In the service of God
Dag Hammarskjöld as an international civil servant

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Abstract
This thesis has examined Dag Hammarskjöld’s views on his own work as an international civil servant, through the use of a discourse analysis of Dag Hammarskjöld’s book Markings as well as a few other speeches and statements made by Hammarskjöld. The specific method used has been Laclau and Mouffe’s discourse theory with a focus on the concepts of hegemony and nodal points, combined with a hermeneutical approach. The thesis concludes that Dag Hammarskjöld might have altered his view on the role of the civil servant from first seeing it as someone who is serving the people, to someone serving God. It is interpreted as mainly a metaphorical description rather than a strict literal one, but the thesis concludes by claiming that Hammarskjöld’s faith and spiritual curiosity had a greater impact on his professional life in the later parts of his career than in the earlier ones. Implications for future research are discussed.

Keywords: Dag Hammarskjöld, Markings, Discourse analysis, Laclau and Mouffe, Hegemony, Hermeneutics
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1. Introduction

1.1 Aim of the thesis

Dag Hammarskjöld has been subject to an extensive myth building ever since his tragic and unexpected death in 1961. He is still seen as one of, if not, the most influential Secretary General of the United Nations and his legacy runs through the organization in which he is still seen as kind of a legend and hero (Lid Andersson 2009: 53). This almost divine status can also be described in the words of the current Deputy Secretary General of the United Nations, Jan Eliasson who has said the following, “For most Swedish diplomats Dag Hammarskjöld is the ultimate role model. He combined sharp intellect with depth and cultural sensitivity. He was a man of action and a man of reflection. He personified courage and integrity.” (Eliasson 2011: 30). Just recently it was also announced that another commission has been set up with the purpose of examining the circumstances around his death (United Nations 2015a). This illustrates how the personality of Dag Hammarskjöld still keeps a strong hold of the international diplomatic community as well as the general public.

Dag Hammarskjöld’s interest in theology and philosophy became very clear when the manuscript to Vägmärken (Markings) was found in his New York apartment shortly after his tragic death. In this manuscript it was shown that he often reflected on his own life through thoughts regarding God and religion, although it should be mentioned that no references occur in the manuscript to his specific work tasks. As W. H. Auden writes in the foreword to Markings “A reader of Markings may well be surprised by what it does not contain – that Dag Hammarskjöld should not make a single reference to his career as an international civil servant…” (Hammarskjöld 2006: vii). Instead the focus was on his personal reflections regarding issues such as death, God, responsibility and loneliness. It can therefore be seen as a manuscript that combines diplomacy with spirituality (Lipsey 2011: 84). It showed how Hammarskjöld, although he was a very busy man, still had time to sit down and reflect on larger issues than perhaps only his everyday professional tasks.
When *Markings* was first published it generated surprise, praise and criticism at the same time. Everyone was surprised that this highly busy man had time to sit down and write deep philosophical thoughts on a regular basis throughout most of his adult life. The reviews of the book were two folded to start with. Some saw this book as yet another example of what kind of astonishing and wonderful man and servant he was. Not just was he a brilliant diplomat, who solved many international conflicts, he was also a prophet. Others meant that the book showed that Hammarskjöld in fact was an arrogant and elitist man who actually thought he was some kind of Messiah that should rescue the world. These reviewers even accused him for blasphemy (Aulén 1969: 2-4).

By examining how one of the greatest diplomats of the 20th century looked upon and thought of theological matters and issues, it could be possible to illustrate the importance of religion within the issues of international peace and conflict. It is in other words possible to analyse diplomacy and international politics by the use of the theological discipline as well, and not just through the disciplines of political science, sociology and psychology for example. By using the wording of a leading diplomatic authority such as Hammarskjöld, hopefully one can draw conclusions on how theology and diplomacy are connected and intertwined. The very fact that Hammarskjöld himself created a theological and philosophical manuscript illustrate the possible union between these two fields.

This thesis aims therefore at examining the entries made in *Markings* and what type of impact they might have had on the civil servant Dag Hammarskjöld. By using someone’s personal life story in this way it can be possible to develop a greater understanding of a particular phenomenon (Monk 2007: 528). Monk (2007) is here referring to the kind of understanding which Ludwig Wittgenstein used to argue for as the appropriate aim of philosophy, namely the type of understanding that stem
from identifying connections. In the case of this thesis, this understanding could be gained through examining the shaping of the religious and spiritual side of Hammarskjöld, and how this influenced his view on his work and mission as an international civil servant. The language and discourse used by Hammarskjöld would provide the necessary basis for such an understanding. Since *Markings* dates back all the way to the 1920s when Hammarskjöld was still a student, it covers almost the entire part of his adult life and especially his professional life. The specific question this thesis will seek and answer to will therefore be the following:

“How do Dag Hammarskjöld’s entries in *Markings* reflect his view on his own work and mission over time?”

The disposition of the thesis will now be as follows. The remaining parts of this chapter will include a biography of Dag Hammarskjöld as well as a review of previous research concerning Hammarskjöld and *Markings*. Next a chapter regarding the theoretical and methodological departure of the thesis will follow. Thereafter the entries from *Markings* and additional material will be presented and analysed before a final concluding chapter including also some thoughts on what future research on these issues could focus on.

### 1.2 A biography of Dag Hammarskjöld

Dag Hammarskjöld was born in 1905 in the city of Jönköping. His father, Hjalmar Hammarskjöld who was a law professor and a member of the Swedish Academy, was appointed county governor in Uppsala in 1907 and later on served as Sweden’s prime minister during the years of 1914-1917 (Wallensteen 2004: 5-6). His father was in other words a very powerful person and many distinguished Swedish citizens of the time were friends of the family such as Archbishop Nathan Söderblom, the recipient of the 1931 Nobel Peace Prize for example (Lipsey 2011: 89-90).
Hammarskjöld studied law and humanities in Uppsala and earned a doctorate in economics in 1933 from Stockholm College, see Hammarskjöld (1933). He later started to work at the Ministry of Finance and later on as Chairman of the Riksbank (The Central Bank of Sweden). In 1947 he moved to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and in 1951 he became a non-political minister without a portfolio where he worked under the minister for foreign affairs, Östen Undén (Wallensteen 2004: 6-8). He also served as Sweden’s representative in the Organization for European Economic Cooperation (OEEC) in 1948-1953. It was during this time that the British and French delegates recognized him for his intellect and negotiation skills, which lead to the British and French ambassadors in the UN to first nominate him as the next Secretary General (Hammarskjöld 2005: 13). On the 20th of December in 1954 he also became a member of the Swedish Academy, in the same seat previously held by his father (United Nations 2015b).

As the second Secretary General of the United Nations Hammarskjöld introduced several diplomatic inventions such as the peacekeeping forces and the so-called “silent diplomacy”. He did have a clear will to reform and develop the organization as the former Swedish minister for foreign affairs, Carl Bildt, wrote in the UN Chronicle “In conclusion, let us remember that Hammarskjöld’s overarching and primary commitment was to the evolution of the United Nations. Whether he recognized it or not, he was the United Nations able pilot on this journey. Hammarskjöld’s view that the United Nations embodied the “edge of development of human society” and worked on the “brink of the unknown” remains an inspiring vision.” (Bildt 2011: 7). Hammarskjöld also thought that it was important for the international civil servant to remain loyal to the UN charter and UN values otherwise the office might not serve the right purposes, “The international public servant can, according to Hammarskjöld, base his actions on the UN Charter and UN decisions. He need not be personally neutral; he should only remain neutral to interests other than those within his mandate” (Wallensteen 1985: 164).
The first example of this new way of solving conflicts came in 1955 when Hammarskjöld travelled to the People’s Republic of China to discuss the imprisonment of fifteen American soldiers that had been captured during the Korean War (Hammarskjöld 2005: 13). The situation was difficult since China was represented in the UN by Chiang Kai-shek’s government who lost the civil war and had fled to Formosa (Taiwan). The U.S. had no diplomatic relations with the People’s Republic of China and the soldiers had been under UN flag, which put a high pressure on Hammarskjöld, especially from the American president Eisenhower, to solve the situation (Hammarskjöld 2005: 13-14). The talks with the Chinese representatives lead however to a peaceful solution and all of the American soldiers were released and returned to America. This was the first diplomatic achievement by Hammarskjöld in his new assignment (Wallensteen 2004: 14-17).

