new in common – these are social aspects that are almost impossible to realise within the power- and interest-driven political field and could be matched, if ever, only in some distant approximation.

Last argument: World War II had shown all the problems of what then was called 'secret diplomacy', which ended up in the secret amendments of the Hitler-Stalin Pact. A new beginning for democracy after World War II was therefore demanding open diplomacy, open and visible dialogue, controlled by public institutions and the people, in the political sphere as elsewhere. That is why the first Secretary-General of the United Nations, Trygve Lie, preferred the concept of 'public diplomacy' or 'parliamentary diplomacy', with no secret protocols or reticence in front of journalists and the press as was the case with Hammarskjöld since the successful negotiations with Zhou Enlai during the US-China crisis, although Hammarskjöld did not want to equate his 'quiet diplomacy' with 'secret diplomacy'. It is true that the press or sensationalist journalists can distort the achievements of face-to-face dialogue within politics, but this question is also a task for society, and has to do with an appropriate press code and an ethics of journalism as well as an ethics of public debate. That is why some of Hammarskjöld's successors as Secre-

90 Urquhart, quoted by Fröhlich (2002: 357–358); translation by Lou Marin

91 Alan James, quoted by Fröhlich (2002: 358).

tary-General did not always want to pursue the Hammarskjöld legacy in this respect, refraining from an extended role for the office-bearer. Rather, they interpreted their role in a more reluctant manner (Fröhlich 2002: 378–409 and Urquhart 1991: 189–369). Additional factors like an occasional overestimation of his own capacities of decision-making and a lack of willingness to delegate tasks, or an unfortunate tendency to recruit the wrong people for difficult tasks (like choosing the Irish military officer O’Brien for the command of the UN troops in Katanga) led to a sort of Buberian reversal of the *spiral of trust* to Hammarskjöld’s disadvantage at the end of his term. According to Buber, true dialogue and reciprocity of dialogue partners can lead at best to mutual confidence and positive dynamics, a ‘spiral of trust’. In contrast, unilateral decisions by political leaders with an ever-extending sphere of their claimed leadership tend to damage mutual confidence and lead to negative dynamics, a reversal of the ‘spiral of trust’ (Fröhlich 2002: 361–372).

Thus, I come to the provisional conclusion that while Buber agreed that an interpretation and implementation of his philosophy of dialogue as conceived by Hammarskjöld as a part of quiet diplomacy, with as many as possible face-to-face-encounters with adversary politicians, was desirable in principle, Buber thought at the same time that it was very difficult to implement this thoroughly and that the initial successes of quiet diplomacy were due to Hammarskjöld’s extraordinary personality. Originally, Buber did not conceive his philosophy of dialogue for the political sphere, but for groups and communities forming integral parts of society and defending themselves against a politicisation of their realm.

Hammarskjöld’s alternative: The peacekeeping forces – and their consequences

In case all his sophisticated tactics of dialogue as quiet diplomacy failed, Hammarskjöld, at a very early stage of his period of office, invented something else as an alternative to dialogue: the military instrument of a presence of the United Nations through troops with a blue helmet, that is the peacekeeping forces which have nowadays developed into peace-enforcing-forces as witnessed in the bombings of former Yugoslavia or the occupation of Afghanistan since 2001. In contrast to Buber’s alternatives, discussed above, the problem with peacekeeping forces as military units is that the United Nations has thereby been introduced to a military option that runs the danger of cutting across or even abandoning a process of dialogue within the political sphere, as the word – as proclaimed by Buber and Camus and occasionally also by Hammarskjöld – is opposed to war.

The first great initial success of the peacekeeping forces, as it has been heralded in almost every historical account, was the deployment of the first-ever UN troops in an attempt to solve the Suez crisis, that is to contain the war between the occupation forces in the Suez Canal (Israel, France and Great Britain) and Egypt in 1956. Already here, very few observers have examined the fact that in reality these United Nations troops only led to a temporary cessation of tensions, not to a real solution. Thus, in 1967, in the first real crisis after the deployment of UN troops, these troops were expelled by Egypt, which rapidly led to the disastrous 1967 war with Israel (Urquhart 1991: 131–140 and 209–216).

Already the death of Hammarskjöld has been connected with the military engagement of UN troops in Elizabethville (today Lubumbashi) against Tschombé's Katangan militias (Belgian and French mercenaries). Since then, in the course of time, the implementation conditions of UN peacekeeping, and then peace-enforcement, forces has been continuously enhanced. The use of this alternative when dialogue as quiet diplomacy fails has invaded strategic consciousness, finally even prompting humanitarian and human rights-organisations to think in military-strategic ways and to demand ever more military protection or even military invasion, as each failure of such a mission has been attributed to insufficient military equipment or numbers of UN troops (Foley 2008). None of this really fosters the possibilities for dialogue within the political sphere of our times. Besides, out-of-the-box speeches, misunderstandings, inability to engage in dialogue, as well as a mood of mutual distrust, all prevail or are even growing, and not only in the Middle East and Far East.

Buber's third alternative: From World Peace Brigades to Peace Brigades International

Buber, in addition to his alternatives for saving true dialogue in the sphere of society through education and civil disobedience, was participating at the time of Hammarskjöld's death in another alternative that might be regarded as a sort of counter-concept to that of military peacekeeping units. He was involved in the founding of the World Peace Brigade in 1961, according to Friedman:

Two such 'civil disobedients', Anthony Brooke, an exile from Sarawak and the British Commonwealth, and Michael Scott, an exile from South Africa, attempted to form a World Peace Brigade made up of unarmed volunteers sent to areas of conflict to help the refugees and wounded and endeavour to bring the combatants together through passive resistance and persuasion. They decided to hold the founding conference of the brigade in the resort town of Burmana in Lebanon at the end of December 1961 and asked Buber if he would be able to attend. Charles Malik⁹², the former Lebanese ambassador to the United Nations, had taught a course in Buber's philosophy at the American University in Beirut for many years. (In fact, Malik and Hayim Greenberg of Israel once met at the United Nations to discuss *I and Thou*.) But no Israeli citizen had ever openly been allowed to enter by an Arab state. If Buber had gone, he would have become the first Israeli citizen to be invited to an international conference in an Arab country. In his reply, Buber made it clear to Brooke and Scott that the first meeting should be held only in a country which would admit every single one of the sponsors, without discrimination, and he was ready to demand that the conference be transferred somewhere else if Lebanon did not admit him (Friedman 1988: 329).

⁹² Charles Malik (1906–1987) was a Lebanese philosopher and diplomat and supported the Reinhold Niebuhr and Maurice Friedman initiative of 1962 to propose Martin Buber for the Nobel Prize for Literature. Malik wrote on this occasion: 'Buber is greater than even the fine eulogy you compiled for him in your draft letter' (Malik quoted by Friedman 1988: 331).

But Buber then fell ill, and an exhausting journey anywhere was out of question. Aubrey Hodes remembered the determination of an 83-year-old Buber to go there and assist with any effort that could contribute to a new Israeli-Arab dialogue. Eventually, the founding congress of the World Peace Brigade took place as planned in Lebanon, without Buber, but some of the participants went afterwards to his house in Jerusalem to visit Buber and to talk with him (Friedman 1988: 330).

The World Peace Brigade, which existed from 1961 to 1964, had some forerunners such as the Peace Army (1932–1939) initiated by Maude Royden, an Anglican minister. Royden was inspired by Gandhi's idea of a 'Living Wall', which the latter had proposed against external aggression in an independent India. It was proposed to the League of Nations that the Peace Army be institutionalised, but the League declined to support it. It should have intervened in the fighting between Japanese and Chinese forces in Shanghai in the 1930s, but failed to raise enough recruits and money.

Another forerunner was the 'Volunteers for International Development/Peaceworkers', a students' and veterans' initiative after World War II to build a 'UN Peaceforce', but they too were denied institutional backing. The World Peace Brigade of 1961 (WPB) had been proposed originally at the Conference of War Resisters' International in India in 1960, to internationalise the Shanti Sena (Peace Army) of Gandhian origin working with some success at the same time within India. The World Peace Brigade, finally created in Lebanon in 1961, was divided into three sections (Asia/India; Europe/Britain; America/US) with each section to

form small Brigades to be sent to the scene of international conflicts, as decided jointly. The WPB established a training centre in Dar es Salaam, Tanganyika, in 1962 and co-ordinated an international Freedom March into Northern Rhodesia (now Zambia) to support nonviolent calls for independence from British rule and a local campaign of civil disobedience. The march was finally abandoned because of a change of events that turned in favour of the independence movement. A second campaign was mobilised to the Indo-Chinese border in 1963, where there had been a border war in 1962. The plan was to march from Delhi to Peking, but it received very hostile reactions from both governments. Finally a multi-national group walked across India before being prevented from crossing the border into China. A last, officially undertaken WPB campaign took activists with a sailing boat to Lenin-grad and the Arctic Ocean to protest against Soviet nuclear testing (the boat eventually had to be rescued by the Soviet navy, but the voyage was successfully completed). After the dissolution of the WBP in 1964, some activists kept their vision alive and were involved in the subsequent founding of the follow-up Peace Brigades International (PBI) in 1981, which exists until today. It has grown into an international organisation with 15 country sections. The main task of their activists is to accompany social workers, trade unionists or other persons within regions where there is heavy governmental violence or civil war and to monitor violations of their rights. Among the many projects have been the international monitoring in Nicaragua in 1981, Guatemala in 1983, El Salvador (1987–1992) and Sri Lanka (1989–2009), the escorting of Native Americans in the United States in 1992, and projects in

Haiti in 1993, Colombia in 1994 and Chad in 1994. One of their projects concerned Israel/Palestine in 1989 at the outbreak of the first Intifada (Moser-Puangsuwan 2009). So, finally, PBI contributed to a revival of joint Israeli-Arab activism at the grassroots level, which was growing independently with international support, notably since the building of a Wall of Separation, a new 'Wall of Distrust' in the West Bank in 2003. The new emerging nonviolent and grassroots resistance is the only area nowadays where Palestinian and Israeli citizens as well as activists can meet in face-to-face-encounters in order to reduce their prejudices and start true dialogue in a way that Buber would undoubtedly have supported (Kalicha 2008).

During his time, Buber's hope for this capacity for dialogue was placed in the Kibbutz movement, which finally was not entirely justified. The majority of the Kibbutz communities did not really want to enter into serious relationships with the neighbouring Palestinian villages and today most of the Kibbutz communities have adjusted their way of living to the capitalist norm of Israel society. They have been absorbed in a negative way by the violent values of the normative society – devoid of Buber's original socialist aspirations for the second and the

third Aliya⁹³ of the first decades of the 20th century (from about 1903, at the time of the Russian Kishinev pogrom, to about 1923), then mainly inspired by poor and working-class settlers coming from the Jewish milieu of Eastern Europe where Jewish Hasidism was still alive (Friedman 1982: 272).

Thus, a very brief summary of the respective alternatives of Dag Hammarskjöld and Martin Buber to failed dialogue would be that Hammarskjöld created the concept of peacekeeping forces by the United Nations, with the ever-prevailing danger of replacing the word by war, whereas Buber concentrated on three alternative activities, starting with education, and creating a planet-wide civil disobedience movement and a World Peace Brigade to intervene unarmed in civil war conflicts.

