

EXCLUSIVE

The United Nations: The House that Hiss Built

FREEDOM OF INFORMATION ACT (FOIA) DOCUMENTS ON THE STATE DEPARTMENT REPORT, "THE UNITED STATES AND THE FOUNDING OF THE UNITED NATIONS, AUGUST 1941 – OCTOBER 1945."

Background: On the 60th anniversary of the founding of the United Nations, 2005, the State Department published a report, "The United States and the Founding of the United Nations, August 1941 – October 1945," about how it was established, **carefully omitting any mention of Soviet spy Alger Hiss's pivotal role.** The appropriate thing would have been to acknowledge the basic truth that communist spy and State Department official Alger Hiss laid the groundwork for the U.N. and became its first acting secretary-general, causing it to be dubbed "the house that Hiss built." Hiss also advised President Franklin Roosevelt at the Yalta conference, which defined post-World War II Europe and betrayed Eastern European nations to Soviet control.

The United Nations was not shy about acknowledging Hiss's role in the founding of the U.N. and included on its website interviews conducted with Hiss in 1990, in which he said he worked on "peace treaties" as well as the U.N. Hiss, who became director of the State Department Office of Special Political Affairs, explained that the founders of the U.N. believed in "the necessary powers that an international organization should have" and that "greater powers" and even a military staff committee were provided to the U.N. Security Council so that the world body would be able to "enforce" its will on the world.

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United States Department of State

Washington, D.C. 20520

Case No.: 200704292

Mr. Cliff Kincaid

SEP 27 2011

Dear Mr. Kincaid:

In response to your request dated July 26, 2007, under the Freedom of Information Act (Title 5 USC Section 552), we conducted a search of the records of the Bureau of Public Affairs and retrieved 68 documents responsive to your request.

After reviewing these documents, we have determined that 66 may be released in full. All released material is enclosed.

A decision on the remaining two documents requires interagency coordination: they have been referred to other government offices for further review to assist us in making a determination.

The Freedom of Information Act provides for the recovery of the direct costs of searching for and duplicating records requested for non-commercial use. No charge is made for the first two hours of search time or the first one hundred pages of duplication. Total fees due in this case are \$74.25, representing: an additional one hour and thirty-five minutes of professional search time @ \$36.00 per hour and an additional 115 pages duplicated @ \$0.15 per page (\$17.25). Please make your check or money order payable to the Treasurer of the United States, and mail it to the Office of Information Programs and Services, Room 8100, SA-2, Department of State, Washington, D.C. 20522-8100. Please be sure to write the case number on your check or money order.

We have now reviewed all of the documents retrieved in response to your request. Regarding the documents still awaiting intra-agency or interagency coordination, we will let you know when a final determination has been made. If you have any questions, you may write to the Office of Information

Programs and Services, SA-2, Department of State, Washington, DC 20522-8100, or telephone us at (202) 261-8484. Please be sure to refer to the case number shown above in all correspondence about this case.

Sincerely,



Alex Galovich

Co-Director, Acting

Office of Information Programs and Services

Enclosures:

As stated.

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THE UNITED STATES AND THE FOUNDING OF THE UNITED NATIONS,
AUGUST 1941 – OCTOBER 1945

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The United States played an essential role in the 1945 establishment of the United Nations. The United Nations grew out of a reaction to the devastation of the Second World War, and a continuing commitment to the ideals of the League of Nations, the international organization formed following the First World War that was intended to prevent the outbreak of future international conflicts. President Franklin D. Roosevelt recognized the need for a more effective international organization at the end of the Second World War, and engaged in international and domestic diplomacy to build support for creating a new organization. The U.S. role was critical in every respect: Roosevelt carefully built an international coalition to create the basis for the new organization and invited all eligible states to San Francisco for a conference on forming the United Nations. After Roosevelt's death, Truman assumed the important task of maintaining the wartime alliance and preserving support for the United Nations. He also maneuvered adroitly to sustain U.S. Congressional and public support for the step. The location of the United Nations headquarters in New York City remains a lasting symbol of the strong role the United States played in the creation of the United Nations.

Facing the bloodshed of the first "Great War," President Woodrow Wilson, and a number of other American leaders, believed that the establishment of an international forum was necessary to resolve conflicts and maintain a peaceful international order. The Versailles Treaty that ended World War I, which Wilson negotiated personally, contained a framework for a League of Nations, intended to maintain peace and stability, that Wilson hoped might help rectify some of the treaty's other flaws. However, despite Wilson's efforts to gain the support of political leaders and the American public, he was unable to convince the United States Senate to approve U.S. membership in the League, due to strong isolationist sentiment and partisan conflicts stemming in part from his failure to include any prominent Republicans in the peace negotiations. The League's opponents criticized it as a threat to American sovereignty and security. The sticking point for the most strident opponents of the League was Article X of its Charter, which committed member states to protect against external aggression the territorial integrity of all other member states, and seemed to obligate the United States to become involved in wars defending dubious, often contested, colonial boundaries. Many also argued that membership in the League could challenge the Monroe Doctrine, interfere with American immigration and tariff laws, necessitate the establishment of a standing army, and increase the power of the President to declare war, at the expense of Congress. After considering joining the League with reservations, the Senate ultimately defeated the Treaty in 1919 and in 1920, and The United States never joined the League. That organization, , despite its efforts, remained weak and unable to resolve the conflicts that arose from the aftermath of the Versailles Treaty. ((Should we expand the last sentence a little bit to outline the specific weaknesses of the LON that the UN later rectified?))

President Franklin D. Roosevelt recognized the inherent weaknesses of the League of Nations, but also saw the need for an international organization to maintain peace. ((Do we have more details on why? Coming after the list of objections above, one wonders why those are not still relevant.)) The Roosevelt Administration's efforts to shape a new postwar organization began

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even before the United States entered into the conflict, and continued apace after Pearl Harbor. These efforts included not only high-level diplomacy, but efforts to gain domestic acceptance for U.S. membership in an international organization. The first wartime meeting between British Prime Minister Winston Churchill and President Roosevelt, the Atlantic Conference held off the coast of Newfoundland in August 1941, took place before the United States had formally entered the war as a combatant. Despite its formal position of neutrality, the United States joined Britain in declaring the Atlantic Charter. This pronouncement outlined a vision for a postwar order supported, in part, by an effective international organization that would replace the struggling League of Nations. During this meeting, Roosevelt privately suggested the name of the future organization, the United Nations, to Churchill.

The governments of the United States, China, the Soviet Union, and the United Kingdom formalized the Atlantic Charter proposals in January 1942, shortly after the United States entered the war. In the Declaration of the United Nations, these major Allied nations, along with 22 other states, agreed to work together against Axis powers, and committed in principle to the establishment of the United Nations after the war.

Learning from Woodrow Wilson's failure to gain Congressional support for the League of Nations, the Roosevelt White House embarked upon a massive campaign to educate the American public and garner its support for a proposed United Nations. The State Department played a significant role in this effort, and created a Special Subcommittee on International Organization in the Advisory Committee on Postwar Planning to lobby Congress. The subcommittee reviewed past efforts at international cooperation, and by March 1943 had drafted a formal proposal to establish a new international organization ((correct as reworded?)). Secretary of State Cordell Hull took the proposal to members of Congress in an effort to build bipartisan support for the proposed postwar organization. Consultations between Congress and the Department of State continued into the summer of 1943 and by August, produced a draft United Nations Charter. Congress repeatedly passed resolutions declaring its support for United States membership in an international organization. ((NOTE: Sarah's more detailed language wasn't as clear, so I think this is fine.)) As the war drew to an end, public interest in the United Nations increased, helped by a massive education campaign by the Administration.

The major Allied Powers—the United States, Soviet Union, Great Britain, and China—reiterated their commitment to forming an international organization in the Moscow Declaration of October 30, 1943, and more concrete planning for the structure of the new organization commenced. Representatives from these four countries met at Dumbarton Oaks in Washington, DC from August 21, 1944 through October 7, 1944, and the four Allied powers issued a statement of Proposals for the Establishment of a General International Organization, largely based on the draft charter formulated by the State Department's Subcommittee on International Organization.

The basic framework for the proposed United Nations rested on President Roosevelt's vision that the United States, Great Britain, Soviet Union, and China would provide leadership in the postwar international system. It was these four states, with the addition of France, that would assume permanent seats in the otherwise rotating membership of the United Nations Security Council. At the Anglo-American Malta Conference in early 1945, the two sides agreed the

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permanent members of the Security Council would have a veto. Immediately thereafter, at the Yalta Conference, the United States, Great Britain, and the Soviet Union further agreed on veto power for the permanent members of the Security Council. This crucial decision essentially required unanimity between the five permanent members on the pressing international decisions related to international security and use of force brought before the Security Council. Churchill and Roosevelt acceded to Stalin's request that the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic and the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic be seated in the United Nations General Assembly, thus increasing Stalin's seats in that body to three. At Yalta, the three states drafted invitations to a conference to establish the United Nations in San Francisco beginning in April 1945.

After Roosevelt's death on April 12, days before the legendary San Francisco Conference was scheduled to take place, Vice-President Harry S Truman took the oath of office and immediately announced that the Conference should go forward as planned. Moved by Roosevelt's death, Stalin, who had initially planned to send Ambassador Andrei Gromyko as the Soviet representative to the San Francisco conference, announced that he would send Foreign Minister Vyacheslav Molotov as well. This news heartened American officials, who had been concerned about maintaining Soviet interest and participation in the United Nations. In an address to Congress shortly thereafter, Truman called upon Americans "regardless of party race, creed or color, to support our efforts to build a strong and lasting United Nations organization."

The San Francisco Conference, formally known as the United Nations Conference on International Organization, opened on April 25, 1945, with delegations from 50 countries present. The U.S. delegation to San Francisco included Secretary of State Edward R. Stettinius, former Secretary of State Hull, and Senators Tom Connally (D-TX) and Arthur Vandenberg (R-MI), as well as other Congressional and public representatives. One of the most contentious issues at the San Francisco Conference was the seating of Argentina, the Ukrainian and Byelorussian republics, and Poland. The vote to seat Argentina was particularly contentious because the Soviet Union was strongly opposed to Argentine membership due to its perceived support for the Axis during the war. The other Latin American states, however, would not support the Ukrainian and Byelorussian candidacies if Argentina were blocked. The United States thus had to support Argentina's membership to secure the Ukrainian and Byelorussian seats and keep the USSR invested in the United Nations. Only Polish membership was not agreed to at San Francisco; The makeup of the Polish government was a continuing source of tension between the wartime allies, and a Polish delegation was not seated (Poland did later sign the charter and is considered an original Member State.)

At San Francisco, the delegates reviewed and often rewrote the text agreed to at Dumbarton Oaks. The delegations negotiated a role for regional organizations under the United Nations umbrella, among other questions. At San Francisco, the delegates outlined the powers of the office of Secretary General, including the authority to refer conflicts to the Security Council. A mandatory World Court was also considered, but Stettinius recognized the establishment of a World Court could imperil Senate ratification. Instead, each state made its own determination about World Court membership. Other bodies were to include an Economic and Social Council, and a Trusteeship Council to assist in the process of decolonization. A General Assembly would have general membership, while other bodies would have smaller, rotating geographic representation.

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The scope of the veto power of the permanent members of the Security Council proved a more serious obstacle. The Soviet Union advocated broad use of the veto, and even saw it as a possible tool to curb discussion on conflicts involving a permanent member. Such an interpretation worried the smaller states that were already hesitant about the permanent veto. In order to gain Soviet agreement to drop such an expansive interpretation of the veto, Truman directed Roosevelt aide Harry Hopkins to travel to Moscow and negotiate with Stalin on the issue. After bilateral Soviet-American negotiations in Moscow, the Soviet Union eventually agreed to a less extensive veto power.

The San Francisco Conference closed on June 26, 1945. In a show of public support, Truman attended the final session for the signing of the United Nations Charter, and congratulated the delegates for creating a "solid structure upon which we can build for a better world." However, Truman still needed to secure Senate ratification of United States membership. Both Truman and Stettinus urged the Senate to ratify the Charter with Truman saying, "I want to see the United States do it first." In a testament to the sustained efforts to build support for the United Nations, the Charter passed in the Senate by a vote of 89 to 2 with 5 abstentions on July 28, 1945. (The U.S. ratification followed those of Nicaragua and El Salvador.) The United Nations Participation Act, legislating a permanent ambassador and delegation to the United Nations, passed in Congress on December 20, 1945.

At its first session, on February 14, 1946, the United Nations General Assembly voted to make its headquarters in New York City. In a world emerging from the overwhelming conflict of World War II, the United Nations seemed to represent a beacon of hope that such devastation would not recur. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights, adopted by the General Assembly in 1948, represented this optimism and idealism. Yet the first test for the United Nations came in June 1950 with the outbreak of war between North and South Korea. In response, the United Nations Security Council initiated military sanctions against North Korea, in an action made possible by the temporary absence of the Soviet Union over the question of Chinese representation ((correct?)). United Nations General Assembly Resolution 376 stipulated a unified, independent, and democratic government should exist on the Korean peninsula, justifying for some United Nations military action in the conflict. Other issues brought before the United Nations include Cyprus, and the Cuban Missile Crisis. As the Cold War unfolded, the Security Council became captive to opposing vetoes, leading the General Assembly to address more issues. During the Cold War, the United Nations expanded its scope to focus on economic development, famine relief, women's rights, and environmental protection, among other issues.

With the end of the Cold War, the United Nations has taken on increasing security responsibilities, negotiating peaceful resolutions to conflict and deploying peacekeeping forces around the world. In recognition of the organization's significant contributions, the United Nations and United Nations Secretary General Kofi Annan won the 2001 Nobel Peace Prize. The Norwegian Nobel Committee declared in its award citation, "Today the organization is at the forefront of efforts to achieve peace and security in the world, and of the international mobilization aimed at meeting the world's economic, social and environmental challenges...the only negotiable route to global peace and cooperation goes by way of the United Nations." PA/HO

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The United States and the United Nations, October 1945

The United States played an essential role in the 1945 establishment of the United Nations. United States President Franklin D. Roosevelt recognized the need for a more effective international organization at the end of the Second World War and he engaged in international and domestic diplomacy to build support for creating a new organization. The United States role was critical in every respect—Roosevelt carefully built an international coalition to create the basis for the new organization and invited all eligible states to San Francisco for a conference on forming the United Nations. After Roosevelt's death, Truman assumed the important task of maintaining the wartime alliance and preserving support for the United Nations. He also maneuvered adroitly to sustain United States Congressional and public support for the step. Finally, the United States is host to the United Nations in New York City—a lasting symbol of the strong role the United States played in the creation of the United Nations.

The United Nations grew out of a reaction against the devastation of the Second World War and a continuing commitment to the ideals of the League of Nations, the international organization formed following the First World War that was intended to prevent the outbreak of future international conflicts. Efforts to create the United Nations, however, were made in the context of the League's ineffectiveness in preventing the outbreak of the Second World War.

United States President Woodrow Wilson was committed to the creation of the League of Nations with strong United States involvement as he believed it was essential to preserving peace in the aftermath of the First World War. He intended the League to be a forum for resolving all international issues. Yet despite Wilson's efforts, he was not able to convince the United States Senate to approve League membership. Those who resisted American participation in the League criticized it as a threat to United States sovereignty and American security. To critics, the League Charter could have imperiled the Monroe Doctrine, interfered with American immigration and tariff laws, necessitated the establishment of a standing army, and increased the power of the president at the expense of Congress to declare war. Those who saw United States participation in the League as threatening American security argued it would deprive the United States of the opportunity to choose when and where it would go to war. Others were hesitant about Article X of the League Charter, which seemed to commit the United States to preserving existing, but unpopular borders such as those resulting from unbalanced peace treaties. Given such strong Congressional opposition, the United States never joined the League, which proved unable to maintain international peace in the 1930s.

Roosevelt recognized the need for an international organization to maintain peace once the war ended. In addition to coordinating military and economic cooperation, in their first wartime meeting in August 1941, British Prime Minister Winston Churchill and Roosevelt discussed the need to establish a new international organization more effective than the League of Nations. Roosevelt even raised the name "United Nations" with Churchill there. The term "United Nations" was first used in a public and political manner in the January 1, 1942 declaration of 26 states, including the United States, Great Britain, China, and the Soviet Union, to work together against the Tripartite Pact of Germany, Japan, and Italy.

United States strategy was to avoid Wilson's mistakes and to insure American participation in the organization by demonstrating broad Congressional and public support for postwar membership in an international organization. In an effort to prevent domestic opposition, the White House embarked upon a massive campaign to educate the public and garner their support for the United Nations, which gained considerable public interest in the final months of the war. In addition, the State Department regularly consulted with members of Congress from both parties to build support for a postwar organization. Throughout this period, Congress repeatedly passed resolutions declaring its support for United States membership in an international organization.

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The United States, Soviet Union, Great Britain, and China reiterated their commitment to forming an international organization with the Moscow Declaration of October 30, 1943.

The envisioned structure of the United Nations was rooted in Roosevelt's concept of the Four Policemen. He envisioned the United States, Great Britain, Soviet Union, and China keeping watch over the postwar world. Roosevelt shared his idea with Churchill and Soviet leader Joseph Stalin at the November 1943 Tehran Conference. These four states with the addition of France would be granted permanent membership on the United Nations Security Council. From August to October 1944, a series of talks between the United States, Great Britain, China, and the Soviet Union took place at Dumbarton Oaks in Washington, DC to negotiate the structure of the new organization. At the Anglo-American Malta Conference in early 1945, the two sides agreed the permanent members of the Security Council would have a veto. Immediately thereafter, at the Yalta Conference, the United States, Great Britain, and the Soviet Union further agreed on a veto for the permanent members of the Security Council. In addition, Churchill and Roosevelt acceded to Stalin's request that the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic and the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic be seated in the United Nations General Assembly, thus increasing Stalin's seats in that body to three. At Yalta, the three states drafted invitations to a conference to establish the United Nations in San Francisco beginning in April 1945.

Roosevelt died in Warm Springs, Georgia on April 12, 1945 and Vice President Harry S. Truman took the oath of office several hours later at the White House. Truman's first decision after assuming the presidency was that the San Francisco Conference would go forward as planned. Whereas Stalin had initially signaled his intention to send Ambassador Andrei Gromyko as the Soviet representative to the San Francisco conference, moved by Roosevelt's death, he agreed to send Foreign Minister Vyacheslav Molotov as well. Stalin's decision was well-received in Washington where American officials were concerned about maintaining Soviet interest and participation in the United Nations. In an address to Congress shortly thereafter, Truman called upon Americans "regardless of party race, creed or color, to support our efforts to build a strong and lasting United Nations organization."

The San Francisco Conference, formally the United Nations Conference on International Organization, opened on April 25, 1945. The United States delegation to San Francisco included Secretary of State Edward R. Stettinus, former Secretary of State Cordell Hull, Senator Tom Connally (D-TX), and Arthur Vandenberg (R-MI), as well as other Congressional and public representatives. One of the most contentious issues at the San Francisco Conference was the seating of Argentina, the Ukrainian and Byelorussian republics, and Poland. The vote to seat Argentina was particularly contentious as the Soviet Union was strongly opposed to Argentine membership due to its perceived support for the Axis during the war. The other Latin American states, however, would not support the Ukrainian and Byelorussian candidacies if Argentina was blocked. The United States thus had to support Argentina's membership to secure the Ukrainian and Byelorussian seats and keep the USSR invested in the United Nations. Only Polish membership was not agreed to at San Francisco as the makeup of the Polish government was a continuing source of tension between the wartime allies.

At San Francisco, the delegates reviewed and often rewrote the text agreed to at Dumbarton Oaks. The delegations negotiated a role for regional organizations under the United Nations umbrella, among other questions. At San Francisco, the delegates outlined the powers of the office of Secretary General, including the authority to refer conflicts to the Security Council. A mandatory World Court was also considered, but Stettinus recognized the establishment of a World Court could imperil Senate ratification. Instead, each state made its own determination about World Court membership. The final obstacle, however, was the scope of the Security Council veto for the five permanent members. The Soviet Union advocated the use of the veto even to curb discussion on conflicts involving a permanent member. Such an interpretation concerned smaller states already hesitant about the veto. In order to gain Soviet agreement to drop such an expansive interpretation of the veto, Truman directed Roosevelt aide Harry Hopkins to travel to Moscow and negotiate with Stalin on the issue. After the bilateral negotiations in

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Moscow, the Soviet Union eventually agreed to a less extensive power of veto. Truman attended the June 26, 1945 signing of the United Nations Charter. At the closing session, Truman told the delegates they had created a "solid structure upon which we can build for a better world."

After the close of the San Francisco Conference, Truman still needed to secure Senate ratification for United States membership. Both Truman and Stettinus urged the Senate to ratify the Charter with Truman saying, "I want to see the United States do it first." In a testament to the sustained American efforts to build support for the United Nations, the Charter passed in the Senate 89-2 with five abstentions on July 28, 1945, making the United States the third country to ratify, after Nicaragua and El Salvador. Congress approved the United Nations Participation Act, legislating a permanent ambassador and delegation to the United Nations, on December 20, 1945.

The United Nations General Assembly voted to locate its headquarters in the United States at its first session on February 14, 1946. The first test for the United Nations came in June 1950 with the outbreak of war between North and South Korea. In response, the United Nations Security Council initiated military sanctions against North Korea. In addition, United Nations Resolution 376 passed in the General Assembly stipulated a unified, independent, and democratic government should exist on the Korean peninsula, justifying for some United Nations military action in the conflict. As the Cold War unfolded, the Security Council became captive to opposing vetoes, leading the General Assembly to address more issues. During the Cold War, the United Nations expanded its scope to focus on economic development, famine relief, and environmental protection, among other issues. With the end of the Cold War, the United Nations has taken on increasing security responsibilities, negotiating peaceful resolutions to conflict and deploying peacekeeping forces around the world. In recognition of the organization's significant contributions, the United Nations and United Nations Secretary General Kofi Annan won the 2001 Nobel Peace Prize. The Norwegian Nobel Committee declared in its award citation, "Today the organization is at the forefront of efforts to achieve peace and security in the world, and of the international mobilization aimed at meeting the world's economic, social and environmental challenges...the only negotiable route to global peace and cooperation goes by way of the United Nations."

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U.S. DEPARTMENT OF STATE

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**THE UNITED STATES AND THE FOUNDING OF THE UNITED NATIONS,
AUGUST 1941 – OCTOBER 1945 ((where does this Oct date come from????))**

Introduction

The impetus to establish the United Nations stemmed in large part from the inability of its predecessor, the League of Nations, to effectively prevent the outbreak of another world war. Though the League had failed to stop serious international transgressions in the 1930s, such as Japan's invasion of Manchuria and Germany's occupation of a number of European states, many international leaders remained committed to its ideals. Once it became clear that war was again imminent, President Franklin D. Roosevelt proved his commitment to creating another international organization aimed at preserving peace and engaged in international diplomacy and domestic negotiations to build support for a United Nations concept. After Roosevelt's death, Truman also assumed the important task of maintaining support for the United Nations and working through complicated international problems, particularly with the Soviet Union, to make the founding of the new organization possible. After nearly four years of planning, the international community finally joined to create the United Nations in the spring of 1945.

The Roots of the United Nations

The concept of creating a global organization of member states dedicated to preserving international peace gained popularity during World War I. The bloodshed of the "Great War" compelled President Woodrow Wilson, and a number of other American and international leaders, to seek the creation of an international forum where conflicts could be resolved peacefully. The Treaty of Versailles that ended World War I, which Wilson negotiated on behalf of the United States, contained a framework for a League of Nations, intended to maintain peace and stability. However, despite Wilson's efforts to gain the support of political leaders and the American public, he was unable to convince the United States Senate to approve U.S. membership in the League, due to strong isolationist sentiment and partisan conflicts stemming in part from his failure to include any prominent Republicans in the peace negotiations. The League's opponents criticized it as a threat to American sovereignty and security and objected most stridently to Article X of the League Charter, which committed member states to protect against external aggression the territorial integrity of all other member states. Many American lawmakers argued that Article X seemed to obligate the United States to become involved in wars defending dubious, often contested, colonial boundaries. After considering joining the League with reservations, the Senate ultimately defeated the Treaty in 1919 and in 1920, and the United States never joined the

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League. That organization, despite its good intentions, ultimately proved weak and unable to resolve the international conflicts that arose in the 1920s and 1930s. ((SHOULD WE EXPLORE WHY?))

Proposing the United Nations Concept

President Roosevelt recognized the inherent weaknesses of the League of Nations, but faced with the reality of another world war, also saw the value of planning for the creation of an international organization to maintain peace in the post World War II era. The first wartime meeting between British Prime Minister Winston Churchill and President Roosevelt, the Atlantic Conference held off the coast of Newfoundland in August 1941, took place before the United States had formally entered the war as a combatant. Despite its formal position of neutrality, the United States joined Britain in declaring the Atlantic Charter. This pronouncement outlined a vision for a postwar order supported, in part, by an effective international organization that would replace the struggling League of Nations. During this meeting, Roosevelt privately suggested the name of the future organization, the United Nations, to Churchill.

The governments of the United States, the Soviet Union, the United Kingdom, and China formalized the Atlantic Charter proposals in January 1942, shortly after the United States entered the war. In the Declaration of the United Nations, these major Allied nations, along with 22 other states, agreed to work together against the Axis powers, and committed in principle to the establishment of the United Nations after the war.

Learning from Woodrow Wilson's failure to gain Congressional support for the League of Nations, the Roosevelt White House aimed to include a wide range of government and elected officials in its effort to establish the proposed United Nations. The State Department played a significant role in this process, and created a Special Subcommittee on International Organization in the Advisory Committee on Postwar Planning to lobby Congress. The subcommittee reviewed past efforts at international cooperation, and by March 1943 had drafted a formal proposal to establish a new, more effective international organization. Secretary of State Cordell Hull took the proposal to members of Congress in an effort to build bipartisan support for the proposed postwar organization. Consultations between Congress and the Department of State continued into the summer of 1943 and by August, produced a draft United Nations Charter. Congress repeatedly passed resolutions declaring its support for United States membership in an international organization. As the war drew to an end, public interest in the United Nations increased, helped by an education campaign sponsored by the Administration.

The major Allied Powers—the United States, Soviet Union, United Kingdom, and China—reiterated their commitment to forming an international organization in the Moscow Declaration of October 30, 1943, and more concrete international planning for the structure of the new organization commenced. Representatives from these four countries met at Dumbarton Oaks in Washington, DC from August 21, 1944 through October 7, 1944, and the four Allied powers issued a statement of Proposals for the Establishment of a General

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International Organization, largely based on the draft charter formulated by the State Department's Subcommittee on International Organization and the United States Congress.