The first example of where Hammarskjöld’s peace-keeping forces was used came during the Suez crisis in 1956, an event I will return to later in this thesis. This conflict erupted when Egypt decided to nationalize the Suez Canal, which connected the Red Sea with the Mediterranean. Since the canal was so important for international trade the Western countries wanted it to stand under international control, and therefore they reacted quite heavily to this decision. Great Britain, France and Israel decided to work collectively in order to gain control over the canal and overthrow the Egyptian leader, Gamal Abdel Nasser. They also wanted to stop the attacks on Israeli territory that were launched from Egypt (Wallensteen 2004: 17-18). After intense discussion in the Security Council Hammarskjöld rejected the idea to use British and French troops in order to reach a cease-fire, instead an independent UN force was created with the mandate of reaching a solution to the military conflict. The first idea for this was brought forward to Hammarskjöld from the Canadian minister for foreign affairs, Lester Pearson. This later became a permanent part of the United Nations peace operations (Wallensteen 2004: 18-20).
The last international conflict Hammarskjöld handled was the crisis in Congo. The conflict started right after the country gained independence in 1960, when first Congolese soldiers refused to answer to Belgian officers, and when the province of Katanga claimed its independence from the central government. The situation quickly got worse when the prime minister and president tried to remove each other from their offices. Hammarskjöld flew to Congo on the 12th of September and it was planned to hold a mediation meeting in Ndola in Northern Rhodesia (Zambia) on the 18th. On the night between the 17th and the 18th Hammarskjöld boarded a plane with a Swedish crew to fly from Leopoldville to Ndola, but the plane crashed in an area approximately 15 kilometres from the airport (Hammarskjöld 2005: 16-20). The circumstances around the crash have been subject to several investigations and it is now about to be investigated by another UN commission (United Nations 2015a).

1.3 Previous research on Dag Hammarskjöld and *Markings*

There are a number of previous studies that have focused on Hammarskjöld’s spiritual beliefs, his life story and his writings in *Markings*, see for example Lash (1962); Van Dusen (1965; 1967a; 1967b); Aulén (1969); Thompson (1970); Urquhart (1972); Wallensteen (1985); Kania (2000); Huls (2006); Nelson (2007); Troy (2010) and Lipsey (2011). In this section I will now chronologically go through some of the relevant studies that has a relation to the purpose of this thesis, before providing a general summary of what these studies have in common and what contemporary research needs to direct its attention to.

When *Markings* was first published in 1963, it created a strong interest both in- and outside of academia, but in the following decades the book lost some of its public interest (Lipsey 2011: 84). This means that in the following decades, the literature on Hammarskjöld declined which increases the demand for more contemporary research on his spiritual and theological reasoning. This has also been the case in recent time and in Sweden we have for example seen a response to this, with the
increase of new doctoral theses focusing on Hammarskjöld’s theological beliefs, his religious language as well as the rhetoric that has surrounded him, see for example Kania (2000); Nelson (2007) and Lid Andersson (2009).

During the 1960s many of the standard prices on Hammarskjöld and Markings were published. Henry P. Van Dusen was one of the forerunners in this tradition where the research mainly focused on Hammarskjöld’s spiritual beliefs and development over time, see for example Van Dusen (1965; 1967a; 1967b). Gustaf Aulén (1969) also conducted another major study of Markings during this time, which has received attention, and is still fairly well cited in the academic community. In that study Hammarskjöld’s influence of Meister Eckhart in Markings was for example analysed. A study from this time that is also related to the purpose of this thesis is Lash (1962) in which Hammarskjöld’s own view on his office in the UN was examined. Here Lash claims that Hammarskjöld saw his office as mainly a political one and that he was a political servant (Lash 1962: 542). He did for example compare the Secretary General, as an office, to the Presidency of the United States of America. So to summarize the research conducted in the 1960’s we can see that the main focus was on Hammarskjöld personal interest and development in relation to religion and philosophy as well as his life story.

During the decades following the 1960s the research and interest for Hammarskjöld and Markings declined (Lipsey 2011: 84). However there are still some interesting pieces from this period that I think should be given attention such as Brian Urquhart’s biography published in 1972 (Urquhart 1972). I also want to mention Thompson (1970) where Henry P. Van Dusen’s interest and research on both John Foster Dulles and Dag Hammarskjöld were summarized. Thompson (1970) showed that Van Dusen saw both of these men as two of the greatest statesmen ever and he was particularly interested in the spiritual development of Hammarskjöld, as the research from the 1960s clearly showed. Moving on I would also like to mention
some of the research conducted by Peter Wallensteen, the former Dag Hammarskjöld Professor of Peace and Conflict Research at Uppsala University. An interesting piece from this time is Wallensteen (1985) in which a link is made between the field of peace research and Hammarskjöld’s office as an international civil servant. For example, the field of peace research faces a similar dilemma as Hammarskjöld when it comes to being neutral in relation to international conflicts (Wallensteen 1985: 164). This issue will return in the empirical and analytical parts of the thesis as well.

In the last 15 years we can see that the interest for Hammarskjöld in the academic community might have increased compared to previous decades. One of the earlier pieces was a doctoral thesis published by Andrew Thomas Kania (Kania 2000) at Uppsala University, where Hammarskjöld’s mystical theology was analysed. This thesis did however receive some criticism for being very similar to Gustaf Aulén’s work in 1969, as well as disregarding certain important studies published thereafter (Stenström 2001). Others who focused on Hammarskjöld’s mystical theology were Huls (2006) who focused on the different religious traditions that Hammarskjöld grew up within, and Troy (2010) and Lipsey (2011), who followed on this tradition and Troy (2010) also included an analysis on Hammarskjöld’s interest in the philosopher Martin Buber, who’s work Hammarskjöld was translating shortly before his death.

Paul R. Nelson at Uppsala University also published a relevant doctoral thesis from this period (see Nelson 2007). This thesis focused on Hammarskjöld’s ethics, faith and religious language and Markings was used as the main source of material. The thesis also went against some of the previous research that saw Hammarskjöld as a mystic (see for example Huls 2006) and that his theological beliefs were mainly of a mystical kind (Nelson 2007: 233). This thesis received fairly positive remarks from the academic community see for example Vorster (2009). All in all, the 2000s has provided the field of research on Hammarskjöld and Markings with some very novel
and maybe even ground breaking pieces that can serve as a suitable tool for identifying the gaps that still exist within this field.

So to summarize these five decades of research on Hammarskjöld and *Markings* there are some patterns we can identify. First, previous research has mainly delegated its attention to Hammarskjöld’s spiritual and religious beliefs. From Van Dusen (1965) and Aulén (1969), to Nelson (2007) and Lipsey (2011) the focus has been to analyse and understand Hammarskjöld’s personal development on the matters of spirituality and religious curiosity. Other studies have also tried to include ethical and philosophical dimensions to this such as Troy (2010). This is quite logical since almost all of the entries made in *Markings* reflect these matters. However, it also shows that what we lack in terms of research on *Markings* is the link to his actual career as an international civil servant. By examining the entries made during some of his greatest challenges in his career, and compare them to others made at different periods of his life, hopefully we can increase our knowledge on Hammarskjöld’s views on his own work and the role of the civil servant.

My ambition with this thesis is to increase the link between the entries in *Markings*, and Hammarskjöld the civil servant, because even though there are no direct references to his actual work in the book, I believe that with a thorough analysis of the entries it can be possible to draw more long going conclusions on this matter compared to previous studies. Since previous studies have very much focused on the personal man Hammarskjöld, and how the entries in *Markings* reflect his personal and spiritual development (Van Dusen 1965; Troy 2010; Lipsey 2011), I want to make a serious attempt at linking *Markings* to the civil servant that Hammarskjöld was all of his professional life. Do the entries in *Markings* reflect if and how Hammarskjöld changed his view on the role of the diplomat and the international civil servant for example? Previous research over the last five decades has primarily looked at the personal man of Hammarskjöld, and the professional man secondarily. This thesis
will shift this around and instead focus on the professional man of Hammarskjöld primarily and the personal man secondarily. It is not possible to completely separate the two but the main analysis will in this thesis be on Hammarskjöld’s work and life as a civil servant, instead of his personal development as a human being. By doing so, I believe that this thesis will add a novel aspect to the contemporary research on Dag Hammarskjöld and the entries found in Markings.
2. Theoretical and methodological departure

2.1 Discourse analysis
The theoretical and methodological departure for this thesis is discourse analysis and I will now briefly describe this approach and how it has been applied on this particular study. In many circumstances a researcher would make a distinction between the theoretical and methodological standpoints in a study, but in discourse analysis this is not the case (Jorgensen & Phillips 2000: 10). Instead, discourse analysis is a complete package that incorporates philosophy, theory and methodology. This also means that all philosophical, theoretical and methodological departures have the same origin, which the researcher needs to be aware of. In the case of this thesis it is important to be aware of the philosophical link between discourse analysis and social constructionism.