93 Aliya literally means 'ascent' in Hebrew and refers to ascending to the temple of Jerusalem, in the sense of a pilgrimage. Since the Holocaust it has been the name given to several waves of immigration into Palestine in the history of the Zionist movement. In the first Aliya (Bilu, 1882–1903, involving up to 30,000 people) Arab workers were hired for the early Kibbutzim, who worked like slaves for the Jewish settlers; the second Aliya (1903–1914, up to 40,000 settlers) had Kibbutzim entirely composed of Jewish workers; the third (1919–1923, up to 35,000 settlers) which brought Jews from Russia and Rumania, as well as the youth movement of Hashomer Hat-zair (Young Guards), also founded Kibbutzim, from which in 1946 a party sprang up, which in 1948, together with another organisation, Ahdut Ha'Avoda, formed the Mapam (Workers Party); the fourth (1924–1931, up to 80,000 people), is known as the Aliya of the middle classes; the fifth (1932–1938, up to 200,000 people) consisted of refugees, notably from Germany and Central Europe as a result of the seizure of power by the Nazis, and European Fascism; and then the Aliya Bet (second ascent in the sense of illegal immigration, until 1948) included the survivors of the Holocaust.

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Dag Hammarskjöld and Martin Buber met three times between 1958 and 1961. They conferred about the possibilities of true dialogue in the political and cultural setting of a United Nations confronted by the Cold War and an atmosphere of general mistrust. Hammarskjöld observed ‘Walls of Distrust’ between the superpowers’ representatives at the United Nations and in their propaganda-filled speeches. Buber described the social atmosphere created by nuclear threat, the Palestinian question and the Cold War as an ‘Age of Mistrust’. Both were in search of a common understanding of the political blockages of the time, while their perspectives on re-structuring society differed.

What significance does their exchange have for today’s problems? The Cold War has ended, but the atmosphere of mistrust prevails. The crucial questions of the Middle East remain unsolved. Only the concept of what constitutes the enemy has changed: fundamentalist terrorism has replaced the Soviet Union as a challenge for the West, while the West’s answer to all challenges remains war – the opposite of the word, as both Buber and Hammarskjöld affirmed. True dialogue seems to be as impossible as it was in Buber’s and Hammarskjöld’s times. However, remembering their discussions about the chances of true dialogue is simultaneously an inspiration for the quest for solutions in our times.

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Dag Hammarskjöld

THE INTERNATIONAL
CIVIL SERVANT
IN LAW
AND IN FACT



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Foundation

ne. According to the article, Chairman Khrushchev. There are neutral countries, there are no neutral conclusion that it is now the view of the Soviet such thing as an impartial civil servant in the kind of political celibacy which the Br calls for, is in international affairs a fiction. It sums up the views held by the Soviet Government, interview, or not, one thing is certain: the subject is one which we find nowadays in many political and non-communist alike, and it raises a problem. In fact, it challenges basic tenets in the philosophy of the United Nations, as one of the essential experiments in international cooperation represented by the "conference diplomacy" is the introduction of joint permanent organs, employing a neutral organ for executive purposes on behalf of all. Were it to be considered that the experience in international life rests on a false assumption

Dag Hammarskjöld

THE INTERNATIONAL
CIVIL SERVANT
IN LAW
AND IN FACT

*A Lecture delivered to Congregation
at Oxford on 30 May 1961*



Dag Hammarskjöld
Foundation

'The International Civil Servant in Law and in Fact:
A Lecture delivered to Congregation on 30 May 1961',
by Dag Hammarskjöld (1961), pp. 1–28.
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The inside covers feature facsimiles of pages from Hammarskjöld's typed reading copy of the lecture he delivered at the University of Oxford on 30 May 1961. Reproduced courtesy of the Dag Hammarskjöld Collection at the Royal Library of Sweden, Stockholm and with the permission of the Hammarskjöld family.

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ABOUT DAG HAMMARSKJÖLD



Above: Dag Hammarskjöld (left) and A. N. Bryan-Brown, Fellow of Worcester College and the University of Oxford's public orator, walking towards the Sheldonian Theatre on 30 May 1961. Photo credit: Keystone Pictures/TT.

INTRODUCTION

Henrik Hammargren

Executive Director, Dag Hammarskjöld Foundation

On 30 May 1961, the second Secretary-General of the United Nations, Dag Hammarskjöld, delivered a notable lecture at the University of Oxford. In the lecture, Hammarskjöld detailed the legal principles for the international civil service and underscored the importance of its international character and independence. He warned that if these principles were compromised, internationalism would in effect be abandoned, and concluded that ‘the price to be paid may well be peace’.¹

The lecture, Hammarskjöld’s last major public speech, was the culmination of years of reflection on the topic of the international civil service. Throughout his time as Secretary-General, in his many official and public speeches, Hammarskjöld made important references to the work of the international civil service and how it relates to the principles of integrity and ethics. In 1953, in his first statement to the General Assembly after taking the Oath of Office, Hammarskjöld emphasised that the Secretariat’s work:

... must be based on respect for the laws by which human civilization has been built. It likewise requires a strict observance of the rules and principles laid down in the Charter of this Organization. My work shall be guided by this knowledge.²

¹ Dag Hammarskjöld, ‘The International Civil Servant in Law and in Fact’ (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1961), p. 28.

² Dag Hammarskjöld, ‘Statement in the General Assembly after taking the Oath of Office, April 10 1953’, in Andrew W. Cordier and Wilder Foote (eds), *Public Papers of the Secretaries-General of the United Nations, Volume II: Dag Hammarskjöld, 1953–1956* (New York and London: Columbia University Press, 1972), p. 31.

INTRODUCTION

Two years into his first term, on 14 June 1955 in a speech at Johns Hopkins University, he clarified his position:

International service . . . will expose us to conflicts . . .
Intellectually and morally, international service therefore requires
courage . . . courage to defend what is your conviction even when
you are facing the threats of powerful opponents.³

During a meeting of the UN Security Council on 31 October 1956, at the height of the Suez crisis, he stated:

The principles of the Charter are, by far, greater than the Organization, in which they are embodied, and the aims which they are to safeguard are holier than the policies of any single nation or people . . . The discretion and impartiality required of the Secretary-General may not degenerate into a policy of expediency. He must also be a servant of the principles of the Charter, and its aims must ultimately determine what for him is right and wrong. For that he must stand.⁴

For Hammarskjöld, taking a stand involved a refusal to compromise the principles set out in the Charter. In his introduction to the UN's Annual Report for 1959–60, he stated:

It is my firm conviction that any result bought at the price of a compromise with the principles and ideals of the Organization, either by yielding to force, by disregard of justice, by neglect of common interests or by contempt for human rights, is bought at too high a price. That is so because a compromise with its principles and purposes weakens the Organization in a way representing a definite loss for the future that cannot be balanced by any immediate advantage achieved.⁵

³ Dag Hammarskjöld, 'International Service', address at the Johns Hopkins University Commencement Exercises, Baltimore, MA, 14 June 1955, in Cordier and Foote (note 1), p. 503.

⁴ Security Council Official Records, Eleventh Year, 751st Meeting, 31 October 1956, in Andrew W. Cordier and Wilder Foote (eds), *Public Papers of the Secretaries-General of the United Nations, Volume III: Dag Hammarskjöld 1956–1957* (New York and London: Columbia University Press 1973), p. 309.

⁵ United Nations General Assembly, 'Introduction to the annual report of the Secretary-General on the work of the Organization, 16 June 1959–15 June 1960', A/4390/Add.1,

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The Oxford lecture was widely commented on at the time for its defence of international thought and action. But according to Oscar Schachter, Hammarskjöld's former legal advisor who worked closely with him in the preparation of the lecture, it was also a personal defence. It was delivered during a period when the UN and Hammarskjöld were under attack by the Soviet Union for an alleged lack of neutrality in the handling of the Congo crisis. Schachter noted:

Hammarskjöld who saw himself as exclusively guided by the ideals and principles of the United Nations and who had been almost universally lauded for his dedication and brilliance in pursuing those ends was then under vehement attack for bias and personal ambition. There was no doubt that he was deeply affected, and that he perceived the criticisms as an attack on his personal integrity . . . The Oxford lecture . . . in its defence of personal integrity against the claims of power . . . carries a powerful appeal even today.⁶

Indeed, in the lecture Hammarskjöld charts a principled path for the international civil service that is as relevant now as it was 60 years ago. He emphasises the need for leadership by a Secretary-General with exclusively international responsibilities, but also speaks with great insight about the important distinction between international civil servants maintaining 'personal neutrality' and demonstrating neutral action.

In a press conference held two weeks after the Oxford lecture, Hammarskjöld explained further:

It may be true that in a very deep, human sense there is no neutral individual, because, as I said at Oxford, everyone, if he is worth anything, has to have these ideas and ideals—things which are dear to him, and so on. But what I do claim is that even a man

31 August 1960, p. 7, <<https://digitallibrary.un.org/record/714842>>.

⁶ Oscar Schachter, 'The International Civil Servant: Neutrality and Responsibility', in Robert S. Jordan (ed.), *Dag Hammarskjöld Revisited: The UN Secretary-General as a force in world politics* (Durham, NC: Carolina Academic Press, 1983).

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who is in that sense not neutral can very well undertake and carry through neutral actions, because that is an act of integrity. That is to say, I would say there is no neutral man, but there is, if you have integrity, neutral action by the right kind of man.⁷

Shortly before his violent death, in his introduction to the UN's Annual Report for 1960–61, he reiterated:

The exclusively international character of the Secretariat is not tied to its composition, but to the spirit in which it works and to its insulation from outside influences as stated in Article 100. While it may be said that no man is neutral in the sense that he is without opinions or ideals, it is just as true that, in spite of this, a neutral Secretariat is possible. Anyone of integrity, not subjected to undue pressures, can, regardless of his own views, readily act in an 'exclusively international' spirit and can be guided in his actions on behalf of the Organization solely by its interests and principles, and by the instructions of its organs.⁸

The 60th anniversary of the lecture provides an opportunity to reflect on the essential values and principles underscored by Hammarskjöld during the UN's early and defining moments. We are therefore reissuing the text of the lecture in full to ensure that it reaches the international civil servants of today, and in the hope that Hammarskjöld's precise and meaningful words will inspire a new generation committed to the cause of peace.

⁷ Dag Hammarskjöld, 'Press conference comments arising from lecture at Oxford', 12 June 1961 in Wilder Foote (ed.), *Servant of Peace: A Selection of the Speeches and Statements of Dag Hammarskjöld* (New York: Harper and Row, 1962), p. 351.

⁸ United Nations General Assembly, 'Introduction to the annual report of the Secretary-General on the work of the Organization, 16 June 1960–15 June 1961', A/4800/Add.1, 17 August 1961, p. 6, <<https://digitallibrary.un.org/record/543627>>.

THE INTERNATIONAL CIVIL SERVANT IN LAW AND IN FACT

DAG HAMMARSKJÖLD

I

In a recent article Mr. Walter Lippmann tells about an interview in Moscow with Mr. Khrushchev. According to the article, Chairman Khrushchev stated that 'while there are neutral countries, there are no neutral men', and the author draws the conclusion that it is now the view of the Soviet Government 'that there can be no such thing as an impartial civil servant in this deeply divided world, and that the kind of political celibacy which the British theory of the civil servant calls for, is in international affairs a fiction'.¹

Whether this accurately sums up the views held by the Soviet Government, as reflected in the interview, or not, one thing is certain: the attitude which the article reflects is one which we find nowadays in many political quarters, communist and non-communist alike, and it raises a problem which cannot be treated lightly. In fact, it challenges basic tenets in the philosophy of both the League of Nations and the United Nations, as one of the essential points on which these experiments in international co-operation represent an advance beyond traditional 'conference diplomacy' is the introduction on the international arena of joint permanent organs, employing a neutral civil service, and the use of such organs for executive purposes on behalf of all the members of the organizations. Were it to be considered that the experience shows that this radical innovation in international life rests on a false assumption, because 'no man can be neutral', then we would be thrown back to 1919, and a searching reappraisal would become necessary.

¹ *New York Herald Tribune*, 17 Apr. 1961, pp. 1, 2.