Creating the United Nations

The basic framework for the proposed United Nations rested on President Roosevelt's vision that the United States, the Soviet Union, the United Kingdom, and China would provide leadership in the postwar international system. It was these four states, with the addition of France, that would assume permanent seats in the otherwise rotating membership of the United Nations Security Council. At the Anglo-American Malta Conference in early 1945, the two sides proposed that the permanent members of the Security Council would have a veto. Immediately thereafter, at the Yalta Conference, the United States, the Soviet Union, and the United Kingdom agreed on veto power for the permanent members of the Security Council. This crucial decision essentially required unanimity between the five permanent members on the pressing international decisions related to international security and use of force brought before the Security Council.

Churchill and Roosevelt also made an important concession to Stalin's request that the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic and the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic be seated in the United Nations General Assembly, thus increasing the Soviet Union's seats in that body to three. Stalin had originally requested seats for all the Soviet Socialist Republics, but at Yalta this request was turned down and the compromise was to allow Ukraine and Byelorussia into the United Nations. The United States originally countered Stalin's proposal with the request to allow all fifty American States into the United Nations, a suggestion that encouraged Stalin to agree to the compromise. At Yalta, the United States, the Soviet Union and China also drafted invitations to a conference beginning in April 1945 in San Francisco that would formally establish the United Nations.

After Roosevelt's death on April 12, days before the scheduled San Francisco Conference, Vice-President Harry S Truman took the oath of office and immediately announced that the Conference should go forward as planned. Moved by Roosevelt's death, Stalin, who had initially planned to send Ambassador Andrei Gromyko as the Soviet representative to the San Francisco conference, announced that he would send Foreign Minister Vyacheslav Molotov as well. This news heartened American officials, who had been concerned about maintaining Soviet interest and participation in the United Nations after a number of disagreements over the extent of Soviet influence in Eastern Europe and the fate of Germany in the postwar period. In an address to Congress shortly thereafter, Truman called upon Americans "regardless of party, race, creed or color, to support our efforts to build a strong and lasting United Nations organization."

The San Francisco Conference, formally known as the United Nations Conference on International Organization, opened on April 25, 1945, with delegations from 50 countries present. The U.S. delegation to San Francisco included Secretary of State Edward R. Stettinius, former Secretary of State Hull, and Senators Tom Connally (D-TX) and Arthur Vandenberg (R-MI), as well as other Congressional and public representatives. One of the

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most controversial issues at the San Francisco Conference was the seating of Argentina, the Ukrainian and Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republics, and Poland. The vote to seat Argentina was particularly contentious because the Soviet Union strongly opposed Argentine membership arguing that Argentina had supported the Axis during the war. The other Latin American states, however, refused to support the Ukrainian and Byelorussian candidacies if Argentina were blocked. The United States supported Argentina's membership but also defended the Ukrainian and Byelorussian seats to keep the USSR invested in the United Nations. The makeup of the Polish government was a continuing source of tension between the wartime allies, and thus a Polish delegation was not seated until after the conference.

At San Francisco, the delegates reviewed and often rewrote the text agreed to at Dumbarton Oaks. The delegations negotiated a role for regional organizations under the United Nations umbrella and outlined the powers of the office of Secretary General, including the authority to refer conflicts to the Security Council. Conference participants also considered a proposal for a mandatory World Court, but Stettinius recognized the establishment of a World Court could imperil Senate ratification. The delegates thus agreed that each state should make its own determination about World Court membership. The conference did approve the creation of an Economic and Social Council and a Trusteeship Council to assist in the process of decolonization and agreed that these councils would have rotating geographic representation.

Determining the scope of the veto power of the permanent members of the Security Council proved a more serious potential obstacle to agreement on a United Nations charter. The Soviet Union advocated broad use of the veto, and even saw it as a possible tool to curb discussion on conflicts involving a permanent member. Such an interpretation worried the smaller states that were already hesitant about the permanent veto. In order to gain Soviet agreement to modify such an expansive interpretation of the veto, Truman directed Harry Hopkins to travel to Moscow and negotiate with Stalin on the issue. After bilateral Soviet-American negotiations in Moscow, the Soviet Union eventually agreed to a less extensive veto power.

Following the resolution of most outstanding issues the San Francisco Conference closed on June 26, 1945. In a show of public support, Truman attended the final session for the signing of the United Nations Charter, and congratulated the delegates for creating a "solid structure upon which we can build for a better world." However, Truman still needed to secure Senate ratification of United States membership. Both Truman and Stettinius urged the Senate to ratify the Charter with Truman saying, "I want to see the United States do it first." In a testament to the sustained wartime efforts to build support for the United Nations, the Charter passed in the Senate by a vote of 89 to 2 with 5 abstentions on July 28, 1945. (The U.S. ratification followed those of Nicaragua and El Salvador.) The United Nations Participation Act, legislating a permanent ambassador and delegation to the United Nations, passed in Congress on December 20, 1945.

Early Challenges and Future Changes

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At its first session, on February 14, 1946, the United Nations General Assembly voted to make its permanent headquarters in New York City. In a world emerging from the overwhelming conflict of World War II, the United Nations seemed to represent hope that such devastation would not recur. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights, adopted by the General Assembly in 1948, symbolized this optimism and idealism. Yet the first true test of the United Nations' ability to prevent widespread international conflict came in June 1950 when North Korea invaded South Korea. In response, the United Nations Security Council initiated military sanctions against North Korea, an action made possible by the temporary absence of the Soviet representative who had walked out in protest of the exclusion of the new Communist China from the General Assembly and the Security Council. United Nations General Assembly Resolution 376 thus stipulated that a unified, independent, and democratic government should exist on the Korean peninsula and provided justification for some United Nations military action in the conflict.

Other issues brought before the United Nations in the early years included the Greek and Turkish dispute over Cyprus and the Cuban Missile Crisis. However, as relations between the East and the West deteriorated in the Cold War era, the Yalta decision to grant all permanent members of the Security Council veto powers frequently stymied the Security Council. This increased the profile of the General Assembly where no state enjoyed a veto. As issues pertaining to international security remained deadlocked in the Security Council, during the Cold War, the increasingly active General Assembly expanded the focus of the United Nations to include economic development, famine relief, women's rights, and environmental protection, among other issues.

With the end of the Cold War, the United Nations has taken on increasing security responsibilities, negotiated peaceful resolutions to conflict and deployed peacekeeping forces around the world. In recognition of the organization's significant contributions, the United Nations and United Nations Secretary General Kofi Annan won the 2001 Nobel Peace Prize. The Norwegian Nobel Committee declared in its award citation, "Today the organization is at the forefront of efforts to achieve peace and security in the world, and of the international mobilization aimed at meeting the world's economic, social and environmental challenges...the only negotiable route to global peace and cooperation goes by way of the United Nations."

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**THE UNITED STATES AND THE FOUNDING OF THE UNITED NATIONS,
AUGUST 1941 – OCTOBER 1945**

The impetus to establish the United Nations stemmed in large part from the inability of its predecessor, the League of Nations, to prevent the outbreak of another world war. Although the League had failed to stop serious international transgressions in the 1930s, such as Japan's invasion of Manchuria and Germany's occupation of a number of European states, many international leaders remained committed to its ideals. Once it became clear that war was again imminent, President Franklin D. Roosevelt proved his commitment to creating another international organization aimed at preserving peace and engaged in international diplomacy and domestic negotiations to build support for a United Nations concept. After Roosevelt's death, President Harry S Truman also assumed the important task of maintaining support for the United Nations and working through complicated international problems, particularly with the Soviet Union, to make the founding of the new organization possible. After nearly four years of planning, the international community finally joined to create the United Nations in the spring of 1945.

Origins of the United Nations

The concept of creating a global organization of member states dedicated to preserving international peace increased in popularity during World War I. The bloodshed of the "Great War" compelled President Woodrow Wilson, and a number of other American and international leaders, to seek the creation of an international forum in which conflicts could be resolved peacefully. The 1919 Treaty of Versailles that ended World War I, which Wilson negotiated on behalf of the United States, contained a framework for a League of Nations, intended to maintain peace and stability. However, despite Wilson's efforts to gain the support of political leaders and the American public, he was unable to convince the United States Senate to approve U.S. membership in the League, due to strong isolationist sentiment and partisan conflicts stemming in part from his failure to include any prominent Republicans in the peace negotiations. The League's opponents criticized it as a threat to American sovereignty and security, and objected most stridently to Article Ten of the League Charter, which committed member states to protect against external aggression the territorial integrity of all other member states. Many American lawmakers argued that Article Ten seemed to obligate the United States to take part in wars defending dubious, often contested, colonial boundaries. After considering joining the League with reservations, the Senate ultimately defeated the Treaty in 1919 and in 1920, and the United States never joined the League. That organization, despite its good intentions, ultimately proved weak and unable to resolve the

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international conflicts that arose in the 1920s and 1930s. ((SHOULD WE EXPLORE WHY?))

Proposing the United Nations Concept

President Roosevelt recognized the inherent weaknesses of the League of Nations, but faced with the reality of another world war, also saw the value of planning for the creation of an international organization to maintain peace in the post-World War II era. The first wartime meeting between British Prime Minister Winston Churchill and President Roosevelt, the Atlantic Conference held off the coast of Newfoundland in August 1941, took place before the United States had formally entered the war as a combatant. Despite its official position of neutrality, the United States joined Britain in declaring the Atlantic Charter. This pronouncement outlined a vision for a postwar order supported, in part, by an effective international organization that would replace the struggling League of Nations. During this meeting, Roosevelt privately suggested the name of the future organization, the United Nations, to Churchill.

The governments of the United States, the Soviet Union, the United Kingdom, and China formalized the Atlantic Charter proposals in January 1942, shortly after the United States entered the war. In the Declaration of the United Nations, these major Allied nations, along with 22 other states, agreed to work together against the Axis powers, and committed in principle to the establishment of the United Nations after the war.

Learning from Woodrow Wilson's failure to gain Congressional support for the League of Nations, the Roosevelt White House aimed to include a wide range of government and elected officials in its effort to establish the proposed United Nations. The State Department played a significant role in this process, and created a Special Subcommittee on International Organization in the Advisory Committee on Postwar Planning to lobby Congress. The subcommittee reviewed past efforts at international cooperation, and by March 1943 had drafted a formal proposal to establish a new, more effective international organization. Secretary of State Cordell Hull took the proposal to members of Congress in an effort to build bipartisan support for the proposed postwar organization. Consultations between Congress and the Department of State continued into the summer of 1943 and by August, produced a draft United Nations Charter. Congress repeatedly passed resolutions declaring its support for United States membership in an international organization.

The major Allied Powers--the United States, Soviet Union, United Kingdom, and China--reiterated their commitment to forming an international organization in the Moscow Declaration of October 30, 1943, and more concrete international planning for the structure of the new organization commenced. Representatives from these four countries met at Dumbarton Oaks in Washington, DC from August 21st through October 7th 1944, and the four Allied powers issued a statement of Proposals for the Establishment of a General International Organization, largely based on the draft charter formulated by the State Department's Subcommittee on International Organization and the United States Congress.

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Creating the United Nations

The basic framework for the proposed United Nations rested on President Roosevelt's vision that the United States, the Soviet Union, the United Kingdom, and China would provide leadership in the postwar international system. It was these four states, with the addition of France, that would assume permanent seats in the otherwise rotating membership of the United Nations Security Council. At the Anglo-American Malta Conference in early 1945, the two sides proposed that the permanent members of the Security Council would have a veto. Immediately thereafter, at the Yalta Conference, the United States, the Soviet Union, and the United Kingdom agreed on veto power for the permanent members of the Security Council. This crucial decision essentially required unanimity between the five permanent members on the pressing international decisions related to international security and use of force that would be brought before the Security Council.

Churchill and Roosevelt also made an important concession to Stalin's request that the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic and the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic be seated in the United Nations General Assembly, thus increasing the Soviet Union's seats in that body to three. Stalin had originally requested seats for all the Soviet Socialist Republics, but at Yalta this request was turned down, and the compromise was to allow Ukraine and Byelorussia into the United Nations. The United States originally countered Stalin's proposal with the request to allow all fifty American states into the United Nations, a suggestion that encouraged Stalin to agree to the compromise. At Yalta, the United States, the Soviet Union, and China also drafted invitations to a conference beginning in April 1945 in San Francisco that would formally establish the United Nations.

After Roosevelt's death on April 12, days before the scheduled San Francisco Conference, Vice-President Harry S Truman took the oath of office and immediately announced that the Conference should go forward as planned. Moved by Roosevelt's death, Stalin, who had initially planned to send Ambassador Andrei Gromyko as the Soviet representative to the San Francisco conference, announced that he would send Foreign Minister Vyacheslav Molotov as well. This news heartened American officials, who had been concerned about maintaining Soviet interest and participation in the United Nations after a number of disagreements over the extent of Soviet influence in Eastern Europe and the fate of Germany in the postwar period. In an address to Congress shortly thereafter, Truman called upon Americans "regardless of party, race, creed or color, to support our efforts to build a strong and lasting United Nations organization."

The San Francisco Conference, formally known as the United Nations Conference on International Organization, opened on April 25, 1945, with delegations from 50 countries present. The U.S. delegation to San Francisco included Secretary of State Edward R. Stettinius, former Secretary of State Hull, and Senators Tom Connally (D-TX) and Arthur Vandenberg (R-MI), as well as other Congressional and public representatives. One of the most controversial issues at the San Francisco Conference was the seating of Argentina, the Ukrainian and Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republics, and Poland. The vote to seat Argentina was particularly contentious because the Soviet Union strongly opposed Argentine

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membership arguing that Argentina had supported the Axis during the war. However, the other Latin American states refused to support the Ukrainian and Byelorussian candidacies if Argentina were blocked. The United States supported Argentina's membership but also defended the Ukrainian and Byelorussian seats to keep the Soviet Union invested in the United Nations. The makeup of the Polish government was a continuing source of tension between the wartime allies, and thus a Polish delegation was not seated until after the conference.

At San Francisco, the delegates reviewed and often rewrote the text agreed to at Dumbarton Oaks. The delegations negotiated a role for regional organizations under the United Nations umbrella and outlined the powers of the office of Secretary General, including the authority to refer conflicts to the Security Council. Conference participants also considered a proposal for a mandatory World Court, but Stettinius recognized that the establishment of a World Court could imperil Senate ratification. The delegates thus agreed that each state should make its own determination about World Court membership. The conference did approve the creation of an Economic and Social Council and a Trusteeship Council to assist in the process of decolonization and agreed that these councils would have rotating geographic representation.

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Early Challenges and Future Changes

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At its first session, on February 14, 1946, the United Nations General Assembly voted to make its permanent headquarters in New York City. In a world emerging from the overwhelming conflict of World War II, the United Nations seemed to represent hope that such devastation would not recur. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights, adopted by the General Assembly in 1948, symbolized this optimism and idealism. Yet the first true test of the United Nations' ability to prevent widespread international conflict came in June 1950, when North Korea invaded South Korea. In response, the United Nations Security Council initiated military sanctions against North Korea, an action made possible by the temporary absence of the Soviet representative who had walked out in protest of the exclusion of the new Communist China from the General Assembly and the Security Council. This allowed the Security Council to assist South Korea in repelling its attackers and maintaining its territorial integrity.

Other issues brought before the United Nations in the early years included the Greek and Turkish dispute over Cyprus and the Cuban Missile Crisis. However, as relations between the East and the West deteriorated in the Cold War era, the Yalta decision to grant all permanent members of the Security Council veto powers frequently stymied the Security Council. This increased the profile of the General Assembly where no state enjoyed a veto. As issues pertaining to international security remained deadlocked in the Security Council, during the Cold War, the increasingly active General Assembly expanded the focus of the United Nations to include economic development, famine relief, women's rights, and environmental protection, among other issues.

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THE UNITED STATES AND THE FOUNDING OF THE UNITED NATIONS, AUGUST 1941 – OCTOBER 1945

The impetus to establish the United Nations stemmed in large part from the inability of its predecessor, the League of Nations, to prevent the outbreak of the Second World War (I ASSUME THIS IS WHAT YOU MEAN BY "ANOTHER WORLD WAR")~~another world war~~. Although the League had failed to stop other serious international transgressions in the 1930s, such as Japan's invasion of Manchuria and Germany's occupation of a number of European states, many international leaders remained committed to its ideals. Once it became clear that war was again imminent, President Franklin D. Roosevelt proved his commitment to creating another international organization aimed at preserving peace and engaged in international diplomacy and domestic negotiations to build support for a United Nations concept. After Roosevelt's death, President Harry S Truman also assumed the important task of maintaining support for the United Nations and working through complicated international problems, particularly with the Soviet Union, to make the founding of the new organization possible. After nearly four years of planning, the international community established ~~finally joined to create~~ the United Nations in the spring of 1945.

Origins of the United Nations

The concept of creating a global organization of member states dedicated to preserving international peace increased in popularity during World War I. The bloodshed of the "Great War" compelled President Woodrow Wilson, and a number of other American and international leaders, to seek the creation of an international forum in which conflicts could be resolved peacefully. The 1919 Treaty of Versailles that ended World War I, which Wilson negotiated on behalf of the United States, contained a framework for a League of Nations, intended to maintain peace and stability. However, despite Wilson's efforts to gain the support of political leaders and the American public, he was unable to convince the United States Senate to approve U.S. membership in the League, due to strong isolationist sentiment and partisan conflicts stemming in part from his failure to include any prominent Republicans in the peace negotiations. The League's opponents criticized it as a threat to American sovereignty and security, and objected most stridently to Article Ten of the League Charter, which committed member states to protect against external aggression the territorial integrity of all other member states. Many American lawmakers argued that Article Ten seemed to obligate the United States to take part in wars defending dubious, often contested, colonial boundaries. After considering joining the League with reservations, the Senate ultimately

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succeeded in preventing ~~defeated the Treaty in 1919 and in 1920,~~ and the United States from ~~never joining~~ the League. That organization, despite its good intentions, ultimately proved weak and unable to resolve the international conflicts that arose in the 1920s and 1930s.

Proposing the United Nations Concept

President Roosevelt recognized the inherent weaknesses of the League of Nations, but faced with the reality of another world war, also saw the value of planning for the creation of an international organization to maintain peace in the post-World War II era. The first wartime meeting between British Prime Minister Winston Churchill and President Roosevelt, the Atlantic Conference held off the coast of Newfoundland in August 1941, took place before the United States had formally entered the war as a combatant. Despite its official position of neutrality, the United States joined Britain in issuing a joint declaration that became known as ~~declaring~~ the Atlantic Charter. This pronouncement outlined a vision for a postwar order supported, in part, by an effective international organization that would replace the struggling League of Nations. During this meeting, Roosevelt privately suggested to Churchill the name of the future organization: the United Nations, ~~to Churchill~~.

The governments of the United States, the Soviet Union, the United Kingdom, and China formalized the Atlantic Charter proposals in [January 1942]?, shortly after the United States entered the war thereby explicitly endorsing the establishment of a new international organization to maintain the peace. In the (Joint) Declaration of the United Nations [I AM CONFUSED. I THOUGHT THE ATLANTIC CHARTER OF AUGUST 14, 1941 WAS A JOINT DECLARATION OF THE UNITED STATES AND THE BRITS AND THAT THE (JOINT) UN DECLARATION OF JANUARY 1, 1942, WAS THE DOCUMENT ENDORSED BY 26 NATIONS THAT WERE FIGHTING THE AXIS POWERS, INCLUDING THE SOVIET UNION AND CHINA. AM I MISTAKEN? IF NOT, YOU MAY WANT TO CLARIFY THE PRECEDING SENTENCES], these major Allied nations, along with 22 other states, agreed to work together against the Axis powers, and committed in principle to the establishment of the United Nations after the war.

Learning from Woodrow Wilson's failure to gain Congressional support for the League of Nations, the Roosevelt Administration ~~White House~~ [PRESUMABLY THE STATE DEPARTMENT/ HULL SHARED THIS AIM] aimed to include a wide range of government and elected officials in its effort to establish the proposed United Nations. The State Department played a significant role in this process, and created a Special Subcommittee on International Organization in the Advisory Committee on Postwar Planning to lobby Congress. The subcommittee reviewed past efforts at international cooperation, and by March 1943 had drafted a formal proposal to establish a new, more effective international organization. Secretary of State Cordell Hull took the proposal to members of Congress in an effort to build bipartisan support for the proposed postwar organization. Consultations between Congress and the Department of State continued into the summer of 1943 and, by August, produced a draft United Nations Charter. Congress thereafter ~~repeatedly~~ passed resolutions declaring its support for the establishment of an international organization [THIS

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WOULD BE THE CONNALLY RESOLUTION] and (??) United States membership in ~~an~~that international organization.

The major Allied Powers--the United States, Soviet Union, United Kingdom, and China--reiterated their commitment to forming an international organization in the Moscow Declaration of October 30, 1943, and more concrete international planning for the structure of the new organization commenced. Representatives from these four countries met at Dumbarton Oaks in Washington, DC, from August 21st through October 7th 1944, and the four Allied powers issued a statement of Proposals for the Establishment of a General International Organization, largely based on the draft charter formulated by the State Department's Subcommittee on International Organization and the United States Congress.

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The basic framework for the proposed United Nations rested on President Roosevelt's vision that the United States, the Soviet Union, the United Kingdom, and China would provide leadership in the postwar international system. It was these four states, with the addition of France, that would assume permanent seats in the otherwise rotating membership of the United Nations Security Council. At the Anglo-American Malta Conference in early 1945, the two sides proposed that the permanent members of the Security Council would have a veto. Immediately thereafter, at the Yalta Conference, the United States, the Soviet Union, and the United Kingdom agreed on veto power for the permanent members of the Security Council. This crucial decision essentially required unanimity between the five permanent members on the pressing international decisions related to international security and use of force that would be brought before the Security Council.

Churchill and Roosevelt also made an important concession to Stalin's request that the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic and the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic be seated in the United Nations General Assembly, thus increasing the Soviet Union's seats in that body to three. Stalin had originally requested seats for all sixteen~~the~~ Soviet Socialist Republics, but at Yalta this request was turned down, and the compromise was to allow Ukraine and Byelorussia into the United Nations. The United States originally countered Stalin's proposal with the request to allow all fifty American states into the United Nations, a suggestion that encouraged Stalin to agree to the compromise. At Yalta, the United States, the Soviet Union, and [China??] **[[MY UNDERSTANDING IS THAT CHINA WAS NOT AT YALTA AND THAT THE INVITATIONS TO THE CONFERENCE WERE ISSUED BY THE UNITED STATES IN THE NAME OF CHINA, FRANCE, U.K., USSR AND THE US. IS THAT CORRECT?]]** also drafted invitations to a conference beginning in April 1945 in San Francisco that would formally establish the United Nations.

After Roosevelt's death on April 12, 1945, days before the scheduled San Francisco Conference, Vice-President Harry S Truman took the oath of office and immediately announced that the Conference should go forward as planned. Moved by Roosevelt's death, Stalin, who had initially planned to send Ambassador Andrei Gromyko as the Soviet representative to the San Francisco conference, announced that he would send Foreign

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Early Challenges and Future Changes

At its first session, on February 14, 1946, the United Nations General Assembly voted to establish ~~to make its~~ permanent headquarters in New York City. In a world emerging from the overwhelming conflict of World War II, the United Nations seemed to represent hope that such devastation would not recur. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights, adopted by the General Assembly in 1948, symbolized this optimism and idealism. Yet the first true test of the United Nations' ability to prevent widespread international conflict came in June 1950, when North Korea invaded South Korea. In response, the United Nations Security Council initiated military sanctions against North Korea, an action made possible by the ~~temporary~~ absence of the Soviet representative who had walked out in protest against the Council's refusal ~~of the exclusion of the~~ ~~to state~~ representatives of ~~new~~ Communist China ~~from the General Assembly and the Security Council~~. This allowed the Security Council to assist South Korea in repelling its attackers and maintaining its territorial integrity.

Other issues brought before the United Nations in the early years included the Greek and Turkish dispute over Cyprus and the Cuban Missile Crisis. However, as relations between the East and the West deteriorated in the Cold War era, the Yalta decision to grant all permanent members of the Security Council veto powers frequently stymied the Security Council. This increased the profile of the General Assembly where no state enjoyed a veto. As issues pertaining to international security remained deadlocked in the Security Council, during the Cold War, the increasingly active General Assembly expanded the focus of the United Nations to include economic development, famine relief, women's rights, and environmental protection, among other issues.

With the end of the Cold War, the United Nations has taken on increasing security responsibilities, negotiated peaceful resolutions to conflict, and deployed peacekeeping forces around the world. In recognition of the organization's significant contributions, the United

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**THE UNITED STATES AND THE FOUNDING OF THE UNITED NATIONS,
AUGUST 1941 – OCTOBER 1945**

Introduction

The impetus to establish the United Nations stemmed in large part from the inability of its predecessor, the League of Nations, to effectively prevent the outbreak of another world war. Though the League had failed to stop serious international transgressions, such as Japan's invasion of Manchuria and Germany's occupation of an increasing number of European states, international leaders remained committed to its ideals. The United States played a leading role in securing the establishment of a United Nations in 1945. President Franklin D. Roosevelt recognized the need for establishing a more effective international organization at the end of the Second World War and engaged in international and domestic diplomacy during the war to build support for a United Nations concept. Roosevelt worked hard to build an international coalition to create the basis for the new organization. After Roosevelt's death, Truman assumed the important task of maintaining the shaky wartime alliance with the Soviet Union and preserving support for the United Nations. Truman also took measures to sustain U.S. Congressional and public interest in an international organization.

The Roots of the United Nations

The concept of creating a global organization of member states dedicated to preserving international peace gained popularity during World War I. The bloodshed of the "Great War" compelled President Woodrow Wilson, and a number of other American and international leaders to seek the creation of an international forum where conflicts could be resolved peacefully. The Treaty of Versailles that ended World War I, which Wilson negotiated on behalf of the United States, contained a framework for a League of Nations, intended to maintain peace and stability. However, despite Wilson's efforts to gain the support of political leaders and the American public, he was unable to convince the United States Senate to approve U.S. membership in the League, due to strong isolationist sentiment and partisan conflicts stemming in part from his failure to include any prominent Republicans in the peace negotiations. The League's opponents criticized it as a threat to American sovereignty and security and objected most stridently to Article X of the League Charter, which committed member states to protect against external aggression the territorial integrity of all other member states. Many members of Congress argued that Article X seemed to obligate the United States to become involved in wars defending dubious, often contested, colonial boundaries. After considering joining the League with reservations, the Senate

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ultimately defeated the Treaty in 1919 and in 1920, and the United States never joined the League. That organization, despite its good intentions, ultimately proved weak and unable to resolve the international conflicts that arose in the 1920s and 1930s.

Proposing the United Nations Concept

President Roosevelt recognized the inherent weaknesses of the League of Nations, but faced with the reality of another world war, also saw the value of planning for another international organization to maintain peace in the post World War II era. The first wartime meeting between British Prime Minister Winston Churchill and President Roosevelt, the Atlantic Conference held off the coast of Newfoundland in August 1941, took place before the United States had formally entered the war as a combatant. Despite its formal position of neutrality, the United States joined Britain in declaring the Atlantic Charter. This pronouncement outlined a vision for a postwar order supported, in part, by an effective international organization that would replace the struggling League of Nations. During this meeting, Roosevelt privately suggested the name of the future organization, the United Nations, to Churchill.