Discourse analysis is very much related to the ontological and epistemological standpoints found in social constructionism (Alvesson & Sköldberg 2008: 459-460; Jorgensen & Phillips 2000: 11) in which knowledge and reality is seen as a social construction (Berger & Luckmann 1966: 13). They are both not completely objective from man but rather created in a world constructed by a set of social relations. Discourse analysis can thus be seen as a social text (Alvesson & Sköldberg 2008: 460) in which the researcher focuses on speeches and texts as part of different social practices (Potter 1996: 105). In other words, discourse analysis assumes that humans through the use of language construct the social world, and this happens through three specific stages. First, by using existing linguistic resources you create statements. Second, that you constantly select which of these resources that will be used, some will get chosen, others will not. Third and finally then, that the chosen construction has consequences since it affects views and notions (Alvesson & Sköldberg 2008: 465).
The central part of discourse analysis is language (Alvesson & Sköldberg 2008: 459) and here it is worth to mention the work carried out by the structural linguist Ferdinand de Saussure who made a distinction between the two levels of language, *langue* and *parole* (Saussure 2011: 9, 13). *Langue* is the structure of language which is fixed and gives meaning to signs in language, *parole* on the other hand, is the more concrete language, in which people use concrete signs in concrete situations (Jorgensen & Phillips 2000: 16-17). Saussure described for example *parole* to be the executive side of language, “Execution is always individual, and the individual is always its master: I shall call the executive side speaking (parole)” (Saussure 2011: 13). The research tradition that stems from Saussure usually thought that *parole* was too temporary and connected to individual idiosyncrasies which made it not suitable for research, instead the focus should be on the greater structure of *langue*. The poststructuralist tradition however disagrees with this notion and claims that it is in the practical use of language where the structure is created (Jorgensen & Phillips 2000: 17-18).

One of the postmodern, or poststructuralist, pioneers within discourse analysis was Michel Foucault who described the concept of discourse in the following way “We shall call discourse a group of statements in so far as they belong to the same discursive formation… it is made up of a limited number of statements for which a group of conditions and existence can be defined” (Foucault 1972: 131). Most of today’s discourse approaches have their roots in Foucault’s definitions and descriptions although there are a few differences in the more contemporary ones (Jorgensen & Phillips 2000: 19). Foucault was for example more interested in the grand discourses whereas contemporary discourse analysis is more focused on smaller and local discourses (Alvesson & Sköldberg 2008: 460).
2.2 Laclau and Mouffe’s discourse theory
There are many different types of discourse analysis a researcher can use, and in this thesis I have relied upon the type of discourse analysis launched by Ernesto Laclau and Chantal Mouffe, see Laclau & Mouffe (2001). This is a very broad discourse theory suitable for many types of different studies that relies upon a social constructionist approach, and it can also easily be complemented by other approaches (Jorgensen & Phillips 2000: 31). In general this theory assumes that we ascribe meaning to a physical object through the use of discourse (Laclau & Mouffe 2001). Laclau and Mouffe’s discourse theory took a great inspiration from Antonio Gramsci and his concept of *hegemony*. Hegemony can be seen as a process of organized consent, for example between political classes in a society. A political class can establish and maintain its superior position through for example violence and oppression, but they can also be naturalised through the use of non-violence where all accepts them. This process is called hegemony. Gramsci claimed that it was the economy that created the different classes and that they were objective. Laclau and Mouffe on the other hand, claimed that groups and classes were created through the use of political discourse (Jorgensen & Phillips 2000: 39-40).

Other major concepts in Laclau and Mouffe’s discourse theory are *articulation*, *elements* and *moments* (Laclau & Mouffe 2001: 105). All of these concepts are linked to each other. A discourse is in this aspect the articulation of a specific logic in a specific social setting. Moments are the positions that are articulated within the discourse and elements are the differences that are not articulated within the discourse. Laclau and Mouffe summarise these intertwined relationships in the following way, “…we will call articulation any practice establishing a relation among elements such that their identity is modified as a result of the articulatory practice. The structured totality resulting from the articulatory practice, we will call discourse. The differential positions, insofar as they appear articulated within a discourse, we will call moments. By contrast we will call element any difference that is not discursively articulated.” (Laclau & Mouffe 2001: 105).
2.3 Hermeneutics
In addition to this theoretical and methodological standpoint of discourse analysis I would also like to add that when working with my material I have also followed the tradition of hermeneutics (Ricoeur 1981: 43). This tradition stems from the Renaissance and the interpretation of bible texts and other classical pieces. In other words, exegetics is the main focus for this type of methodological tradition (Alvesson & Sköldberg 2008: 193). Or as Ricoeur (1981: 43) describes it “…hermeneutics is the theory of the operations of understanding in their relation to the interpretation of texts”. This particular approach in hermeneutics combines both understanding and explanation in the process of interpretation, something that has earned a greater need in our contemporary globalized society. Originally this was not the case in hermeneutics where there was a clear distinction made between understanding and explanation (Kristensson Uggla 2008: 218). This hermeneutic approach, launched by Paul Ricoeur, does then combine the human sciences with the natural ones (Ricoeur 1981; Alvesson & Sköldberg 2008: 194).

Another important part of hermeneutics that should be addressed is the combination of so-called horizontal and vertical thinking (Kristensson Uggla 2008: 220). Horizontal thinking implies that there is an endless amount of different interpretations whereas vertical thinking claims that there are specific hierarchies and reason. Although hermeneutics have historically had a logical link towards horizontal thinking, modern hermeneutics combines both of them into a more reflexive school of thought. By accepting the existence of multiple interpretations, the horizontal thinking is still a part of it, but through the claim that not all of these interpretations are equal, the vertical thinking steps in (Kristensson Uggla 2008: 221). In other words hermeneutics could the be defined in the following way, “Thus, hermeneutics may be defined as a mixed mode of thinking, combining horizontal and vertical thinking and characterized by a striving for truth.” (Kristensson Uggla 2010: 61).
This methodological tradition has also been used in some previous research regarding Dag Hammarskjöld and Markings, where it was used to understand Hammarskjöld’s religious language and his meaning of life (Nelson 2007: 31-36). A key concept in this tradition is the so-called hermeneutic circle. This concept assumes that in order to understand the wholeness of a text for example, you have to investigate specific parts of it and vice versa. In other words, you continuously alternate between looking at smaller parts and the larger wholeness in your analysis (Alvesson & Sköldberg 2008: 194). By doing so, you are also linking understanding of a material with an explanation of it as well, which follows the approach of Paul Ricoeur earlier mentioned in this section. This general tradition of hermeneutics also has a very strong connection to studies on religion and theology, such as this thesis, since it originated mainly with the purpose of understanding the many different types of statements found in the Bible (Alvesson & Sköldberg 2008: 478).

2.4 Conducting the analysis
After this general presentation of the philosophical and theoretical starting points of the thesis, I will now present the more practical tools that have been used during the analytical phase of the study. In order to practically seek an answer to this thesis’ purpose I have decided to conduct a discourse analysis of Dag Hammarskjöld’s book Markings. In complement to this book, I have also on some occasions used speeches given by Hammarskjöld during the same time as he made the entries in Markings. This was done with the purpose of getting a more complete picture over the discourse that Hammarskjöld used at the time in question. I will do a chronological analysis of the entries made during the different time spells in order to see what type of words and themes there are in these time periods, and link that to what was going on in Hammarskjöld’s life at the time. This is also very much related to the hermeneutical approach, since I aim at understanding Hammarskjöld’s view on his life and career by examining specific parts of Markings and other speeches and writings, and putting them in relation to each other to create a whole picture of this
view. So the practical analysis conducted should therefore be seen as a combination of Laclau and Mouffe’s discourse theory and the hermeneutical approach. I would argue that these two approaches complement each other very well since they focus on two different levels of the study. The hermeneutical approach focuses on the larger issue of interpreting and understanding, whereas Laclau & Mouffe’s discourse theory is the practical tool used at the ground level to actually conduct the study and analyse the material.

In order to increase the possibility of making a contribution I have also decided to, when possible, to include entries from Markings that perhaps have not been regularly featured in previous studies. Some of the entries in Markings are reused in many studies, for obvious reasons since they are deeper and perhaps more interesting than others, but I also want to add some of the entries that have been overlooked in order to provide as much new knowledge as possible. This will mainly be done through the use of one major concept from Laclau and Mouffe’s discourse theory, namely nodal points (Laclau & Mouffe 2001: 112). A nodal point is a so-called privileged sign that provide meaning to other signs. Laclau & Mouffe (2001: 112) describe it like this, “Any discourse is constituted as an attempt to dominate the field of discursivity, to arrest the flow of differences, to construct a centre. We will call the privileged discursive points of this partial fixation, nodal points.” By using these nodal points my ambition will be to construct a centre of Hammarskjöld’s discourse in Markings and link it to his own view of his work as an international civil servant.