II

The international civil service had its genesis in the League of Nations but it did not spring full-blown in the Treaty of Versailles and the Covenant. The Covenant was in fact silent on the international character of the Secretariat. It contained no provisions comparable to those of Article 100 of the Charter, and simply stated:

The permanent Secretariat shall be established at the Seat of the League. The Secretariat shall comprise a Secretary-General and such secretaries and staff as may be required.²

In the earliest proposals for the Secretariat of the League, it was apparently taken for granted that there could not be a truly international secretariat but that there would have to be nine national Secretaries, each assisted by a national staff and performing, in turn, the duties of Secretary to the Council, under the supervision of the Secretary-General. This plan, which had been drawn up by Sir Maurice Hankey, who had been offered the post of Secretary-General of the League by the Allied Powers, was in keeping with the precedents set by the various international Bureaux established before the war which were staffed by officials seconded by Member countries on a temporary basis.

It was Sir Eric Drummond, first Secretary-General of the League, who is generally regarded as mainly responsible for building upon the vague language of the Covenant a truly international secretariat. The classic statement of the principles he first espoused is found in the report submitted to the Council of the League by its British member, Arthur Balfour:

By the terms of the Treaty, the duty of selecting the staff falls upon the Secretary-General, just as the duty of approving it falls upon the Council. In making his appointments, he had

² Article 6 of the Covenant of the League of Nations.

primarily to secure the best available men and women for the particular duties which had to be performed; but in doing so, it was necessary to have regard to the great importance of selecting the officials from various nations. Evidently, no one nation or group of nations ought to have a monopoly in providing the material for this international institution. I emphasize the word 'International', because the members of the Secretariat once appointed are no longer the servants of the country of which they are citizens, but become for the time being the servants only of the League of Nations. Their duties are not national but international.³

Thus, in this statement, we have two of the essential principles of an international civil service: (1) its international composition, and (2) its international responsibilities. The latter principle found its legal expression in the Regulations subsequently adopted which enjoined all officials 'to discharge their functions and to regulate their conduct with the interests of the League alone in view' and prohibited them from seeking or receiving 'instructions from any Government or other authority external to the Secretariat of the League of Nations'.⁴

Along with the conception of an independent, internationally responsible staff, another major idea was to be found: the international Secretariat was to be solely an administrative organ, eschewing political judgements and actions. It is not at all surprising that this third principle should have originated with a British Secretary-General. In the United Kingdom, as in certain other European countries, a system of patronage, political or personal, had been gradually replaced in the course of the nineteenth century by the principle of a permanent civil service based on efficiency and competence and owing allegiance only to the State which it served. It followed that a civil service so organized and dedicated would be non-political. The civil servant could not be expected to serve

³ *League of Nations Official Journal*, vol. i, June 1920, p. 137.

⁴ Article 1 of the Staff Regulations of the Secretariat of the League of Nations, 1945 edition.

two masters and consequently he could not, in his official duties, display any political allegiance to a political party or ideology. Those decisions which involved a political choice were left to the Government and to Parliament; the civil servant was the non-partisan administrator of those decisions. His discretion was a limited one, bound by the framework of national law and authority and by rules and instructions issued by his political superiors. True, there were choices for him, since neither legal rules nor policy decisions can wholly eliminate the discretion of the administrative official, but the choices to be made were confined to relatively narrow limits by legislative enactment, Government decisions and the great body of precedent and tradition. The necessary condition was that there should exist at all times a higher political authority with the capacity to take the political decisions. With that condition it seemed almost axiomatic that the civil service had to be 'politically celibate' (though not perhaps politically virgin). It could not take sides in any political controversy and, accordingly, it could not be given tasks which required it to do so. This was reflected in the basic statements laying down the policy to govern the international Secretariat. I may quote two of them:

We recommend with special urgency that, in the interests of the League, as well as in its own interests, the Secretariat should not extend the sphere of its activities, that in the preparation of the work and the decisions of the various organisations of the League, it should regard it as its first duty to collate the relevant documents, and to prepare the ground for these decisions without suggesting what these decisions should be; finally, that once these decisions had been taken by the bodies solely responsible for them, it should confine itself to executing them in the letter and in the spirit.⁵

Une fois les décisions prises, le rôle du Secrétariat est de les appliquer. Ici encore, il y a lieu de faire une distinction entre

⁵ Report of Committee No. 4 ('Noblemaire Report'), League of Nations, Records of the Second Assembly, Plenary Meetings, p. 596.

application et interprétation, non pas, à coup sûr, que je demande au Secrétariat de ne jamais interpréter; c'est son métier! Mais je lui demande, et vous lui demanderez certainement tous, d'interpréter le moins loin possible, le plus fidèlement possible, et surtout de ne jamais substituer son interprétation à la vôtre.⁶

Historians of the League have noted the self-restraining role played by the Secretary-General.⁷ He never addressed the Assembly of the League and in the Council 'he tended to speak . . . as a Secretary of a committee and not more than that'.⁸ For him to have entered into political tasks which involved in any substantial degree the taking of a position was regarded as compromising the very basis of the impartiality essential for the Secretariat.

True, this does not mean that political matters as such were entirely excluded from the area of the Secretariat's interests. It had been reported by Sir Eric Drummond and others that he played a role behind the scenes, acting as a confidential channel of communication to Governments engaged in controversy or dispute, but this behind-the-scenes role was never extended to taking action in a politically controversial case that was deemed objectionable by one of the sides concerned.

III

The legacy of the international secretariat of the League is marked in the Charter of the United Nations. Article 100 follows almost verbatim the League regulations on independence and international

⁶ Statement by M. Noblemaire at the 26th plenary meeting of the League Assembly, 1 Oct. 1921, League of Nations, Records of the Second Assembly, Plenary Meetings, p. 577.

⁷ F. P. Walters, *A History of the League of Nations*, pp. 559 ff.; Egon F. Ranshofen-Wertheimer, *The International Secretariat*, pp. 48-49; Stephen M. Schwebel, *The Secretary-General of the United Nations*, pp. 6 ff.

⁸ Proceedings of the Conference on Experience in International Administration, Washington, Carnegie Endowment, 1943, p. II.

responsibility barring the seeking or receiving of instructions from States or other external authority. This was originally proposed at San Francisco by the four sponsoring powers—China, the USSR, the United Kingdom, and the United States—and unanimously accepted.⁹ The League experience had shown that an international civil service, responsible only to the Organization, was workable and efficient. It had also revealed, as manifested in the behaviour of German and Italian Fascists, that there was a danger of national pressures corroding the concept of international loyalty. That experience underlined the desirability of including in the Charter itself an explicit obligation on officials and Governments alike to respect fully the independence and the exclusively international character of the responsibilities of the Secretariat.

It was also recognized that an international civil service of this kind could not be made up of persons indirectly responsible to their national governments. The weight attached to this by the majority of members was demonstrated in the Preparatory Commission London, when it was proposed that appointments of officials should be subject to the consent of the government of the Member State of which the candidate was a national.¹⁰ Even in making this proposal, its sponsor explained that it was only intended to build up a staff adequately representative of the governments and acceptable to them. He maintained that prior approval of officials was necessary, in order to obtain the confidence of their governments which was essential to the Secretariat, but once the officials were appointed, the exclusively international character of their responsibilities would be respected. However, the great majority of Member States rejected this proposal, for they believed that it would be extremely undesirable to write into the regulations anything that would give national governments particular rights in respect of appointments and thus

⁹ Documents of the UN Conference on International Organization (UNCIO), vol. 7, p. 394. See also summary record of 18th meeting, Committee I/2 (2 June 1945) in UNCIO, vol. 7, pp. 169–70.

¹⁰ U.N. Preparatory Commission (1946), doc. PC/AD.54.

indirectly permit political pressures on the Secretary-General.¹¹

Similarly, in line with Article 100, the Preparatory Commission laid emphasis on the fact that the Secretary-General ‘alone is responsible to the other principal organs for the Secretariat’s work’, and that all officials in the Organization must recognize the exclusive authority of the Secretary-General and submit themselves to rules of discipline laid down by him.¹²

The principle of the independence of the Secretariat from national pressures was also reinforced in the Charter by Article 105, which provides for granting officials of the Organization ‘such privileges and immunities as are necessary for the independent exercise of their functions in connexion with the Organization’. It was in fact foreseen at San Francisco that in exceptional circumstances there might be a clash between the independent position of a member of the Secretariat and the position of his country, and consequently that an immunity in respect of official acts would be necessary for the protection of the officials from pressure by individual governments and to permit them to carry out their international responsibilities without interference.¹³

In all of these legal provisions, the Charter built essentially on the experience of the League and affirmed the principles already accepted there. However, when it came to the functions and authority of the Secretary-General, the Charter broke new ground.

In Article 97 the Secretary-General is described as the ‘chief administrative officer of the Organization’, a phrase not found in the Covenant, though probably implicit in the position of the Secretary-General of the League. Its explicit inclusion in the Charter made it a constitutional requirement—not simply a matter left to the discretion of the organs—that the administration of the Organization shall be

¹¹ U.N. Preparatory Commission, Committee 6, 22nd and 23rd meetings, Assembly records, pp. 50–51.

¹² Report of the Preparatory Commission (1946), p. 85, para. 5, and p. 86, para. 9.

¹³ UNCIO, vol. 7, p. 394, Report of Rapporteur of Committee I/2.

left to the Secretary-General. The Preparatory Commission observed that the administrative responsibility under Article 97 involves the essential tasks of preparing the ground for the decisions of the organs and of 'executing' them in co-operation with the Members.¹⁴

Article 97 is of fundamental importance for the status of the international Secretariat of the United Nations, and thus for the international civil servant employed by the Organization, as, together with Articles 100 and 101, it creates for the Secretariat a position, administratively, of full political independence. However, it does not, or at least it need not, represent an element in the picture which raises the question of the 'neutrality' of the international civil servant. This is so because the decisions and actions of the Secretary-General as chief administrative officer naturally can be envisaged as limited to administrative problems outside the sphere of political conflicts of interest or ideology, and thus as maintaining the concept of the international civil servant as first developed in the League of Nations.

However, Article 97 is followed by Article 98, and Article 98 is followed by Article 99. And these two Articles together open the door to the problem of neutrality in a sense unknown in the history of the League of Nations.

In Article 98 it is, thus, provided not only that the Secretary-General 'shall act in that capacity' in meetings of the organs, but that he 'shall perform such other functions as are entrusted to him by these organs'. This latter provision was not in the Covenant of the League. It has substantial significance in the Charter, for it entitles the General Assembly and the Security Council to entrust the Secretary-General with tasks involving the execution of political decisions, even when this would bring him—and with him the Secretariat and its members—into the arena of possible political conflict. The organs are, of course, not required to delegate such tasks to the Secretary-General but it is clear that they may do so. Moreover, it may be said

¹⁴ Report of U.N. Preparatory Commission, p. 86, para. 12.

that in doing so the General Assembly and the Security Council are in no way in conflict with the spirit of the Charter—even if some might like to give the word ‘chief administrative officer’ in Article 97 a normative and limitative significance—since the Charter itself gives to the Secretary-General an explicit political role.

It is Article 99 more than any other which was considered by the drafters of the Charter to have transformed the Secretary-General of the United Nations from a purely administrative official to one with an explicit political responsibility. Considering its importance, it is perhaps surprising that Article 99 was hardly debated; most delegates appeared to share Smuts’s opinion that the position of the Secretary-General ‘should be of the highest importance and for this reason a large measure of initiative was expressly conferred’.¹⁵ Legal scholars have observed that Article 99 not only confers upon the Secretary-General a right to bring matters to the attention of the Security Council but that this right carries with it, by necessary implication, a broad discretion to conduct inquiries and to engage in informal diplomatic activity in regard to matters which ‘may threaten the maintenance of international peace and security’.¹⁶ It is not without some significance that this new conception of a Secretary-General originated principally with the United States rather than the United Kingdom. It has been reported that at an early stage in the preparation of the papers that later became the Dumbarton Oaks proposals, the United States gave serious consideration to the idea that the Organization should have a President as well as a Secretary-General.¹⁷ Subsequently, it was decided to propose only a single officer,

¹⁵ Letter from Field-Marshal Jan Christian Smuts to Mr. H. W. A. Cooper, 15 Dec. 1949, quoted in Schwebel, *The Secretary-General of the United Nations* (1952), p. 18.