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Learning from Woodrow Wilson's failure to gain Congressional support for the League of Nations, the Roosevelt White House aimed to include a wide range of government and elected officials in its effort to establish the proposed United Nations. The State Department played a significant role in this process, and created a Special Subcommittee on International Organization in the Advisory Committee on Postwar Planning to lobby Congress. The subcommittee reviewed past efforts at international cooperation, and by March 1943 had drafted a formal proposal to establish a new, more effective international organization. Secretary of State Cordell Hull took the proposal to members of Congress in an effort to build bipartisan support for the proposed postwar organization. Consultations between Congress and the Department of State continued into the summer of 1943 and by August, produced a draft United Nations Charter. Congress repeatedly passed resolutions declaring its support for United States membership in an international organization. As the war drew to an end, public interest in the United Nations increased, helped by an education campaign sponsored by the Administration.

The major Allied Powers—the United States, Soviet Union, United Kingdom, and China—reiterated their commitment to forming an international organization in the Moscow Declaration of October 30, 1943, and more concrete international planning for the structure of the new organization commenced. Representatives from these four countries met at Dumbarton Oaks in Washington, DC from August 21, 1944 through October 7, 1944, and the four Allied powers issued a statement of Proposals for the Establishment of a General

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Creating the United Nations

The basic framework for the proposed United Nations rested on President Roosevelt's vision that the United States, the Soviet Union, the United Kingdom, and China would provide leadership in the postwar international system. It was these four states, with the addition of France, that would assume permanent seats in the otherwise rotating membership of the United Nations Security Council. At the Anglo-American Malta Conference in early 1945, the two sides proposed that the permanent members of the Security Council would have a veto. Immediately thereafter, at the Yalta Conference, the United States, the Soviet Union, and the United Kingdom agreed on veto power for the permanent members of the Security Council. This crucial decision essentially required unanimity between the five permanent members on the pressing international decisions related to international security and use of force brought before the Security Council.

Churchill and Roosevelt also made an important concession to Stalin's request that the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic and the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic be seated in the United Nations General Assembly, thus increasing the Soviet Union's seats in that body to three. Stalin had originally requested seats for all the Soviet Socialist Republics, but at Yalta this request was turned down and the compromise was to allow Ukraine and Byelorussia into the United Nations. The United States originally countered Stalin's proposal with the request to allow all fifty American States into the United Nations, a suggestion that encouraged Stalin to agree to the compromise. At Yalta, the United States, the Soviet Union and China also drafted invitations to a conference beginning in April 1945 in San Francisco that would formally establish the United Nations.

After Roosevelt's death on April 12, days before the scheduled San Francisco Conference, Vice-President Harry S Truman took the oath of office and immediately announced that the Conference should go forward as planned. Moved by Roosevelt's death, Stalin, who had initially planned to send Ambassador Andrei Gromyko as the Soviet representative to the San Francisco conference, announced that he would send Foreign Minister Vyacheslav Molotov as well. This news heartened American officials, who had been concerned about maintaining Soviet interest and participation in the United Nations after a number of disagreements over the extent of Soviet influence Eastern Europe and the fate of Germany in the postwar period. In an address to Congress shortly thereafter, Truman called upon Americans "regardless of party, race, creed or color, to support our efforts to build a strong and lasting United Nations organization."

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The scope of the veto power of the permanent members of the Security Council proved a more serious obstacle. The Soviet Union advocated broad use of the veto, and even saw it as a possible tool to curb discussion on conflicts involving a permanent member. Such an interpretation worried the smaller states that were already hesitant about the permanent veto. In order to gain Soviet agreement to drop such an expansive interpretation of the veto, Truman directed Harry Hopkins to travel to Moscow and negotiate with Stalin on the issue. After bilateral Soviet-American negotiations in Moscow, the Soviet Union eventually agreed to a less extensive veto power.

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Early Challenges and Future Changes

At its first session, on February 14, 1946, the United Nations General Assembly voted to make its permanent headquarters in New York City. In a world emerging from the

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overwhelming conflict of World War II, the United Nations seemed to represent hope that such devastation would not recur. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights, adopted by the General Assembly in 1948, symbolized this optimism and idealism. Yet the first true test of the United Nations' ability to prevent widespread international conflict came in June 1950 when North Korea invaded South Korea. In response, the United Nations Security Council initiated military sanctions against North Korea, an action made possible by the temporary absence of the Soviet representative who had walked out in protest of the exclusion of the new Communist China from the General Assembly and the Security Council. United Nations General Assembly Resolution 376 stipulated a unified, independent, and democratic government should exist on the Korean peninsula, and provided justification some United Nations military action in the conflict.

Other issues brought before the United Nations in the early years included the Greek and Turkish dispute over Cyprus and the Cuban Missile Crisis. However, as relations between the East and the West deteriorated in the Cold War era, the Yalta decision to grant all permanent members of the Security Council veto powers frequently stymied the Security Council. This increased the profile of the General Assembly where no state enjoyed a veto. As issues pertaining to international security remained deadlocked in the Security Council, during the Cold War, the increasingly active General Assembly served to expand the scope of the United Nations to focus on economic development, famine relief, women's rights, and environmental protection, among other issues.

With the end of the Cold War, the United Nations has taken on increasing security responsibilities, negotiated peaceful resolutions to conflict and deployed peacekeeping forces around the world. In recognition of the organization's significant contributions, the United Nations and United Nations Secretary General Kofi Annan won the 2001 Nobel Peace Prize. The Norwegian Nobel Committee declared in its award citation, "Today the organization is at the forefront of efforts to achieve peace and security in the world, and of the international mobilization aimed at meeting the world's economic, social and environmental challenges...the only negotiable route to global peace and cooperation goes by way of the United Nations."

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U.S. DEPARTMENT OF STATE

**THE UNITED STATES AND THE FOUNDING OF THE UNITED NATIONS,
AUGUST 1941 – OCTOBER 1945**

The impetus to establish the United Nations stemmed in large part from the inability of its predecessor, the League of Nations, to prevent the outbreak of another world war. Although the League had failed to stop serious international transgressions in the 1930s, such as Japan's invasion of Manchuria and Germany's occupation of a number of European states, many international leaders remained committed to its ideals. Once it became clear that war was again imminent, President Franklin D. Roosevelt proved his commitment to creating another international organization aimed at preserving peace and engaged in international diplomacy and domestic negotiations to build support for a United Nations concept. After Roosevelt's death, President Harry S Truman also assumed the important task of maintaining support for the United Nations and working through complicated international problems, particularly with the Soviet Union, to make the founding of the new organization possible. After nearly four years of planning, the international community finally joined to create the United Nations in the spring of 1945.

Origins of the United Nations

The concept of creating a global organization of member states dedicated to preserving international peace increased in popularity during World War I. The bloodshed of the "Great War" compelled President Woodrow Wilson, and a number of other American and international leaders, to seek the creation of an international forum in which conflicts could be resolved peacefully. The 1919 Treaty of Versailles that ended World War I, which Wilson negotiated on behalf of the United States, contained a framework for a League of Nations, intended to maintain peace and stability. However, despite Wilson's efforts to gain the support of political leaders and the American public, he was unable to convince the United States Senate to approve U.S. membership in the League, due to strong isolationist sentiment and partisan conflicts stemming in part from his failure to include any prominent Republicans in the peace negotiations. The League's opponents criticized it as a threat to American sovereignty and security, and objected most stridently to Article Ten of the League Charter, which committed member states to protect against external aggression the territorial integrity of all other member states. Many American lawmakers argued that Article Ten seemed to obligate the United States to take part in wars defending dubious, often contested, colonial boundaries. After considering joining the League with reservations, the Senate ultimately defeated the Treaty in 1919 and in 1920, and the United States never joined the League. That

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President Roosevelt recognized the inherent weaknesses of the League of Nations, but faced with the reality of another world war, also saw the value of planning for the creation of an international organization to maintain peace in the post-World War II era. The first wartime meeting between British Prime Minister Winston Churchill and President Roosevelt, the Atlantic Conference held off the coast of Newfoundland in August 1941, took place before the United States had formally entered the war as a combatant. Despite its official position of neutrality, the United States joined Britain in declaring the Atlantic Charter. This pronouncement outlined a vision for a postwar order supported, in part, by an effective international organization that would replace the struggling League of Nations. During this meeting, Roosevelt privately suggested the name of the future organization, the United Nations, to Churchill.

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At its first session, on February 14, 1946, the United Nations General Assembly voted to make its permanent headquarters in New York City. In a world emerging from the overwhelming conflict of World War II, the United Nations seemed to represent hope that such devastation would not recur. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights, adopted by the General Assembly in 1948, symbolized this optimism and idealism. Yet the first true test of the United Nations' ability to prevent widespread international conflict came in June 1950, when North Korea invaded South Korea. In response, the United Nations Security Council initiated military sanctions against North Korea, an action made possible by the temporary absence of the Soviet representative who had walked out in protest of the exclusion of the new Communist China from the General Assembly and the Security Council. This allowed the Security Council to assist South Korea in repelling its attackers and maintaining its territorial integrity.

Other issues brought before the United Nations in the early years included the Greek and Turkish dispute over Cyprus and the Cuban Missile Crisis. However, as relations between the East and the West deteriorated in the Cold War era, the Yalta decision to grant all permanent members of the Security Council veto powers frequently stymied the Security Council. This increased the profile of the General Assembly where no state enjoyed a veto. As issues pertaining to international security remained deadlocked in the Security Council, during the Cold War, the increasingly active General Assembly expanded the focus of the United Nations to include economic development, famine relief, women's rights, and environmental protection, among other issues.

With the end of the Cold War, the United Nations has taken on increasing security responsibilities, negotiated peaceful resolutions to conflict, and deployed peacekeeping forces around the world. In recognition of the organization's significant contributions, the United Nations and United Nations Secretary General Kofi Annan won the 2001 Nobel Peace Prize. The Norwegian Nobel Committee declared in its award citation, "Today the organization is at the forefront of efforts to achieve peace and security in the world, and of the international mobilization aimed at meeting the world's economic, social and environmental challenges...the only negotiable route to global peace and cooperation goes by way of the United Nations."

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AUGUST 1941 – OCTOBER 1945**

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Origins of the United Nations

The concept of creating a global organization of member states dedicated to preserving international peace increased in popularity during World War I. The bloodshed of the "Great War" compelled President Woodrow Wilson, and a number of other American and international leaders, to seek the creation of an international forum in which conflicts could be resolved peacefully. The 1919 Treaty of Versailles that ended World War I, which Wilson negotiated on behalf of the United States, contained a framework for a League of Nations, intended to maintain peace and stability. However, despite Wilson's efforts to gain the support of political leaders and the American public, he was unable to convince the United States Senate to approve U.S. membership in the League, due to strong isolationist sentiment and partisan conflicts stemming in part from his failure to include any prominent Republicans in the peace negotiations. The League's opponents criticized it as a threat to American sovereignty and security, and objected most stridently to Article Ten of the League Charter, which committed member states to protect against external aggression the territorial integrity of all other member states. Many American lawmakers argued that Article Ten seemed to obligate the United States to take part in wars defending dubious, often contested, colonial boundaries. After considering joining the League with reservations, the Senate ultimately defeated the Treaty in 1919 and in 1920, and the United States never joined the League. The

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At San Francisco, the delegates reviewed and often rewrote the text agreed to at Dumbarton Oaks. The delegations negotiated a role for regional organizations under the United Nations umbrella and outlined the powers of the office of Secretary General, including the authority to refer conflicts to the Security Council. Conference participants also considered a proposal for a mandatory World Court, but Stettinius recognized that the establishment of a World Court could imperil Senate ratification. The delegates thus agreed that each state should make its own determination about World Court membership. The conference did approve the creation of an Economic and Social Council and a Trusteeship Council to assist in the process of decolonization and agreed that these councils would have rotating geographic representation.

Determining the scope of the veto power of the permanent members of the Security Council proved a more serious potential obstacle to agreement on a United Nations charter. The Soviet Union advocated broad use of the veto, and even saw it as a possible tool to curb discussion on conflicts involving a permanent member. Such an interpretation worried the smaller states that were already hesitant about the permanent veto. In order to gain Soviet agreement to modify such an expansive interpretation of the veto, Truman directed Harry Hopkins to travel to Moscow and negotiate with Stalin on the issue. After bilateral Soviet-American negotiations in Moscow, the Soviet Union eventually agreed to a less extensive veto power.

Following the resolution of most outstanding issues the San Francisco Conference closed on June 26, 1945. In a show of public support, Truman attended the final session for the signing of the United Nations Charter, and congratulated the delegates for creating a "solid structure upon which we can build a better world." However, Truman still needed to secure Senate ratification of United States membership. Both Truman and Stettinius urged the Senate to ratify the Charter; Truman said, "I want to see the United States do it first." In a testament to the sustained wartime efforts to build support for the United Nations, the Charter passed in the Senate by a vote of 89 to 2 with 5 abstentions on July 28, 1945. (The U.S. ratification followed that of Nicaragua and El Salvador.) The United Nations officially came into existence October 24, 1945 after the United States, the Soviet Union, the United Kingdom, China, and France, as well as a majority of the other signatories, had ratified the United Nations Charter.

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absence of the United States weakened the League, which was also hindered in its efforts to resolve disputes by the widespread economic crises of the 1930s, its inability to compel states to abide by its decisions, and its requirement that many decisions, including those involving a response to aggression, be decided unanimously. The fact that member states involved in a dispute were granted a seat on the League's Council, thereby allowing them to prevent a unanimous action, meant that the League eventually resorted to expelling aggressor states such as Japan and Italy, with little effect. ~~That organization, despite its good intentions, ultimately proved weak and unable to resolve the international conflicts that arose in the 1920s and 1930s. ((SARAH: SHOULD WE EXPLORE WHY?))~~

Proposing the United Nations Concept

President Roosevelt recognized the inherent weaknesses of the League of Nations, but faced with the reality of another world war, also saw the value of planning for the creation of an international organization to maintain peace in the post-World War II era. He felt that this time, the United States needed to play a leading role both in the creation of the organization, and the organization itself. The first wartime meeting between British Prime Minister Winston Churchill and President Roosevelt, the Atlantic Conference held off the coast of Newfoundland in August 1941, took place before the United States had formally entered the war as a combatant. Despite its official position of neutrality, the United States joined Britain in declaring the Atlantic Charter. This pronouncement outlined a vision for a postwar order supported, in part, by an effective international organization that would replace the struggling League of Nations. During this meeting, Roosevelt privately suggested the name of the future organization, the United Nations, to Churchill.

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The State Department undertook a public relations campaign to build support for the United Nations. As part of that effort, the Department printed over 200,000 copies of the Dumbarton Oaks proposal and an informative, eight-page guide to the draft United Nations Charter. The Department worked in concert with interested groups to inform the public about the United Nations and even dispatched officials around the country to answer questions on the proposed organization. By the end of the effort, the State Department had coordinated almost five hundred such meetings.

Creation of the United Nations

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Determining the scope of the veto power of the permanent members of the Security Council proved a more serious potential obstacle to agreement on a United Nations charter. The Soviet Union advocated broad use of the veto, and even saw it as a possible tool to curb discussion on conflicts involving a permanent member. Such an interpretation worried the smaller states that were already hesitant about the permanent veto. In order to gain Soviet agreement to modify such an expansive interpretation of the veto, Truman directed Harry

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Hopkins to travel to Moscow and negotiate with Stalin on the issue. After bilateral Soviet-American negotiations in Moscow, the Soviet Union eventually agreed to a less extensive veto power. While the permanent members retained veto power, the Security Council would not require a unanimous vote to act, and its decisions would be enforceable ((check this with L for wording—I wanted to say “would have the force of law” but we have to be careful.))

Following the resolution of most outstanding issues the San Francisco Conference closed on June 26, 1945. In a show of public support, Truman attended the final session for the signing of the United Nations Charter, and congratulated the delegates for creating a “solid structure upon which we can build a better world.” However, Truman still needed to secure Senate ratification of United States membership. Both Truman and Stettinius urged the Senate to ratify the Charter; Truman said, “I want to see the United States do it first.” In a testament to the sustained wartime efforts to build support for the United Nations, the Charter passed in the Senate by a vote of 89 to 2 with 5 abstentions on July 28, 1945. (The U.S. ratification followed that of Nicaragua and El Salvador.) The United Nations officially came into existence October 24, 1945 after the United States, the Soviet Union, the United Kingdom, China, and France, as well as a majority of the other signatories, had ratified the United Nations Charter.

Early Challenges and Future Changes

At its first session, on February 14, 1946, the United Nations General Assembly voted to make its permanent headquarters in New York City. In a world emerging from the overwhelming conflict of World War II, the United Nations seemed to represent hope that such devastation would not recur. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights, adopted by the General Assembly in 1948, symbolized this optimism and idealism. Yet the first true test of the United Nations’ ability to prevent widespread international conflict came in June 1950, when North Korea invaded South Korea. In response, the United Nations Security Council initiated military sanctions against North Korea, an action made possible by the temporary absence of the Soviet representative who had walked out in protest of the exclusion of the new Communist China from the General Assembly and the Security Council. This allowed the Security Council to assist South Korea in repelling its attackers and maintaining its territorial integrity.

Other issues brought before the United Nations in the early years included the Greek and Turkish dispute over Cyprus and the Cuban Missile Crisis. However, as relations between the East and the West deteriorated in the Cold War era, the Yalta decision to grant all permanent members of the Security Council veto powers frequently stymied the Security Council. This increased the profile of the General Assembly where no state enjoyed a veto. As issues pertaining to international security remained deadlocked in the Security Council, during the Cold War, the increasingly active General Assembly expanded the focus of the United Nations to include economic development, famine relief, women’s rights, and environmental protection, among other issues.

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With the end of the Cold War, the United Nations has taken on increasing security responsibilities, negotiated peaceful resolutions to conflict, and deployed peacekeeping forces around the world. In recognition of the organization's significant contributions, the United Nations and United Nations Secretary General Kofi Annan won the 2001 Nobel Peace Prize. The Norwegian Nobel Committee declared in its award citation, "Today the organization is at the forefront of efforts to achieve peace and security in the world, and of the international mobilization aimed at meeting the world's economic, social and environmental challenges...the only negotiable route to global peace and cooperation goes by way of the United Nations."

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U.S. DEPARTMENT OF STATE

**THE UNITED STATES AND THE FOUNDING OF THE UNITED NATIONS,
AUGUST 1941 – OCTOBER 1945**

The impetus to establish the United Nations stemmed in large part from the inability of its predecessor, the League of Nations, to prevent the outbreak of the Second World War. Although the League had failed to stop other serious international transgressions in the 1930s, such as Japan's invasion of Manchuria, despite Germany's occupation of a number of European states, many international leaders remained committed to its ideals. Once World War II began, President Franklin D. Roosevelt determined that U.S. leadership was essential for the creation of another international organization aimed at preserving peace, and his administration engaged in international diplomacy in pursuit of that goal. He also worked ~~and domestic negotiations~~ to build domestic support for a United Nations concept. After Roosevelt's death, President Harry S Truman also assumed the important task of maintaining support for the United Nations and worked through complicated international problems, particularly with the Soviet Union, to make the founding of the new organization possible. After nearly four years of planning, the international community finally established the United Nations in the spring of 1945.

Origins of the United Nations

The concept of creating a global organization of member states dedicated to preserving international peace through collective security increased in popularity during World War I. The bloodshed of the "Great War" persuaded President Woodrow Wilson, and a number of other American and international leaders, to seek the creation of an international forum in which conflicts could be resolved peacefully. The 1919 Treaty of Versailles that ended World War I, which Wilson negotiated on behalf of the United States, contained a framework for a League of Nations, intended to maintain peace and stability. However, despite Wilson's efforts to gain the domestic support of political leaders and the American public, he was unable to convince the United States Senate to approve U.S. membership in the League. This was due to strong isolationist sentiment and partisan conflicts, stemming in part from his failure to include any prominent Republicans in the peace negotiations. The League's opponents criticized it as a threat to American sovereignty and security, and objected most stridently to Article Ten of the League Charter, which committed member states to protect the territorial integrity of all other member states against external aggression. Many American lawmakers argued that Article Ten might obligate the United States to take part in wars in defense of dubious, often contested, colonial boundaries. After considering

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joining the League with reservations, the Senate ultimately succeeded in preventing the United States from joining the League. The absence of the United States weakened the League, which was also hindered in its efforts to resolve disputes by the widespread economic crises of the 1930s, its inability to compel states to abide by its decisions, and its requirement that many decisions--including those involving a response to aggression--be decided unanimously. The fact that member states involved in a dispute were granted a seat on the League's Council, thereby allowing them to prevent unanimous action, meant that the League eventually resorted to expelling aggressor states such as Japan and Italy, with little effect. ~~That organization, despite its good intentions, ultimately proved weak and unable to resolve the international conflicts that arose in the 1920s and 1930s. ((SARAH: SHOULD WE EXPLORE WHY?))~~

Proposing the United Nations Concept

President Roosevelt recognized the inherent weaknesses of the League of Nations, but faced with the reality of another world war, also saw the value of planning for the creation of an international organization to maintain peace in the post-World War II era. He felt that this time, the United States needed to play a leading role both in the creation of the organization, and in the organization itself. Moreover, in contrast to the League, the new organization needed the power to enforce key decisions. The first wartime meeting between British Prime Minister Winston Churchill and President Roosevelt, the Atlantic Conference held off the coast of Newfoundland in August 1941, took place before the United States had formally entered the war as a combatant. Despite its official position of neutrality, the United States joined Britain in issuing a joint declaration that became known as the Atlantic Charter. This pronouncement outlined a vision for a postwar order supported, in part, by an effective international organization that would replace the struggling League of Nations. During this meeting, Roosevelt privately suggested to Churchill the name of the future organization: the United Nations.

The governments of the United States, the Soviet Union, the United Kingdom, and China formalized the Atlantic Charter proposals in January 1942, shortly after the United States entered the war. In the Declaration of the United Nations, these major Allied nations, along with 22 other states, agreed to work together against the Axis powers (Germany, Japan, and Italy), and committed in principle to the establishment of the United Nations after the war.

Learning from Woodrow Wilson's failure to gain Congressional support for the League of Nations, the Roosevelt Administration aimed to include a wide range of administration and elected officials in its effort to establish the proposed United Nations. The State Department played a significant role in this process, and created a Special Subcommittee on International Organization in the Advisory Committee on Postwar Planning to lobby Congress. The subcommittee reviewed past efforts at international cooperation, and by March 1943 had drafted a formal proposal to establish a new, more effective international organization. Secretary of State Cordell Hull took the proposal to members of Congress in an effort to build bipartisan support for the proposed postwar organization. Consultations between Congress

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and the Department of State continued into the summer of 1943 and by August, produced a draft United Nations Charter. Congress repeatedly passed resolutions declaring its support for the establishment of an international organization—and for United States membership in that organization.

The major Allied Powers--the United States, the Soviet Union, the United Kingdom, and China--reiterated their commitment to forming an international organization in the Moscow Declaration of October 30, 1943, and more concrete international planning for the structure of the new organization commenced. Representatives from these four countries met at Dumbarton Oaks in Washington, DC, from August 21st through October 7,th 1944, and the four Allied powers issued a statement of Proposals for the Establishment of a General International Organization, largely based on the draft charter formulated by the State Department's Subcommittee on International Organization, in consultation with the U.S. Congress.

The Department of State undertook a public relations campaign to build support for the United Nations. As part of that effort, the Department printed over 200,000 copies of the Dumbarton Oaks proposal and an informative, eight-page guide to the draft United Nations Charter. The Department worked in concert with interested groups to inform the public about the United Nations and even dispatched officials around the country to answer questions on the proposed organization. By the end of the effort, the Department of State had coordinated almost 500 such meetings.

Creation of the United Nations

The basic framework for the proposed United Nations rested on President Roosevelt's vision that the United States, the Soviet Union, the United Kingdom, and China would provide leadership in the postwar international system. It was these four states, with the addition of France, that would assume permanent seats in the otherwise rotating membership of the United Nations Security Council. At the Anglo-American Malta Conference in early 1945, the two sides proposed that the permanent members of the Security Council would have a veto. Immediately thereafter, at the Yalta Conference, the United States, the Soviet Union, and the United Kingdom agreed on veto power for the permanent members of the Security Council. This crucial decision essentially required unanimity between the five permanent members on the pressing international decisions related to international security and use of force that would be brought before the Security Council.

Churchill and Roosevelt also made an important concession to Soviet leader Josef Stalin's request that the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic and the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic be seated in the United Nations General Assembly, thus increasing the Soviet Union's seats in that body to three. Stalin had originally requested seats for all the Soviet Socialist Republics, but at Yalta this request was turned down, and the compromise was to allow Ukraine and Byelorussia into the United Nations. The United States originally had countered Stalin's proposal with the request to allow all fifty American states into the

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United Nations, a suggestion that encouraged Stalin to agree to the compromise. At Yalta, the United States, the Soviet Union, and the United Kingdom also drafted invitations to a conference beginning in April 1945 in San Francisco that would formally establish the United Nations.

After Roosevelt's death on April 12, 1945, days before the scheduled San Francisco Conference, Vice-President Harry S Truman took the oath of office and immediately announced that the Conference should go forward as planned. Moved by Roosevelt's death, Stalin, who had initially planned to send Ambassador Andrei Gromyko as the Soviet representative to the San Francisco conference, announced that he would send Foreign Minister Vyacheslav Molotov as well. This news heartened American officials, who had been concerned about maintaining Soviet interest and participation in the United Nations after a number of disagreements over the extent of Soviet influence in Eastern Europe and the fate of Germany in the postwar period. In an address to Congress shortly thereafter, Truman called upon Americans "regardless of party, race, creed or color, to support our efforts to build a strong and lasting United Nations organization."

The San Francisco Conference, formally known as the United Nations Conference on International Organization, opened on April 25, 1945, with delegations from fifty countries present. The U.S. delegation to San Francisco included Secretary of State Edward R. Stettinius, Jr., former Secretary of State Hull, and Senators Tom Connally (D-Texas) and Arthur Vandenberg (R-Michigan), as well as other Congressional and public representatives. Among the controversial issues at the San Francisco Conference was the seating of Argentina, the Ukrainian and Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republics, and Poland. The vote to seat Argentina was particularly contentious because the Soviet Union strongly opposed Argentine membership arguing that Argentina had supported the Axis during the war. However, the other Latin American states refused to support the Ukrainian and Byelorussian candidacies if Argentina were blocked. The United States supported Argentina's membership but also defended the Ukrainian and Byelorussian seats in order to maintain the Soviet Union's participation in the United Nations. The makeup of the Polish government was a continuing source of tension between the wartime allies, and thus a Polish delegation was not seated until after the conference.