So to summarise the execution of the analysis, I will use two main concepts from Laclau and Mouffe’s discourse theory namely, hegemony and nodal points which is then combined with a hermeneutical approach to the interpretations of the material. Hegemony and nodal points are the more practical tools that have been applied to understand the specific wording of Hammarskjöld, where the hermeneutical approach has had the role of providing an understanding and explanation of the
different interpretations that arise from this analysis. In other words, I would argue that the concepts of hegemony and nodal points creates the interpretations that have to be addressed through the horizontal and vertical thinking found in hermeneutics. These concepts will therefore be used intertwined throughout the following chapter when applicable.

2.5 Limitations and ethical considerations in the analysis
Due to mainly time restraints all of the entries in Markings will not be analysed in this thesis, instead I have chosen the entries that I believe to be of the most importance in relation to the purpose of the thesis. This means that my personal judgment has been the main criteria for choosing the appropriate passages from Markings, meaning that the issue of personal bias arises. It cannot be guaranteed that another researcher would select exactly the same entries from Markings as I have for example. My interpretation of the purpose of the thesis is based on my knowledge and experiences and will of course differ from other researchers. It should also be emphasized that since not all entries from Markings are included the overall picture of Hammarskjöld’s view might also be smaller than otherwise. Of course, not all of the entries have a connection to this thesis’ purpose but in order to be able to present an analysis in the format of a master thesis, some entries have been disregarded since the thesis would be far too long if all should be included. With this in mind it should be emphasized that this particular thesis provides the reader with a view that could be enlarged through future studies.

As a final part to this section I would also like to say a few words on the ethical considerations I have taken through the journey of writing this thesis. I have taken inspiration from Booth et al. (2008: 276) who claimed “In short, when you report your research ethically, you join a community in a search for some common good.” I think this formulation captures the essence of conducting and reporting a study in an ethical manner. My aim with this thesis has been to increase a research community’s general
knowledge on the link between the spiritual and religious side of Dag Hammarskjöld, and his work and mission as an international civil servant. In order to do this, I have done my outmost to overcome issues such as personal biases in my analysis of the presented material. However, at the end of the day it is not possible to completely overcome this, meaning that I cannot guarantee that another researcher will reach exactly the same conclusions as I have in this thesis. My analysis constitutes my honest reasoning on this thesis’ material, which is the only ethical way to present it as. Hopefully this means that I can then reach what Booth et al. (2008: 276) mean when writing “… you earn the larger benefit that comes from creating a bond with your readers.” By being completely honest in all sections of this thesis with how the study has been conducted, I hope that a trust will be established between the author and the reader that will hopefully benefit the common good of our research community.
3. Dag Hammarskjöld as an international civil servant

3.1 Prologue
This chapter will include my presentation and analysis of the material from *Markings* and in some cases, additional material from Hammarskjöld’s speeches and other writings. The analysis will be done chronologically included in four different time periods, 1925-1930; 1940-1949; 1950-1956 and 1957-1961. This categorization follows in general the one Hammarskjöld himself did in his own manuscript but since the amount of entries is far greater in the 1950s compared to earlier periods, I have decided to present these in two separate categories rather than for each year as Hammarskjöld did. I have made the separation in the 1950s in the year between Hammarskjöld’s first and second term as the United Nations’ Secretary General, which I believe to be a suitable point since both of the terms where shaped by different kinds of international conflicts and tensions in the organization as well. Each of these four categories represents a period, which I believe to be characterized by a theme in relation to his life and work. These themes will first be analysed separately in this chapter, and thereafter combined into a general conclusion in the following chapter.

In order to commence the analysis of Hammarskjöld’s entries in *Markings* I think it is appropriate to start with his own words about what the manuscript actually is. When it was found in his New York apartment after his death, it also included an undated letter to the Swedish under-secretary for foreign affairs, Leif Belfrage. This letter described what the manuscript was and why Hammarskjöld had started to write it and prepare it for a possible future publication. Hammarskjöld himself did probably not see this letter as a part of the published manuscript but since it was published posthumously, it is the only description we have of it in Hammarskjöld’s own words. Therefore I see it as a necessary starting point in terms of understanding what the manuscript actually entails.
“Dear Leif,

Perhaps you may remember I once told you that, in spite of everything, I kept a diary which I wanted you to take charge of someday.

Here it is.

It was begun without a thought of anybody else reading it. But, what with my later history and all that has been said and written about me, the situation has changed. These entries provide the only true ‘profile’ that can be drawn. That is why, during recent years, I have reckoned with the possibility of publication, though I have continued to write for myself, not for the public.

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

Dag”

The nodal points we can identity here are according to Laclu and Mouffe’s (2001: 112) definition of establishing a centre and providing meaning to other signs in the discourse; profile, white book, negotiations and God. Hammarskjöld give meaning to the entries by linking them to his own thoughts or “negotiations” with God, and therefore they might be worth publishing in relation to what has recently been said and written about him. In his own words we should see this manuscript as his own individual development, which would then generate the true profile of him. The main parts of the manuscript surrounds, in his own words around his negotiations with God, which therefore provides a meaning to the overall content of the manuscript. The entries in the book therefore all stems back to these negotiations with God and himself. As a prologue to the following analysis of the entries in questions, I believe this to be a significant notion to keep in mind through the upcoming sections of the thesis.

Since Hammarskjöld states that it is the recent writings about him that made him want to publish this manuscript, we can also see a relation to his current professional
life, which is the centre of the purpose of this thesis, since he at the time still was at the world centre as the United Nations’ Secretary General. Maybe the mission and its pressures lead to a will from Hammarskjöld to provide the public with, what he believed to be the true profile of him? This is a great example of how it is not possible to separate the professional man from the personal man, in order to analyse one of them you have to look at both. This is the reason for why the analysis will focus on both of these aspects of Hammarskjöld in order to aim at providing a complete profile of his views on the international civil servant throughout his own life. The nodal points of *white book* and *God* were also a great part of the first academic research on Hammarskjöld and *Markings*, such as Van Dusen (1965; 1967a; 1967b) and Aulén (1969). Aulén (1969: vii) did for example mention that the words *white book* and negotiations all stem from the world of diplomacy, where Hammarskjöld of course was deeply rooted especially during the later parts of his life. This type of wording then has a connection to both the personal and professional side of Hammarskjöld’s life. So contemporary research, such as this thesis, can therefore rely on the fact that this has been verified by previous research as well and use it as a suitable starting point for the greater analysis of the entries.

3.2 1925-1930 – A youth of death and loneliness
The first part of *Markings* covers Hammarskjöld’s time as a student in both Uppsala and Stockholm. It is the shortest part of the book, only fifteen entries are made during this period. The entries stop at 1930 and there are no entries for the entire following decade, which was when Hammarskjöld received his doctorate and started his career as a civil servant in the Swedish public administration. However I would still argue that this section bares an importance since it is during this time that Hammarskjöld prepares for his future career as a civil servant. His studies and first career positions most likely affected him greatly in the following years. Specific nodal points we can identify in these entries are mainly *death* and *loneliness*, which the following two entries illustrate.
“Tomorrow we shall meet,
Death and I –
And he shall thrust his sword
Into one who is wide awake.” (Hammarskjöld 2006: 6)

“Every deed and every relationship is surrounded by an atmosphere of silence.
Friendship needs no words – it is solitude delivered from the anguish of loneliness.”
(Hammarskjöld 2006: 8).

These nodal points, according to Laclau & Mouffe’s (2001: 105, 112) definitions acquire their meaning in relation to the elements and moments of for example relationship, deeds, sword and silence. Death is quite clearly at the centre of the first entry where Hammarskjöld writes about how he will meet death, and that death will thrust his sword into those who are wide awake. The fact that Hammarskjöld writes about meeting death shows the centre of it in his thoughts at this time. Previous research has already identified this as a reoccurring theme in Hammarskjöld’s personal development see for example Van Dusen (1965: 437). Regarding the second entry, we can see that it is the anguish of loneliness that delivers the solitude, which explains the concept of friendship, according to Hammarskjöld. Here we can start to make a connection to the hermeneutical approach (Ricoeur 1981: 43; Alvesson & Sköldberg 2008: 190-194). The concept of friendship according to Hammarskjöld is understood through the different parts of anguish, solitude and loneliness. Together they complete the wholeness of friendship Hammarskjöld is referring to, just as the hermeneutic circle works. However, I do not see friendship as the nodal point in this entry since it is the word loneliness that provides the meaning to the concept of friendship. Anguish and solitude do also provide a meaning to friendship but it is, in Hammarskjöld’s own words, delivered through loneliness. Therefore the nodal point in the discourse of this particular entry must be loneliness.
Besides these fairly deep existential thoughts on death and loneliness, Hammarskjöld also reflected on issues such as success, failure and victory during this time. In other words, already at an early age at an early part of his career and professional life Hammarskjöld was contemplating on what it meant to either succeed or fail, which the following two entries illustrate.