¹⁶ Ibid. at p. 25. See summary record of 48th meeting of Committee of Experts of the Security Council, UN doc. S/Procedure 103, particularly statement of the representative of Poland. Also Virally, ‘Le Rôle politique du Secrétaire général des Nations Unies’, *Annuaire Français de Droit International*, vol. iv (1958), p. 363 and footnote 2; Simmonds, ‘Good Offices and the Secretary-General’, *Nordisk Tidsskrift for International Ret* (1959), vol. xxix, fasc. 4, pp. 332, 340, and 341.

¹⁷ Schwebel, op. cit. at p. 17.

but one in whom there would be combined both the political and executive functions of a President with the internal administrative functions that were previously accorded to a Secretary-General. Obviously, this is a reflection, in some measure, of the American political system, which places authority in a chief executive officer who is not simply subordinated to the legislative organs but who is constitutionally responsible alone for the execution of legislation and in some respects for carrying out the authority derived from the constitutional instrument directly.

The fact that the Secretary-General is an official with political power as well as administrative functions had direct implications for the method of his selection. Proposals at San Francisco to eliminate the participation of the Security Council in the election process were rejected precisely because it was recognized that the role of the Secretary-General in the field of political and security matters properly involved the Security Council and made it logical that the unanimity rule of the permanent Members should apply.¹⁸ At the same time, it was recognized that the necessity of such unanimous agreement would have to be limited only to the selection of the Secretary-General and that it was equally essential that he be protected against the pressure of a Member during his term in office.¹⁹ Thus a proposal for a three-year term was rejected on the ground that so short a term might impair his independent role.

The concern with the independence of the Secretary-General from national pressures was also reflected at San Francisco in the decision of the Conference to reject proposals for Deputies to the Secretary-General appointed in the same manner as the Secretary-General. The opponents of this provision maintained that a proposal of this kind would result in a group of high officials who would not be responsible to the Secretary-General but to the bodies which elected

¹⁸ UNCIO vol. 2, pp. 691-3.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, vol. 7, pp. 343-7, 387-9. Report of the Rapporteur of Committee I/2.

them.²⁰ This would inevitably mean a dilution of the responsibility of the Secretary-General for the conduct of the Organization and would be conducive neither to the efficient functioning of the Secretariat nor to its independent position.²¹ In this action and other related decisions, the drafters of the Charter laid emphasis on the personal responsibility of the Secretary-General; it is he who is solely responsible for performing the functions entrusted to him for the appointment of all Members of the Secretariat and for assuring the organ that the Secretariat will carry out their tasks under his exclusive authority. The idea of a 'Cabinet system' in which responsibility for administration and political functions would be distributed among several individuals was squarely rejected. It is also relevant in this connexion that the provision for 'due regard to geographical representation' in the recruitment of the Secretariat was never treated as calling for political or ideological representation. It was rather an affirmation of the idea accepted since the beginning of the League Secretariat that the staff of the Organization was to have an international composition and that its basis would be as 'geographically' broad as possible.²² Moreover, as clearly indicated in the language of Article 101, the 'paramount consideration in the employment of the staff' should be the necessity of securing the highest standards of efficiency, competence, and integrity. This terminology is evidence of the intention of the drafters to accord priority to considerations of efficiency and competence over those of geographical representation, important though the latter be.

To sum up, the Charter laid down these essential legal principles for an international civil service:

It was to be an international body, recruited primarily for efficiency, competence, and integrity, but on as wide a geographical basis as possible;

²⁰ Ibid., p. 386.

²¹ Ibid. See also summary record of the 12th meeting of Committee I/2, *ibid.*, p. 106.

²² Ibid., pp. 505, 510–ff.

It was to be headed by a Secretary-General who carried constitutionally the responsibility to the other principal organs for the Secretariat's work;

And finally, Article 98 entitled the General Assembly and the Security Council to entrust the Secretary-General with tasks going beyond the *verba formalia* of Article 97—with its emphasis on the administrative function—thus opening the door to a measure of political responsibility which is distinct from the authority explicitly accorded to the Secretary-General under Article 99 but in keeping with the spirit of that Article.

This last-mentioned development concerning the Secretary General, with its obvious consequences for the Secretariat as such, takes us beyond the concept of a non-political civil service into an area where the official, in the exercise of his functions, may be forced to take stands of a politically controversial nature. It does this, however, on an international basis and, thus, without departing from the basic concept of 'neutrality'; in fact, Article 98, as well as Article 99, would be unthinkable without the complement of Article 100 strictly observed both in letter and spirit.

Reverting for a moment to our initial question, I have to emphasize the distinction just made. If a demand for neutrality is made, by present critics of the international civil service, with the intent that the international civil servant should not be permitted to take a stand on political issues, in response to requests of the General Assembly or the Security Council, then the demand is in conflict with the Charter itself. If, however, 'neutrality' means that the international civil servant, also in executive tasks with political implications, must remain wholly uninfluenced by national or group interests or ideologies, then the obligation to observe such neutrality is just as basic to the Charter concept of the international civil service as it was to the concept once found in the Covenant of the League. Due to the circumstances then prevailing the distinction to which I have just drawn attention probably never was clearly made in the League,

but it has become fundamental for the interpretation of the actions of the Secretariat as established by the Charter.

The criticism to which I referred at the beginning of this lecture can be directed against the very Charter concept of the Secretariat and imply a demand for a reduction of the functions of the Secretariat to the role assigned to it in the League and explicitly mentioned in Article 97 of the Charter; this would be a retrograde development in sharp conflict with the way in which the functions of the international Secretariat over the years have been extended by the main organs of the United Nations, in response to arising needs. Another possibility would be that the actual developments under Articles 98 and 99 are accepted but that a lack of confidence in the possibility of personal 'neutrality' is considered to render necessary administrative arrangements putting the persons in question under special constitutional controls, either built into the structure of the Secretariat or established through organs outside the Secretariat.

IV

The conception of an independent international civil service, although reasonably clear in the Charter provisions, was almost continuously subjected to stress in the history of the Organization. International tensions, changes in governments, concern with national security, all had their inevitable repercussions on the still fragile institution dedicated to the international community. Governments not only strove for the acceptance of their views in the organs of the Organization, but they concerned themselves in varying degrees with the attitude of their nationals in the Secretariat. Some governments sought in one way or another to revive the substance of the proposal defeated at London for the clearance of their nationals prior to employment in the Secretariat; other governments on occasion demanded the dismissal of staff members who were said to

be inappropriately representative of the country of their nationality for political, racial, or even cultural reasons.

In consequence, the Charter Articles underwent a continual process of interpretation and clarification in the face of pressures brought to bear on the Secretary-General. On the whole the results tended to affirm and strengthen the independence of the international civil service. These developments involved two complementary aspects: first, the relation between the Organization and the Member States in regard to the selection and employment of nationals of those States, and second, the relation between the international official, his own State, and the international responsibilities of the Organization. It is apparent that these relationships involved a complex set of obligations and rights applying to the several interested parties. One of the most difficult of the problems was presented as a result of the interest of several national governments in passing upon the recruitment of their nationals by the Secretariat. It was of course a matter of fundamental principle that the selection of staff should be made by the Secretary-General on his own responsibility and not on the responsibility of the national governments.²³ The interest of the governments in placing certain nationals and in barring the employment of others had to be subordinated, as a matter of principle and law, to the independent determination of the Organization. Otherwise there would have been an abandonment of the position adopted at San Francisco and affirmed by the Preparatory Commission in London.

On the other hand, there were practical considerations which required the Organization to utilize the services of governments for the purpose of obtaining applicants for positions and, as a corollary of this, for information as to the competence, integrity, and general suitability of such nationals for employment. The United Nations could not have an investigating agency comparable to those available to national governments, and the Organization had therefore to accept

²³ Report of the Preparatory Commission, p. 86, para. 15; GA resolution 13 (I), 13 Feb. 1946.

assistance from governments in obtaining information and records concerning possible applicants. However, the Secretary-General consistently reserved the right to make the final determination on the basis of all the facts and his own independent appreciation of these facts.²⁴

It may be recalled that this problem assumed critical proportions in 1952 and 1953 when various authorities of the United States Government, host to the United Nations Headquarters, conducted a series of highly publicized investigations of the loyalty of its nationals in the Secretariat.²⁵ Charges were made which, although relating to a small number of individuals and largely founded upon inference rather than on direct evidence or admissions, led to proposals which implicitly challenged the international character of the responsibilities of the Secretary-General and his staff.²⁶ In certain other countries similar proposals were made and in some cases adopted in legislation or by administrative action.

In response, the Secretary-General and the Organization as a whole affirmed the necessity of independent action by the United Nations in regard to selection and recruitment of staff. The Organization was only prepared to accept information from governments concerning suitability for employment, including information that might be relevant to political considerations such as activity which would be regarded as inconsistent with the obligation of international civil servants.²⁷ It was recognized that there should be a relationship of mutual confidence and trust between international officials and the governments of Member States. At the same time, the Secretary-General took a strong position that the dismissal of a staff member on the basis of the mere suspicion of a Government of a Member

²⁴ Report of the Secretary-General on Personnel Policy (30 Jan. 1953), UN doc. A/2364, para. 7 and Annex I.

²⁵ See Hearings of the Sub-committee of the Committee on the Judiciary of the U.S. Senate on 'Activities of U.S. Citizens employed by the United Nations' (1952).

²⁶ Ibid. at pp. 407-11. See also Bill S. 3, 83rd Congress, First Session.

²⁷ Report of the Secretary-General on Personnel Policy, UN doc. A/2533, paras. 69-70.

State or a bare conclusion arrived at by that Government on evidence which is denied the Secretary-General would amount to receiving instructions in violation of his obligation under Article 100, paragraph 1 of the Charter 'not to receive in the performance of his duties instructions from any Government'.²⁸ It should be said that, as a result of the stand taken by the Organization, this principle was recognized by the United States Government in the procedures it established for hearings and submission of information to the Secretary-General regarding U.S. citizens.²⁹

A risk of national pressure on the international official may also be introduced, in a somewhat more subtle way, by the terms and duration of his appointment. A national official, seconded by his government for a year or two with an international organization, is evidently in a different position psychologically—and one might say, politically—from the permanent international civil servant who does not contemplate a subsequent career with his national government. This was recognized by the Preparatory Commission in London in 1945 when it concluded that members of the Secretariat staff could not be expected 'fully to subordinate the special interests of their countries to the international interest if they are merely detached temporarily from national administrations and dependent upon them for their future'.³⁰ Recently, however, assertions have been made that it is necessary to switch from the present system, which makes permanent appointments and career service the rule, to a predominant system of fixed-term appointments to be granted mainly to officials seconded by their governments. This line is prompted by governments which show little enthusiasm for making officials available on a long-term basis, and, moreover, seem to regard—as a matter of principle or, at least, of 'realistic'

²⁸ UN doc. A/2364, para. 94.

²⁹ UN doc. A/2364, pp. 35–36, containing Executive Order No. 10422; as amended by Executive Order No. 10459, UN doc. A/2533, appendix to Annex I.

³⁰ Report of the Preparatory Commission, p. 92, para. 59.

psychology—the international civil servant primarily as a national official representing his country and its ideology. On this view, the international civil service should be recognized and developed as being an ‘intergovernmental’ secretariat composed principally of national officials assigned by their governments, rather than as an ‘international’ secretariat as conceived from the days of the League of Nations and until now. In the light of what I have already said regarding the provisions of the Charter, I need not demonstrate that this conception runs squarely against the principles of Articles 100 and 101.