At San Francisco, the delegates reviewed and often rewrote the text agreed to at Dumbarton Oaks. The delegations negotiated a role for regional organizations under the United Nations umbrella and outlined the powers of the office of Secretary General, including the authority to refer conflicts to the Security Council. Conference participants also considered a proposal for a compulsory jurisdiction for a World Court, but Stettinius recognized that such an outcome could imperil Senate ratification. The delegates thus agreed that each state should make its own determination about World Court membership. The conference did approve the creation of an Economic and Social Council and a Trusteeship Council to assist in the process of decolonization, and agreed that these councils would have rotating geographic representation. The United Nations Charter also gave the United Nations broader jurisdiction over issues that were "essentially within" the domestic jurisdiction of

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states, such as human rights, than the League of Nations had, and broadened its scope on economic and technological issues.

Determining the extent of the veto power of the permanent members of the Security Council proved a more serious potential obstacle to agreement on a United Nations charter. The Soviet Union advocated broad use of the veto, viewing it as a possible tool to curb discussion on conflicts involving a permanent member. Such an interpretation worried the smaller states, which were already hesitant about the permanent veto. In order to gain Soviet agreement to modify such an expansive interpretation of the veto, Truman directed Harry Hopkins, who had many wartime discussions with Stalin, to travel to Moscow and negotiate with the Soviet leader on the issue. After bilateral Soviet-American negotiations in Moscow, the Soviet Union eventually agreed to a less extensive veto power. While the permanent members retained veto power, the Security Council would not require a unanimous vote to act, and its decisions would be enforceable.

Following the resolution of most outstanding issues the San Francisco Conference closed on June 26, 1945. In a show of public support, Truman attended the final session for the signing of the United Nations Charter, and congratulated the delegates for creating a "solid structure upon which we can build a better world." However, Truman still needed to secure Senate ratification of the Charter. Both he and Stettinius urged the Senate to give its advice and consent to ratification; Truman said, "I want to see the United States do it first." In a testament to the sustained wartime efforts to build support for the United Nations, the Charter was approved in the Senate, on July 28, 1945, by a vote of 89 to 2, with 5 abstentions. (The U.S. ratification followed that of Nicaragua and El Salvador.) The United Nations officially came into existence on October 24, 1945, after the United States, the Soviet Union, the United Kingdom, China, and France, as well as a majority of the other signatories, had ratified the United Nations Charter.

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At its first session, on February 14, 1946, the United Nations General Assembly voted to establish its permanent headquarters in New York City. In a world emerging from the overwhelming conflict of World War II, the United Nations seemed to represent hope that such devastation would not recur. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights, adopted by the General Assembly in 1948, symbolized this optimism and idealism. Yet the first true test of the United Nations' ability to prevent widespread international conflict came in June 1950, when North Korea invaded South Korea. In response, the United Nations Security Council initiated military sanctions against North Korea, an action made possible by the absence of the Soviet representative, who had walked out in protest against the Council's refusal to seat representatives of Communist China. This allowed the Security Council to assist South Korea in repelling its attackers and maintaining its territorial integrity.

Other issues brought before the United Nations in its early years included the Greek and Turkish dispute over Cyprus and the Cuban Missile Crisis. However, as relations

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between the East and the West deteriorated in the Cold War era, the Yalta decision to grant all permanent members of the Security Council veto power frequently stymied the Security Council. This increased the profile of the General Assembly, where no state enjoyed a veto. As issues pertaining to international security remained deadlocked in the Security Council during the Cold War, the increasingly active General Assembly expanded the focus of the United Nations to include economic development, famine relief, women's rights, and environmental protection, among other issues.

With the end of the Cold War, the United Nations has taken on increasing security responsibilities, negotiated peaceful resolutions to conflict, and deployed peacekeeping forces around the world. In recognition of the organization's significant contributions, the United Nations and United Nations Secretary General Kofi Annan were awarded the 2001 Nobel Peace Prize. The Norwegian Nobel Committee declared in its award citation, "Today the organization is at the forefront of efforts to achieve peace and security in the world, and of the international mobilization aimed at meeting the world's economic, social and environmental challenges...the only negotiable route to global peace and cooperation goes by way of the United Nations."

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THE UNITED STATES AND THE FOUNDING OF THE UNITED NATIONS, AUGUST 1941 – OCTOBER 1945

The impetus to establish the United Nations stemmed in large part from the inability of its predecessor, the League of Nations, to prevent the outbreak of another world war. Although the League had failed to stop serious international transgressions in the 1930s, such as Japan's invasion of Manchuria and Germany's occupation of a number of European states, many international leaders remained committed to its ideals. Once it became clear that war was again imminent, President Franklin D. Roosevelt proved his commitment to creating another international organization aimed at preserving peace and engaged in international diplomacy and domestic negotiations to build support for a United Nations concept. After Roosevelt's death, President Harry S. Truman also assumed the important task of maintaining support for the United Nations and working through complicated international problems, particularly with the Soviet Union, to make the founding of the new organization possible. After nearly four years of planning, the international community finally joined to create the United Nations in the spring of 1945.

Origins of the United Nations

The concept of creating a global organization of member states dedicated to preserving international peace increased in popularity during World War I. The bloodshed of the "Great War" compelled President Woodrow Wilson, and a number of other American and international leaders, to seek the creation of an international forum in which conflicts could be resolved peacefully. The 1919 Treaty of Versailles that ended World War I, which Wilson negotiated on behalf of the United States, contained a framework for a League of Nations, which he intended to maintain peace and stability. However, despite Wilson's efforts to gain the support of political leaders and the American public, he was unable to convince the United States Senate to approve U.S. membership in the League, due to strong isolationist sentiment and partisan conflicts stemming in part from his failure to include any prominent Republicans in the peace negotiations. The League's opponents criticized it as a threat to American sovereignty and security, and objected most stridently to Article Ten of the League Charter, which committed member states to protect the territorial integrity of all other member states against external aggression ~~the territorial integrity of all other member states~~. Many American lawmakers argued that Article Ten seemed to obligate the United States to take part in wars defending dubious, often contested, colonial boundaries. After considering joining the League with reservations, the Senate ultimately defeated the Treaty in 1919 and in 1920;

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and the United States never joined the League. That organization, despite its good intentions, ultimately proved weak and unable to resolve the international conflicts that arose in the 1920s and 1930s. ((SARAH: SHOULD WE EXPLORE WHY?)) The structural weakness of the League of Nations combined with the United States decision to forego League membership left the organization ill-equipped to address the expansionist aims of states such as Japan, Germany, and Italy in the 1930s. The League was a slow, plodding organization with no mechanism to enforce its decisions. The structure and power of the United Nations Security Council were clear efforts to avoid the problems that plagued the League.

Proposing the United Nations Concept

President Roosevelt recognized the inherent weaknesses of the League of Nations, but faced with the reality of another world war, also saw the value of planning for the creation of an international organization to maintain peace in the post-World War II era. The first wartime meeting between British Prime Minister Winston Churchill and President Roosevelt, the Atlantic Conference held off the coast of Newfoundland in August 1941, took place before the United States had formally entered the war as a combatant. Despite its official position of neutrality, the United States joined Britain in declaring the Atlantic Charter. This pronouncement outlined a vision for a postwar order supported, in part, by an effective international organization that would replace the struggling (perhaps a stronger word here—ineffective?) League of Nations. During this meeting, Roosevelt privately suggested the name of the future organization, the United Nations, to Churchill.

The governments of the United States, the Soviet Union, the United Kingdom, and China formalized the Atlantic Charter proposals in January 1942, shortly after the United States entered the war. In the Declaration of the United Nations, these major Allied nations, along with 22 other states, agreed to work together against the Axis powers, and committed in principle to the establishment of the United Nations after the war.

Learning from Woodrow Wilson's failure to gain Congressional support for the League of Nations, the Roosevelt White House aimed to include a wide range of government and elected officials in its effort to establish the proposed United Nations. The State Department played a significant role in this process, and created a Special Subcommittee on International Organization in the Advisory Committee on Postwar Planning to lobby Congress. The subcommittee reviewed past efforts at international cooperation, and by March 1943 had drafted a formal proposal to establish a new, more effective international organization. Secretary of State Cordell Hull took the proposal to members of Congress in an effort to build bipartisan support for the proposed postwar organization. Consultations between Congress and the Department of State continued into the summer of 1943 and by August, produced a draft United Nations Charter. Congress repeatedly passed resolutions declaring its support for United States membership in an international organization.

The major Allied Powers--the United States, Soviet Union, United Kingdom, and China--reiterated their commitment to forming an international organization in the Moscow Declaration of October 30, 1943, and more concrete international planning for the structure of

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Creation of the United Nations

The basic framework for the proposed United Nations rested on President Roosevelt's vision that the United States, the Soviet Union, the United Kingdom, and China would provide leadership in the postwar international system. It was these four states, with the addition of France, that would assume permanent seats in the otherwise rotating membership of the United Nations Security Council. At the Anglo-American Malta Conference in early 1945, the two sides proposed that the permanent members of the Security Council would have a veto. Immediately thereafter, at the Yalta Conference, the United States, the Soviet Union, and the United Kingdom agreed on veto power for the permanent members of the Security Council. This crucial decision essentially required unanimity between the five permanent members on the pressing international decisions related to international security and use of force that would be brought before the Security Council.

Churchill and Roosevelt also made an important concession to Stalin's request that the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic and the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic be seated in the United Nations General Assembly, thus increasing the Soviet Union's seats in that body to three. Stalin had originally requested seats for all the Soviet Socialist Republics, but at Yalta this request was turned down, and the compromise was to allow Ukraine and Byelorussia into the United Nations. The United States originally countered Stalin's proposal with the request to allow all fifty American states into the United Nations, a suggestion that encouraged Stalin to agree to the compromise. At Yalta, the United States, the Soviet Union, and China also drafted invitations to a conference beginning in April 1945 in San Francisco that would formally establish the United Nations.

After Roosevelt's death on April 12, 1945, days before the scheduled San Francisco Conference, Vice-President Harry S. Truman took the oath of office and immediately announced that the Conference should go forward as planned. Moved by Roosevelt's death, Stalin, who had initially planned to send Ambassador Andrei Gromyko as the Soviet representative to the San Francisco conference, announced that he would send Foreign Minister Vyacheslav Molotov as well. This news heartened American officials, who had been concerned about maintaining Soviet interest and participation in the United Nations after a number of disagreements over the extent of Soviet influence in Eastern Europe and the fate of Germany in the postwar period. In an address to Congress shortly thereafter, Truman called upon Americans "regardless of party, race, creed or color, to support our efforts to build a strong and lasting United Nations organization."

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Determining the scope of the veto power of the permanent members of the Security Council proved a more serious potential obstacle to agreement on a United Nations charter. The Soviet Union advocated broad use of the veto, and even saw it as a possible tool to curb discussion on conflicts involving a permanent member. Such an interpretation worried the smaller states that were already hesitant about the permanent veto. In order to gain Soviet agreement to modify such an expansive interpretation of the veto, Truman directed Harry Hopkins to travel to Moscow and negotiate with Stalin on the issue. After bilateral Soviet-American negotiations in Moscow, the Soviet Union eventually agreed to a less extensive veto power.

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U.S. DEPARTMENT OF STATE

**THE UNITED STATES AND THE FOUNDING OF THE UNITED NATIONS,
AUGUST 1941 – OCTOBER 1945**

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Origins of the United Nations

The concept of creating a global organization of member states dedicated to preserving international peace through collective security increased in popularity during World War I. The bloodshed of the "Great War" compelled President Woodrow Wilson, and a number of other American and international leaders, to seek the creation of an international forum in which conflicts could be resolved peacefully. The 1919 Treaty of Versailles that ended World War I, which Wilson negotiated on behalf of the United States, contained a framework for a League of Nations, intended to maintain peace and stability. However, despite Wilson's efforts to gain the domestic support of political leaders and the American public, he was unable to convince the United States Senate to approve U.S. membership in the League, due to strong isolationist sentiment and partisan conflicts stemming in part from his failure to include any prominent Republicans in the peace negotiations. The League's opponents criticized it as a threat to American sovereignty and security, and objected most stridently to Article Ten of the League Charter, which committed member states to protect against external aggression the territorial integrity of all other member states. Many American lawmakers argued that Article Ten might obligate the United States to take part in wars defending dubious, often contested, colonial boundaries. After considering joining the League with reservations, the Senate ultimately defeated the Treaty in 1919 and in 1920, and

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the United States never joined the League. The absence of the United States weakened the League, which was also hindered in its efforts to resolve disputes by the widespread economic crises of the 1930s, its inability to compel states to abide by its decisions, and its requirement that many decisions, including those involving a response to aggression, be decided unanimously. The fact that member states involved in a dispute were granted a seat on the League's Council, thereby allowing them to prevent a unanimous action, meant that the League eventually resorted to expelling aggressor states such as Japan and Italy, with little effect. That organization, despite its good intentions, ultimately proved weak and unable to resolve the international conflicts that arose in the 1920s and 1930s. ((SARAH: SHOULD WE EXPLORE WHY?))

Proposing the United Nations Concept

President Roosevelt recognized the inherent weaknesses of the League of Nations, but faced with the reality of another world war, also saw the value of planning for the creation of an international organization to maintain peace in the post-World War II era. He felt that this time, the United States needed to play a leading role both in the creation of the organization, and the organization itself. The first wartime meeting between British Prime Minister Winston Churchill and President Roosevelt, the Atlantic Conference held off the coast of Newfoundland in August 1941, took place before the United States had formally entered the war as a combatant. Despite its official position of neutrality, the United States joined Britain in declaring the Atlantic Charter. This pronouncement outlined a vision for a postwar order supported, in part, by an effective international organization that would replace the struggling League of Nations. During this meeting, Roosevelt privately suggested the name of the future organization, the United Nations, to Churchill.

The governments of the United States, the Soviet Union, the United Kingdom, and China formalized the Atlantic Charter proposals in January 1942, shortly after the United States entered the war. In the Declaration of the United Nations, these major Allied nations, along with 22 other states, agreed to work together against the Axis powers (Germany, Japan, and Italy), and committed in principle to the establishment of the United Nations after the war.

Learning from Woodrow Wilson's failure to gain Congressional support for the League of Nations, the Roosevelt White House aimed to include a wide range of administration and elected officials in its effort to establish the proposed United Nations. The State Department played a significant role in this process, and created a Special Subcommittee on International Organization in the Advisory Committee on Postwar Planning to lobby Congress. The subcommittee reviewed past efforts at international cooperation, and by March 1943 had drafted a formal proposal to establish a new, more effective international organization. Secretary of State Cordell Hull took the proposal to members of Congress in an effort to build bipartisan support for the proposed postwar organization. Consultations between Congress and the Department of State continued into the summer of 1943, and by August, produced a draft United Nations Charter. Congress repeatedly passed resolutions declaring its support for United States membership in an international organization.

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The major Allied Powers--the United States, Soviet Union, United Kingdom, and China--reiterated their commitment to forming an international organization in the Moscow Declaration of October 30, 1943, and more concrete international planning for the structure of the new organization commenced. Representatives from these four countries met at Dumbarton Oaks in Washington, DC, from August 21st through October 7,th 1944, and the four Allied powers issued a statement of Proposals for the Establishment of a General International Organization, largely based on the draft charter formulated by the State Department's Subcommittee on International Organization and the United States Congress.

The Department of State undertook a public relations campaign to build support for the United Nations. As part of that effort, the Department printed over 200,000 copies of the Dumbarton Oaks proposal and an informative, eight-page guide to the draft United Nations Charter. The Department worked in concert with interested groups to inform the public about the United Nations and even dispatched officials around the country to answer questions on the proposed organization. By the end of the effort, the Department of State had coordinated almost 500 such meetings.

Creation of the United Nations

The basic framework for the proposed United Nations rested on President Roosevelt's vision that the United States, the Soviet Union, the United Kingdom, and China would provide leadership in the postwar international system. It was these four states, with the addition of France, that would assume permanent seats in the otherwise rotating membership of the United Nations Security Council. At the Anglo-American Malta Conference in early 1945, the two sides proposed that the permanent members of the Security Council would have a veto. Immediately thereafter, at the Yalta Conference, the United States, the Soviet Union, and the United Kingdom agreed on veto power for the permanent members of the Security Council. This crucial decision essentially required unanimity between the five permanent members on the pressing international decisions related to international security and use of force that would be brought before the Security Council.

Churchill and Roosevelt also made an important concession to Soviet leader Josef Stalin's request that the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic and the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic be seated in the United Nations General Assembly, thus increasing the Soviet Union's seats in that body to three. Stalin had originally requested seats for all the Soviet Socialist Republics, but at Yalta this request was turned down, and the compromise was to allow Ukraine and Byelorussia into the United Nations. The United States originally had countered Stalin's proposal with the request to allow all fifty American states into the United Nations, a suggestion that encouraged Stalin to agree to the compromise. At Yalta, the United States, the Soviet Union, and China also drafted invitations to a conference beginning in April 1945 in San Francisco that would formally establish the United Nations.

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After Roosevelt's death on April 12, 1945, days before the scheduled San Francisco Conference, Vice President Harry S Truman took the oath of office and immediately announced that the Conference should go forward as planned. Moved by Roosevelt's death, Stalin, who had initially planned to send Ambassador Andrei Gromyko as the Soviet representative to the San Francisco conference, announced that he would send Foreign Minister Vyacheslav Molotov as well. This news heartened American officials, who had been concerned about maintaining Soviet interest and participation in the United Nations after a number of disagreements over the extent of Soviet influence in Eastern Europe and the fate of Germany in the postwar period. In an address to Congress shortly thereafter, Truman called upon Americans "regardless of party, race, creed or color, to support our efforts to build a strong and lasting United Nations organization."

The San Francisco Conference, formally known as the United Nations Conference on International Organization, opened on April 25, 1945, with delegations from 50 countries present. The U.S. delegation to San Francisco included Secretary of State Edward R. Stettinius, former Secretary of State Hull, and Senators Tom Connally (D-Texas) and Arthur Vandenberg (R-Michigan), as well as other Congressional and public representatives. One of the most controversial issues at the San Francisco Conference was the seating of Argentina, the Ukrainian and Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republics, and Poland. The vote to seat Argentina was particularly contentious because the Soviet Union strongly opposed Argentine membership arguing that Argentina had supported the Axis during the war. However, the other Latin American states refused to support the Ukrainian and Byelorussian candidacies if Argentina were blocked. The United States supported Argentina's membership but also defended the Ukrainian and Byelorussian seats to maintain the Soviet Union's participation in the United Nations. The makeup of the Polish government was a continuing source of tension between the wartime allies, and thus a Polish delegation was not seated until after the conference.

At San Francisco, the delegates reviewed and often rewrote the text agreed to at Dumbarton Oaks. The delegations negotiated a role for regional organizations under the United Nations umbrella and outlined the powers of the office of Secretary General, including the authority to refer conflicts to the Security Council. Conference participants also considered a proposal for a mandatory World Court, but Stettinius recognized that the establishment of a World Court could imperil Senate ratification. The delegates thus agreed that each state should make its own determination about World Court membership. The conference did approve the creation of an Economic and Social Council and a Trusteeship Council to assist in the process of decolonization, and agreed that these councils would have rotating geographic representation. The United Nations Charter also gave the United Nations broader jurisdiction over issues that were "essentially within" the domestic jurisdiction of states, such as human rights, than the League of Nations had, and broadened its scope on economic and technological issues.

Determining the extent of the veto power of the permanent members of the Security Council proved a more serious potential obstacle to agreement on a United Nations charter. The Soviet Union advocated broad use of the veto, viewing it as a possible tool to curb

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discussion on conflicts involving a permanent member. Such an interpretation worried the smaller states that were already hesitant about the permanent veto. In order to gain Soviet agreement to modify such an expansive interpretation of the veto, Truman directed Harry Hopkins, who had close wartime discussions with Stalin, to travel to Moscow and negotiate with the Soviet leader on the issue. After bilateral Soviet-American negotiations in Moscow, the Soviet Union eventually agreed to a less extensive veto power. While the permanent members retained veto power, the Security Council would not require a unanimous vote to act, and its decisions would be enforceable.

Following the resolution of most outstanding issues, the San Francisco Conference closed on June 26, 1945. In a show of public support, Truman attended the final session for the signing of the United Nations Charter, and congratulated the delegates for creating a "solid structure upon which we can build a better world." However, Truman still needed to secure Senate ratification of United States membership. Both he and Stettinius urged the Senate to ratify the Charter; Truman said, "I want to see the United States do it first." In a testament to the sustained wartime efforts to build support for the United Nations, the Charter passed in the Senate by a vote of 89 to 2 with 5 abstentions on July 28, 1945. (The U.S. ratification followed that of Nicaragua and El Salvador.) The United Nations officially came into existence October 24, 1945 after the United States, the Soviet Union, the United Kingdom, China, and France, as well as a majority of the other signatories, had ratified the United Nations Charter.

Early Challenges and Future Changes

At its first session, on February 14, 1946, the United Nations General Assembly voted to make its permanent headquarters in New York City. In a world emerging from the overwhelming conflict of World War II, the United Nations seemed to represent hope that such devastation would not recur. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights, adopted by the General Assembly in 1948, symbolized this optimism and idealism. Yet the first true test of the United Nations' ability to prevent widespread international conflict came in June 1950, when North Korea invaded South Korea. In response, the United Nations Security Council initiated military sanctions against North Korea, an action made possible by the temporary absence of the Soviet representative who had walked out in protest of the exclusion of the new Communist China from the General Assembly and the Security Council. This allowed the Security Council to assist South Korea in repelling its attackers and maintaining its territorial integrity.

Other issues brought before the United Nations in the early years included the Greek and Turkish dispute over Cyprus and the Cuban Missile Crisis. However, as relations between the East and the West deteriorated in the Cold War era, the Yalta decision to grant all permanent members of the Security Council veto powers frequently stymied the Security Council. This increased the profile of the General Assembly where no state enjoyed a veto. As issues pertaining to international security remained deadlocked in the Security Council, during the Cold War, the increasingly active General Assembly expanded the focus of the

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United Nations to include economic development, famine relief, women's rights, and environmental protection, among other issues.

With the end of the Cold War, the United Nations has taken on increasing security responsibilities, negotiated peaceful resolutions to conflict, and deployed peacekeeping forces around the world. In recognition of the organization's significant contributions, the United Nations and United Nations Secretary General Kofi Annan won the 2001 Nobel Peace Prize. The Norwegian Nobel Committee declared in its award citation, "Today the organization is at the forefront of efforts to achieve peace and security in the world, and of the international mobilization aimed at meeting the world's economic, social and environmental challenges...the only negotiable route to global peace and cooperation goes by way of the United Nations."

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U.S. DEPARTMENT OF STATE

**THE UNITED STATES AND THE FOUNDING OF THE UNITED NATIONS,
AUGUST 1941 – OCTOBER 1945**

The impetus to establish the United Nations stemmed in large part from the inability of its predecessor, the League of Nations, to prevent the outbreak of the Second World War. Despite Germany's occupation of a number of European states, and the League's failure to stop other serious international transgressions in the 1930s, such as Japan's invasion of Manchuria, many international leaders remained committed to its ideals. Once World War II began, President Franklin D. Roosevelt determined that U.S. leadership was essential for the creation of another international organization aimed at preserving peace, and his administration engaged in international diplomacy in pursuit of that goal. He also worked ~~and domestic negotiations~~ to build domestic support for a United Nations concept. After Roosevelt's death, President Harry S Truman also assumed the important task of maintaining support for the United Nations and worked through complicated international problems, particularly with the Soviet Union, to make the founding of the new organization possible. After nearly four years of planning, the international community finally established the United Nations in the spring of 1945.

Origins of the United Nations

The concept of creating a global organization of member states dedicated to preserving international peace through collective security increased in popularity during World War I. The bloodshed of the "Great War" persuaded President Woodrow Wilson, and a number of other American and international leaders, to seek the creation of an international forum in which conflicts could be resolved peacefully. The 1919 Treaty of Versailles that ended World War I, which Wilson negotiated on behalf of the United States, contained a framework for a League of Nations, intended to maintain peace and stability. However, despite Wilson's efforts to gain the domestic support of political leaders and the American public, he was unable to convince the United States Senate to approve U.S. membership in the League. This was due to strong isolationist sentiment and partisan conflicts, stemming in part from his failure to include any prominent Republicans in the peace negotiations. The League's opponents criticized it as a threat to American sovereignty and security, and objected most stridently to Article Ten of the League Charter, which committed member states to protect the territorial integrity of all other member states against external aggression. Many American lawmakers argued that Article Ten might obligate the United States to take part in wars in defense of dubious, often contested, colonial boundaries. After considering joining the League with reservations, the Senate ultimately succeeded in preventing the United States from joining the League. The absence of the United States weakened the League, which was also hindered in its efforts to resolve disputes by the widespread economic crises of the 1930s, its inability to compel states to abide by its

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decisions, and its requirement that many decisions--including those involving a response to aggression--be decided unanimously. The fact that member states involved in a dispute were granted a seat on the League's Council, thereby allowing them to prevent unanimous action, meant that the League eventually resorted to expelling aggressor states such as Japan and Italy, with little effect. ~~That organization, despite its good intentions, ultimately proved weak and unable to resolve the international conflicts that arose in the 1920s and 1930s. ((SARAH: SHOULD WE EXPLORE WHY?))~~

Proposing the United Nations Concept

President Roosevelt recognized the inherent weaknesses of the League of Nations, but faced with the reality of another world war, also saw the value of planning for the creation of an international organization to maintain peace in the post-World War II era. He felt that this time, the United States needed to play a leading role both in the creation of the organization, and in the organization itself. Moreover, in contrast to the League, the new organization needed the power to enforce key decisions. The first wartime meeting between British Prime Minister Winston Churchill and President Roosevelt, the Atlantic Conference held off the coast of Newfoundland in August 1941, took place before the United States had formally entered the war as a combatant. Despite its official position of neutrality, the United States joined Britain in issuing a joint declaration that became known as the Atlantic Charter. This pronouncement outlined a vision for a postwar order supported, in part, by an effective international organization that would replace the struggling League of Nations. During this meeting, Roosevelt privately suggested to Churchill the name of the future organization: the United Nations.

The governments of the United States, the Soviet Union, the United Kingdom, and China formalized the Atlantic Charter proposals in January 1942, shortly after the United States entered the war. In the Declaration of the United Nations, these major Allied nations, along with 22 other states, agreed to work together against the Axis powers (Germany, Japan, and Italy), and committed in principle to the establishment of the United Nations after the war.