“If you goal is not determined by your most secret pathos, even victory will only make you painfully aware of your own weakness.” (Hammarskjöld 2006: 8)

“He bore failure without self-pity, and success without self-admiration. Provided he knew he had paid his uttermost farthing, what did it matter to him how others judged the result.” (Hammarskjöld 2006: 9)

So when Hammarskjöld was preparing for his future career as a civil servant he was battling thoughts on several existential issues. It seems that he saw himself as a lonesome individual working on his own, which in a way is similar to the role of the civil servant, working in the shadows behind politicians and other officials. The fact that he also contemplated on the issues of success and victory could indicate that he felt a pressure to succeed in both his studies and his future career and that the way others judged him could have been an important issue for him. If we again apply Laclau and Mouffe’s (2001: 112) definitions of nodal points here we can see that Hammarskjöld links victory indirectly to awareness of your weakness, and success to self-admiration. These two nodal points acquires meaning to weakness and self-admiration by showing how in the first case, that they are included in each other and in the second case, through their separation. A reason for why the issues of success, failure and victory are apparently important to Hammarskjöld could simply be due to the fact that they are all part of our own reality, as Huls (2006: 85) has stated.
Hammarskjöld also brings in an individual’s pathos and claims that if this does not drive your goals, the only thing you will gain from victory is the awareness of your own weakness. This also brings meaning to the nodal point of victory by linking it to what the driving forces for achieving goals, and victory should be. In Hammarskjöld’s words, it should be your own pathos. Perhaps this can be connected to the increased myth building around Hammarskjöld, which the introduction of this thesis covered? Maybe the fact that Hammarskjöld put such an emphasis on following your own emotional convincing and thereby achieving a more true and honest goal affected his surroundings in a great manner? Perhaps we can argue that Hammarskjöld’s strong focus on your own pathos indirectly strengthened his own ethos? His actions might have had such an emotional influence on others, which could explain why he still has such an impact on the contemporary society. A final point to rise in this part of Hammarskjöld’s’ life is the fact that he ends by writing about how your own result might also be judged by others. This is something that we will see again when we look at the upcoming entries from his years at the UN.

3.3 1941-1949 – The battle for glory and power
During the 1940s Hammarskjöld was a prominent civil servant in the Swedish public administration, he was experienced and had also done some international assignments in the Organization for European Economic Cooperation (OEEC). In the previous decade, from which there are no entries in Markings, he had held several different positions as a domestic civil servant and had a quick career through the ranks. However, just because he had left his student days and the younger parts of his life, the existential thoughts he had from the same time had not left him completely. With this in mind, we can start to see that the nodal point death is still part of the entries made in Markings.
“There is only one path out of the steamy dense jungle where the battle is fought over glory and power and advantage – one escape from the snares and obstacles you yourself have set up. And that is – to accept death.” (Hammarskjöld 2006: 13)

“When the gun went off, he fell on his side beneath the maple trees. The air is motionless in the moist dusk of the late July day, a dusk intensified by the heavy shadows of the leaves. His head rests in profile, the features finely chiseled but still immature – while against the gray of the sand, with a small wound in the temple. In this dead light, only the dark blood slowly welling from the nostrils has color. Why -? Above the spreading pool of blood no questions reach the land you have sought. And no words can any longer call you back. – That eternal “Beyond” – when you are separated from us by a death chosen long before the bullet hit the temple.”

(Hammarskjöld 2006: 28)

An interesting point to identify is the link Hammarskjöld makes between death and the battle for glory and power. By accepting death, the battle is won and you are in a way free from the self-created obstacles. What should we take from this? To start with I believe that we could actually make a connection to the concept of hegemony, which influenced Laclau and Mouffe’s discourse theory greatly (Laclau & Mouffe 2001: 7). By using this discourse Hammarskjöld creates a setting in which you accept death in order to win the battle for glory and power. The hegemony here stems from using a discourse that makes you accept this fact, in the same way that political discourse is used to accept the presence of different political classes, as Laclau and Mouffe (2001) argued. Hammarskjöld’s entry indicates that hegemony is necessary in order to move on and gain the power and advantage necessary to execute the task at hand.

The second entry also follows the same type of reasoning where Hammarskjöld writes about you being separated from life by a death, which was chosen, long before
the bullet hit the temple. In relation to this, Aulén (1969: 91) have for example brought forward the notion that Hammarskjöld saw existence as a battle between evil and death on one side, and love and sacrifice on the other side. Here we can start to see a glimpse of the religious addition to the entries that this section will show in the following paragraphs. The spiritual and religious side of Hammarskjöld is now starting to show more frequently in Hammarskjöld’s entries than before. This type of message in the discourse will return in other entries as well which I will return to later on.

What has been added to the entries in this time period in terms of organizing the discourse is the new nodal point God. Several of the entries made during this time period have this theme, which indicates that it has become a part of Hammarskjöld’s reasoning of life and work. If the earlier entries illustrated a man who mainly reflected on existential issues of life and death, we can now start to see that a more spiritual side of the negotiations he held with himself has surfaced.

“How can you expect to keep your powers of hearing when you never want to listen? That God should have time for you, you seem to take as much for granted as that you cannot have time for him.” (Hammarskjöld 2006: 12)

“You are your own god – and are surprised when you find that the wolf pack is hunting you across the desolate ice fields of winter.” (Hammarskjöld 2006: 15)

“On the bookshelf of life, God is a useful work of reference, always at hand but seldom consulted.” (Hammarskjöld 2006: 16)

It becomes clear that God is now a centre of life and work, and something or someone that Hammarskjöld believes is both a part of him, and yet not. He has God within him, but he can also consult God when necessary. This is a clear distinction
from the earlier entries where the presence of God is almost none. Perhaps this is an indication of Hammarskjöld’s shift in his own views regarding where and to whom he answers in his work as a civil servant? If we combine the two main nodal points form this time, death and God, we can draw a parallel to the research of Huls (2006: 92-93), who claimed that Hammarskjöld’s focus on these topics in his entries was due to the fact that he saw life as divine and that we live through God. We will for example see that the entries in the upcoming decades continue on this aspect in an even greater way.

Since there are almost no entries from the 1930s in the book it is of course hard to determine when, and if, this change occurred but since the presence of God first surfaces in this part of his life it could be seen as an indication that something has changed. Previous research has also indicated that when he worked for and entered into the Swedish government to become a non-political minister, it was to serve the people, as described by Peter Wallensteen “As a civil servant, Hammarskjöld found it possible to remain loyal to a Social Democratic government because the changes it made were implemented in legally correct form and served all the people of Sweden, not only some of them.” (Wallensteen 2004: 8). So there are a few indications showing that Hammarskjöld might have had a different view on what a civil servant was and should be in the earlier parts of his career. When we now move on to the entries stemming from the 1950s, we will see that this change was not a temporary one.

3.4 1950-1956 – Becoming God’s servant
From the 1950s the number of entries increases compared to earlier years, meaning that there are a number of formulations and statements made during this time by Hammarskjöld. However there are a few nodal points that reoccur compared to the earlier entries, such as death and God, but we will also see new ones which this section will cover in the later parts.
“God does not die on the day when we cease to believe in a personal deity, but we die on the day when our lives cease to be illumined by the steady radiance, renewed daily, of a wonder, the source of which is beyond all reason.” (Hammarskjöld 2006: 56)

"’Thy will be done—’ To let the inner take precedence over the outer, the soul over the world—wherever this may lead you. And, lest a worldly good should disguise itself as a spiritual, to make yourself blind to the value the life of the spirit can bestow upon life in this world.” (Hammarskjöld 2006: 81)

“Give me something to die for - !” (Hammarskjöld 2006: 85)

The three entries above have a theme insofar as they link the nodal point from the 1920s, death and the nodal point from the later 1940s, God, with each other. The passage stating that God does not die when we cease to believe in him sends a message that God is a centre that creates a meaning that we have to accept whether or not we believe. This particular reasoning could be related to the research by Lipsey (2011: 97) who claimed that Hammarskjöld’s saw his professional life as a service to God, “He wished to be a servant of God.”. According to Hammarskjöld, it is not possible to kill God simply by a lack of belief meaning that God is present and acts through us and life at all times. This could be the reason for why Hammarskjöld wrote “And, lest a worldly good should disguise itself as a spiritual, to make yourself blind to the value the life of the spirit can bestow upon life in this world.” The value that the life of the spirit will bring to life in our world is clearly at the centre of his thought, which I would interpret as the union between God and life, which would explain Hammarskjöld’s will to be God’s servant. The following entries continue on this theme by discussing the meaning of life as well as the link between death and loneliness.
"What I ask for is absurd: that life shall have a meaning. What I strive for is impossible: that my life shall acquire a meaning. I dare not believe, I do not see how I shall ever be able to believe: that I am not alone.” (Hammarskjöld 2006:86)

"Fatigue dulls the pain but awakes enticing thoughts of death. So! that is the way in which you are tempted to overcome your loneliness—by making the ultimate escape from life.—No! It may be that death is to be your ultimate gift to life: it must not be an act of treachery against it.” (Hammarskjöld 2006: 86)

The entries above come from 1952, right before he was asked to become Tryggve Lie’s successor in the United Nations. It seems here that the centre of his thought on life in the early 1950’s resembles very much the thoughts from his student days in the 1920s, with the presence of death in the entries but we can also see that God is a part of what constitutes his view on life and what that is. The second entry even places a relation to suicide by stating that the only way to overcome loneliness is to escape from life, which also previous research has identified (Van Dusen 1965: 441).