This is not to say that there is not room for a reasonable number of ‘seconded’ officials in the Secretariat. It has in fact been accepted that it is highly desirable to have a number of officials available from governments for short periods, especially to perform particular tasks calling for diplomatic or technical backgrounds. Experience has shown that such seconded officials, true to their obligations under the Charter, perform valuable service but as a matter of good policy it should, of course, be avoided as much as possible to put them on assignments in which their status and nationality might be embarrassing to themselves or the parties concerned. However, this is quite different from having a large portion of the Secretariat—say, in excess of one-third—composed of short-term officials. To have so large a proportion of the Secretariat staff in the seconded category would be likely to impose serious strains on its ability to function as a body dedicated exclusively to international responsibilities. Especially if there were any doubts as to the principles ruling their work in the minds of the governments on which their future might depend, this might result in a radical departure from the basic concepts of the Charter and the destruction of the international civil service as it has been developed in the League and up to now in the United Nations.

It can fairly be said that the United Nations has increasingly succeeded in affirming the original idea of a dedicated professional

service responsible only to the Organization in the performance of its duties and protected so far as possible from the inevitable pressures of national governments. And this has been done in spite of strong pressures which are easily explained in terms of historic tradition and national interests. Obviously, however, the problem is ultimately one of the spirit of service shown by the international civil servant and respected by Member Governments. The International Secretariat is not what it is meant to be until the day when it can be recruited on a wide geographical basis without the risk that then some will be under—or consider themselves to be under—two masters in respect of their official functions.

V

The independence and international character of the Secretariat required not only resistance to national pressures in matters of personnel, but also—and this was more complex—the independent implementation of controversial political decisions in a manner fully consistent with the exclusively international responsibility of the Secretary-General. True, in some cases implementation was largely administrative; the political organs stated their objectives and the measures to be taken in reasonably specific terms, leaving only a narrow area for executive discretion. But in other cases—and these generally involved the most controversial situations—the Secretary-General was confronted with mandates of a highly general character, expressing the bare minimum of agreement attainable in the organs. That the execution of these tasks involved the exercise of political judgement by the Secretary-General was, of course, evident to the Member States themselves.

It could perhaps be surmised that virtually no one at San Francisco envisaged the extent to which the Members of the Organization would assign to the Secretary-General functions which necessarily

required him to take positions in highly controversial political matters. A few examples of these mandates in recent years will demonstrate how wide has been the scope of authority delegated to the Secretary-General by the Security Council and the General Assembly in matters of peace and security.

One might begin in 1956 with the Palestine armistice problem, when the Security Council instructed the Secretary-General 'to arrange with the parties for adoption of any measures' which he should consider 'would reduce existing tensions along the armistice demarcation lines'.³¹ A few months later, after the outbreak of hostilities in Egypt, the General Assembly authorized the Secretary-General immediately to 'obtain compliance of the withdrawal of foreign forces'.³² At the same session he was requested to submit a plan for a United Nations Force to 'secure and supervise the cessation of hostilities', and subsequently he was instructed 'to take all . . . necessary administrative and executive action to organise this Force and dispatch it to Egypt'.³³

In 1958 the Secretary-General was requested 'to despatch urgently an Observation Group . . . to Lebanon so as to ensure that there is no illegal infiltration of personnel or supply of arms or other matériel across the Lebanese borders'.³⁴ Two months later he was asked to make forthwith 'such practical arrangements as would adequately help in upholding the purposes and principles of the Charter in relation to Lebanon and Jordan'.³⁵

Most recently, in July 1960, the Secretary-General was requested to provide military assistance to the Central Government of the Republic of the Congo. The basic mandate is contained in a single

³¹ Security Council resolution S/3575 of 4 Apr. 1956.

³² General Assembly resolution 999 (ES-I) of 4 Nov. 1956.

³³ General Assembly resolutions 998 (ES-I) of 4 Nov. 1956 and 1001 (ES-I) of 7 Nov. 1956.

³⁴ Security Council resolution S/4023 of 11 June 1958.

³⁵ General Assembly resolution 1237 (ES-III) of 21 Aug. 1958.

paragraph of a resolution adopted by the Security Council on 13 July 1960 which reads as follows:³⁶

“The Security Council

2. Decides to authorize the Secretary-General to take the necessary steps, in consultation with the Government of the Republic of the Congo, to provide the Government with such military assistance, as may be necessary, until, through the efforts of the Congolese Government with the technical assistance of the United Nations, the national security forces may be able, in the opinion of the Government, to meet fully their tasks.”

The only additional guidance was provided by a set of principles concerning the use of United Nations Forces which had been evolved during the experience of the United Nations Emergency Force.³⁷ I had informed the Security Council³⁸ before the adoption of the resolution that I would base any action that I might be required to take on these principles, drawing attention specifically to some of the most significant of the rules applied in the UNEF operation. At the request of the Security Council I later submitted an elaboration of the same principles to the extent they appeared to me to be applicable to the Congo operation.³⁹ A report on the matter was explicitly approved by the Council,⁴⁰ but naturally it proved to leave wide gaps; unforeseen and unforeseeable problems, which we quickly came to face, made it necessary for me repeatedly to invite the Council to express themselves on the interpretation given by the Secretary-General to the mandate. The needs for

³⁶ Security Council resolution S/4387 of 13 July 1960.

³⁷ See ‘Summary Study of the experience derived from the establishment and operation of the Force: report of the Secretary-General’, U.N. doc. A/3943, General Assembly, Official Records, 13th session, annexes, agenda item 65.

³⁸ See Security Council, Official Records, 15th year, 873rd meeting, para. 28.

³⁹ First report by the Secretary-General dated 18 July 1960 on the implementation of the Security Council resolution of 13 July 1960, U.N. doc. S/4389, p. 4.

⁴⁰ See para. 3 of Security Council resolution S/4405 of 22 July 1960.

added interpretation referred especially to the politically extremely charged situation which arose because of the secession of Katanga and because of the disintegration of the central government which, according to the basic resolution of the Security Council, were to be the party in consultation with which the United Nations activities had to be developed.⁴¹

These recent examples demonstrate the extent to which the Member States have entrusted the Secretary-General with tasks that have required him to take action which unavoidably may have to run counter to the views of at least some of these Member States. The agreement reached in the general terms of a resolution, as we have seen, no longer need to obtain when more specific issues are presented. Even when the original resolution is fairly precise, subsequent developments, previously unforeseen, may render highly controversial the action called for under the resolution. Thus, for example, the unanimous resolution authorizing assistance to the Central Government of the Congo offered little guidance to the Secretary-General when that Government split into competing centres of authority, each claiming to be the Central Government and each supported by different groups of Member States within and outside the Security Council.

A simple solution for the dilemmas thus posed for the Secretary-General might seem to be for him to refer the problem to the political organ for it to resolve the question. Under a national parliamentary regime, this would often be the obvious course of action for the executive to take. Indeed, this is what the Secretary-General must also do whenever it is feasible. But the serious problems arise precisely because it is so often not possible for the organs themselves to resolve the controversial issue faced by the Secretary-General. When brought down to specific cases involving a clash of interests

⁴¹ See Memorandum on implementation of Security Council resolution of 9 Aug. 1960, U.N. doc. S/4417 and addenda; Security Council, Official Records, 15th year, 884th and following meetings.

and positions, the required majority in the Security Council or General Assembly may not be available for any particular solution. This will frequently be evident in advance of a meeting and the Member States will conclude that it would be futile for the organs to attempt to reach a decision and consequently that the problem has to be left to the Secretary-General to solve on one basis or another, at his own risk but with as faithful an interpretation of the instructions, rights, and obligations of the Organization as possible in view of international law and the decisions already taken.

It might be said that in this situation the Secretary-General should refuse to implement the resolution, since implementation would offend one or another group of Member States and open him to the charge that he has abandoned the political neutrality and impartiality essential to his office. The only way to avoid such criticism, it is said, is for the Secretary-General to refrain from execution of the original resolution until the organs have decided the issue by the required majority (and, in the case of the Security Council, with the unanimous concurrence of the permanent members) or he, maybe, has found another way to pass responsibility over on to Governments.

For the Secretary-General this course of action—or more precisely, non-action—may be tempting; it enables him to avoid criticism by refusing to act until other political organs resolve the dilemma. An easy refuge may thus appear to be available. But would such refuge be compatible with the responsibility placed upon the Secretary-General by the Charter? Is he entitled to refuse to carry out the decision properly reached by the organs, on the ground that the specific implementation would be opposed to positions some Member States might wish to take, as indicated, perhaps, by an earlier minority vote? Of course the political organs may always instruct him to discontinue the implementation of a resolution, but when they do not so instruct him and the resolution remains in effect, is the Secretary-General legally and morally free to take no action, particularly in a matter considered to affect international

peace and security? Should he, for example, have abandoned the operation in the Congo because almost any decision he made as to the composition of the Force or its role would have been contrary to the attitudes of some Members as reflected in debates, and maybe even in votes, although not in decisions.

The answers seem clear enough in law; the responsibilities of the Secretary-General under the Charter cannot be laid aside merely because the execution of decisions by him is likely to be politically controversial. The Secretary-General remains under the obligation to carry out the policies as adopted by the organs; the essential requirement is that he does this on the basis of his exclusively international responsibility and not in the interest of any particular State or groups of States.

This presents us with the crucial issue: is it possible for the Secretary-General to resolve controversial questions on a truly international basis without obtaining the formal decision of the organs? In my opinion and on the basis of my experience, the answer is in the affirmative; it is possible for the Secretary General to carry out his tasks in controversial political situations with full regard to his exclusively international obligation under the Charter and without subservience to a particular national or ideological attitude. This is not to say that the Secretary-General is a kind of delphic oracle who alone speaks for the international community. He has available for his task varied means and resources.

Of primary importance in this respect are the principles and purposes of the Charter which are the fundamental law accepted by and binding on all States. Necessarily general and comprehensive, these principles and purposes still are specific enough to have practical significance in concrete cases.⁴²

⁴² See, for example, references to the Charter in relation to the establishment and operation of UNEF: U.N. doc. A/3302, General Assembly, Official Records, first emergency special session, annexes, agenda item 5, pp. 19–23; U.N. doc. A/3512, General Assembly, Official Records, eleventh session, annexes, agenda item 66, pp. 47–50. See also references to the Charter in relation to the question of the Congo: U.N. doc. SfPV.887, p. 17; U.N. doc. SfPV.920, p. 47;

The principles of the Charter are, moreover, supplemented by the body of legal doctrine and precepts that have been accepted by States generally, and particularly as manifested in the resolutions of UN organs. In this body of law there are rules and precedents that appropriately furnish guidance to the Secretary-General when he is faced with the duty of applying a general mandate in circumstances that had not been envisaged by the resolution.

Considerations of principle and law, important as they are, do not of course suffice to settle all the questions posed by the political tasks entrusted to the Secretary-General. Problems of political judgement still remain. In regard to these problems, the Secretary-General must find constitutional means and techniques to assist him, so far as possible, in reducing the element of purely personal judgement. In my experience I have found several arrangements of value to enable the Secretary-General to obtain what might be regarded as the representative opinion of the Organization in respect of the political issues faced by him.

One such arrangement might be described as the institution of the permanent missions to the United Nations, through which the Member States have enabled the Secretary-General to carry on frequent consultations safeguarded by diplomatic privacy.⁴³

Another arrangement, which represents a further development of the first, has been the advisory committee of the Secretary-General, such as those on UNEF and the Congo, composed of representatives of Governments most directly concerned with the activity involved, and also representing diverse political positions and interests.⁴⁴ These advisory committees have furnished a large measure of the guidance

U.N. doc. SfPV.942, pp. 137–40; U.N. doc. S/4637 A.