Learning from Woodrow Wilson's failure to gain Congressional support for the League of Nations, the Roosevelt Administration aimed to include a wide range of administration and elected officials in its effort to establish the proposed United Nations. The State Department played a significant role in this process, and created a Special Subcommittee on International Organization in the Advisory Committee on Postwar Planning to lobby Congress. The subcommittee reviewed past efforts at international cooperation, and by March 1943 had drafted a formal proposal to establish a new, more effective international organization. Secretary of State Cordell Hull took the proposal to members of Congress in an effort to build bipartisan support for the proposed postwar organization. Consultations between Congress and the Department of State continued into the summer of 1943, and by August, produced a draft United Nations Charter. Congress repeatedly passed resolutions declaring its support for the establishment of an international organization--and for United States membership in that organization.

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The major Allied Powers--the United States, the Soviet Union, the United Kingdom, and China--reiterated their commitment to forming an international organization in the Moscow Declaration of October 30, 1943, and more concrete international planning for the structure of the new organization commenced. Representatives from these four countries met at Dumbarton Oaks in Washington, DC, from August 21st through October 7, 1944, and the four Allied powers issued a statement of Proposals for the Establishment of a General International Organization, largely based on the draft charter formulated by the State Department's Subcommittee on International Organization, in consultation with the U.S. Congress.

The Department of State undertook a public relations campaign to build support for the United Nations. As part of that effort, the Department printed over 200,000 copies of the Dumbarton Oaks proposal and an informative, eight-page guide to the draft United Nations Charter. The Department worked in concert with interested groups to inform the public about the United Nations and even dispatched officials around the country to answer questions on the proposed organization. By the end of the effort, the Department of State had coordinated almost 500 such meetings.

Creation of the United Nations

The basic framework for the proposed United Nations rested on President Roosevelt's vision that the United States, the Soviet Union, the United Kingdom, and China would provide leadership in the postwar international system. It was these four states, with the addition of France, that would assume permanent seats in the otherwise rotating membership of the United Nations Security Council. At the Anglo-American Malta Conference in early 1945, the two sides proposed that the permanent members of the Security Council would have a veto. Immediately thereafter, at the Yalta Conference, the United States, the Soviet Union, and the United Kingdom agreed on veto power for the permanent members of the Security Council. This crucial decision essentially required unanimity between the five permanent members on the pressing international decisions related to international security and use of force that would be brought before the Security Council.

Churchill and Roosevelt also made an important concession to Soviet leader Josef Stalin's request that the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic and the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic be seated in the United Nations General Assembly, thus increasing the Soviet Union's seats in that body to three. Stalin had originally requested seats for all sixteen Soviet Socialist Republics, but at Yalta this request was turned down, and the compromise was to allow Ukraine and Byelorussia into the United Nations. The United States originally had countered Stalin's proposal with the request to allow all fifty American states into the United Nations, a suggestion that encouraged Stalin to agree to the compromise. At Yalta, the United States, the Soviet Union, and the United Kingdom also drafted invitations to a conference beginning in April 1945 in San Francisco that would formally establish the United Nations.

After Roosevelt's death on April 12, 1945, days before the scheduled San Francisco Conference, Vice President Harry S Truman took the oath of office and immediately announced that the Conference should go forward as planned. Moved by Roosevelt's death, Stalin, who had initially planned to send Ambassador Andrei Gromyko as the Soviet representative to the San

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Francisco conference, announced that he would send Foreign Minister Vyacheslav Molotov as well. This news heartened American officials, who had been concerned about maintaining Soviet interest and participation in the United Nations after a number of disagreements over the extent of Soviet influence in Eastern Europe and the fate of Germany in the postwar period. In an address to Congress shortly thereafter, Truman called upon Americans "regardless of party, race, creed or color, to support our efforts to build a strong and lasting United Nations organization."

The San Francisco Conference, formally known as the United Nations Conference on International Organization, opened on April 25, 1945, with delegations from fifty countries present. The U.S. delegation to San Francisco included Secretary of State Edward R. Stettinius, Jr., former Secretary of State Hull, and Senators Tom Connally (D-Texas) and Arthur Vandenberg (R-Michigan), as well as other Congressional and public representatives. Among the most controversial issues at the San Francisco Conference was the seating of Argentina, the Ukrainian and Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republics, and Poland. The vote to seat Argentina was particularly contentious because the Soviet Union strongly opposed Argentine membership arguing that Argentina had supported the Axis during the war. However, the other Latin American states refused to support the *Ukrainian and Byelorussian candidacies if Argentina were blocked*. The United States supported Argentina's membership but also defended the Ukrainian and Byelorussian seats in order to maintain the Soviet Union's participation in the United Nations. The makeup of the Polish government was a continuing source of tension between the wartime allies, and thus a Polish delegation was not seated until after the conference.

At San Francisco, the delegates reviewed and often rewrote the text agreed to at Dumbarton Oaks. The delegations negotiated a role for regional organizations under the United Nations umbrella and outlined the powers of the office of Secretary General, including the authority to refer conflicts to the Security Council. Conference participants also considered a proposal for a compulsory jurisdiction for a World Court, but Stettinius recognized such an outcome could imperil Senate ratification. The delegates thus agreed that each state should make its own determination about World Court membership. The conference did approve the creation of an Economic and Social Council and a Trusteeship Council to assist in the process of decolonization, and agreed that these councils would have rotating geographic representation. The United Nations Charter also gave the United Nations broader jurisdiction over issues that were "essentially within" the domestic jurisdiction of states, such as human rights, than the League of Nations had, and broadened its scope on economic and technological issues.

Determining the extent of the veto power of the permanent members of the Security Council proved a more serious potential obstacle to agreement on a United Nations charter. The Soviet Union advocated broad use of the veto, viewing it as a possible tool to curb discussion on conflicts involving a permanent member. Such an interpretation worried the smaller states, which were already hesitant about the permanent veto. In order to gain Soviet agreement to modify such an expansive interpretation of the veto, Truman directed Harry Hopkins, who had many wartime discussions with Stalin, to travel to Moscow and negotiate with the Soviet leader on the issue. After bilateral Soviet-American negotiations in Moscow, the Soviet Union eventually agreed to a less extensive veto power. While the permanent members retained veto power, the Security Council would not require a unanimous vote to act, and its decisions would be enforceable.

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Following the resolution of most outstanding issues, the San Francisco Conference closed on June 26, 1945. In a show of public support, Truman attended the final session for the signing of the United Nations Charter, and congratulated the delegates for creating a "solid structure upon which we can build a better world." However, Truman still needed to secure Senate ratification of the Charter. Both he and Stettinius urged the Senate to give its advice and consent to ratification; Truman said, "I want to see the United States do it first." In a testament to the sustained wartime efforts to build support for the United Nations, the Charter was approved in the Senate, on July 28, 1945, by a vote of 89 to 2, with 5 abstentions. (The U.S. ratification followed that of Nicaragua and El Salvador.) The United Nations officially came into existence on October 24, 1945, after the United States, the Soviet Union, the United Kingdom, China, and France, as well as a majority of the other signatories, had ratified the United Nations Charter.

Early Challenges and Future Changes

At its first session, on February 14, 1946, the United Nations General Assembly voted to establish its permanent headquarters in New York City. In a world emerging from the overwhelming conflict of World War II, the United Nations seemed to represent hope that such devastation would not recur. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights, adopted by the General Assembly in 1948, symbolized this optimism and idealism. Yet the first true test of the United Nations' ability to prevent widespread international conflict came in June 1950, when North Korea invaded South Korea. In response, the United Nations Security Council initiated military sanctions against North Korea, an action made possible by the temporary absence of the Soviet representative who had walked out in protest against the Council's refusal to seat representatives of Communist China. This allowed the Security Council to assist South Korea in repelling its attackers and maintaining its territorial integrity.

Other issues brought before the United Nations in its early years included the Greek and Turkish dispute over Cyprus and the Cuban Missile Crisis. However, as relations between the East and the West deteriorated in the Cold War era, the Yalta decision to grant all permanent members of the Security Council veto power frequently stymied the Security Council. This increased the profile of the General Assembly, where no state enjoyed a veto. As issues pertaining to international security remained deadlocked in the Security Council during the Cold War, the increasingly active General Assembly expanded the focus of the United Nations to include economic development, famine relief, women's rights, and environmental protection, among other issues.

With the end of the Cold War, the United Nations has taken on increasing security responsibilities, negotiated peaceful resolutions to conflict, and deployed peacekeeping forces around the world. In recognition of the organization's significant contributions, the United Nations and United Nations Secretary General Kofi Annan were awarded the 2001 Nobel Peace Prize. The Norwegian Nobel Committee declared in its award citation, "Today the organization is at the forefront of efforts to achieve peace and security in the world, and of the international mobilization aimed at meeting the world's economic, social and environmental challenges...the only negotiable route to global peace and cooperation goes by way of the United Nations."

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U.S. DEPARTMENT OF STATE

**THE UNITED STATES AND THE FOUNDING OF THE UNITED NATIONS,
AUGUST 1941 – OCTOBER 1945**

The impetus to establish the United Nations stemmed in large part from the inability of its predecessor, the League of Nations, to prevent the outbreak of the Second World War. Despite Germany's occupation of a number of European states, and the League's failure to stop other serious international transgressions in the 1930s, such as Japan's invasion of Manchuria, many international leaders remained committed to the League's ideals. Once World War II began, President Franklin D. Roosevelt determined that U.S. leadership was essential for the creation of another international organization aimed at preserving peace, and his administration engaged in international diplomacy in pursuit of that goal. He also worked ~~and domestic~~ negotiations to build domestic support for the concept of the United Nations. After Roosevelt's death, President Harry S Truman also assumed the important task of maintaining support for the United Nations and worked through complicated international problems, particularly with the Soviet Union, to make the founding of the new organization possible. After nearly four years of planning, the international community finally established the United Nations in the spring of 1945.

Origins of the United Nations

The concept of creating a global organization of member states dedicated to preserving international peace through collective security increased in popularity during World War I. The bloodshed of the "Great War" persuaded President Woodrow Wilson, and a number of other American and international leaders, to seek the creation of an international forum in which conflicts could be resolved peacefully. The 1919 Treaty of Versailles that ended World War I, which Wilson negotiated on behalf of the United States, contained a framework for a League of Nations, intended to maintain peace and stability. However, despite Wilson's efforts to gain the domestic support of political leaders and the American public, he was unable to convince the United States Senate to approve U.S. membership in the League. This was due to strong isolationist sentiment and partisan conflicts, stemming in part from his failure to include any prominent Republicans in the peace negotiations. The League's opponents criticized it as a threat to American sovereignty and security, and objected most stridently to Article Ten of the League Charter, which committed member states to protect the territorial integrity of all other member states against external aggression. Many American lawmakers argued that Article Ten might obligate the United States to take part in wars in defense of dubious, often contested, colonial boundaries. After considering membership in the League with reservations, the Senate ultimately prevented the United States from joining the League. The absence of the United States weakened the League, which was also hindered in its efforts to resolve disputes by the widespread economic crises of the 1930s, its inability to compel states to abide by its decisions,

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The basic framework for the proposed United Nations rested on President Roosevelt's vision that the United States, the Soviet Union, the United Kingdom, and China would provide leadership in the postwar international system. It was these four states, with the addition of France, that would assume permanent seats in the otherwise rotating membership of the United Nations Security Council. At the Anglo-American Malta Conference in early 1945, the two sides proposed that the permanent members of the Security Council would have a veto. Immediately thereafter, at the Yalta Conference, the United States, the Soviet Union, and the United Kingdom agreed on veto power for the permanent members of the Security Council. This crucial decision essentially required unanimity between the five permanent members on the pressing international decisions related to international security and use of force that would be brought before the Security Council.

Churchill and Roosevelt also made an important concession to Soviet leader Josef Stalin's request that the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic and the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic be seated in the United Nations General Assembly, thus increasing the Soviet Union's seats in that body to three. Stalin had originally requested seats for all sixteen Soviet Socialist Republics, but at Yalta this request was turned down, and the compromise was to allow Ukraine and Byelorussia into the United Nations. The United States originally had countered Stalin's proposal with the request to allow all fifty American states into the United Nations, a suggestion that encouraged Stalin to agree to the compromise. At Yalta, the United States, the Soviet Union, and the United Kingdom also drafted invitations to a conference beginning in April 1945 in San Francisco that would formally establish the United Nations.

After Roosevelt's death on April 12, 1945, days before the scheduled San Francisco Conference, Vice President Harry S Truman took the oath of office and immediately announced that the Conference should go forward as planned. Moved by Roosevelt's death, Stalin, who had initially planned to send Ambassador Andrei Gromyko as the Soviet representative to the San

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Francisco conference, announced that he would send Foreign Minister Vyacheslav Molotov as well. This news heartened American officials, who had been concerned about maintaining Soviet interest and participation in the United Nations after a number of disagreements over the extent of Soviet influence in Eastern Europe and the fate of Germany in the postwar period. In an address to Congress shortly thereafter, Truman called upon Americans "regardless of party, race, creed or color, to support our efforts to build a strong and lasting United Nations organization."

The San Francisco Conference, formally known as the United Nations Conference on International Organization, opened on April 25, 1945, with delegations from fifty countries present. The U.S. delegation to San Francisco included Secretary of State Edward R. Stettinius, Jr., former Secretary of State Cordell Hull, and Senators Tom Connally (D-Texas) and Arthur Vandenberg (R-Michigan), as well as other Congressional and public representatives. Among the most controversial issues at the San Francisco Conference was the seating of certain countries, in particular, Argentina, the Ukrainian and Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republics, and Poland. The vote to seat Argentina was particularly contentious because the Soviet Union strongly opposed Argentine membership arguing that Argentina had supported the Axis during the war. However, the other Latin American states refused to support the Ukrainian and Byelorussian candidacies if Argentina were blocked. The United States supported Argentina's membership, but also defended the Ukrainian and Byelorussian seats in order to maintain the Soviet Union's participation in the United Nations. The makeup of the Polish government was a continuing source of tension between the wartime allies, and thus a Polish delegation was not seated until after the conference.

At San Francisco, the delegates reviewed and often rewrote the text agreed to at Dumbarton Oaks. The delegations negotiated a role for regional organizations under the United Nations umbrella and outlined the powers of the office of Secretary General, including the authority to refer conflicts to the Security Council. Conference participants also considered a proposal for compulsory jurisdiction for a World Court, but Stettinius recognized such an outcome could imperil Senate ratification. The delegates then agreed that each state should make its own determination about World Court membership. The conference did approve the creation of an Economic and Social Council and a Trusteeship Council to assist in the process of decolonization, and agreed that these councils would have rotating geographic representation. The United Nations Charter also gave the United Nations broader jurisdiction over issues that were "essentially within" the domestic jurisdiction of states, such as human rights, than the League of Nations had, and broadened its scope on economic and technological issues.

Determining the extent of the veto power of the permanent members of the Security Council proved a more serious potential obstacle to agreement on a United Nations charter. The Soviet Union advocated broad use of the veto, viewing it as a possible tool to curb discussion on conflicts involving a permanent member. Such an interpretation worried the smaller states, which were already hesitant about the permanent veto. In order to gain Soviet agreement to modify such an expansive interpretation of the veto, Truman directed Harry Hopkins, who had many wartime discussions with Stalin, to travel to Moscow and negotiate with the Soviet leader on the issue. After bilateral Soviet-American negotiations in Moscow, the Soviet Union eventually agreed to a less extensive veto power. While the permanent members retained veto power with respect to non-procedural matters, the Security Council would not require a

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unanimous vote to act, and would have the power to take decisions that would be binding on Member States.

Following the resolution of most outstanding issues, the San Francisco Conference closed on June 26, 1945. In a show of public support, Truman attended the final session for the signing of the United Nations Charter, and congratulated the delegates for creating a "solid structure upon which we can build a better world." However, Truman still needed to secure Senate ratification of the Charter. Both he and Stettinius urged the Senate to give its advice and consent to ratification; Truman said, "I want to see the United States do it first." In a testament to the sustained wartime efforts to build support for the United Nations, the Charter was approved in the Senate on July 28, 1945, by a vote of 89 to 2, with 5 abstentions. (The U.S. ratification followed that of Nicaragua and El Salvador.) The United Nations officially came into existence on October 24, 1945, after the United States, the Soviet Union, the United Kingdom, China, and France, as well as a majority of the other signatories, had ratified the United Nations Charter.

Early Challenges and Future Changes

At its first session, on February 14, 1946, the United Nations General Assembly voted to establish its permanent headquarters in New York City. In a world emerging from the overwhelming conflict of World War II, the United Nations seemed to represent hope that such devastation would not recur. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights, adopted by the General Assembly in 1948, symbolized this optimism and idealism. Yet the first true test of the United Nations' ability to prevent widespread international conflict came in June 1950, when North Korea invaded South Korea. In response, the United Nations Security Council initiated military sanctions against North Korea, an action made possible by the temporary absence of the Soviet representative, who had walked out in protest against the Council's refusal to seat representatives of Communist China. This allowed the Security Council to assist South Korea in repelling its attackers and maintaining its territorial integrity.

Other issues brought before the United Nations in its early years included the Greek and Turkish dispute over Cyprus and the Cuban Missile Crisis. However, as relations between the East and the West deteriorated in the Cold War era, the Yalta decision to grant all permanent members of the Security Council veto power frequently stymied the Security Council. This increased the profile of the General Assembly, where no state enjoyed a veto. As issues pertaining to international security remained deadlocked in the Security Council during the Cold War, the increasingly active General Assembly expanded the focus of the United Nations to include economic development, famine relief, women's rights, and environmental protection, among other issues.

With the end of the Cold War, the United Nations has taken on increasing security responsibilities, negotiated peaceful resolutions to conflict, and deployed peacekeeping forces around the world. In recognition of the organization's significant contributions, the United Nations and United Nations Secretary General Kofi Annan were awarded the 2001 Nobel Peace Prize. The Norwegian Nobel Committee declared in its award citation, "Today the organization is at the forefront of efforts to achieve peace and security in the world, and of the international

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mobilization aimed at meeting the world's economic, social and environmental challenges...the only negotiable route to global peace and cooperation goes by way of the United Nations.”

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Bureau of Public Affairs
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U.S. DEPARTMENT OF STATE

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**THE UNITED STATES AND THE FOUNDING OF THE UNITED NATIONS,
AUGUST 1941 – OCTOBER 1945**

[Perhaps we can insert something like "Summary/Introduction/Overview" to indicate why we are going back in history beginning with the second paragraph. We might also consider inserting other subheadings where appropriate to help focus the narrative.]

The United States played an essential role in the establishment of the United Nations in 1945. The United Nations grew out of a reaction to the devastation of the Second World War, and a continuing commitment to the ideals of the League of Nations [This "continuing commitment to the ideals of the League of Nations" could be misleading because as noted below we never actually joined the League, even though there may have been some sympathy for its professed goals.], the international organization formed following the First World War that was intended to prevent the outbreak of future international conflicts [This sentence is very long and should probably be reworked to reduce its wordiness]. President Franklin D. Roosevelt recognized the need for a more effective international organization at the end of the Second World War, and engaged in international and domestic diplomacy to build support for creating a new organization. The U.S. role was critical in every respect: Roosevelt carefully built an international coalition to create the basis for the new organization and invited all eligible states [We might want to clarify who was eligible, and what the criteria were for eligibility.] to San Francisco for a conference on forming the United Nations. After Roosevelt's death, Truman assumed the important task of maintaining the wartime alliance [We might want to mention the Soviet Union by name here.] and preserving support for the United Nations. He also maneuvered adroitly to sustain U.S. Congressional and public support for the step. The location of the United Nations headquarters in New York City remains a lasting symbol of the strong role the United States played in the creation of the United Nations.

Facing the bloodshed of the first "Great War," President Woodrow Wilson, and a number of other American leaders [There was also a highly developed Peace Movement in various European countries as well and many European political and cultural figures actively sought the creation of a world body to deal with such issues.], believed that the establishment of an international forum was necessary to resolve conflicts and maintain a peaceful international order. The Versailles Treaty that ended World War I, which Wilson negotiated personally [on behalf of the United States, otherwise it sounds like he did the whole thing by himself.], contained a framework for a League of Nations, intended to maintain peace and stability, that Wilson hoped might help rectify some of the treaty's other flaws. [It would not be inappropriate to mention what some of these flaws were in order to provide necessary context.] However, despite Wilson's efforts to gain the support of political leaders and the

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American public, he was unable to convince the United States Senate to approve U.S. membership in the League, due to strong isolationist sentiment and partisan conflicts stemming in part from his failure to include any prominent Republicans in the peace negotiations. The League's opponents criticized it as a threat to American sovereignty and security. The sticking point [We might want to think of a different way to phrase this.] for the most strident opponents of the League was Article X of its Charter, which committed member states to protect against external aggression the territorial integrity of all other member states, and seemed to obligate the United States to become involved in wars defending dubious, often contested, colonial boundaries. Many also argued that membership in the League could challenge the Monroe Doctrine [We should probably define the Monroe Doctrine and then mention how the League would challenge its tenets.] , interfere with American immigration and tariff laws [It is probably necessary to note in what ways the League would interfere with immigration and tariff laws. As stated, the connection is not clear.], necessitate the establishment of a standing army, and increase the power of the President to declare war, at the expense of Congress. After considering joining the League with reservations, the Senate ultimately defeated the Treaty in 1919 and in 1920, and the United States never joined the League. That organization, despite its efforts, remained weak and unable to resolve the conflicts that arose from the aftermath of the Versailles Treaty [and other international conflicts not connected to the Versailles Treaty].

President Franklin D. Roosevelt recognized the inherent weaknesses of the League of Nations, but also saw the need for an international organization to maintain peace. The Roosevelt Administration's efforts to shape a new postwar organization began even before the United States entered into the conflict [in December 1941], and continued apace after Pearl Harbor. These efforts included not only high-level diplomacy, but [also] efforts to gain domestic acceptance for U.S. membership in an international organization [We might want to link this domestic effort with the explanation that appears two paragraphs below]. The first wartime meeting between British Prime Minister Winston Churchill and President Roosevelt, the Atlantic Conference held off the coast of Newfoundland in August 1941, took place before the United States had formally entered the war as a combatant. Despite its formal position of neutrality, the United States joined Britain in declaring the Atlantic Charter. This pronouncement outlined a vision for a postwar order supported, in part, by an effective international organization that would replace the struggling League of Nations. During this meeting, Roosevelt privately suggested the name of the future organization, the United Nations, to Churchill.

The governments of the United States, China, the Soviet Union, and the United Kingdom formalized the Atlantic Charter proposals in January 1942, shortly after the United States entered the war. In the Declaration of the United Nations, these major Allied nations, along with 22 other states, agreed to work together against [the?] Axis powers, and committed in principle to the establishment of the United Nations after the war.

Learning from Woodrow Wilson's failure to gain Congressional support for the League of Nations, the Roosevelt White House embarked upon a massive campaign to educate the American public and garner its support for a proposed United Nations. The State

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Department played a significant role in this effort, and created a Special Subcommittee on International Organization in the Advisory Committee on Postwar Planning to lobby Congress. The subcommittee reviewed past efforts at international cooperation, and by March 1943 had drafted a formal proposal to establish a new international organization. Secretary of State Cordell Hull took the proposal to members of Congress in an effort to build bipartisan support for the proposed postwar organization. Consultations between Congress and the Department of State continued into the summer of 1943 and by August, produced a draft United Nations Charter. Congress repeatedly passed resolutions declaring its support for United States membership in an international organization. As the war drew to an end, public interest in the United Nations increased, helped by a massive education campaign sponsored by the Administration. [Was this education campaign in the form of books, newspapers, pamphlets? Was the radio used as a medium for spreading the word? These details will add some flavor to the narrative.]

The major Allied Powers—the United States, Soviet Union, Great Britain [above it is referred to as the United Kingdom], and China [The order of appearance differs from above so we may want to standardize]—reiterated their commitment to forming an international organization in the Moscow Declaration of October 30, 1943, and more concrete planning for the structure of the new organization commenced. Representatives from these four countries met at Dumbarton Oaks in Washington, DC from August 21, 1944 through October 7, 1944, and the four Allied powers issued a statement of Proposals for the Establishment of a General International Organization, largely based on the draft charter formulated by the State Department's Subcommittee on International Organization.

The basic framework for the proposed United Nations rested on President Roosevelt's vision that the United States, Great Britain, [the] Soviet Union, and China would provide leadership in the postwar international system. It was these four states, with the addition of France, that would assume permanent seats in the otherwise rotating membership of the United Nations Security Council. At the Anglo-American Malta Conference in early 1945, the two sides agreed the permanent members of the Security Council would have a veto. Immediately thereafter, at the Yalta Conference, the United States, Great Britain, and the Soviet Union further agreed on veto power for the permanent members of the Security Council. This crucial decision essentially required unanimity between the five permanent members on the pressing international decisions related to international security and use of force brought before the Security Council. Churchill and Roosevelt acceded to Stalin's request that the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic and the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic be seated in the United Nations General Assembly, thus increasing Stalin's seats in that body to three. [Stalin had originally requested seats for all the Soviet Socialist Republics, but this request was turned down and the compromise was to allow Ukraine and Byelorussia into the U.N. The United States originally countered Stalin's proposal with the request to allow all fifty American States into the United Nations!] At Yalta, the three states [It needs to be made clear that the three states referred to here are not the same as the three seats mentioned in the sentence above.] drafted invitations to a conference to establish the United Nations in San Francisco beginning in April 1945.

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After Roosevelt's death on April 12, days before the legendary [Is this adjective necessary?] San Francisco Conference was scheduled to take place, Vice-President Harry S. Truman took the oath of office and immediately announced that the Conference should go forward as planned. Moved by Roosevelt's death, Stalin, who had initially planned to send Ambassador Andrei Gromyko as the Soviet representative to the San Francisco conference, announced that he would send Foreign Minister Vyacheslav Molotov as well. This news heartened American officials, who had been concerned about maintaining Soviet interest and participation in the United Nations. [A few words about Soviet attitudes and behavior would be helpful in order to contextualize the sentence above.] In an address to Congress shortly thereafter, Truman called upon Americans "regardless of party[,] race, creed or color, to support our efforts to build a strong and lasting United Nations organization."

The San Francisco Conference, formally known as the United Nations Conference on International Organization, opened on April 25, 1945, with delegations from 50 countries present. The U.S. delegation to San Francisco included Secretary of State Edward R. Stettinius, former Secretary of State Hull, and Senators Tom Connally (D-TX) and Arthur Vandenberg (R-MI), as well as other Congressional and public representatives. One of the most controversial issues at the San Francisco Conference was the seating of Argentina, the Ukrainian and Byelorussian [Soviet Socialist R~~e~~publics], and Poland. The vote to seat Argentina was particularly contentious because the Soviet Union was strongly opposed to Argentine membership due to its perceived support for the Axis during the war. The other Latin American states, however, would not support the Ukrainian and Byelorussian candidacies if Argentina were blocked. The United States thus had to support Argentina's membership to secure the Ukrainian and Byelorussian seats and keep the USSR invested in the United Nations. Only Polish membership was not agreed to at San Francisco; the makeup of the Polish government was a continuing source of tension between the wartime allies, and a Polish delegation was not seated (Poland did later sign the charter and is considered an original Member State.) [The complex state of play with regard to Poland needs to be explained here, otherwise it is not clear what the actual problems were.]