Loneliness is here the centre and nodal point of the thought that provides a meaning to life since the only escape from it, is to die. So the existential theme from the 1920s and 1930s is till very much present before Hammarskjöld were about to undertake the greatest challenge of his professional life.

In 1953, when Hammarskjöld was being considered by the United Nations to become the next Secretary General he started to write about God in a different way than before. The relationship between God and his professional life is starting to emerge more than before, God might not longer be just an existential aspect of his life and thought. It was not only a separated single entry that illustrated this, instead we can see a great increase among the entries that follows in this relationship and a clear pattern crystallises. These relations to his work and responsibilities become very clear particularly in the following entries.
“God has a use for you, even though what He asks doesn’t happen to suit you at the moment.” (Hammarskjöld 2006: 89)

"Their lives grounded in and sustained by God, they are incapable of any kind of pride. . . . They do all things to the glory of God alone.”

"I am the vessel. The draught is God’s. And God is the thirsty one.”

"In the last analysis, what does the word ‘sacrifice’ mean? Or even the word ‘gift’? He who has nothing can give nothing. The gift is God’s—to God.”

"He who has surrendered himself to it knows that the Way ends on the Cross—even when it is leading him through the jubilation of Gennesaret or the triumphal entry into Jerusalem." (Hammarskjöld 2006: 91)

Hammarskjöld’s work and responsibilities now centres on the relationship to God, and the use that God has for him. The only main centre in these entries is God, which is put in relationship to usage, giving, life and so on. It seems that he thinks of himself as serving God in a primary sense now, compared to his earlier entries in the 1920s and 1940s. Then God was perhaps the centre of the existential thought of life in general, but now it might be the connection to the civil servant part of Hammarskjöld’s life as well. Previous research did establish that Hammarskjöld mainly saw the task of the Secretary General as to serve someone, or something (Huls 2006: 542). If we then add the high presence and centre of God in the entries from when he was asked to become the next Secretary General, an image surfaces that portrays that Hammarskjöld saw this mission as a service to God. He was God’s servant and since God had a use for him, he had to answer and fulfil the task. He also brings up giving a gift to God in the shape of a sacrifice, which is a sign that he
sees this upcoming mission as his sacrifice to the world, which contemporary research on Hammarskjöld’s time in the UN would support “For Hammarskjöld personally, it was certain that his task would lead to the ultimate sacrifice.” (Troy 2010: 447).

This theme continues in the following entries from the same year where he also includes entries on how God almost acts through him and has faith in him.

"Except in faith, nobody is humble. . . .
And, except in faith, nobody is proud. . . .
To be, in faith, both humble and proud: that is, to live,
to know that in God I am nothing, but that God is in me.” (Hammarskjöld 2006: 92)

“The humility which comes from others having faith in you” (Hammarskjöld 2006: 93)

We can again see the formulations on how God is within him and therefore acting through him, which is in line with him being God’s servant, doing what God commands. In a way I would interpret this as a hegemony (Laclau & Mouffe 2001: 7) that exists between Hammarskjöld and God, on a spiritual level. The presence of God in Hammarskjöld illustrates that Hammarskjöld see his spirit as having a standing connection to God and that God therefore is within Hammarskjöld. The hegemony then stems from this acceptance by Hammarskjöld and to act in according with it, which both previous and future entries have and will show. This spiritual presence in his work and responsibilities as a new international civil servant can also be found in the speech given to the General Assembly in 1953 when he had been elected.
“May I remind you of the great memory just celebrated by the Christian world. May I do so because of what that memory tells us of the redeeming power of true dedication to peace and goodwill toward men. We are of different creeds and convictions. Events and ideas which to some of us remain the very basis of our faith are elements of the spiritual heritage of man which are foreign to others. But common to us all, and above all other convictions stands the truth, once expressed by a Swedish poet when he said that the greatest prayer of man does not ask for victory but for peace.” (Hammarskjöld 1956: 400)

In his very first major speech to the General Assembly he brings up faith and Christianity and links it to power and peace, creating a meaning in the same way as Laclau and Mouffe’s (2001: 105) articulation, elements and moments would. Troy (2010: 446) summarizes this as seeing Hammarskjöld as a person that unifies faith and diplomacy “The Secretary-General Hammarskjöld is thus an outstanding example how faith can influence political structures in international affairs—in this case, even the UN.” This also bares resemblance to the entries from the 1940s and early 1950s. Now we can identify a pattern in how Hammarskjöld describes his office and his mission as a civil servant since the entries, over a long period of time mentions the same nodal points. God is the main centre of the discourse in this time period especially in relation to the entries mentioned that have a clear link to some of the major work tasks Hammarskjöld conducted during this time. Hammarskjöld continues for example in the same way in an address given to the World Council of Churches around the same time.

“Certainly, the words about the evil of the day and the things of the morrow do not mean that our actions should not be guided by a thoughtful and responsible consideration of the future consequences of what we do. But they do mean that 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.” (Hammarskjöld 1956: 402)
Again, the work for peace needs the presence of faith in Hammarskjöld’s view here. Since he was a Christian we can assume that he is meaning Christian faith for himself in his own life and work. So it seems that during this time when his work had shifted from being a domestic civil servant to an international civil servant, his service seemed to be more and more directed towards God and what God had in store for him. That Hammarskjöld himself was searching for a feasible faith is something that also previous research has illustrated (Van Dusen 1965: 435). We can also see a similar discourse in the year-end message he gave to the General Assembly on the 22nd of December in 1955.

“Mankind united in peaceful competition, free from fear and free from want, a mankind where man has truly come into his own – this great dream is exacting. It may demand great sacrifices. But it deserves the deepest loyalty of every man. Short of our unreserved devotion it will remain a dream, lacking substance. If this is not recognized, it may even blind us to reality – and become a danger, though it should be a source of strength.” (United Nations 1955)

This statement also brings up the importance of the sacrifice (Troy 2010: 447) that earlier entries in this time period also illustrated. The pattern then become fairly clear that when he is addressing his diplomatic mission in the UN, such as in the above mentioned message to the General Assembly, he makes the same connections to faith and sacrifice as he did in his more personal entries in Markings as well. This would then support the notion that the entries made in Markings had a connection to his life outside of the personal manuscript as well, that the entries did reflect also the actions made in his everyday professional life.

The final part of this period that I will analyse is the entries Hammarskjöld made in relation to one of his greatest diplomatic challenges, the Suez-crisis in 1956. As
described in the earlier biographical section of Hammarskjöld, this crisis was the first test for Hammarskjöld’s new invention of the peace keeping forces, and there was a great tension in the United Nations during this crisis, especially from Great Britain and France, the two countries that had been the first to nominate him for his current office. Here Hammarskjöld wrote at the same time as he was trying to solve the conflict, entries that contained the nodal points of death, responsibility and courage.

“It is this idea which you must help towards victory with all your strength – not the work of human hands which just now gives you responsibility and the responsibility-creating chance to further it. Knowing this, it should be easy for you to smile at criticism of decisions misunderstood, ridicule of expressions misinterpreted as “idealism”, declarations of war to the death upon that to which, for all outward appearances, you are devoting your life.” (Hammarskjöld 2006: 138)

“Courage? On the level where the only thing that counts is a man’s loyalty to himself, the word has no meaning. – “Was he brave?” – “No, just logical.”
(Hammarskjöld 2006: 133)

When Hammarskjöld is writing about misunderstood decisions he links it to death and war, which could be interpreted, through the use of Laclau and Mouffes’s (2001: 105, 112) definitions, as an attempt to reflect on the outcomes of his own decisions and his feelings towards those that criticised what he did and did not do during the crisis. He provides a meaning to the word responsibility for example by writing about victory (solving the crisis) and how it is not enough with the work of human hands to achieve this. He also brings in the word courage in relation to his own loyalty to himself. This I would like to relate to the earlier entries on how God is in him, which would then also mean that he would be writing about his loyalty to God. If God is working through him, then his loyalty to himself would then indirectly also be his
loyalty towards God, which then puts God in the centre of the discourse even though the actual word is not used in the entries.

When the crisis was finally solved Hammarskjöld’s entries follow the same path as before with the main nodal point being God again. As indicated by previous research such as for example Van Dusen (1965: 444), Hammarskjöld makes God a centre of attention in several of the entries from this particular event.