⁴³ See Introduction to the Annual Report of the Secretary-General on the Work of the Organization, 16 June 1958–15 June 1959, p. 2, U.N. doc. A/4132 add. 1, General Assembly, Official Records, fourteenth session, Supplement No. I A.

⁴⁴ UNEF Advisory Committee, established by General Assembly resolution 1001 (ES-I). The Advisory Committee on the Congo was established by the Secretary-General and recognized by the General Assembly and in the Security Council's various resolutions.

required by the Secretary-General in carrying out his mandates relating to UNEF and the Congo operations. They have provided an essential link between the judgement of the executive and the consensus of the political bodies.

VI

Experience has thus indicated that the international civil servant may take steps to reduce the sphere within which he has to take stands on politically controversial issues. In summary, it may be said that he will carefully seek guidance in the decisions of the main organs, in statements relevant for the interpretation of those decisions, in the Charter and in generally recognized principles of law, remembering that by his actions he may set important precedents. Further, he will submit as complete reporting to the main organs as circumstances permit, seeking their guidance whenever such guidance seems to be possible to obtain. Even if all of these steps are taken, it will still remain, as has been amply demonstrated in practice, that the reduced area of discretion will be large enough to expose the international Secretariat to heated political controversy and to accusations of a lack of neutrality.

I have already drawn attention to the ambiguity of the word 'neutrality' in such a context. It is obvious from what I have said that the international civil servant cannot be accused of lack of neutrality simply for taking a stand on a controversial issue when this is his duty and cannot be avoided. But there remains a serious intellectual and moral problem as we move within an area inside which personal judgement must come into play. Finally, we have to deal here with a question of integrity or with, if you please, a question of conscience.

The international civil servant must keep himself under the strictest observation. He is not requested to be a neuter in the sense that he has to have no sympathies or antipathies, that there are to be no interests

which are close to him in his personal capacity, or that he is to have no ideas or ideals that matter for him. However, he is requested to be fully aware of those human reactions and meticulously check himself so that they are not permitted to influence his actions. This is nothing unique. Is not every judge professionally under the same obligation?

If the international civil servant knows himself to be free from such personal influences in his actions and guided solely by the common aims and rules laid down for, and by the Organization he serves and by recognized legal principles, then he has done his duty, and then he can face the criticism which, even so, will be unavoidable. As I said, at the final test, this is a question of integrity, and if integrity in the sense of respect for law and respect for truth were to drive him into positions of conflict with this or that interest, then that conflict is a sign of his neutrality—and not of his failure to observe neutrality—then it is in line, not in conflict with his duties as an international civil servant.

Recently it has been said, this time in Western circles, that as the International Secretariat goes forward on the road of international thought and action, while Member States depart from it, a gap develops between them and they grow into mutually hostile elements; and this is said to increase the tension in the world which it was the purpose of the United Nations to diminish. From this view the conclusion has been drawn that we may have to switch from an international Secretariat, ruled by the principles described in this lecture, to an intergovernmental Secretariat, the members of which obviously would not be supposed to work in the direction of an internationalism considered unpalatable to their governments. Such a passive acceptance of a nationalism rendering it necessary to abandon present efforts in the direction of internationalism symbolized by the international civil service—somewhat surprisingly regarded as a cause of tension—might, if accepted by the Member Nations, well prove to be the Munich of international co-operation

as conceived after the First World War and further developed under the impression of the tragedy of the Second World War. To abandon or to compromise with principles on which such co-operation is built may be no less dangerous than to compromise with principles regarding the rights of a nation. In both cases the price to be paid may be peace.

A NOTE ON THE TEXT

At least three versions of ‘The International Civil Servant in Law and in Fact’ have been in circulation since its delivery on 30 May 1961. The first is, of course, the text spoken by Hammarskjöld on the day. While no recorded version of the lecture exists, the Royal Library of Sweden in Stockholm holds a typed copy, and it is this version which we must presume Hammarskjöld read aloud.¹

The second version, a press release issued at UN Headquarters in New York on 29 May 1961, is the one that has become most known and read.² Marked ‘For use of information media – not an official record’, the text of the press release was embargoed until 17:00 GMT on 30 May. Reprints of the UN version began appearing in news media outlets from 31 May onwards and, later, in anthologies of Hammarskjöld’s public statements as Secretary-General.³

Oxford University Press (OUP) issued a third version in July 1961.⁴ The OUP archives show that Sir Humphrey Waldock – who had arranged for Hammarskjöld to deliver the lecture – approached OUP on 31 May 1961 suggesting the text be published by the Press. The Delegates – that board of Oxford academics which regulates OUP’s publications – were happy to agree. There was, however, some back and forth between Waldock, his secretary, OUP and the UN Information Centre in London as to the format in which the

¹ Dag Hammarskjöld, ‘The International Civil Servant in Law and in Fact’, typescript copy (undated), Kungliga Biblioteket [Royal Library of Sweden], Dag Hammarskjöld Collection, ‘Serie 47: Speeches and statements by D. Hammarskjöld – drafts, reading copies etc (1961)’, <<https://arken.kb.se/SE-S-HS-L179-47>>.

² United Nations, Office of Public Information, ‘Address by UN Secretary-General Dag Hammarskjöld at Oxford University, 30 May 1961’, Press Release SG/1035, 29 May 1961.

³ See eg ‘Avoiding a Munich for the UN: The International Civil Servant to-day’, *The Scotsman*, 31 May 1961; Dag Hammarskjöld, ‘The International Civil Servant’, *Current Notes on International Affairs*, 32/6 (June 1961), pp. 41–53, <<https://nla.gov.au/nla.obj-1220070773/view?partId=nla.obj-1220189072#page/n40/mode/1up>>; and Wilder Foote (ed.), *Servant of Peace: A Selection of the Speeches and Statements of Dag Hammarskjöld* (New York: Harper and Row, 1962).

⁴ Dag Hammarskjöld, ‘The International Civil Servant in Law and in Fact’ (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1961).

text should appear. On 2 June Waldock's secretary relayed a message from R. M. P. Hawkin of the UN Information Centre in London stating:

"I would like to confirm that the Secretary-General agrees with the suggestion to reprint his Oxford speech *but he feels that the footnotes for his speech are an essential part of it and, although not used in the Sheldonian, should appear in any printed version of it.* I am, therefore, attaching the original copy used by him with the footnotes, so that they may be included in the Oxford University Press edition. Perhaps you will see to it that the footnotes are of course placed on each page according to the regular system employed by publishers."⁵

OUP issued the lecture in July 1961 as a demy octavo-format, 28-page booklet. It sold at two shillings and sixpence, or 12.5 pence in today's currency. A further note from the Secretary – or chief executive – of OUP, Colin Roberts (8 June 1961), specified that Hammarskjöld would receive 50 free copies, and that the UN could buy further copies at a 25 per cent discount (or 33.3 per cent if it ordered 1,000 copies). The title went out of print on 28 January 1966 and has not been republished in its original format since then.

Apart from the 44 footnotes inserted at Hammarskjöld's request, the UN and OUP versions also differ in style: the former follows US conventions; the latter implements the OUP house style. The current edition follows the OUP version, with one small difference. In the OUP version, the footnote count restarts with each new page. We have chosen, instead, to number footnotes consecutively for the entire text. We have also made a minor correction to a footnote in the OUP version which listed 13 July 1961 as the date for Security Council Resolution S/4387; in fact, it was 13 July 1960.

⁵ Letter from Mrs S. Prior (Secretary to Sir Humphrey Waldock) to C. H. Roberts (Clarendon Press, Oxford), 2 June 1961, quoted by permission of the secretary to the Delegates of Oxford University Press [emphasis added]. The copy of the lecture with Hammarskjöld's original footnotes is not on file in the OUP archives.

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In preparing this edition, we have relied on the generosity of many institutions and individuals. The Foundation wishes to thank the Hammarskjöld family for permission to reproduce materials in the Royal Library of Sweden's Dag Hammarskjöld Collection.

Thanks also to the staff at the Royal Library of Sweden, the Dag Hammarskjöld Library at UN Headquarters, the UN Library at Geneva, the UN Department of Global Communications, the Oxford University Press archives, the University of Oxford Academic Permissions team, the Rare Book & Manuscript Library at Columbia University and the BBC Enquiries team.

Special thanks to Mailin Bala and Charlotte Mason for advice on copyright issues, and to Peder Hammarskjöld, Erik Hammarskjöld and Elinor Hammarskjöld for guidance on issues related to Dag Hammarskjöld's estate.

ABOUT DAG HAMMARSKJÖLD

Dag Hammarskjöld was born on 29 July 1905 in Jönköping, Sweden, but spent most of his childhood in the university town of Uppsala. After studying linguistics, economics and law, he rose rapidly through the ranks of the Swedish civil service. In 1951 he was appointed Deputy Foreign Minister and in the following year headed the Swedish delegation to the UN General Assembly.

Hammarskjöld was appointed UN Secretary-General in March 1953 at the age of 47. A compromise candidate, he served with the utmost courage and integrity from 1953 until his death in 1961. During his tenure he defied expectations and became known as an intrepid and dedicated international civil servant, creating standards against which his successors continue to be measured.

On the night of 17–18 September 1961, during a UN mission to negotiate peace in the Congo, Dag Hammarskjöld's plane crashed near Ndola in Northern Rhodesia (now Zambia). All 16 passengers and crew perished. The 1962 UN report on the cause of the crash was inconclusive and UN resolutions since have called for further inquiries into the crash conditions and circumstances.

What remains unquestioned is Hammarskjöld's lasting legacy, one that will forever be an example for those who follow in his footsteps. His most notable achievements while serving as the world's top international civil servant include restructuring the UN to make it more effective, creating the basis for UN peacekeeping operations, and successfully implementing his 'preventive diplomacy' in crises from the Middle East to China. When meeting these international challenges, Hammarskjöld combined great moral force with subtlety and insisted on the independence of his office.

In 1962 Dag Hammarskjöld was posthumously awarded the Nobel Prize for Peace.



Above: Dag Hammarskjöld after receiving his honorary doctorate of Civil Law from the University of Oxford on 30 May 1961. Photo credit: TT.

which are close to him in his personal capacity ideas or ideals that matter for him. However, aware of those human reactions and meticulously are not permitted to influence his actions. That not every judge professionally under the same conditions

If the international civil servant knows his personal influences in his actions and guided by the rules laid down for, and by the Organisations enshrined legal principles, then he has done his duty. The criticism which, even so, will be unavoidable. ~~test~~ ~~last~~ final ~~last~~, this is a question of integrity, and if respect for law and respect for truth were in conflict with this or that interest, then that is his neutrality and not of his failure to observe his line, not in conflict with his duties as an

Recently it has been said, this time in the International Secretariat is going forward on the

On 30 May 1961, the second Secretary-General of the United Nations, Dag Hammarskjöld, delivered a notable lecture at the University of Oxford. In the lecture, Hammarskjöld detailed the legal principles for the international civil service and underscored the importance of its international character and independence.

On the 60th anniversary of the lecture, the Dag Hammarskjöld Foundation reissued the text in full to ensure that it reaches the international civil servants of today, and in the hope that Hammarskjöld's precise and meaningful words will inspire a new generation committed to the cause of peace.



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Dag Hammarskjöld: Apóstol de la mediación

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Abstract: Dag Hammarskjöld is considered as one of the 'best, most dynamic and influential Secretary General of the United Nations. He is one of the most pro-active diplomats whose lasting legacy was the focus on the quiet diplomacy, peace keeping and development aid. These three key features of the United Nations of today were the result of Hammarskjöld's ideas. His legacy in United Nations is considered as a beacon and legend for men who are seeking the road to international peace and security and a moral compass for international civil service. This article tries to capture some of his contribution of his signature 'quiet diplomacy' (informal private mediation) to resolve some of the world's worst crisis.