At San Francisco, the delegates reviewed and often rewrote the text agreed to at Dumbarton Oaks. The delegations negotiated a role for regional organizations under the United Nations umbrella, among other questions. At San Francisco, the delegates outlined the powers of the office of Secretary General, including the authority to refer conflicts to the Security Council. A mandatory World Court was also considered, but Stettinius recognized the establishment of a World Court could imperil Senate ratification. Instead, each state made its own determination about World Court membership. Other bodies were to include an Economic and Social Council, and a Trusteeship Council to assist in the process of decolonization. A General Assembly would have general membership, while other bodies would have smaller, rotating geographic representation.

The scope of the veto power of the permanent members of the Security Council proved a more serious obstacle. The Soviet Union advocated broad use of the veto, and even saw it as a possible tool to curb discussion on conflicts involving a permanent member. Such an interpretation worried the smaller states that were already hesitant about the permanent

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veto. In order to gain Soviet agreement to drop such an expansive interpretation of the veto, Truman directed Roosevelt aide Harry Hopkins to travel to Moscow and negotiate with Stalin on the issue. After bilateral Soviet-American negotiations in Moscow, the Soviet Union eventually agreed to a less extensive veto power.

The San Francisco Conference closed on June 26, 1945. In a show of public support, Truman attended the final session for the signing of the United Nations Charter, and congratulated the delegates for creating a "solid structure upon which we can build for a better world." However, Truman still needed to secure Senate ratification of United States membership. Both Truman and Stettin[I] urged the Senate to ratify the Charter with Truman saying, "I want to see the United States do it first." In a testament to the sustained efforts to build support for the United Nations, the Charter passed in the Senate by a vote of 89 to 2 with 5 abstentions on July 28, 1945. (The U.S. ratification followed those of Nicaragua and El Salvador.) The United Nations Participation Act, legislating a permanent ambassador and delegation to the United Nations, passed in Congress on December 20, 1945.

At its first session [which took place where?], on February 14, 1946, the United Nations General Assembly voted to make its headquarters in New York City. In a world emerging from the overwhelming conflict of World War II, the United Nations seemed to represent a beacon of hope that such devastation would not recur. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights, adopted by the General Assembly in 1948, represented this optimism and idealism. Yet the first test for the United Nations came in June 1950 with the outbreak of war between North and South Korea. In response, the United Nations Security Council initiated military sanctions against North Korea, an action made possible by the temporary absence of the Soviet representative who protested the exclusion of the new Communist China from the UN. United Nations General Assembly Resolution 376 stipulated a unified, independent, and democratic government should exist on the Korean peninsula, justifying for [?] some United Nations military action in the conflict. Other issues brought before the United Nations include Cyprus, and the Cuban Missile Crisis. [A few sentences of context here would be helpful.] As the Cold War unfolded, the Security Council became captive to opposing vetoes, leading the General Assembly to address more issues. During the Cold War, the United Nations expanded its scope to focus on economic development, famine relief, women's rights, and environmental protection, among other issues.

With the end of the Cold War, the United Nations has taken on increasing security responsibilities, negotiating peaceful resolutions to conflict and deploying peacekeeping forces around the world. In recognition of the organization's significant contributions, the United Nations and United Nations Secretary General Kofi Annan won the 2001 Nobel Peace Prize. The Norwegian Nobel Committee declared in its award citation, "Today the organization is at the forefront of efforts to achieve peace and security in the world, and of the international mobilization aimed at meeting the world's economic, social and environmental challenges...the only negotiable route to global peace and cooperation goes by way of the United Nations."

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**THE UNITED STATES AND THE FOUNDING OF THE UNITED NATIONS,
AUGUST 1941 – OCTOBER 1945**

The United States played an essential role in the establishment of the United Nations in 1945. The United Nations grew out of a reaction to the devastation of the Second World War, and a continuing commitment to the ideals of the League of Nations, the international organization formed following the First World War that was intended to prevent the outbreak of future international conflicts. President Franklin D. Roosevelt recognized the need for a more effective international organization at the end of the Second World War, and engaged in international and domestic diplomacy to build support for creating a new organization. The U.S. role was critical in every respect: Roosevelt carefully built an international coalition to create the basis for the new organization and invited all eligible states to San Francisco for a conference on forming the United Nations. After Roosevelt's death, Truman assumed the important task of maintaining the wartime alliance and preserving support for the United Nations. He also maneuvered adroitly to sustain U.S. Congressional and public support for the step. The location of the United Nations headquarters in New York City remains a lasting symbol of the strong role the United States played in the creation of the United Nations.

Facing the bloodshed of the first "Great War," President Woodrow Wilson, and a number of other American leaders, believed that the establishment of an international forum was necessary to resolve conflicts and maintain a peaceful international order. The Versailles Treaty that ended World War I, which Wilson negotiated personally, contained a framework for a League of Nations, intended to maintain peace and stability, that Wilson hoped might help rectify some of the treaty's other flaws. However, despite Wilson's efforts to gain the support of political leaders and the American public, he was unable to convince the United States Senate to approve U.S. membership in the League, due to strong isolationist sentiment and partisan conflicts stemming in part from his failure to include any prominent Republicans in the peace negotiations. The League's opponents criticized it as a threat to American sovereignty and security. The sticking point for the most strident opponents of the League was Article X of its Charter, which committed member states to protect against external aggression the territorial integrity of all other member states, and seemed to obligate the United States to become involved in wars defending dubious, often contested, colonial boundaries. Many also argued that membership in the League could challenge the Monroe Doctrine, interfere with American immigration and tariff laws, necessitate the establishment of a standing army, and increase the power of the President to declare war, at the expense of Congress. After considering joining the League with reservations, the Senate ultimately defeated the Treaty in 1919 and in 1920, and The United States never joined the League. That

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organization, despite its efforts, remained weak and unable to resolve the conflicts that arose from the aftermath of the Versailles Treaty.

President Franklin D. Roosevelt recognized the inherent weaknesses of the League of Nations, but also saw the need for an international organization to maintain peace. The Roosevelt Administration's efforts to shape a new postwar organization began even before the United States entered into the conflict, and continued apace after Pearl Harbor. These efforts included not only high-level diplomacy, but efforts to gain domestic acceptance for U.S. membership in an international organization. The first wartime meeting between British Prime Minister Winston Churchill and President Roosevelt, the Atlantic Conference held off the coast of Newfoundland in August 1941, took place before the United States had formally entered the war as a combatant. Despite its formal position of neutrality, the United States joined Britain in declaring the Atlantic Charter. This pronouncement outlined a vision for a postwar order supported, in part, by an effective international organization that would replace the struggling League of Nations. During this meeting, Roosevelt privately suggested the name of the future organization, the United Nations, to Churchill.

The governments of the United States, China, the Soviet Union, and the United Kingdom formalized the Atlantic Charter proposals in January 1942, shortly after the United States entered the war. In the Declaration of the United Nations, these major Allied nations, along with 22 other states, agreed to work together against Axis powers, and committed in principle to the establishment of the United Nations after the war.

Learning from Woodrow Wilson's failure to gain Congressional support for the League of Nations, the Roosevelt White House embarked upon a massive campaign to educate the American public and garner its support for a proposed United Nations. The State Department played a significant role in this effort, and created a Special Subcommittee on International Organization in the Advisory Committee on Postwar Planning to lobby Congress. The subcommittee reviewed past efforts at international cooperation, and by March 1943 had drafted a formal proposal to establish a new international organization. Secretary of State Cordell Hull took the proposal to members of Congress in an effort to build bipartisan support for the proposed postwar organization. Consultations between Congress and the Department of State continued into the summer of 1943 and by August, produced a draft United Nations Charter. Congress repeatedly passed resolutions declaring its support for United States membership in an international organization. As the war drew to an end, public interest in the United Nations increased, helped by a massive education campaign sponsored by the Administration.

The major Allied Powers—the United States, Soviet Union, Great Britain, and China—reiterated their commitment to forming an international organization in the Moscow Declaration of October 30, 1943, and more concrete planning for the structure of the new organization commenced. Representatives from these four countries met at Dumbarton Oaks in Washington, DC from August 21, 1944 through October 7, 1944, and the four Allied powers issued a statement of Proposals for the Establishment of a General International

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The United States and the United Nations, October 1945

P19

The United Nations grew out of a reaction against the devastation of the Second World War and a continuing commitment to the ideals of the League of Nations, the international organization formed in the aftermath of the First World War intended to prevent the outbreak of future international conflicts. Efforts to create the United Nations were made in light of recognition of the League's ineffectiveness in preventing the outbreak of the Second World War.

United States President Woodrow Wilson had been committed to the creation of the League of Nations with strong United States involvement as he believed it was essential to preserving peace in the aftermath of the First World War. In his view, the League should be a forum for resolving all international issues. Yet despite Wilson's efforts, he was not able to convince the United States Senate to approve League membership. Those who resisted American participation in the League criticized it as a threat to United States sovereignty and American security. To critics, the League Charter could have imperiled the Monroe Doctrine, interfered with American immigration and tariff laws, necessitated the establishment of a standing army, and increased the power of the president at the expense of Congress to declare war. Those who saw United States participation in the League as threatening American security argued it would deprive the United States of the opportunity to choose when and where it would go to war. Others were hesitant about Article X of the League Charter, which seemed to commit the United States to preserving existing, but unpopular borders such as British control in Ireland or those resulting from unbalanced peace treaties. The United States never joined the League, which proved unable to maintain international peace in the 1930s.

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United States President Franklin D. Roosevelt recognized the need for an international organization to maintain peace once the war ended. In addition to coordinating military and economic cooperation, in their first wartime meeting in Canadian waters in August 1941, British Prime Minister Winston Churchill and Roosevelt discussed the need to establish an international organization more effective than the League of Nations at the war's end. Roosevelt even raised the name "United Nations" with Churchill there. (Schlesinger 38) The term "United Nations" was first used in a public and political manner in the January 1, 1942 declaration of 26 states, including the United States, Great Britain, China, and the Soviet Union, to work together against the Tripartite Pact.

The United States strategy was to insure American participation in the organization by avoiding Wilson's mistakes. The United States, therefore, worked to demonstrate broad Congressional and public support for postwar membership in an international organization. In an effort to prevent domestic opposition to United States participation in an international organization, the White House embarked upon a massive campaign to educate the public and garner their support for the United Nations, gaining considerable public support in the final months of the war. (Schlesinger 8, 53) In addition, the State Department regularly consulted with members of Congress from both parties to build support for a postwar organization. (Gazell 382-3) Throughout this period Congress declared their support for a for United States membership in a postwar international organization. Congress voted in support of the Fulbright Resolution in September 1943 and again in November 1943, the United States Senate overwhelmingly

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declared their support for the Connally Resolution, named for Senator Tom Connally (D-TX).

(Gazell 381)

The United States, Soviet Union, Great Britain, and China reiterated their commitment to forming an international organization with the Moscow Declaration of October 30, 1943.

The envisioned structure of the United Nations had roots in Roosevelt's concept of the Four Policemen, the United States, Great Britain, Soviet Union, and China, who should police the postwar world. Roosevelt shared his idea with Churchill and Soviet leader Joseph Stalin at the November 1943 Tehran Conference. It was these four states with the addition of France that would be granted permanent membership on the United Nations Security Council. From August to October 1944, a series of talks between the United States, Great Britain, China, and the Soviet Union took place at Dumbarton Oaks in Washington, DC to negotiate terms for the United Nations. At the Malta Conference between the United States and Great Britain in early 1945, the two sides agreed that the permanent members of the Security Council would have a veto.

Immediately thereafter, at the Yalta Conference, the United States, Great Britain, and the Soviet Union further agreed on a veto for the permanent members of the Security Council. In addition, Churchill and Roosevelt acceded to Stalin's request that Ukraine Soviet Socialist Republic and the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic be seated in the General Assembly of the United Nations, thus increasing Stalin's seats to three. An ongoing issue in the discussions over the United Nations was the principle of self-determination and Great Britain's continuing interest in its empire. (Sherwood 71) At Yalta, the three states drafted invitations to attend a conference to establish the United Nations in San Francisco beginning in April 1945. Invitations would be issued to states who had declared war against the Axis by March 1, 1945.

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Roosevelt died in Warm Springs, GA on April 12, 1945 and Vice President Harry S. Truman took the oath of office several hours later at the White House. Truman's first decision after assuming the presidency upon Roosevelt's death was that the San Francisco Conference would go forward as planned. (Schlesinger 7) Whereas Stalin had initially planned to send Ambassador Andrei Gromyko as the Soviet representative to the San Francisco conference, moved by Roosevelt's death, he agreed to send Foreign Minister Vyacheslav Molotov as well. (Schlesinger 11-2) Stalin's decision was well-received in Washington where American officials were concerned about maintaining Soviet interest and participation in the United Nations. In an address to Congress shortly thereafter, he called upon Americans "regardless of party race, creed or color, to support our efforts to build a strong and lasting United Nations organization." (Schlesinger 15)

The United States delegation to San Francisco included Secretary of State Edward R. Stettinus, former Secretary of State Cordell Hull, Connally, Arthur Vandenberg (R-MI), as well as other Congressional and public representatives. The San Francisco Conference, formally the United Nations Conference on International Organization, opened on April 25, 1945. One of the most contentious issues at the San Francisco Conference was the seating of Argentina, the Ukrainian and Byelorussian republics, and Poland. Of the four, only Polish membership was not agreed to at San Francisco as the makeup of the Polish government was a continuing source of tension between the wartime allies. (Schlesinger 134-42) The vote to seat Argentina was particularly contentious as the Soviet Union was strongly opposed to Argentine membership due to its perceived support for the Axis during the war. The other Latin American states, however, would

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not support the Ukrainian and Byelorussian candidacies if Argentina was blocked. The United States thus had to support Argentina's membership to secure the Ukrainian and Byelorussian seats and keep the USSR invested in the United Nations.

At San Francisco, the delegates reviewed and often rewrote the text agreed to at Dumbarton Oaks. (Schlesinger 165) The delegations also negotiated the role for regional organizations under the United Nations umbrella. The final obstacle, however, was the scope of the Security Council veto for the five permanent members. The Soviet Union advocated the use of the veto even to curb discussion on conflicts involving a permanent member. Such an interpretation concerned smaller states already hesitant about the permanent veto. (Kirgis 507) In order to gain Soviet agreement, Truman had directed Roosevelt aide Harry Hopkins to travel to Moscow and negotiate with Stalin on the issue. (Finkelstein 368) After bilateral Soviet-American negotiations in Moscow, the Soviet Union eventually agreed to a less extensive power of veto. At San Francisco, the delegates agreed on the office of a Secretary General as well as the powers of that office, including the power to refer conflicts to the Security Council. (Kirgis 507) A mandatory World Court was also considered, but Stettinus recognized the establishment of a World Court to which each state would subject itself as too much for Senate ratification. Instead, each state made its own determination about membership. (Schlesinger 240-1)

The Conference closed on June 26, 1945 with Truman present for the signing of the United Nations Charter. At the closing session, Truman told the delegates they had created a "solid structure upon which we can build for a better world." (Schlesinger 289) Shortly after the conference closed, Alger Hiss and United States army soldiers transported the United Nations

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Charter in a safe strapped with the parachute to Washington where it was stored at the National Archives until the United Nations built a headquarters.

After the close of the San Francisco Conference, Truman still needed to secure Senate ratification of United States membership. Both Truman and Stettinus urged the Senate to ratify the Charter. Truman said, "I want to see the United States do it first." (Schlesinger 264) In a testament to the sustained efforts to build support for the United Nations, the Charter passed in the Senate 89-2 with five abstentions on July 28, 1945. The United States was the third country to ratify the Charter, after Nicaragua and El Salvador. (Schlesinger 274) The United Nations Participation Act, legislating a permanent ambassador and delegation to the United Nations, passed in Congress on December 20, 1945. The United Nations General Assembly voted to make its headquarters in New York City.

The first test of the United Nations as an international organization came in June 1950 with the outbreak of war between North and South Korea. In response, the United Nations Security Council initiated military sanctions against North Korea. In addition, United Nations Resolution 376 passed in the General Assembly, stipulating a unified, independent, and democratic government should exist on the Korean peninsula and justifying for some United Nations military action in the conflict. As the Cold War unfolded and the Security Council became captive to opposing vetoes and the General Assembly addressed more issues. (Kirgis 508) The United Nations expanded its scope and focused on a range of issues such as economic development, famine relief, and environmental protection during the Cold War. (Schlesinger 286) With the end of the Cold War, the United Nations has taken on increasing security

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responsibilities. The United Nations Charter remains largely unchanged sixty years after the organization's establishment.

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THE UNITED STATES AND THE FOUNDING OF THE UNITED NATIONS, *P20*
AUGUST 1941 – OCTOBER 1945

The United Nations grew out of the interest of the international community in preventing a recurrence of the devastation wrought by two world wars. The ideals of the United Nations reflected a continuing commitment to the League of Nations formed in the aftermath of the First World War intended to prevent the outbreak of future international conflicts. Although the League failed to prevent the Second World War, proponents of the United Nations hoped to create a stronger, more effective organization of sovereign states to preserve peace and achieve international cooperation.

President Woodrow Wilson had believed that a postwar League of Nations, backed by strong United States support, would provide the international forum essential to resolving global issues and maintaining a peaceful international order. Despite Wilson's efforts, he was unable to convince the United States Senate to approve League membership. Those who resisted American participation in the League criticized it as a threat to United States sovereignty and American security. The sticking point for the most strident opponents of the League was Article X of its Charter that committed member states to protect against external aggression the territorial integrity of all other signatories. This seemed to obligate the United States to wars that might defend dubious, often contested, colonial boundaries. Furthermore, many argued that membership in the League could interfere with American immigration and tariff laws, necessitate the establishment of a standing army, and increase the power of the president at the expense

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of Congress to declare war. The United States never joined the League, which remained weak and unable to maintain international peace in the 1930s.

President Franklin D. Roosevelt recognized the inherent weaknesses of the League of Nations but also the need for an international organization to maintain peace once World War II ended. As such, he championed the cause of postwar international cooperation in a series of high-level meetings during the war. The first wartime meeting between British Prime Minister Winston Churchill and President Roosevelt, the Atlantic Conference held off the coast of Newfoundland in August of 1941, took place before the United States had formally entered the war as a combatant. Despite its formal position of neutrality, the United States joined Britain in declaring the Atlantic Charter. This pronouncement outlined a vision for a postwar order supported, in part, by an effective international organization that would replace the struggling League of Nations. During this meeting, Roosevelt privately suggested the name of the future organization, the United Nations, to Churchill. (Schlesinger 38)

The governments of the United States, China, the Soviet Union, and the United Kingdom formalized the Atlantic Charter proposals in January 1942, shortly after the United States entered the war. In the Declaration of the United Nations, these major Allied nations, along with 22 other states, agreed to work together against the Tripartite Pact and committed in principal to some form of international cooperation in the postwar period.

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Learning from Woodrow Wilson's failure to gain Congressional support for the League of Nations in the 1920s, the White House embarked upon a massive campaign to educate the American public and garner its support for a proposed United Nations. (Schlesinger 8, 53) The State Department played a significant role in this effort and created a Special Subcommittee on International Organization in the Advisory Committee on Postwar Planning to lobby Congress. The subcommittee reviewed past efforts at international cooperation and had drafted a formal proposal to establish a new one by March 1943. Secretary of State Cordell Hull took the proposal to members of Congress in an effort to build bipartisan support for the proposed postwar organization. (Gazell 382-3) Consultations between Congress and the Department of State continued into the summer of 1943 and by August, produced a draft United Nations Charter. In September 1943, Republican leaders issued a statement endorsing United States participation in a United Nations and the House of Representatives voted in support of a resolution introduced by Senator J. William Fulbright that formally approved of the creation of a postwar international organization. In November 1943, the United States Senate overwhelmingly declared their support for a similar resolution, presented by Senator Tom Connally. (Gazell 381)

On the international scene, the Allied Powers – the United States, Soviet Union, Great Britain, and China – reiterated their commitment to forming an international organization in the Moscow Declaration of October 30, 1943 and more concrete planning for the structure of the new organization commenced. At the Dumbarton Oaks Conversations held in Washington, DC from August 21, 1944 through October 7, 1944,

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the four Allied powers issued a statement of Proposals for the Establishment of a General International Organization, largely based on the draft charter formulated by the State Department's Subcommittee on International Organization.

The basic framework for the proposed United Nations rested on President Roosevelt's vision that the United States, Great Britain, Soviet Union, and China, would provide leadership in the postwar international system. It was these four states, with the addition of France, that would assume permanent seats in the otherwise rotating membership of the United Nations Security Council. At the Yalta Conference of February 1945, the British and the Soviets agreed to Roosevelt's proposal that the permanent members of the Security Council should have a veto on all non-procedural issues. This crucial decision essentially required unanimity between the five permanent members on the pressing international decisions related to international security and use of force brought before the Security Council.

At Yalta, Churchill and Roosevelt also acceded to Soviet Premier Josef Stalin's request that the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic and the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic be seated in the General Assembly of the United Nations, thus increasing Stalin's seats to three. Other nations were permitted one representative apiece. The three leaders also outlined plans for a conference to establish the United Nations in San Francisco beginning in April 1945 and planned to invite states that had declared war against the Axis before March 1, 1945. (Sherwood 71)

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President Roosevelt never saw his vision of a United Nations take form as he died on April 12, 1945, days before the legendary San Francisco Conference was scheduled to take place. Vice-President Harry S Truman took the oath of office and immediately announced that the San Francisco Conference should go forward as planned. Moved by Roosevelt's death, Stalin, who had initially planned to send Ambassador Andrei Gromyko as the Soviet representative to the San Francisco conference, announced that he would send Foreign Minister Vyacheslav Molotov as well. (Schlesinger 11-2) This news heartened American officials as they had been concerned about maintaining Soviet interest and participation in the United Nations. (Schlesinger 15) The United States delegation to San Francisco included Secretary of State Edward R. Stettinus, former Secretary of State Cordell Hull, Senators Tom Connally and Arthur Vandenberg, as well as other Congressional and public representatives.

The San Francisco Conference, formally known as the United Nations Conference on International Organization, opened on April 25, 1945. A number of issues complicated the proceedings of the San Francisco Conference, particularly the seating of Argentina, the Ukrainian and Byelorussian republics, and Poland. The vote to seat Argentina proved a troublesome stumbling block as the Soviet Union strongly opposed to Argentina's membership due to its support of the Axis during the war. The other Latin American states, however, refused to allow the Ukrainian and Byelorussian candidacies if Argentina was blocked. The United States opted to support Argentina's membership in the hopes it would secure the Ukrainian and Byelorussian seats and keep the USSR invested in the United Nations. Polish membership was not agreed to at San Francisco as

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the makeup of the postwar Polish government and Polish borders were a continuing source of tension between the wartime allies. (Schlesinger 134-42) ((ELABORATE??))

The scope of the veto power of the permanent members of the Security Council proved a far more serious obstacle for delegates at the San Francisco Conference. The Soviet Union advocated broad use of the veto, and even saw it as a possible tool to curb discussion on conflicts involving a permanent member. Such an interpretation worried the smaller states that were already hesitant about the permanent veto. (Kirgis 507) In the hope of moderating the Soviet position, Truman had sent former Roosevelt-aide Harry Hopkins to Moscow to discuss the issue with Stalin. (Finkelstein 368) After bilateral Soviet-American negotiations in Moscow, the Soviet Union eventually agreed to a less extensive veto power. At San Francisco, the delegates also agreed on the basic structure of the office of a Secretary General as well as the powers of that office, including the authority to refer serious conflicts to the Security Council. (Kirgis 507) Delegates also considered requiring mandatory participation of United Nations members in a World Court, but Stettinius, recognizing that making this a precondition for United Nations membership would complicate Senate ratification of the United Nations Charter, opposed this suggestion. Ultimately, membership to the Court was made voluntary. (Schlesinger 240-1)

The San Francisco Conference closed on June 26, 1945. Truman was present at the final session for the signing of the United Nations Charter and congratulated the delegates for creating a "solid structure upon which we can build for a better world."

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(Schlesinger 289) However, Truman still needed to secure Senate ratification of United States membership. Both Truman and Stettinius urged the Senate to ratify the Charter quickly as an example to the other nations. In a testament to the sustained efforts to build support for the United Nations, the Charter passed in the Senate 89-2 with five abstentions on July 28, 1945. The United States was the third country to ratify the Charter after Nicaragua and El Salvador. (Schlesinger 274) The United Nations Participation Act, legislating a permanent ambassador and delegation to the United Nations, passed in Congress on December 20, 1945. The United Nations General Assembly voted to make its headquarters in New York City.

The first major test of the effectiveness of the United Nations as a forum to prevent widespread international conflict came in June 1950 with the North Korean invasion of South Korea. The United Nations Security Council moved to initiate military sanctions against North Korea. In addition, United Nations Resolution 376 passed in the General Assembly, stipulating that a unified, independent, and democratic government should exist on the Korean peninsula. This position served as justification for some United Nations military action. ((??EXPLAIN))

The increasing polarization of the international community between communist and non-communist nations complicated United Nations decisions on Korea and other issues, particularly in the Security Council where, as permanent members, the Soviet Union and the United States both enjoyed veto power. The Yalta decision that required unanimous decision between the five permanent members to pass any Security Council

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resolution resulted in frequent deadlock during this period of direct competition between the superpowers. As the Security Council became captive to opposing vetoes, the General Assembly took up more issues. (Kirgis 508) The United Nations ultimately expanded its scope to focus on a broader range of issues such as economic development, famine relief, and environmental protection that could be debated outside the Security Council. (Schlesinger 286)

Since the end of the Cold War, the United Nations has taken on added security responsibilities. (FOR EXAMPLE?) The United Nations Charter remains largely unchanged sixty years after the organization's establishment though the Security Council and the Economic and Social Council have increased in size. This change reflects the fact that the United Nations has grown from the original 51 members to nearly 200 in recent years.

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THE UNITED STATES AND THE FOUNDING OF THE UNITED NATIONS,
AUGUST 1941 – OCTOBER 1945 .

P21

The United States played an essential role in the 1945 establishment of the United Nations. ~~United States~~ The United Nations grew out of a reaction to the devastation of the Second World War, and a continuing commitment to the ideals of the League of Nations, the international organization formed following the First World War that was intended to prevent the outbreak of future international conflicts. President Franklin D. Roosevelt recognized the need for a more effective international organization at the end of the Second World War, and engaged in international and domestic diplomacy to build support for creating a new organization. The ~~United States~~ role was critical in every respect—: Roosevelt carefully built an international coalition to create the basis for the new organization and invited all eligible states to San Francisco for a conference on forming the United Nations. After Roosevelt's death, Truman assumed the important task of maintaining the wartime alliance and preserving support for the United Nations. He also maneuvered adroitly to sustain ~~United States~~U.S. Congressional and public support for the step. ~~Finally, the United States is host to the~~ The location of the United Nations headquarters in New York City— remains a lasting symbol of the strong role the United States played in the creation of the United Nations.