“Somebody placed the shuttle in your hand: somebody who had already arranged the threads.” (Hammarskjöld 2006: 141)

“Your own efforts did not bring it to pass”, only God – but rejoice if God found a use for your efforts in His work.” (Hammarskjöld 2006: 143)

“Forward! Thy orders are given in secret. May I always hear them – and obey.”

(Hammarskjöld 2006: 145)

The entries here reflect how God has acted through Hammarskjöld by arranging the events and by finding a use for Hammarskjöld’s actions. His entries indicate that he believed that God “placed the shuttle in his hand” and that helped him to solve the conflict. Here we can draw a link to the research by Thompson (1970: 313) who also saw Hammarskjöld’s appointment as the new Secretary General as a turning point in his own views on life and work, “From 1953 onward, his deepened faith in God became that which gave rise ‘to life and duty’”. This could also be related to Hammarskjöld’s influence from the philosopher Martin Buber and his “I and thou” view of the relationship with God and other human beings (Nelson 2007: 234-235). This view contains both a direct contact and relationship with the divine, meaning God, as well as the contact with other human beings as well. The philosophy of Martin Buber was
a great inspiration for Hammarskjöld and during the later part of his life, especially in 1961 he was engaged in a deep task of translating his work.

3.5 1957-1961 – The final encore
We have now reached the last time period of this analysis. It starts in 1957 when Hammarskjöld was up for re-election as Secretary General and ends shortly before his tragic death in 1961. So even though this is the shortest time period of the four analysed in this thesis, it still covers some of the largest events in Hammarskjöld’s professional career. During this final part of Markings we can actually see one entry that has some connection to his work, with the same connections to being called upon by someone else. The nodal points there are job, responsibility and himself.

“For someone whose job so obviously mirrors man’s extraordinary possibilities and responsibilities, there is no excuse if he loses his sense of “having been called.” So long as he keeps that, everything he can do has a meaning, nothing a price. Therefore: if he complains, he is accusing – himself”. (Hammarskjöld 2006: 154)

I think that this entry illustrate to some extent Hammarskjöld’s general view of the office of Secretary General, the reference to being called upon and responsibilities could be interpreted as him reflecting on his mission, especially since he was up for re-election later that year. His job acquires a meaning when the elements of possibilities and responsibilities are added. Since the job mirrors a man’s possibilities and responsibilities it provides meaning to his own calling, and provide that Hammarskjöld does not lose the sense that his actions still has a meaning. This I believe should be put in relation to the concept of hegemony again (Laclau & Mouffe 2001: 7). By keeping the sense that he is being called upon and accepting that it has given his life a meaning, I believe he has reached an inner hegemony, in a spiritual sense. Since we saw in the very early entries that he was battling existential thoughts on life and death, I believe this is of the highest importance in his personal and
professional development. It has evidently stayed with him until his older years as well, meaning that it most likely has had a long lasting effect on his own life and career.

When Hammarskjöld was up for re-election in 1957 the entries in *Markings* continued to focus on the same nodal points from the earlier part of the 1950s. Right before the election he wrote about how his responsibility is towards God, which Van Dusen (1965: 445) also recognized. The following entry indicates that Hammarskjöld clearly was under pressure in this time and that he therefore might have turned to God again in the writings to find the spiritual strength that was clearly a part of his life and work nowadays.

"Your responsibility is indeed terrifying. If you fail, it is God, thanks to your having betrayed Him, who will fail mankind. You fancy you can be responsible to God; can you carry the responsibility for God?"

(Hammarskjöld 2006: 156)

So it is fairly clear by now that Hammarskjöld’s mission as an international civil servant is to answer to God and what God wants him to do and achieve. We can for example see that the previously mentioned hegemony between Hammarskjöld’s spirit and God is still present in the entries since he writes, among other things, that he is carrying the responsibility of God in him. Directly after has was re-elected he continued on the same way, but instead of God being a nodal point he uses Jesus in this particular entry with the same link to responsibility and morality.
"Jesus’ ‘lack of moral principles.’ He sat at meat with publicans and sinners, he consorted with harlots. Did he do this to obtain their votes? Or did he think that, perhaps, he could convert them by such ‘appeasement’? Or was his humanity rich and deep enough to make contact, even in them, with that in human nature which is common to all men, indestructible, and upon which the future has to be built?"

(Hammarskjöld 2006: 157)

Even though Jesus is mentioned instead of God here, the link to obtaining votes could be a connection to the vote in the General Assembly. Aulén (1969: 79) have for example argued that when Hammarskjöld wrote about Jesus, he was referring to him following a human among other humans. However I find the change from God to Jesus quite interesting here. Since the previous theme always was his relationship to God in the entries, why change it here to Jesus? Can we actually guess that Hammarskjöld is actually referring to himself when writing Jesus? He is writing about how Jesus sat down with publicans and sinners in order to obtaining their votes. Is that perhaps Hammarskjöld sitting down with the member states in the UN in order to gain their votes for his re-election? In a way there is still a theme here that follows his previous entries on being God’s servant and acting in the way God has intended. Was Hammarskjöld, in his own interpretation, perhaps the Messiah doing God’s work just as Jesus did? At least the entry suggests this on some level, but I personally believe that this entry is more of a metaphorical than literal one. I believe that the current events occurring in Hammarskjöld’s life made him think of Jesus and his struggles as well, rather than simply addressing his own negotiations with God, which had previously been the centre of the entries. So this entry should not be mistaken as Hammarskjöld speaking about himself, it is probably more an overall reflection of the events occurring around him at the time.

I will now end my analysis with two entries that I believe to summarize both the entries made in Markings well as Hammarskjöld’s view on his career. The first was
made on the 29th of July in 1958 and it includes most of the nodal points this analysis has touched upon.

“Still a few years more, and then? The only value of a life is its content – for others. Apart from any value it may have for others, my life is worse than death. Therefore, in my great loneliness, serve others. Therefore: how incredibly great is what I have been given, and how meaningless what I have to “sacrifice”. (Hammarskjöld 2006: 166)

Hammarskjöld uses here the nodal points from the 1920s in terms of death and loneliness, which in a way completes the circle. On a theoretical level, we can now draw a parallel towards the hermeneutical methodology, and the hermeneutical circle, this thesis relies upon (Ricoeur 1981; Alvesson & Sköldberg 2008: 191-194). In order to understand the whole of Hammarskjöld life and career, we have to examine different parts of it, such as these four time periods. The different themes in these time periods combined together enable an overall interpretation to arise in which we can see that Hammarskjöld kept the existential thought from his student days with him throughout his professional career, but along the way he added the increasing battle of thought regarding his relationship to God and himself.

Hammarskjöld also talks about serving others in this entry, which could apply to both serving the people from his earlier days, or God from the later part of his career. The previous nodal point of sacrifice is also mentioned here showing that it is still a great part of his thoughts on life and work. Hammarskjöld also mentions that there is still a few more years left, and that the value of life is its content to others. This could be Hammarskjöld’s description of his new second term in office, and that the content for others could then be the world community or God, which he is serving. The sacrifice is still not completely over since his term still has a few years left.
The final entry I will analyse is one of the most famous ones in the book, namely the one Hammarskjöld made on Whitsunday in 1961 just a few months before his death. This entry brings together many of the different aspects covered in Markings and it is therefore the main reason for why I decided to label this final time period as Hammarskjöld’s final encore. It is in a way the last great performance by a man who has held a firm hold on the diplomatic community and the general public five decades after his death, mainly due to the richness and depth found in entries such as the following one.

“I don’t know Who—or what—put the question, I don’t know when it was put. I don’t even remember answering. But at some moment I did answer Yes to Someone—or Something—and from that hour I was certain that existence is meaningful and that, therefore, my life, in self-surrender, had a goal.

From that moment I have known what it means “not to look back,” and “to take no thought for the morrow.”

Led by Ariadne’s thread of my answer through the labyrinth of Life, I came to a time and place where I realized that the Way leads to a triumph which is a catastrophe, and to a catastrophe which is a triumph, that the price for committing one’s life would be reproach, and that the only elevation possible to man lies in the depths of humiliation.

After that, the word “courage” lost its meaning, since nothing could be taken from me.

