

**Interpreting**

# United Nation's Fate Hangs in Balance

By J. M. ROBERTS  
Associated Press News Analyst

Dag Hammarskjold died under fire from both sides in the cold war.

Most of the great names of history are those of men who were able to grasp the reins of forces already at work about them, or were picked up and thrown forward by those forces.

But here was a man who sat among the currents of history, trying to deflect them in the direction desired by large numbers of men, who by his personal and official presence became a highly controversial figure. And his absence now seems likely to precipitate a fight over the whole future of the United Nations, a fight which most men were happy to postpone.



The Soviet Union will now intensify its fight not so much for control of the U.N., as for the ability to confine it to the role of a debating society, a good place for Soviet propaganda moves, but a bad place for any action looking toward peace.

There is one viewpoint that the removal of Hammarskjold—if we may brush aside the humanities and the decency which are already taking such a beating in this world—might just possibly alleviate some of the strain in the U.N.

This view is based on the assumption that some means can be found to produce a less controversial successor.

There has been some talk for the past year that such a successor might be found among the emerging nations, a true neutral not bound by ingrained devotion to the promotion of Western culture, and therefore more able to act as mediator between East and West, but taking no initiative.

The fight over a successor, with the Communist bloc attempting to hamstring the General Assembly with a veto system comparable to the one it has used so often in the Secur-

ity Council, had not been expected to come up until next year.

There had even been some very small hope that, given this time, something might happen which would permit the U.N. to move on with its work.

Now the fight is precipitated at the most favorable moment for the Soviet bloc. The U.N. is drastically divided over many issues, not the least of them its own attitude toward the Congo.

The "automatic majority" on the side of the United States is smothered under a host of new memberships by uncommitted nations.

One of the great powers, France, is officially contemptuous of the U.N. France and Britain have split with the United States over U.N. Congo policy. France has split with the United States and Britain over the approach to negotiations with the Soviet Union over Germany.

The United States has just accepted the necessity of a headon fight over the admission of Red China, a fight in which she has little or no real support from her strongest Allies.

This column has always discounted the "fate of U.N. hangs in balance" assessments of the past, in the belief that there must be such an organization, lest the shards of world order be scattered to become of interest only to future archeologists.

But now, if the Communists insist that there be no successor to Hammarskjold, as expected, the organization could be reduced to the status of the Old League of Nations, which blew away so many years ago, like a straw in the wind of gathering storm.

# Kennedy To Address U.N. Session

**BULLETIN**

WASHINGTON (P) — President Kennedy will address the United Nations General Assembly, probably on Friday, the White House announced yesterday.

Press Secretary Pierre Salinger, in making this announcement, declined to comment on reports that Kennedy will offer an American proposal for full disarmament.

The exact timing of Kennedy's address remains to be fixed, Salinger said, by the schedule of proceedings adopted by the Assembly, which was scheduled to open today.

The tragic death of U.N. Secretary-General Dag Hammarskjold in a plane crash in Africa strengthened the President's desire to appear personally before the 99-nation Assembly, Salinger said.

This disaster had the effect, the secretary explained, of making Kennedy feel that "now, at a time of crisis for the U.N., would be a good time to go there and affirm support of the U.N. and its purposes."

The earliest possible date for the President's appearance would be Thursday afternoon, Salinger said, and if that time is selected Kennedy will cancel his scheduled news conference on that morning.

Friday seems to be the "likeliest day," Salinger said, but the possibility exists that the appearance may be deferred until early next week. One factor in the timing is the time consumed by various nations wishing to eulogize the late Secretary-General.

The White House expects that the precise day will be settled today, Salinger added.

He refused to go into any discussion of the substance of the President's address, but disclosed that Kennedy has talked by telephone with both Secretary of State Dean Rusk and Ambassador Adlai Stevenson, chief of the U.S. delegation to the U.N., in the course of the day.

**Interpreting**

# Extent of Crisis In U.N. Analyzed

By WILLIAM L. RYAN  
Associated Press News Analyst

UNITED NATIONS, N.Y. (P)—Dag Hammarskjold's death plunged the United Nations yesterday into the deepest crisis of its history. It could even spell the beginning of the end of the U.N. as an effective world peace organization.

The tragedy in the wilds of central Africa could hardly have happened at a less opportune moment. The U.N. is opening Tuesday its regular 16th General Assembly session — under ominous storm clouds.

Hammarskjold may prove to have been the indispensable man so far as survival of the U.N. as a world police force is concerned.

The depth of the crisis can hardly be overestimated. Apparently there is no successor to Hammarskjold as secretary-general who would be acceptable to the Soviet Union and the United States.

The crisis was coming in any event, but Hammarskjold's death advanced it by at least a full year.

Hammarskjold's second five-year term of office was to expire in April 1963. That meant that the matter of his successor would have arisen in the 17th General

Assembly next year.

To produce a successor the Security Council would have to agree on a candidate and recommend him to the assembly. A crisis was more or less certain since the five permanent council members, including the U.S.S.R. and the United States, have veto power.

The Soviets can be expected now to push this idea once again. If adopted, it would effectively destroy the secretary's power to act as policeman in dangerous world crisis.

It would be forever paralyzed by the veto power of one or another of its members.

The crisis is all the more deep because there has been no provision for a line of succession.

Hammarskjold did not believe in having an acting secretary— (Continued on page four)

## Aspaturian Predicts--

(Continued from page one)  
"neutralist and the troika proposal in which the West would have a veto, it would favor the latter.

In view of the present situation, Aspaturian states: "the West will probably first try to sponsor a friendly Afro-Asian—a representative from Thailand, the Philippines or Turkey—as its candidate for Secretary-General."

Accordingly, he predicts that the Soviet Union will propose as its candidate for the seat, an Afro-Asian of Communist leanings such as Mongi Slim, the current presi-

dent of the General Assembly and U.N. representative from Tunisia.

Referring to the effects of Hammarskjold's death on the internal structure of the United Nations, Aspaturian says: "This further signifies the evolution of the United Nations into an organization which is more and more moving outside the sphere of Western influence."

We can expect that the interests of the United States and the decisions of the United Nations will diverge more and more as time goes on, he adds.

## Background Sketch-

(Continued from page one)  
minister in Sweden and vice chairman of the executive committee of the Organization for European Economic Cooperation.

His task as secretary-general took him on many and varied international missions.

Hammarskjold was born July 29, 1905, the son of Hjalmar Hammarskjold, the Swedish premier in World War I.

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