~~The United Nations grew out of a reaction against the devastation of the Second World War and a continuing commitment to the ideals of the League of Nations, the international organization formed following the First World War that was intended to prevent the outbreak of future international conflicts. Efforts to create the United Nations, however, were made in the context of the League's ineffectiveness in preventing the outbreak of the Second World War.~~

Facing the bloodshed of the first "Great War," President Woodrow Wilson, and a number of other American leaders, ~~had believed that a postwar League of Nations, backed by strong United States support, would provide the~~ establishment of an international forum was essential necessary to resolving global isscuelonflicts and maintaining a peaceful international order. The Versailles Treaty that ended World War I, which Wilson negotiated personally, contained a framework for a League of Nations, intended to maintain peace and stability, that Wilson hoped might help rectify some of the treaty's other flaws. ~~Despite~~However, despite Wilson's efforts to gain the support of political leaders and the American public, he was unable to convince the United States Senate to approve U.S. ~~League~~ membership in the League, due to strong isolationist sentiment and partisan conflicts stemming in part from his failure to include any prominent Republicans in the peace negotiations. ~~Those who resisted American participation in the~~The League's opponents criticized it as a threat to ~~to United States~~American sovereignty and American security. The sticking point for the most strident opponents of the League was Article X of its Charter, ~~that~~which committed member states to protect against external aggression the territorial integrity of all other ~~signatories~~member states—, and This seemed to obligate the United States to become involved in wars ~~that might~~ defending dubious, often contested, colonial boundaries. ~~Furthermore, m~~Many also argued that membership

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in the League could challenge the Monroe Doctrine, interfere with American immigration and tariff laws, necessitate the establishment of a standing army, and increase the power of the President to declare war, at the expense of Congress to declare war. After considering joining the League with reservations, the Senate ultimately defeated the Treaty in 1919 and in 1920, and ~~¶~~The United States never joined the League. That organization, ~~which~~, despite its efforts, remained weak and unable to resolve the conflicts that arose from the aftermath of the Versailles Treaty. ~~remained weak and unable to maintain international peace in the 1930s.~~ ((Should we expand the last sentence a little bit to outline the specific weaknesses of the LON that the UN later rectified?))

President Franklin D. Roosevelt recognized the inherent weaknesses of the League of Nations, but also saw the need for an international organization to maintain peace ~~once~~ World War II ended. ((Do we have more details on why? Coming after the list of objections above, one wonders why those are not still relevant.)) ~~As such, he championed the cause of postwar international cooperation in a series of high-level meetings during the war.~~ The Roosevelt Administration's efforts to shape a new postwar organization began even before the United States entered into the conflict, and continued apace after Pearl Harbor. These efforts included not only high-level diplomacy, but efforts to gain domestic acceptance for U.S. membership in an international organization. The first wartime meeting between British Prime Minister Winston Churchill and President Roosevelt, the Atlantic Conference held off the coast of Newfoundland in August ~~of~~ 1941, took place before the United States had formally entered the war as a combatant. Despite its formal position of neutrality, the United States joined Britain in declaring the Atlantic Charter. This pronouncement outlined a vision for a postwar order supported, in part, by an effective international organization that would replace the struggling League of Nations. During this meeting, Roosevelt privately suggested the name of the future organization, the United Nations, to Churchill. (Schlesinger 38)

The governments of the United States, China, the Soviet Union, and the United Kingdom formalized the Atlantic Charter proposals in January 1942, shortly after the United States entered the war. In the Declaration of the United Nations, these major Allied nations, along with 22 other states, agreed to work together against ~~the Tripartite Pact~~ Axis powers, and committed in ~~principal principle to some form of international cooperation in the postwar period~~ to the establishment of the United Nations after the war.

Learning from Woodrow Wilson's failure to gain Congressional support for the League of Nations ~~in the 1920s~~, the Roosevelt White House embarked upon a massive campaign to educate the American public and garner its support for a proposed United Nations. (Schlesinger 8, 53) The State Department played a significant role in this effort, and created a Special Subcommittee on International Organization in the Advisory Committee on Postwar Planning to lobby Congress. The subcommittee reviewed past efforts at international cooperation, and had drafted a formal proposal to establish a new one ((effort? Organization?)) by March 1943. Secretary of State Cordell Hull took the proposal to members of Congress in an effort to build bipartisan support for the proposed postwar organization. (Gazell 382-3) Consultations between Congress and the Department of State continued into the summer of 1943 and by August, produced a draft

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United Nations Charter. Congress repeatedly passed resolutions declaring its support for United States membership in an international organization. ~~In September 1943, Republican leaders issued a statement endorsing United States participation in a United Nations and the House of Representatives voted in support of a resolution introduced by Senator J. William Fulbright that formally approved of the creation of a postwar international organization. In November 1943, the United States Senate overwhelmingly declared their support for a similar resolution, presented by Senator Tom Connally. (Gazell 381)~~ ((NOTE: Sarah's more detailed language wasn't as clear, so I think this is fine.)) As the war drew to an end, public interest in the United Nations increased, helped by a massive education campaign by the Administration.

~~On the international scene,~~†The major Allied Powers—the United States, Soviet Union, Great Britain, and China—reiterated their commitment to forming an international organization in the Moscow Declaration of October 30, 1943, and more concrete planning for the structure of the new organization commenced. ~~At the~~ Representatives from these four countries met at Dumbarton Oaks ~~Conversations held in Washington, DC from August 21, 1944 through October 7, 1944, and the four Allied powers issued a statement of Proposals for the Establishment of a General International Organization, largely based on the draft charter formulated by the State Department's Subcommittee on International Organization.~~

The basic framework for the proposed United Nations rested on President Roosevelt's vision that the United States, Great Britain, Soviet Union, and China, would provide leadership in the postwar international system. It was these four states, with the addition of France, that would assume permanent seats in the otherwise rotating membership of the United Nations Security Council. At the Anglo-American Malta Conference in early 1945, the two sides agreed the permanent members of the Security Council would have a veto. Immediately thereafter, at the Yalta Conference, the United States, Great Britain, and the Soviet Union further agreed on veto power for the permanent members of the Security Council. This crucial decision essentially required unanimity between the five permanent members on the pressing international decisions related to international security and use of force brought before the Security Council. In addition, Churchill and Roosevelt acceded to Stalin's request that the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic and the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic be seated in the United Nations General Assembly, thus increasing Stalin's seats in that body to three. At Yalta, the three states drafted invitations to a conference to establish the United Nations in San Francisco beginning in April 1945. ~~At the Yalta Conference of February 1945, the British and the Soviets agreed to Roosevelt's proposal that the permanent members of the Security Council should have a veto on all non-procedural issues. This crucial decision essentially required unanimity between the five permanent members on the pressing international decisions related to international security and use of force brought before the Security Council. At Yalta, Churchill and Roosevelt also acceded to Soviet Premier Josef Stalin's request that the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic and the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic be seated in the General Assembly of the United Nations, thus increasing Stalin's seats to three. Other nations were permitted one representative apiece. The three leaders also outlined plans for a conference to establish the United Nations in San~~

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~~San Francisco beginning in April 1945 and planned to invite states that had declared war against the Axis before March 1, 1945. (Sherwood 71)~~

~~President Roosevelt never saw his vision of a United Nations take form as he died on April 12, 1945, days before the legendary San Francisco Conference was scheduled to take place. Vice-President Harry S Truman took the oath of office and immediately announced that the San Francisco Conference should go forward as planned. Moved by Roosevelt's death, Stalin, who had initially planned to send Ambassador Andrei Gromyko as the Soviet representative to the San Francisco conference, announced that he would send Foreign Minister Vyacheslav Molotov as well. (Schlesinger 11-2) This news heartened American officials, who as they had been concerned about maintaining Soviet interest and participation in the United Nations. (Schlesinger 15) In an address to Congress shortly thereafter, Truman called upon Americans "regardless of party race, creed or color, to support our efforts to build a strong and lasting United Nations organization."~~

~~The United States delegation to San Francisco included Secretary of State Edward R. Stettinius, former Secretary of State Cordell Hull, Senators Tom Connally and Arthur Vandenberg, as well as other Congressional and public representatives.~~

The San Francisco Conference, formally known as the United Nations Conference on International Organization, opened on April 25, 1945, with delegations from 50 countries present. The U.S. delegation to San Francisco included Secretary of State Edward R. Stettinius, former Secretary of State Hull, and Senators Tom Connally (D-TX) and Arthur Vandenberg (R-MI), as well as other Congressional and public representatives. ~~A number of issues complicated the proceedings of the San Francisco Conference, particularly the seating of Argentina, the Ukrainian and Byelorussian republics, and Poland. The vote to seat Argentina proved a troublesome stumbling block as the Soviet Union strongly opposed to Argentina's membership due to its support of the Axis during the war. The other Latin American states, however, refused to allow the Ukrainian and Byelorussian candidacies if Argentina was blocked. The United States opted to support Argentina's membership in the hopes it would secure the Ukrainian and Byelorussian seats and keep the USSR invested in the United Nations. Polish membership was not agreed to at San Francisco as the makeup of the postwar Polish government and Polish borders were a continuing source of tension between the wartime allies. (Schlesinger 134-42) ((ELABORATE?? One of the most contentious issues at the San Francisco Conference was the seating of Argentina, the Ukrainian and Byelorussian republics, and Poland. The vote to seat Argentina was particularly contentious because the Soviet Union was strongly opposed to Argentine membership due to its perceived support for the Axis during the war. The other Latin American states, however, would not support the Ukrainian and Byelorussian candidacies if Argentina were blocked. The United States thus had to support Argentina's membership to secure the Ukrainian and Byelorussian seats and keep the USSR invested in the United Nations. Only Polish membership was not agreed to at San Francisco; The makeup of the Polish government was a continuing source of tension between the wartime allies, and a Polish delegation was not seated (Poland did later sign the charter and is considered an original Member State.)))~~

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At San Francisco, the delegates reviewed and often rewrote the text agreed to at Dumbarton Oaks. The delegations negotiated a role for regional organizations under the United Nations umbrella, among other questions. At San Francisco, the delegates outlined the powers of the office of Secretary General, including the authority to refer conflicts to the Security Council. A mandatory World Court was also considered, but Stettinius recognized the establishment of a World Court could imperil Senate ratification. Instead, each state made its own determination about World Court membership. Other bodies were to include an Economic and Social Council, and a Trusteeship Council to assist in the process of decolonization. A General Assembly would have general membership, while other bodies would have smaller, rotating geographic representation.

The scope of the veto power of the permanent members of the Security Council proved a far more serious obstacle for delegates at the San Francisco Conference. The Soviet Union advocated broad use of the veto, and even saw it as a possible tool to curb discussion on conflicts involving a permanent member. Such an interpretation worried the smaller states that were already hesitant about the permanent veto. (Kirgis 507) In order to gain Soviet agreement to drop such an expansive interpretation of the veto, Truman directed Roosevelt aide Harry Hopkins to travel to Moscow and negotiate with Stalin on the issue. ~~In the hope of moderating the Soviet position, Truman had sent former Roosevelt aide Harry Hopkins to Moscow to discuss the issue with Stalin.~~ (Finkelstein 368) After bilateral Soviet-American negotiations in Moscow, the Soviet Union eventually agreed to a less extensive veto power. At San Francisco, the delegates also agreed on the basic structure of the office of a Secretary General as well as the powers of that office, including the authority to refer serious conflicts to the Security Council. (Kirgis 507) Delegates also considered requiring mandatory participation of United Nations members in a World Court, but Stettinius, recognizing that making this a precondition for United Nations membership would complicate Senate ratification of the United Nations Charter, opposed this suggestion. Ultimately, membership to the Court was made voluntary. (Schlesinger 240-1)

The San Francisco Conference closed on June 26, 1945. In a show of public support, Truman ~~was present at~~ attended the final session for the signing of the United Nations Charter, and congratulated the delegates for creating a "solid structure upon which we can build for a better world." (Schlesinger 289) However, Truman still needed to secure Senate ratification of United States membership. ~~Both Truman and Stettinius urged the Senate to ratify the Charter quickly as an example to the other nations.~~ Both Truman and Stettinius urged the Senate to ratify the Charter with Truman saying, "I want to see the United States do it first." -In a testament to the sustained efforts to build support for the United Nations, the Charter passed in the Senate by a vote of 89 to -2 with ~~five~~5 abstentions on July 28, 1945. (The United States ratification followed that of ~~was~~ the third country to ratify the Charter after Nicaragua and El Salvador.) (Schlesinger 274) The United Nations Participation Act, legislating a permanent ambassador and delegation to the United Nations, passed in Congress on December 20, 1945.

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At its first session, on February 14, 1946, the United Nations General Assembly voted to make its headquarters in New York City. In a world emerging from the overwhelming conflict of World War II, the United Nations seemed to represent a beacon of hope that such devastation would not recur. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights, adopted by the General Assembly in 1948, represented this optimism and idealism. Yet the first test for the United Nations came in June 1950 with the outbreak of war between North and South Korea. In response, the United Nations Security Council initiated military sanctions against North Korea, in an action made possible by the temporary absence of the Soviet Union over the question of Chinese representation ((correct?)). United Nations General Assembly Resolution 376 stipulated a unified, independent, and democratic government should exist on the Korean peninsula, justifying for some United Nations military action in the conflict. Other issues brought before the United Nations include Cyprus, and the Cuban Missile Crisis. As the Cold War unfolded, the Security Council became captive to opposing vetoes, leading the General Assembly to address more issues. During the Cold War, the United Nations expanded its scope to focus on economic development, famine relief, women's rights, and environmental protection, among other issues. With the end of the Cold War, the United Nations has taken on increasing security responsibilities, negotiating peaceful resolutions to conflict and deploying peacekeeping forces around the world. In recognition of the organization's significant contributions, the United Nations and United Nations Secretary General Kofi Annan won the 2001 Nobel Peace Prize. The Norwegian Nobel Committee declared in its award citation, "Today the organization is at the forefront of efforts to achieve peace and security in the world, and of the international mobilization aimed at meeting the world's economic, social and environmental challenges...the only negotiable route to global peace and cooperation goes by way of the United Nations."

~~The first major test of the effectiveness of the United Nations as a forum to prevent widespread international conflict came in June 1950 with the North Korean invasion of South Korea. The United Nations Security Council moved to initiate military sanctions against North Korea. In addition, United Nations Resolution 376 passed in the General Assembly, stipulating that a unified, independent, and democratic government should exist on the Korean peninsula. This position served as justification for some United Nations military action. ((??EXPLAIN))~~

~~The increasing polarization of the international community between communist and non-communist nations complicated United Nations decisions on Korea and other issues, particularly in the Security Council where, as permanent members, the Soviet Union and the United States both enjoyed veto power. The Yalta decision that required unanimous decision between the five permanent members to pass any Security Council resolution resulted in frequent deadlock during this period of direct competition between the superpowers. As the Security Council became captive to opposing vetoes, the General Assembly took up more issues. (Kirgis 508) The United Nations ultimately expanded its scope to focus on a broader range of issues such as economic development,~~

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~~famine relief, and environmental protection that could be debated outside the Security Council. (Schlesinger 286)~~

~~Since the end of the Cold War, the United Nations has taken on added security responsibilities. (FOR EXAMPLE?) The United Nations Charter remains largely unchanged sixty years after the organization's establishment though the Security Council and the Economic and Social Council have increased in size. This change reflects the fact that the United Nations has grown from the original 51 members to nearly 200 in recent years.~~

PA/HO

Q/ Research / United Nations Founding rev. 10-14-05.doc
Rev. 10-14-05

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Hove, Mark T (PACE)

P23

From: Morales, Abigail
Sent: Friday, 19 August, 2005 09:06
To: Claussen, Paul
Cc: Snider, J. David; Herrmann, Lois M
Subject: RE: 60th Anniversary of United Nations, October 2005

Follow Up Flag: Follow up
Flag Status: Red

Thanks, Paul. Yes, indeed, it will be quite useful. With IO we have prepared in the past (and might again this year) one-pagers for UNGA and your material could be added to the material that is sent up to NY. It can also be posted on the Department website and also on the student's website.

****Abigail

-----Original Message-----

From: Claussen, Paul
Sent: Thursday, August 18, 2005 6:03 PM
To: Morales, Abigail
Subject: FW: 60th Anniversary of United Nations, October 2005

Abigail,

I intended to copy you on this. Paul

-----Original Message-----

From: Claussen, Paul
Sent: Thursday, August 18, 2005 6:00 PM
To: Snider, J. David
Cc: Holly, Susan K
Subject: 60th Anniversary of United Nations, October 2005

David,

I think I mentioned some time ago that the IO Bureau suggested we do a short historical piece on the 60th anniversary of the founding of the United Nations in 1945. It would have multiple purposes. Let us know if you think that would be useful.

Paul

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Hove, Mark T (PACE)

From: Garrett, Amy C (PACE)
Sent: Wednesday, 14 September, 2005 17:52
To: Claussen, Paul
Subject: RE: Proposed unclassified piece on the founding of the United Nations

P24

This could definitely be interesting. Perhaps we can talk about the details tomorrow? Such as, when is this supposed to be finished?

-----Original Message-----

From: Claussen, Paul
Sent: Wednesday, September 14, 2005 5:49 PM
To: Garrett, Amy C (PACE)
Subject: Proposed unclassified piece on the founding of the United Nations

Amy,

This may or may not be of interest to you as a brief diversion from DS History.

We have discussed with the Bureau of International organization Affairs (IO), USUN, and PA, the possibility of a short piece on the establishment of the United Nations, in connection with the forthcoming 60th anniversary in October. It would be published on the web and also be used as a briefing paper. It might resemble the acclaimed piece Robert Krikorian did for the end of WWII (attached).

This might involve meeting(s) and conversations with IO. I understand that IIP may also be working on something for an international audience.

I recently read a review of a new monograph on the founding of the U.N., including "warts and all" and new interpretations.

Please let me know if this interests you, or if we should tempt you with something even better.

Paul

<< File: U.S.-Russian End of WW II 1945 Rev 4-28-05.doc >>

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Office of the Historian



Bureau of Public Affairs

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF STATE

P24A

The United States, the Soviet Union, and the End of World War II

Wartime relations between the United States and the Soviet Union can be considered one of the highpoints in the longstanding interaction between these two great powers. Although not without tensions--such as differing ideological and strategic goals, and lingering suspicions--the collaborative relationship between the United States and the Soviet Union nonetheless was maintained. Moreover, it was instrumental in defeating Nazi Germany in 1945.

The United States greeted the democratic Russian Revolution of February 1917 with great enthusiasm, which cooled considerably with the advent of the Bolsheviks in October 1917. The United States, along with many other countries, refused to recognize the new regime, arguing that it was not a democratically elected or representative government. The policy of non-recognition ended in November 1933, when the United States, under President Franklin D. Roosevelt, established full diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union, the last major power to do so.

Despite outwardly cordial relations between the two countries, American misgivings regarding Soviet international behavior grew in the late 1930s. The August 1939 Nazi-Soviet Pact, which paved the way for Hitler's invasion of Poland in September, followed by the Soviet invasion of Poland's eastern provinces of Western Ukraine and Western Byelorussia, caused alarm in Washington. The Soviet attack on Finland in November 1939, followed by Stalin's absorption of the Baltic States of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania in 1940, further exacerbated relations.

The Nazi invasion of the Soviet Union in June 1941, however, led to changes in American attitudes. The United States began to see the Soviet Union as an embattled country being overrun by fascist forces, and this attitude was further reinforced in the aftermath of the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor in December 1941. Under the Lend-Lease Act, the United States sent enormous quantities of war materiel to the Soviet Union, which was critical in helping the Soviets withstand the Nazi onslaught. By the end of 1942, the Nazi advance into the Soviet Union had stalled; it was finally reversed at the epic battle of Stalingrad in 1943. Soviet forces then began a massive counteroffensive, which eventually expelled the Nazis from Soviet territory and beyond. This Soviet effort was aided by the cross-channel Allied landings at Normandy in June 1944.

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These coordinated military actions came about as the result of intensive and prolonged diplomatic negotiations between the Allied leaders, Roosevelt, Churchill and Stalin, who became known as the "Big Three." These wartime conferences, which also sought to address issues related to the postwar world, included the November 1943 Tehran Conference. At Tehran, Stalin secured confirmation from Roosevelt and Churchill of the launching of the cross-channel invasion. In turn, Stalin promised his allies that the Soviet Union would eventually enter the war against Japan. In February 1945, the "Big Three" met at Yalta in the Crimea. The Yalta Conference was the most important--and by far the most controversial--of the wartime meetings.

Recognizing the strong position that the Soviet Army held on the ground, Churchill--and an ailing Roosevelt--agreed to a number of things with Stalin. At Yalta, they granted territorial concessions to the Soviet Union, and outlined punitive measures against Germany, including Allied occupation and the principle of reparations. Stalin guaranteed that the Soviet Union would declare war on Japan within 6 months after the end of hostilities in Europe.

While the diplomats and politicians engaged in trying to shape the postwar world, Soviet forces from the east and Allied forces from the west continued to advance on Germany. After a fierce and costly battle, Berlin fell to Soviet forces on May 8, 1945, after Allied and Soviet troops had met on the Elbe River to shake hands and congratulate each other on a hard won impending victory. Although the war in Europe was over, it would take several more months of hard fighting and substantial losses for Allied forces to defeat the Japanese in September 1945, including the first use of the atomic bomb. In accordance with the Yalta agreements, the Soviet Union declared war on Japan in early August 1945, just prior to Japan's surrender in September.

The alliance between the United States and the Soviet Union during World War II developed out of necessity, and out of a shared realization that each country needed the other to defeat one of the most dangerous and destructive forces of the twentieth century. Ideological differences were subordinated, albeit temporarily, to the common goal of defeating fascism. As a result of this cooperation, the groundwork for a new international system was laid, out of which came the United Nations organization. The Soviets had suffered tremendous human and material losses during the war. Approximately 20 million people were killed, thousands of villages, towns, and cities were destroyed, and the Soviet Union's economic infrastructure was devastated. Despite the subsequent postwar controversies and the beginning of the Cold War, nothing can diminish the importance of the wartime cooperation between the United States and the Soviet Union.

*Office of the Historian
Bureau of Public Affairs
U.S. Department of State
May 2005*

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Drafted: PA/HO: Robert Krikorian

202-663-3901 rev. 4-28-2005

Research/U.S.-Russian End of WW II 1945 Rev 4-28-05.doc

Clearance:

P - JDeHart

D - EYoung

EUR/RUS - MWarlick

EUR/PPD - MSquire

PA -BEMurphy

PA/HO -MJSusser/PClaussen

Embassy Moscow - LWohlrs info

NSC - TEGraham

ECA - info

IIP - info

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Hove, Mark T (PACE)

From: Garrett, Amy C (PACE)
Sent: Thursday, 15 September, 2005 10:28
To: Claussen, Paul
Subject: RE: Proposed unclassified piece on the founding of the United Nations

P26

Paul,

I would be happy to work on this. Let me know when we get the official word that we should get started.

Amy

-----Original Message-----

From: Claussen, Paul
Sent: Wednesday, September 14, 2005 6:44 PM
To: Garrett, Amy C (PACE)
Subject: FW: Proposed unclassified piece on the founding of the United Nations

Amy,

We don't want to exhaust you with this. Think about it. I could ask Robert if he's interested.

Paul

-----Original Message-----

From: Claussen, Paul
Sent: Wednesday, September 14, 2005 5:49 PM
To: Garrett, Amy C (PACE)
Subject: Proposed unclassified piece on the founding of the United Nations

Amy,

This may or may not be of interest to you as a brief diversion from DS History.

We have discussed with the Bureau of International organization Affairs (IO), USUN, and PA, the possibility of a short piece on the establishment of the United Nations, in connection with the forthcoming 60th anniversary in October. It would be published on the web and also be used as a briefing paper. It might resemble the acclaimed piece Robert Krikorian did for the end of WWII (attached).

This might involve meeting(s) and conversations with IO. I understand that IIP may also be working on something for an international audience.

I recently read a review of a new monograph on the founding of the U.N., including "warts and all" and new interpretations.

Please let me know if this interests you, or if we should tempt you with something even better.

Paul

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Hove, Mark T (PACE)

From: Garrett, Amy C (PACE)
Sent: Friday, 23 September, 2005 13:16
To: Claussen, Paul
Subject: RE: update

P27

Great. Thanks for arranging with Sarah Snyder. I will push through on the DS revision until she gets back to us. I have been doing some light rewriting of some sections which I hope the others will not object to. It needed some work - there is no way around that. I am sure it will need even more. Please feel free to compare the old and new drafts to see if you agree with my changes.

Thanks!
Amy

-----Original Message-----

From: Claussen, Paul
Sent: Friday, September 23, 2005 1:14 PM
To: Garrett, Amy C (PACE)
Subject: RE: update

Amy.

Thanks very much. I'll continue my reading by going to the part you have revised.

On the UN paper, I asked Sarah Snyder (who is currently in NYC) to start the initial research, so don't worry. It will probably come to us as a narrative draft, with indication of sources. I ordered that recent book to be sent directly to her overnight--

Act of Creation: The Founding of the United Nations: A Story of Superpowers, Secret Agents, Wartime Allies and Enemies, and Their Quest for a Peaceful World by Stephen Schlesinger. It arrived this morning.

You don't necessarily have to do anything at this point, unless you'd like to take a break and look at a few books or articles to see what's out there..

Sarah is very bright and pretty fast. I said we'd need something by or before the end of September. As soon as we have something I'll let you know.

Cheers,
Paul

-----Original Message-----

From: Garrett, Amy C (PACE)
Sent: Friday, September 23, 2005 9:24 AM
To: Claussen, Paul
Subject: update

Hi Paul,

I just wanted to let you know a couple of things before I forget. First, I have been making revisions to the DS draft. I am a hundred pages into it. So, if you want to start serious reading, you could begin with that. The document you might want to work off is located on the shared drive, under DS Project folder. Within that it is located in the Paper Drafts, Amy's Drafts folders. It's called Draft 2 Final Narrative. I will hopefully finish revising the remainder of the first merge by the end of next week.

Regarding the UN paper, I am still interested. Based on our discussions, though, I have been holding off as it is my understanding that you have asked the woman in Philadelphia to do some initial research. If I am mistaken, please let me know right away so I can start working on that.

Hope all is well!

Amy

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Amy Garrett, Ph.D.
U.S. Department of State
Bureau of Public Affairs
Office of the Historian
Policy Studies Division
Tel: (202) 663 3415
Fax: (202) 663 1289

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Hove, Mark T (PACE)

From: Garrett, Amy C (PACE)
Sent: Monday, 03 October, 2005 15:21
To: Claussen, Paul
Subject: RE: Proposed historical piece on the 60th anniversary of the United Nations

P28

Paul, tomorrow would be a little better if they want to meet - we might have the draft by then!