Resumen: Dag Hammarskjöld es considerado uno de los mejores Secretarios Generales de las Naciones Unidas, entre los más dinámicos e influyentes. Es uno de los diplomáticos más proactivos cuyo legado duradero se centra en la diplomacia tranquila, el mantenimiento de la paz y la ayuda al desarrollo. Estas tres características fundamentales de las Naciones Unidas de hoy en día son el resultado de las ideas de Hammarskjöld. Su legado en las Naciones Unidas se considera un faro y una leyenda para aquellos que busquen el camino hacia la paz y la seguridad internacional, y una brújula moral para los funcionarios internacionales. Este artículo intenta captar parte de la contribución a su conocida «diplomacia tranquila» (mediación privada informal) para resolver algunas de las peores crisis que ha visto el mundo.

Key Words: Dag Hammarskjöld, United Nations, Secretary General, Quiet Diplomacy, Mediation.

Palabras claves: Dag Hammarskjöld, Naciones Unidas, Secretario General, diplomacia tranquila, mediación.

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Dag Hjalmar Agne Carl Hammarskjöld was a Swedish civil servant, diplomat, economist, and author who was born as the youngest of four sons of Agnes (Almquist) Hammarskjöld and Hjalmar Hammarskjöld, prime minister of Sweden, member of The Hague Tribunal, Governor of Uppland, Chairman of the Board of the Nobel Foundation (United Nations, 2012). He served as second secretary-general of the United Nations, from April 1953 until his death in a plane crash in September 1961. He is considered as one of the 'best, most dynamic and influential Secretary-General the United Nations has seen (Annan, 2007; Thakur, 2015) and President John F. Kennedy referred him as one of 'the greatest statesman of our century' (Linnér, 2007). He is among the only four people who have been awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in 1961 posthumously but having been nominated before his death and the only Secretary General of the United Nations who died while in office.

On his legacy, Secretary General Kofi Annan expressed, *«His life and his death, his words and his actions, have done more to shape public expectations of the office, and indeed of the Organization, than those of any other man or woman in its history. His wisdom and his modesty, his unimpeachable integrity and single-minded devotion to duty, have set a standard for all servants of the international community – and especially, of course, for his successors – which is simply impossible to live up to. There can be no better rule of thumb for a Secretary-General, as he approaches each new challenge or crisis, than to ask himself, 'how would Hammarskjöld have handled this?'... What is clear is that his core ideas remain highly relevant in this new international context. The challenge for us is to see how they can be adapted to take account of it»* (Annan, 2001). This statement is the perfect reflection of his legacy, of his contribution to the foundation of the United Nations as a multilateral institution with an impartial undertaking of existing global challenges.

Dag Hammarskjöld's Early Career

In a brief piece written for a radio program in 1953, Dag Hammarskjöld spoke of the influence of his parents: «From generations of soldiers and government officials on my father's side I inherited a belief that no life was more satisfactory than one of selfless service to your country – or humanity. This service required a sacrifice of all personal interests, but likewise the courage to stand up unflinchingly for your convictions. From scholars and clergymen on my mother's side, I inherited a belief that, in the very radical sense of the Gospels, all men were equals as children of God, and should be met and treated by us as our masters in God» (Hammarskjöld, 1962). One of the most interesting aspects of his career is that he never joined any political party, always regarded himself as an independent, which shows his true character of impartiality in his responsibility. He

devoted thirty-one years in Swedish government in various capacities as public civil servant and diplomat.

One of his major appointments was Adviser to the Cabinet on financial and economic problems. His responsibilities included organizing and coordinating governmental planning for the various economic problems that arose as a result of the war. During these years, he played an important role in shaping Sweden's financial policy. In fact, he has been credited with having coined the term «planned economy». Along with his eldest brother, Bo, who was then undersecretary in the Ministry of Social Welfare, he drafted the legislation that opened the way to the creation of the present so-called 'welfare state' (Van Dusen, 1967).

In the latter part of his career with the Swedish Government, he drew attention as an international financial negotiator for his part in the discussions with Great Britain on the post-war economic reconstruction of Europe, in his reshaping of the twelve-year-old United States-Sweden trade agreement, in his participation in the talks which organized the Marshall Plan, and in his leadership on the Executive Committee of the Organization for European Economic Cooperation. He led a series of trade and financial negotiations with other countries, among which were the United States and the United Kingdom. This experience really honed his skills as a very experienced mediator who negotiated with Britain and the United States for the post-war swift execution of the Marshall Plan in Europe.

On foreign affairs, he continued a policy of international economic cooperation (Ahlström, & Carlson, 2006). One of the challenging diplomatic negotiations he successfully led during this period was the avoiding Swedish allegiance to the cooperative military set up of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) while collaborating on the political level in the Council of Europe and on the economic level in the Organization of European Economic Cooperation.

Dag Hammarskjöld in the United Nations

Dag Hammarskjöld's represented Sweden as a member of the Swedish delegation to the Sixth Regular Session of the United Nations in 1949 which left his mark at the United Nations. Later, he joined as Vice-Chairman of the Swedish Delegation to the Sixth Regular Session of the United Nations General Assembly in Paris 1951-1952, and Acting Chairman of his country's delegation to the Seventh General Assembly in New York in 1952-1953 (United Nations, 2012, p.2).

To his surprise he was unanimously appointed as the second Secretary-General of the United Nations by the General Assembly on 7 April 1953 on the recommendation of the Security Council after the resignation of the first Secretary General of the United Nations Trygve Lie. One of the basis of his selection as Secretary General of the United Nations was that he was respected as a person of utmost integrity,

who acted on the basis of moral and ethical values and always been apolitical and impartial throughout his life, the character which rewarded him with the most difficult job in the world – Secretary General of the United Nations at the heights of the Cold War era. On 10 April 1953, he took the oath of office as Secretary-General of the United Nations for a term of five years. He was re-appointed unanimously for another five-year term in September 1957 – more than six months before the end of his first term.

Brian Urquhart, Hammarskjöld's key advisers and his main biographer, described how the 'Big Powers' then went searching a «yes» man and, «by pure accident, picked up someone who was exactly the opposite of what everyone wanted. They thought they had got a safe, bureaucratic civil servant, non-political, and they got Hammarskjöld. It will never happen again. Nobody is going to make that same mistake twice» (Urquhart, 1994). What the Big Powers soon discovered was that they had elected a man who stood up to them, in particular the permanent members of the Security Council, whenever his conscience or the UN Charter required it. His cardinal values and hallmarks were independence, impartiality, integrity and moral courage. This enraged some of the world's leaders, but at the same time they respected him for it (Gilmour, 2013).

As a legacy to the United Nations, Dag Hammarskjöld emphasized that a major task of the UN is to assert the interests of small countries in relation to the major powers. He also was among the architects for the UN's peacekeeping forces and above all he used his good offices as a mediator in a range of situations to prevent war and tensions among member states. As Secretary-General he succeeded Mr. Trygve Lie, who had not only built up the United Nations administration and participated in planning its new building, but had also given the post of secretary-general a more important and independent position within the United Nations than had probably been originally envisaged. In other words, he took over an office which had already been given form and an administrative apparatus which had acquired a certain amount of tradition (Jahn, 1961). During his eight years (1953-1961) as Secretary General, he invented and introduced the concepts of «preventive diplomacy» (negotiations to prevent conflict), «shuttle diplomacy» (negotiations to end a conflict), classical «peace-keeping» (troops to monitor a cease-fire and implement peace agreements) and a UN «political presence» in conflict areas (to try to stop conflict from re-erupting), which is still is the major task of the United Nations (Gilmour, 2013).

Dag Hammarskjöld's Legacy of (Quiet) Diplomacy

There is no doubt that in accepting this high office Dag Hammarskjöld fully realized that the years ahead would not prove easy. He was all too familiar with the difficulties Trygve Lie

had encountered to have any illusions on that score. Fully aware of the magnitude and complexity of his task, he devoted himself to it completely, exerting all his determination and strength in carrying it out. In a private letter written in 1953 he says: «To know that the goal is so significant that everything else must be set aside gives a great sense of liberation and makes one indifferent to anything that may happen to oneself» (Kuehl, 1975).

Since he assumed the post of Secretary General, he wanted to act a very pro-active role unlike his predecessor. From the beginning, back in 1953, when he outlined the role and activities of the Secretariat and the Secretary-General, he laid down that, while it is clearly the duty of the Secretariat and of the Secretary-General to obtain complete and objective information on the aims and problems of the various member nations, the Secretary-General must personally form an opinion; he must base it on the rules of the UN Charter and must never for a moment betray those rules, even if this means being at variance with members of the UN (Jahn, 1961). His first year as Secretary-General was indeed devoted to administrative responsibilities – to taking hold of the Organization and to restoring the morale of the Secretariat and dignity of Secretary General. He reiterated that the Secretary-General should be «active as an instrument, a catalyst, perhaps as an inspirer – he serves (UNDP, 2012, p. 8).»

From the very first time within the United Nations, he placed great importance on the resolution of disputes through informal mediation (use of the medium of private discussion between representatives of the individual countries), pursuing what has come to be known as the «method of quiet diplomacy». Importance is given to such informal mediation, as informal meetings of this kind have always been and will always be an important part of the work necessary to achieve agreement between conflicting views. In every situation with which he was faced he had one goal in mind: to serve the ideas sponsored by the United Nations. He called himself an international civil servant, with the emphasis on the word international (Hammarskjöld, 1961). As such, he had only one master, and that was the United Nations.

There can be little doubt that Dag Hammarskjöld achieved a great deal through the informal mediation he facilitated, and that in these he demonstrated strong personal initiative (Jahn, 1961). There are numerous occasions where he left his mark as a successful mediator using his 'quiet diplomacy' to resolve tensions amongst the member states. One of the most remarkable successes of his signature 'quiet diplomacy' occurred in 1955 where he mediated with People's Republic of China to secure release of 15 detained American fliers who had served under the United Nations Command in Korea (UNDP, 2012, p. 2).

The first and most challenging disputes which fell to his lot to settle arose in the Middle East. The first of these was the conflict between Israel and the Arab States in 1955. As the representative of the UN, he succeeded in easing the tension by negotiating an agreement between each of the parties involved and the UN, setting up demarcation lines and establishing UN observation posts. But the tension heightened between the Great Britain, France and Egypt after Egypt had nationalized the Suez Canal. He tried to find a solution to this dispute through private negotiations which did not bear any fruits. So he used his diplomatic pressure and hinted to resign unless all member states honored their pledge to abide by all clauses of the UN Charter.

On 1 November 1955, the General Assembly adopted, on the proposal of the United States, resolution 997 (ES-I), calling for an immediate ceasefire, the withdrawal of all forces behind the armistice lines and the reopening of the Canal. The Secretary-General was requested to observe and report promptly on compliance to the Security Council and to the General Assembly, for such further action as those bodies might deem appropriate in accordance with the United Nations Charter. In reality for the first time in the history of the United Nations, the Secretary-General was thus vested with far-reaching powers. This wielding power gave upper hand to Hammarskjöld to mediate a solution between the stakeholders such that France and Great Britain were willing to suspend hostilities, provided that Israel and Egypt were prepared to accept the establishment of a UN force to ensure and supervise the suspension of hostilities and subsequently to prevent the violation of the Egyptian-Israeli border. The result was that the war was brought to an end, a demarcation line was fixed, and a UN force was established to guard it (Jahn, 1961).