As I continued along the Way, I learned, step by step, word by word, that behind every saying in the Gospels stands one man and one man’s experience. Also behind the prayer that the cup might pass from him and his promise to drink it. Also behind each of the words from the Cross.” (Hammarskjöld 2006: 205)

Even though it might not have been intended, this entry almost summarizes Hammarskjöld’s entire career. He talks about answering yes to the question, which could be accepting the assignment as Secretary General. He goes on by talking about being lead through the labyrinth of life, which could be a reconnection to his mission
from God, and acting through his command. It is also highly related to the idea behind Paul Ricoeur’s hermeneutical approach since it illustrates Hammarskjöld’s search for who he really is in relation to God and others. The labyrinth of life relates strongly to the hermeneutical circle and Hammarskjöld’s inner spiritual journey (Nelson 2007: 32-37). Hammarskjöld also brings up triumph and catastrophe, which brings resemblance to some of the previous entries focusing on victory, success and failure. He concludes by saying that behind it all stand one man and his experience, which I interpret as being him. Even though he could of course not foresee his future and the tragic ending of his life, this entry still bares an aura of looking back and remembering, almost as if you know that the end is near. The entire entry in itself bares the meaning of wanting to conclude or summarize, even though he did still have time left of his second term as the Secretary General.

In this aspect I also think that we can reconnect to the earlier discussion on hegemony (Laclau & Mouffe 2001: 7), and especially what I previously labelled as inner hegemony for Hammarskjöld. By reflecting on being lead through a labyrinth, saying yes to the question, continue on the way and understanding the Gospels it almost resembles an inner consent for how his life and work turned out. The discourse he is using here almost reflects how he has reached a point of now return. He says for example that the way lead to a triumph that was a catastrophe and vice versa. This could be the consent, in shape of an inner hegemony I am referring to. His mission might be so heavily influenced by constant conflicts and criticism, that any triumph he makes, might also be a catastrophe in another aspect. I interpret this as being an inner communication in which Hammarskjöld is still wondering on his own life and work and what the purpose of it all was, or is at the time.

This is also a perfect opportunity to reconnect again to the hermeneutical approach where the larger picture is understood by examining individual parts and vice versa (Ricoeur 1981; Alvesson & Sköldberg 2008: 191-194). By looking at Hammarskjöld’s
descriptions on how his life turned out, and how he answered yes to the big question and finally realizing through the use of the Gospels, that at the end he himself stands with his own experiences, we can see that he viewed his life as being heavily influenced by Christianity and religion, which also previous research has indicated (Van Dusen 1965; Aulén 1969; Nelson 2007; Troy 2010 and Lipsey 2011). The larger picture of his career is then that it was a service to God and that was the overarching goal of his life. His numerous entries regarding how his life might have been a sacrifice to either God, or something else, also have a bearing in this aspect since he writes about committing one’s life. The numerous entries on how his life was a sacrifice provides a bearing to this statement and when put in relation to the large amount of entries regarding his service to God, an image surfaces that would suggest that the sacrifice and service are interconnected with each other. Therefore, I see this summarizing entry as a more than appropriate way to end this analysis of Hammarskjöld’s entries in Markings and conclude the thesis in the following chapter.
4. Conclusions

4.1 Dag Hammarskjöld’s view on the international civil servant

The aim of this thesis was to examine if Dag Hammarskjöld’s entries in Markings would show how he viewed his own mission as an international civil servant. By analysing entries and speeches from four specific time periods, through the usage of concepts such as hegemony, hermeneutics and nodal points, this thesis concludes that there are clear indications that Hammarskjöld did change his view on what the role and responsibility of the civil servant was. In his earlier day in the 1920s through the early 1940s, it seems that his view on the civil servant was to mainly serve the people or the nation. That was for example the reason why he could enter into a Social Democratic government and become a minister without a portfolio or party belonging, since he was independently serving all the people of Sweden. The role of the civil servant was to act as an independent expert and be guided by his own expertise on the subject matter. It should also be mentioned that Hammarskjöld did have thoughts concerning existential issue such as life, death and God also during this period, but the material suggest that these were mainly related to his personal life, and not his professional life as a civil servant.

However, when he reached the late 1940s and especially during the years at the United Nations, the entries in Markings illustrate a shift in his own view on this role. The entries now portrays a picture in which Hammarskjöld feels that he is mainly serving God, and perhaps not the people or nation primarily. Some previous research have identified something similar when examining his own personal and spiritual development during these years, “Equally unmistakable is the fact that his deep religious commitment helped a great deal toward his striking effectiveness as Secretary General of the U.N. Hammarskjöld genuinely felt himself above the need of any self-conscious neutrality. He did not have to serve either East or West; he served God.” (Van Dusen 1965: 447). In relation to this I would like to stress the fact I do not believe in any way that Hammarskjöld meant these writings in a completely literal way. I do not believe that
he saw himself as a Messiah that was conducting God’s work in the world, something that also Aulén (1969: 4) supports. However, I do believe that his spiritual interest grew over the years and that it most likely had an affect on not just his personal life, but also his professional life. It is not possible to completely separate the personal life from the professional life, Hammarskjöld was the same person when he was engaging in tough negotiations on international conflicts, as when he was writing the entries in Markings late at night in his New York apartment. In other words, I believe that Hammarskjöld’s faith had a greater impact on his professional life in the 1950s than it did in the 1930s and 1940s, and I believe that is how we should interpret his writings on God and Jesus in Markings. It should not be mistaken for being him speaking as if he is the Son of God, instead we should interpret it as his way of describing his tasks and mission as an international civil servant. When faced in front of difficult tasks and challenges, this is where he gained his inspiration and belief to carry on and find a solution to the problem, and that is how we should interpret these particular writings.

The mission as Secretary General clearly was a great change in his life both publicly and privately, which previous research have identified “Yet, as if moved by a monumental hinge, not only his professional life but also his inner life changed upon his election as secretary-general in April 1953.” (Lipsey 2011: 94). Perhaps this was the reason for his sudden change in responsibility and service? The task of being the international conflict solver is perhaps such a difficult task that the only way Hammarskjöld could cope with it, was to turn to God? Troy (2010: 434) did for example claim that Hammarskjöld devoted his private life to God, so that he could focus his political life on the United Nations. I would perhaps argue that Hammarskjöld devoted both his private and professional life to God since the two cannot be completely separated, as previously stated in this thesis. The Hammarskjöld in his office was of course greatly influenced by the private man Hammarskjöld as well, and vice versa. What the actual reason for turning to God
was is impossible to know now, but we can at least conclude that the entries in *Markings* illustrate an indication of change in Hammarskjöld’s own views on his work and mission as an international civil servant. His influences and guidance came not just from himself and his own experiences during this time, they also came from his faith and spiritual interests. A suitable way to conclude this thesis is then to use the words of the former President of the United States of America, Jimmy Carter, who in the preface to *Markings* wrote the following, “His self-scrutiny is relentless, his standard for himself high: Always to live for others and for the glory of God, not for personal glory” (Hammarskjöld 2006: v).

### 4.2 Future research

I would also like to conclude this thesis by saying a few words on what future research on this subject could and should focus on. First I think that future studies on Hammarskjöld and his view on the international civil servant would benefit from including even more personal literature such as letters, interviews, speeches and similar in order to build an even more comprehensive picture of his view. *Markings* is of course a standard price to use, which this thesis has, and should still be used as such in future studies as well. Although, since the literature on *Markings* is becoming quite vast I believe that the need for more complementary literature becomes more and more important. This thesis has tried to do so by incorporating other speeches and statements when it has been applicable. However, in order to build a complete picture on this issue it is necessary to add even more of this secondary literature to the overall material. The use of different kinds of archives and similar could be a suitable way of adding more material on this matter, which for example Nelson (2007) did in a very exemplary way.

Another interesting aspect is also brought forward by Nelson (2007: 242-243) in which he writes that two of Hammarskjöld’s disciples in terms of applying the same view on international diplomacy and the international civil servant, is the former
Secretary General of the United Nations Kofi Annan, and the former UN High Commissioner for Human Rights, Mary Robinson. A future comparative study on how these two and Hammarskjöld viewed the role of the international civil servant could perhaps add even more to the field of peace and conflict studies, as well as to the relation between theology and diplomacy. Kofi Annan did for example publish his memoirs in 2012 (Annan 2012). In what way could this life story be compared to the entries found in Hammarskjöld’s Markings? Did the spirit of Hammarskjöld continue in these two individuals? Or have they added something new to it that Hammarskjöld did not have? These types of issues could be addressed in such a future study.

A final aspect I think that future research could direct attention to is what I have discussed as Hammarskjöld’s inner hegemony. Since the whole manuscript is in Hammarskjöld’s own words, his negotiations with God and himself, I believe that there is still more room for even more analysis on this than what has been covered by previous research. Did Hammarskjöld ever reach this phase of complete inner hegemony and consent, or was it merely a way of describing his reality at the time? This focus also bares a resemblance to my first notion for future research since an increased study of not just the entries in Markings, but also on his letters, interviews and speeches would provide material that could more completely illustrate the role of this concept in Hammarskjöld’s life and work. Since this study mainly focused on the professional man Hammarskjöld, a future study on this concept in relation to also the personal man Hammarskjöld could perhaps add a novel aspect to the vast and growing literature on the astonishing man of Dag Hammarskjöld.
5. Bibliography