This was the first armed United Nations Peacekeeping force known as United Nations Emergency Force (UNEF). The setting up of this first peacekeeping mission was a pure improvisation. First it was designed to replace collective security as envisaged in the Charter of the United Nations (Chapter VII). Cold war's tensions between the Soviet Union and the United States blocked the Security Council preventing the use of the UN to solve international crisis. To address the Suez crisis, Dag Hammarskjöld, acting on a proposal from the Canadian Foreign Affairs Minister Lester B. Pearson, had recourse to the General Assembly to launch the new operation. Facing the threat of a British and French veto, Hammarskjöld had to adopt another strategy to deploy the first UN contingent. He did it through the use of the «Uniting for Peace» resolution that was dating from the war in Korea. This highly controversial method allows the UN to authorize the deployment of troops without the approval of the Security Council. After difficult negotiations at the Secretariat, UNEF

was finally authorized to be deployed in Egypt with its soldiers wearing for the first time the blue helmet. This shows the genius of Dag Hammarskjöld in executing his diplomacy in solving the problem despite the heights of cold war tension between the powerful adversaries.

He also made a major contribution to the solution of a crisis between Lebanon, Jordan, and the Arab States in 1958 with the institution and administration of the United Nations Observation Group in Lebanon (UNOGIL) and the establishment of an office of the special representative of the Secretary-General in Jordan in 1958 (UNDP, 2012, p. 2). During these crises, all his qualities were given full scope, particularly his ability to negotiate and to act swiftly and firmly; and to Dag Hammarskjöld must go the principal credit for the fact that all these crises were resolved in the spirit of the United Nations. A state of peace was established in this area (Miller, 1961). This was a triumph for the ideal of peace of which the UN is an expression, and in addition undoubtedly greatly strengthened the position of the Secretary-General (Jahn, 1961).

For Dag Hammarskjöld, the UN Charter has always remained a guiding principle in tackling any problems. His test of leadership was again challenged during the liberation of the Congo on June 30, 1960 which was one of the largest and the richest in resources of the European colonies in Africa to gain independence. The post-colonial government with Joseph Kasavubu as President and Patrice Lumumba as Prime Minister, faced multitude challenges: the administration, which had been in Belgian hands, had broken down; the army had mutinied; a large proportion of the white population had fled; Belgian troops had intervened – in part to protect the white inhabitants; and the province of Katanga declared itself an independent state (Gibbs, 1993). All these factors – the collapse of the administration, the mutiny of the armed forces, and finally Katanga's secession from the rest of the Congo form the background for the request made to the UN by President Kasavubu and Prime Minister Lumumba to the Secretary-General asking «urgent dispatch» of United Nations military assistance to respond to the Belgian action.

The Security Council adopted Resolution 143 (1960) by which it called upon the Government of Belgium to withdraw its troops from the territory of the Congo. This meeting is highly important, for it marks a turning point in the history of the UN. It was the first time that the UN used armed force to intervene actively in the solution of a problem involving the termination of colonial rule (Jahn, 1961). The resolution authorized the Secretary-General to take the necessary steps, in consultation with the Congolese Government, to provide that Government with the necessary military assistance until it felt that, through its efforts with the technical assistance of the United Nations, the national security forces were able to

meet their tasks fully. Following Security Council actions, the United Nations Force in the Congo (ONUC) was established. In order to carry out these tasks, the Secretary-General set up a United Nations Force which at its peak strength numbered nearly 20,000. The UN intervention had not brought about the result President Lumumba had anticipated. The Belgian troops remained in their bases in Katanga, and fresh Belgian troops were dispatched to the Congo. As a consequence, President Lumumba made some highly unexpected moves announcing the possibility of asking for Russian aid if the Western powers continued their aggression against the Congo. This led the Congo crisis became a factor in the East-West conflict, rendering the position of Hammarskjöld and the UN in the Congo immensely difficult.

Dag Hammarskjöld, in the Security Council and in the meetings of the General Assembly, fought in defense of his policy. He insisted throughout that all aid to the Congo civil as well as military – must be made available through the medium of the UN. No vested interests representing any of the power blocs must be allowed to exert their influence. He became a subject of immense criticism from both east and the west. In the calm and dignified answer which Dag Hammarskjöld made to the power brokers within the United Nations, he said that he would remain at his post as long as this was necessary to defend and strengthen the authority of the United Nations (Jahn, 1961). And he added: It is not Soviet Russia or any of the great powers that need the vigilance and protection of the UN; it is all the others (Jahn, 1961). He did not live enough to defend and pursue his ideals and policy to its conclusion.

In an unfortunate accident, he perished on his way to a meeting which he hoped would bring an end to the fighting in the Congo between Katanga troops and UN forces, which had just broken out during the attempt to implement the UN Security Council resolution 161 (1961) of February 21, 1961. This resolution called on UN military forces to take immediate steps to prevent a civil war in the Congo, and to use force only as a last resort. The UN was furthermore enjoined to ensure that all Belgian and other foreign military, political, and other advisers not under UN command should be withdrawn immediately.

Dag Hammarskjöld was exposed to criticism and violent, unrestrained attacks, but he never departed from the path he had chosen from the very first: the path that was to result in the UN's developing into an effective and constructive international organization, capable of giving life to the principles and aims expressed in the UN Charter, administered by a strong Secretariat served by men who both felt and acted internationally. The goal he always strove to attain was to make the UN Charter the one by which all countries regulated themselves.

The following table highlights the number of conflicts/crisis to which Dag Hammarskjöld contributed his expertise as a mediator and United Nations as an impartial/neutral third party to mediate in the conflicting situations. One of the significant similarity and quality as interpreted by Peter Wallensteen is Hammarskjöld's 'ability to interpret mandates and find ingenious solutions, principles for action and practical course of action (Wallensteen, 2011).

Peter Wallensteen, who holds the Dag Hammarskjöld chair of Peace and Conflict Research at Uppsala University (1985-2012), stresses 9 special characteristics of Dag Hammarskjöld's quiet diplomacy (mediation) which led him to success of his efforts in these crises during the heights of the cold war. These characteristics as outlined by Wallensteen are (1) *Travel diplomacy* (going to the area of the conflict as oppose to sending special representatives); (2) *Build on mutual & personal trust* (one to one confidence building); (3) *Creating diplomatic leverage* (using United Nations Charter to create his leverage for mediation); (4) *Act early when possible* (preventing conflict/crisis from escalation or preventive diplomacy); (5) *Coalition Building* (building critical mass who supports his actions and proposals); (6) *Protect the integrity of the office of the Secretary-General* (follows the UN Charter as guiding principles for all his actions and decisions); (7) *Multi-arena diplomacy* (work in multi-dimensional aspect of the crisis both international as well as domestic especially his role in Congo crisis where he worked both with international as well as domestic actors simultaneously); (8) *Risk taking* (being proactive rather than staying dormant and observing the crisis) and (9) *Stamina & simplicity* (Giving priority to mandates and be humble and down to earth) (Wallensteen, 2011).

Among his mediation efforts, the Congo Crisis intervention was considered as one of the most controversial, and the UN's role in the Congo was criticized by almost all sides—both for its design and its execution. Hammarskjöld acidly pointed out to those who accused the UN of failure that dealing with a territory five times the size of France with fewer peace-keepers than there were policemen in Manhattan was unlikely to make the UN more efficient than the NYPD «in the prevention of murder, rape and similar time-honored ways for man to realize himself» (Gilmour, 2013). His words at that time were a bit bitter but later it was realized by the World Leaders. Six months after the fatal plane crash, Hammarskjöld's closest Swedish associate was summoned to the Oval Office. President Kennedy explained that he had belatedly come to realize that he had been wrong to oppose the UN Congo policy on anti-Communist grounds, and regretted that it was too late to apologize to Hammarskjöld in person. «I realize now that in comparison to him, I am a small man. He was the greatest statesman of our century» (Gilmour, 2013).

Table 1: Twenty Conflict/Crisis: Mediation Efforts of Dag Hammarskjöld, 1953-1961

Conflict/Crisis	Outcome of the Conflict/Crisis	Outcome of Hammarskjöld's Diplomacy
1. Guatemala 1954	Government Overthrown by CIA (USA)	Failure
2. US pilots in China 1954-55	Pilots Freed	Success
3. Middle East 1956 I	Ceasefire Restored	Success
4. Middle East 1956 II (Canal Crisis, Oct.)	No Agreement	Failure
5. Middle East 1956 III (Canal Crisis, 29 Oct. -7 Nov.)	Ceasefire withdrawal, Peacekeeping Operation deployment agreement	Success
6. Middle East 1956 IV (UNEF in Egypt))	Deployment of Peacekeeping Operation	Success
7. Hungary 1956	Invasion (Soviet military intervention in Hungary)	Failure
8. Middle East 1957 (Israel leaving Sinai, Gaza)	Withdrawal, Peacekeeping	Success
9. Lebanon 1958 (infiltration & western intervention)	Observer Group, Withdrawal	Success
10. Cambodia - Thailand	Relations restored	Success
11. UK-Saudi Arabia (Bureimi)	Eventually resolved	Success (After Hammarskjöld's death)
12. Laos 1959 I	UN Subcommittee	Failure
13. Laos 1959 II (UN Presence)	UN Presence, set up by Secretary General	Success
14. Congo 1960 I	Action by Secretary General	Success
15. Congo 1960 II (Katanga)	Removal of Belgian Troops	Success
16. Congo 1960 III	Congo aid through UN	Success
17. Congo 1960 IV (Soviet attack on Hammarskjöld)	Soviet critique, General Assembly Support	Success
18. Congo 1960-61 (Constitutional Crisis)	Assassination of Lumumba	Failure
19. Bizerte 1961 (French-Tunisian conflict)	Agreement Not achieved	Failure
20. Congo 1961 (Katanga)	Katanga secession	Hammarskjöld killed on fatal air crash

Source: (Urquhart, 1994) and (Wallensteen, 2011).

Room of Quiet: United Nations Meditation Room

One of his lasting legacies in UN is the United Nations Meditation Room that first opened on October 14, 1952. The existence of this room was a hard won battle by a group that also saw to it that there would be a moment of silence at the beginning and closing of each General Assembly—a tradition continued to this day. This is a place within the United Nations headquarters, where people could withdraw into themselves, regardless of their faith, creed or religion, but Dag Hammarskjöld wanted something more dignified. In his efforts he was supported by a group, composed of Christians, Jews, and Muslims, the «Friends of the UN Meditation Room», who combined their efforts to transform the Meditation Room into the «A Room of Quiet», a masterpiece which was personally supervised by Dag Hammarskjöld himself. It has been the aim of Dag Hammarskjöld to create in this small room a place where the doors may be open to the infinite lands of thought and prayer.

In the statement during the inauguration of room of quiet he stressed 'this house, dedicated to work and debate in the service of peace, should have one room dedicated to silence in the outward sense and stillness in the inner sense. It has been the aim to create in this small room a place where the doors may be open to the infinite lands of thought and prayer. People of many faiths will meet here, and for that reason none of the symbols to which we are accustomed in our meditation could be used' (Hammarskjöld, 1961).

Conclusion

It is always difficult to summarize the legacy of a man who has achieved so much in course of a very short life he lived. In Dag Hammarskjöld life there was never a dull moment as his extraordinary life with multiple responsibility as a civil servant, economist and finally as a world diplomat, has gone through the best and worst experience one can ever imagine. On his arrival to Idlewild Airport in New York to take responsibility as new Secretary General, he reflected his experience as a mountaineer which can relate to his experience as international mediator. He stressed, 'I am interested in mountaineering, but my experience is limited to Scandinavia, where mountaineering calls more for endurance than for equilibristic, and where mountains are harmonious rather than dramatic, matter of fact (if you permit such a term in this context) rather than eloquent. However, that much I know of this sport that the qualities it requires are just those which I feel we all need today: perseverance and patience, a firm grip on realities, careful but imaginative planning, a clear awareness of the dangers but also of the fact that fate is what we make it and that the safest climber is he who never questions his ability to overcome all difficulties» (UNDP, 2012, p. 9). This

clearly summarizes his endeavor of diplomacy as an 'apostle of mediation' which is reflected on how he handled all the challenges he faced during his role as Secretary General: with perseverance and patience, a firm grip on realities, careful but imaginative planning, a clear awareness of the dangers.

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