-----Original Message-----

From: Claussen, Paul
Sent: Monday, October 03, 2005 2:58 PM
To: Fennell, Daniel J(Main State Rm 1318); Claussen, Paul
Cc: USUN, PublicAffairs(NY); Denig, Paul N(Main State Rm 1318); Godfrey, Jennifer H(Main State Rm 1318); Wilbur, Richard M(Main State Rm 1317); Chikes, Csaba(Main State Rm 1318); Garrett, Amy C (PACE)
Subject: RE: Proposed historical piece on the 60th anniversary of the United Nations

Dany,

I just wanted to confirm that we'll have a paper shortly.
Do you still want to talk about it?

Paul

-----Original Message-----

From: Fennell, Daniel J
Sent: Wednesday, September 14, 2005 5:04 PM
To: Claussen, Paul(PA/HO/SP)
Cc: USUN, PublicAffairs ; Denig, Paul N; Godfrey, Jennifer H; Wilbur, Richard M; Chikes, Csaba
Subject: RE: Proposed historical piece on the 60th anniversary of the United Nations

Paul,

This is a welcome and very timely offer. IO/PPC has been working with IIP on a few historically-oriented articles, and your project might be an excellent companion. Can we get together to talk about this with our PD team in the IO bureau?

Many thanks,
Dany Fennell

Daniel Fennell
Bureau of International Organization Affairs
U.S. Department of State
(202) 647-7142
FennellDJ@state.gov

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE
REVIEW AUTHORITY: THEODORE SELLIN
DATE/CASE ID: 22 FEB 2008 200704292

1
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-----Original Message-----

From: Claussen, Paul

Sent: Wednesday, September 14, 2005 4:46 PM

To: Godfrey, Jennifer H(Main State Rm 1318); Fennell, Daniel J(Main State Rm 1318); USUN, PublicAffairs(NY)

Cc: IO Staff Assistants; USUN-PA-Public

Subject: Proposed historical piece on the 60th anniversary of the United Nations

<<U.S.-Russian End of WW II 1945 Rev 4-28-05.doc>>

The Office of the Historian (PA/HO) often produces short historical background papers on significant historical developments or anniversaries for public affairs use. A recent example is a 2-pager for the 60th anniversary of the end of World War II

on the United States, the Soviet Union, and the End of World War II (attached).

It is possible that we could do a short piece for the 60th anniversary of the founding of the United Nations, that could be used for public affairs and public diplomacy purposes, including the Department's website.

Please let us know if you would like us to do this.

Paul

Paul Claussen
Chief, Policy Studies and Outreach Division
Office of the Historian (PA/HO)
202-663-1126

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Hove, Mark T (PACE)

From: Garrett, Amy C (PACE)
Sent: Monday, 03 October, 2005 15:38
To: Claussen, Paul
Subject: RE: Proposed historical piece on the 60th anniversary of the United Nations

P29

Good idea! Thanks.

-----Original Message-----

From: Claussen, Paul
Sent: Monday, October 03, 2005 3:38 PM
To: Garrett, Amy C (PACE)
Subject: RE: Proposed historical piece on the 60th anniversary of the United Nations

Amy,

Sarah is actually still working on it, and it might take until Wednesday.
I suggested Thursday to the IO people, if that's OK with you.

Paul

-----Original Message-----

From: Garrett, Amy C (PACE)
Sent: Monday, October 03, 2005 3:21 PM
To: Claussen, Paul
Subject: RE: Proposed historical piece on the 60th anniversary of the United Nations

Paul, tomorrow would be a little better if they want to meet - we might have the draft by then!

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From: Claussen, Paul
Sent: Monday, October 03, 2005 2:58 PM
To: Fennell, Daniel J(Main State Rm 1318); Claussen, Paul
Cc: USUN, PublicAffairs(NY); Denig, Paul N(Main State Rm 1318); Godfrey, Jennifer H(Main State Rm 1318); Wilbur, Richard M(Main State Rm 1317); Chikes, Csaba(Main State Rm 1318); Garrett, Amy C (PACE)
Subject: RE: Proposed historical piece on the 60th anniversary of the United Nations

Dany,

I just wanted to confirm that we'll have a paper shortly.
Do you still want to talk about it?

Paul

-----Original Message-----

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE
REVIEW AUTHORITY: THEODORE SELLIN
DATE/CASE ID: 22 FEB 2008 200704292

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From: Fennell, Daniel J
Sent: Wednesday, September 14, 2005 5:04 PM
To: Claussen, Paul(PA/HO/SP)
Cc: USUN, PublicAffairs ; Denig, Paul N; Godfrey, Jennifer H; Wilbur, Richard M; Chikes, Csaba
Subject: RE: Proposed historical piece on the 60th anniversary of the United Nations

Paul,

This is a welcome and very timely offer. IO/PPC has been working with IIP on a few historically-oriented articles, and your project might be an excellent companion. Can we get together to talk about this with our PD team in the IO bureau?

Many thanks,
Dany Fennell

Daniel Fennell
Bureau of International Organization Affairs
U.S. Department of State
(202) 647-7142
FennellDJ@state.gov

This e-mail is UNCLASSIFIED based upon provisions found in E.O. 12958.

-----Original Message-----

From: Claussen, Paul
Sent: Wednesday, September 14, 2005 4:46 PM
To: Godfrey, Jennifer H(Main State Rm 1318); Fennell, Daniel J(Main State Rm 1318); USUN, PublicAffairs(NY)
Cc: IO Staff Assistants; USUN-PA-Public
Subject: Proposed historical piece on the 60th anniversary of the United Nations

<<U.S.-Russian End of WW II 1945 Rev 4-28-05.doc>>

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It is possible that we could do a short piece for the 60th anniversary of the founding of the United Nations, that could be used for public affairs and public diplomacy purposes, including the Department's website.

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Please let us know if you would like us to do this.

Paul

Paul Claussen
Chief, Policy Studies and Outreach Division
Office of the Historian (PA/HO)
202-663-1126

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Hove, Mark T (PACE)

From: Claussen, Paul
Sent: Wednesday, 12 October, 2005 09:39
To: Garrett, Amy C (PACE)
Subject: Paper on founding of UN

P30

Amy,

Welcome back!

I have a few small suggestions on the UN paper, but I haven't really focused on it in the past few days.

Both the opening lead-in and the conclusion could probably be strengthened a little.

Could you take a look, and maybe we can move it forward this afternoon.

Thanks
Paul

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Hove, Mark T (PACE)

From: Hove, Mark T (PACE)
Sent: Monday, 17 October, 2005 16:56
To: Claussen, Paul
Subject: Comments on UN Paper

P34

Paul,

Overall, the piece on the founding of the United Nations is quite good. It does quite well on some of the important debates surrounding the founding of the international body, particularly the question of veto power, the World Court, and on the admission of Argentina. The essay does particularly well on the developments that occurred in the wartime conferences. The conclusion, ending on the Nobel Peace Prize, I find particularly effective.

I like the idea of connecting the roots of the United Nations to the League of Nations; however, the essay seems to get lost in the League. I started to wonder whether the essay was about the United Nations or the emergence of international organizations, which is a slightly different topic. The section on the League should be one-third to one-half the size it is now.

As the official diplomatic agency of the United States government, I believe we should use the proper/formal name of treaties: It is "the Treaty of Versailles," not the Versailles Treaty.

Below are comments on the individual paragraphs:

Paragraph 1:

1. I think the essay should say the U.S. played "a *leading* role" in the creation of the UN. The essay seems to suggest this, and "essential" is a little ill-defined.
2. Sentence 2 "The UN grew out of ..." is questionable and over-generalized. I would agree on the commitment to ideals, but would argue that the desire for a UN arose by that mere fact another world war occurred, not the devastation. I would argue that the UN arose because the sense was the League did not have enough clout and powers, and thus could not prevent Japan from seizing Manchuria or prevent Hitler from moving in Europe.
3. Something needs to be done with "eligible states." If one introduces the concept of eligible - and therefore ineligible states- then it needs to be explained. Probably another word is needed here.
4. "Adroitly" is too subjective and needs to be cut; and a "maneuver" can have a negative "backroom" connotation.
5. The last sentence seems disjointed from the rest of the introduction and could be cut.

Paragraph 2:

1. Already discussed above.
2. "Wilson negotiated personally" sounds like Wilson did it himself, with David Lloyd George and Georges Clemenceau having very little role.
3. The paragraph ends with the implied idea that because the United States did not join; therefore, it was a "weak" body. The United States was only one of several powers that emerged after the war, and Britain, France, Italy, and Japan all joined the League. It reads as a little "Amero-centric" and miscasts the relation of U.S. power at the time with other powers of the period.

Paragraph 3:

1. This paragraph mentions efforts to promote an international organization before the war, as well as domestic efforts, but does not specify them. This is too vague, and I would suggest cutting sentences 2

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and 3, and go straight to FDR's meeting with Churchill.

Paragraph 4:

1. Is this the Cairo Conference? This is a little vague here.

Paragraph 5:

1. This paragraph blends two different topics: efforts to lobby Congress for a draft charter and efforts to build public support. This needs to be two paragraphs. Also, were the efforts to build popular support "massive". There is no indication that it is massive, because no specific outreach/campaign efforts are discussed.

Paragraph 6:

1. This is a confusing paragraph. The one before suggests that Congress seemed to help draft the charter, but now is the Subcommittee. Which is it?
2. "and more concrete planning...commenced" can be cut. Also, it makes it sound as though earlier planning was not "concrete," as some sort of wishful thinking.

Paragraph 7:

1. I do not believe that these are "Stalin's seats," so much as they are the "Soviet Union's seats." Stalin died in 1953, but the Soviet Union still retained the extra two seats.
2. "crucial" is rather subjective, and "use of force" seems a little redundant given the broad "international security."

Paragraph 8:

1. How is the SF Conference "legendary"? This is too subjective and should be cut.
2. Comma missing after "party" in the last sentence.

Paragraph 9:

1. The sentence on U.S. support for Argentina is very awkward. It sounds as though the United States wanted the Ukraine and Byelorussian seats, but no seat for Argentina. This was debated in State before the conference and Senator Vandenberg played a key role in working this out.
2. Since sentence 2 uses included, then "as well as other..." can be cut.
3. The section on Poland could start with "The makeup...", cutting the earlier sentence. It keeps the same idea and meaning.

Paragraph 10:

1. Since the paragraph emphasizes that all these were decisions by the delegates, each sentence needs to keep this as the actor. Moving to passive or another actor becomes confusing. The "other bodies" sentence is not clear.

Paragraph 11:

1. I would recommend cutting "Roosevelt aide." It is an extra detail that could confuse since FDR has already died.
2. Since Hopkins went to Moscow to negotiate with Stalin, did not *Stalin* "eventually agree"?

Paragraph 12:

1. The last sentence is a little confusing since at first, it sounds a little like it is the same act.

Paragraph 13:

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1. This paragraph tries to cover too many different things and seems jumbled. The "first test" of Korea is a separate paragraph (Why not say, UN took action because North Korea invaded South Korean. "The outbreak of war" seems bland. The first sentence on NYC location seems misplaced. The "beacon" is, well, very subjective, and I would seriously question that the Declaration for Human Rights was passed for this reason.
2. "Unfolded" and "become captive" are not good choices, the latter particularly because it hold the United States (and therefore the State Department) partially at fault for the vetoes. Perhaps "Opposing vetoes hampered the Security Council"?

Paragraph 14:

1. Verb agreement. Should be "negotiated" and "deployed". Goes with "taken on" not "increasing".

-----Original Message-----

From: Claussen, Paul
Sent: Monday, 17 October, 2005 13:56
Subject: Draft Paper on Founding of United Nations: REQUEST FOR COMMENT

<< File: United Nations Founding 1945 10-17-05 rev.doc >>

I'd be grateful for your comments by COB today on the attached draft paper on the United States and the United Nations, August 1941-October 1945. It is intended for the Department's website.

Thanks

Paul

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Hove, Mark T (PACE)

From: Garrett, Amy C (PACE)
Sent: Tuesday, 18 October, 2005 16:45
To: Claussen, Paul; Kovalik, Susan F (PACE)
Subject: RE: UN Paper

P42

Paul,

Why don't you look over the latest version and jot down any changes you have to suggest. Susan and I went over all of our edits after you left and they are reflected in the latest draft. The big outstanding change is an addition detailing the weaknesses of the League and what attempts were made by to strengthen them in the UN Charter.

Amy

-----Original Message-----

From: Claussen, Paul
Sent: Tuesday, October 18, 2005 4:34 PM
To: Garrett, Amy C (PACE); Kovalik, Susan F (PACE)
Subject: RE: UN Paper

Thanks!

Do we need to meet for a few more minutes? I'm back.

Paul

-----Original Message-----

From: Garrett, Amy C (PACE)
Sent: Tuesday, October 18, 2005 4:31 PM
To: Kovalik, Susan F (PACE); Claussen, Paul
Subject: UN Paper

The latest corrected version. Paul, could you ask Sarah to 1/ briefly describe the nature of the education programs Roosevelt's administration created to win public support for the UN and 2/ ask if she has any information on what the perceived weaknesses of the League were and how leaders sought to strengthen the UN?

Thanks!
Amy

<< File: UN founding 10-18-05 rev.doc >>

Amy Garrett, Ph.D.
U.S. Department of State
Bureau of Public Affairs
Office of the Historian
Policy Studies Division
Tel: (202) 663 3415
Fax: (202) 663 1289

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Hove, Mark T (PACE)

From: Garrett, Amy C (PACE)
Sent: Tuesday, 18 October, 2005 17:29
To: Claussen, Paul; Kovalik, Susan F (PACE)
Subject: RE: UN Paper

P43

I checked the Nobel Peace Prize website. The committee does refer to itself as the Norwegian Nobel Committee and not the Norwegian Nobel Prize Committee. All the Nobel prizes are granted from Oslo - I don't know where we got Sweden from.

-----Original Message-----

From: Claussen, Paul
Sent: Tuesday, October 18, 2005 4:34 PM
To: Garrett, Amy C (PACE); Kovalik, Susan F (PACE)
Subject: RE: UN Paper

Thanks!

Do we need to meet for a few more minutes? I'm back.

Paul

-----Original Message-----

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Subject: UN Paper

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Thanks!
Amy

<< File: UN founding 10-18-05 rev.doc >>

Amy Garrett, Ph.D.
U.S. Department of State
Bureau of Public Affairs
Office of the Historian
Policy Studies Division
Tel: (202) 663 3415
Fax: (202) 663 1289

UNCLASSIFIED
RELEASED IN FULL

Hove, Mark T (PACE)

From: Claussen, Paul
Sent: Tuesday, 18 October, 2005 21:06
To: Legal-L-UNA
Subject: FW: FOR CLEARANCE: PA/HO paper on U.S. and Founding of United Nations, 1945

PA4

For L/UNA comment or clearance, if appropriate.

Paul

-----Original Message-----

From: Claussen, Paul
Sent: Tuesday, October 18, 2005 9:03 PM
To: Fennell, Daniel J(Main State Rm 1318)
Cc: USUN, PublicAffairs(NY); Denig, Paul N(Main State Rm 1318); Godfrey, Jennifer H(Main State Rm 1318); Wilbur, Richard M(Main State Rm 1317); Chikes, Csaba(Main State Rm 1318); IO Staff Assistants
Subject: FOR CLEARANCE: PA/HO paper on U.S. and Founding of United Nations, 1945

I'm forwarding for IO and USUN clearance the draft of a historical paper on "The United States and the Founding of the United Nations, August 1941-October 1945," prepared by the Office of the Historian. Among other uses, it would presumably be posted on the Department's website.

May I have your response by COB Wednesday October 19?

Thanks,

Paul

Paul Claussen
Chief, Policy Studies Division
Office of the Historian (PA/HO)
202-663-1126

The Office of the Historian (PA/HO) often produces short historical background papers on significant historical developments or anniversaries for public affairs use. A recent example is a 2-pager for the 60th anniversary of the end of World War II on the United States, the Soviet Union, and the End of World War II (attached).

It is possible that we could do a short piece for the 60th anniversary of the founding of the United Nations, that could be used for public affairs and public diplomacy purposes, including the Department's website.

Please let us know if you would like us to do this.

Paul

Paul Claussen
Chief, Policy Studies and Outreach Division
Office of the Historian (PA/HO)
202-663-1126

UNCLASSIFIED
RELEASED IN FULL

Hove, Mark T (PACE)

From: Herschler, David H
Sent: Wednesday, 19 October, 2005 07:13
To: Claussen, Paul
Subject: RE: Draft paper on Founding of UN

F46

Paul:

I'm assuming this paper is meant primarily for dissemination to the public through our website, is that correct? It's a good overview.

I've made a number of suggested emendations, the most substantive of which is that I think the paper needs to briefly explain how the proposed new international organization would differ from the failed League through the establishment of a Security Council. This is needed to set up the development of the Council that you have in the next section.

I've left my annotated copy in your box.

David

-----Original Message-----

From: Claussen, Paul
Sent: Tuesday, October 18, 2005 9:12 PM
To: Herschler, David H
Subject: Draft paper on Founding of UN

<< File: UN founding 10-18-05 rev.doc >>

David,

Attached for your preliminary clearance is a draft paper on "The United States and the Founding of the United Nations, August 1941-October 1945," prepared at the suggestion of IO and USUN in connection with the 60th anniversary this month of the signing of the UN charter.

Paul

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RELEASED IN FULL

Hove, Mark T (PACE)

From: Garrett, Amy C (PACE)
Sent: Wednesday, 19 October, 2005 09:15
To: 'Sarah Snyder'; Claussen, Paul
Cc: Garrett, Amy C (PACE); 'amycgarret@aol.com'; Kovalik, Susan F (PACE); 'SKTdesign16@aol.com'; 'mpclaussen@aol.com'
Subject: RE: UN paper: A few more queries

P47

Thank you very much, Sara. That's exactly what we needed on the education programs. Regarding the League weaknesses, if you happen to have any details handy, it would be great to get a quick sentence in the paper. Since the theme seems to be that the UN was an effort to improve upon the League, I think we need a little supporting evidence on that. If you have the time, we would really appreciate it!

Thanks again for helping us out.

Best,
Amy

-----Original Message-----

From: Sarah Snyder [mailto:sarahinkazan@yahoo.com]
Sent: Tuesday, October 18, 2005 10:02 PM
To: Claussen, Paul
Cc: Garrett, Amy C (PACE); 'amycgarret@aol.com'; Kovalik, Susan F (PACE); 'SKTdesign16@aol.com'; 'mpclaussen@aol.com'
Subject: Re: UN paper: A few more queries

Hello all:

For language on the State Department's education efforts, feel free to use some of this:

The State Department undertook an exhaustive public relations campaign to build support for the United Nations. As part of that effort, the Department printed over 200,000 copies of the Dumbarton Oaks proposal and an informative, eight-page guide to the draft United Nations Charter. The Department worked in concert with interested groups to inform the public about the United Nations and even dispatched officials around the country to answer questions on the proposed organization. By the end of the effort, the State Department had coordinated almost five hundred such meetings.

I put in a few changes using the track changes function, so you should be able to identify them quickly. (Wasn't sure about Truman's middle name--I have seen it as S, but the presidential library has S., so I made the change.) I could write up some more on the League's structural weaknesses if you would like.

Please let me know if you have any further questions.
It looks great.

Sarah

--- "Claussen, Paul" <ClaussenP@state.gov> wrote:

UNCLASSIFIED

> <<UN founding 10-18-05 rev.doc>>

> Dear Sarah,

> I hope you are well and thriving!

> Thanks again for all your work on the UN paper.

> Attached above is a
> nearly final edited version of your paper. Could you give it another
> quick look to see if our edits are OK?

> Would you have time to write a sentence or two (or
> more) on the
> following two subjects:

> 1. What was the nature of the education programs the Roosevelt
> administration created to win public support for the UN?

> 2. Do you have any information on what the perceived weaknesses of
> the League of Nations had been, and how leaders sought to avoid them
> by strengthening the UN? (see top of 2nd
> page)

> We're moving towards publication on the internet tomorrow or Thursday
> morning, so time is of the essence.

> Amy Garrett and Susan Kovalik Tully (coincidentally both Georgetown
> graduates) have been working on your paper. I've included both their
> office and home e-mail addresses above, and it might be good to reply
> to both addresses.

> Thanks again!

> Regards,
> Paul

Yahoo! Mail - PC Magazine Editors' Choice 2005 <http://mail.yahoo.com>

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RELEASED IN FULL

Hove, Mark T (PACE)

From: Kiingi, Elizabeth M
Sent: Wednesday, 19 October, 2005 16:36
To: Claussen, Paul(PA/HO/SP)
Cc: Buchwald, Todd F
Subject: RE: FOR CLEARANCE: PA/HO paper on U.S. and Founding of United Nations, 1945

P48

Paul:

I am reviewing the paper you forwarded to Todd last night. I was hoping to have comments to you by cob today. However, I may not be able to meet that deadline. Would tomorrow morning suffice?

Thanks.

Elizabeth Kiingi
Office of the Legal Adviser
United Nations Affairs
(202) 647-2767 (tel)
(202) 736-7028 (fax)
kiingiem@state.gov

-----Original Message-----

From: Buchwald, Todd F
Sent: Wednesday, October 19, 2005 7:47 AM
To: Kiingi, Elizabeth M
Subject: FW: FOR CLEARANCE: PA/HO paper on U.S. and Founding of United Nations, 1945

Elizabeth-- couldI ask you to look at this for the office. Thx, Todd.

-----Original Message-----

From: Claussen, Paul
Sent: Tuesday, October 18, 2005 9:05 PM
To: Legal-L-UNA
Subject: FW: FOR CLEARANCE: PA/HO paper on U.S. and Founding of United Nations, 1945

For L/UNA comment or clearance, if appropriate.

Paul

> -----Original Message-----

> From: Claussen, Paul
> Sent: Tuesday, October 18, 2005 9:03 PM
> To: Fennell, Daniel J(Main State Rm 1318)
> Cc: USUN, PublicAffairs(NY); Denig, Paul N(Main State Rm 1318); Godfrey,
> Jennifer H(Main State Rm 1318); Wilbur, Richard M(Main State Rm 1317);

UNCLASSIFIED

> Chikes, Csaba(Main State Rm 1318); IO Staff Assistants
> Subject: FOR CLEARANCE: PA/HO paper on U.S. and Founding of United
> Nations, 1945

> < <UN founding 10-18-05 rev.doc> >

> I'm forwarding for IO and USUN clearance the draft of a historical
> paper on "The United States and the Founding of the United Nations,
> August 1941-October 1945," prepared by the Office of the Historian.
> Among other uses, it would presumably be posted on the Department's website.

> May I have your response by COB Wednesday October 19?

> Thanks,

> Paul

> Paul Claussen
> Chief, Policy Studies Division
> Office of the Historian (PA/HO)
> 202-663-1126

> The Office of the Historian (PA/HO) often produces short historical
> background papers on significant historical developments or anniversaries
> for public affairs use. A recent example is a 2-pager for the 60th
> anniversary of the end of World War II
> on the United States, the Soviet Union, and the End of World War II
> (attached).

> It is possible that we could do a short piece for the 60th
> anniversary of the founding of the United Nations, that could be used
> for public affairs and public diplomacy purposes, including the
> Department's website.

> Please let us know if you would like us to do this.

> Paul

> Paul Claussen
> Chief, Policy Studies and Outreach Division
> Office of the Historian (PA/HO)
> 202-663-1126

UNCLASSIFIED
RELEASED IN FULL

Hove, Mark T (PACE)

From: Claussen, Paul
Sent: Wednesday, 19 October, 2005 16:59
To: Kiingi, Elizabeth M(L/UNA)
Cc: Buchwald, Todd F(Room 3422 Main State); Garrett, Amy C (PACE)
Subject: RE: FOR CLEARANCE: PA/HO paper on U.S. and Founding of United Nations, 1945

P49

Elizabeth,

Early tomorrow morning would be OK.

I'm forwarding a slightly expanded version of the paper. Could I ask you in particular about the last sentence in the paragraph continuing at the top of page 5 beginning "While the permanent members retained veto power...." (see our bracketed query in Track Changes).

Thanks
Paul

-----Original Message-----

From: Kiingi, Elizabeth M
Sent: Wednesday, October 19, 2005 4:36 PM
To: Claussen, Paul(PA/HO/SP)
Cc: Buchwald, Todd F
Subject: RE: FOR CLEARANCE: PA/HO paper on U.S. and Founding of United Nations, 1945

Paul:

I am reviewing the paper you forwarded to Todd last night. I was hoping to have comments to you by cob today. However, I may not be able to meet that deadline. Would tomorrow morning suffice?

Thanks.

Elizabeth Kiingi
Office of the Legal Adviser
United Nations Affairs
(202) 647-2767 (tel)
(202) 736-7028 (fax)
kiingiem@state.gov

-----Original Message-----

From: Buchwald, Todd F
Sent: Wednesday, October 19, 2005 7:47 AM
To: Kiingi, Elizabeth M
Subject: FW: FOR CLEARANCE: PA/HO paper on U.S. and Founding of United Nations, 1945

Elizabeth-- could I ask you to look at this for the office. Thx, Todd.

-----Original Message-----

From: Claussen, Paul
Sent: Tuesday, October 18, 2005 9:05 PM

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE
REVIEW AUTHORITY: THEODORE SELLIN
DATE/CASE ID: 22 FEB 2008 200704292

1

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To: Legal-L-UNA
Subject: FW: FOR CLEARANCE: PA/HO paper on U.S. and Founding of United Nations, 1945

For L/UNA comment or clearance, if appropriate.

Paul

> -----Original Message-----
> From: Claussen, Paul
> Sent: Tuesday, October 18, 2005 9:03 PM
> To: Fennell, Daniel J(Main State Rm 1318)
> Cc: USUN, PublicAffairs(NY); Denig, Paul N(Main State Rm 1318); Godfrey,
> Jennifer H(Main State Rm 1318); Wilbur, Richard M(Main State Rm 1317);
> Chikes, Csaba(Main State Rm 1318); IO Staff Assistants
> Subject: FOR CLEARANCE: PA/HO paper on U.S. and Founding of United
> Nations, 1945
>
> <<UN founding 10-18-05 rev.doc>>
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> Thanks,
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> Paul
>
> Paul Claussen
> Chief, Policy Studies Division
> Office of the Historian (PA/HO)
> 202-663-1126
>
>
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> Office of the Historian (PA/HO)
> 202-663-1126
>
>
>

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RELEASED IN FULL

Hove, Mark T (PACE)

From: Claussen, Paul
Sent: Wednesday, 19 October, 2005 17:29
To: Kiingi, Elizabeth M(L/UNA)
Cc: Buchwald, Todd F(Room 3422 Main State); Garrett, Amy C (PACE)
Subject: RE: FOR CLEARANCE: PA/HO paper on U.S. and Founding of United Nations, 1945

P50

Elizabeth,

We're on a serious deadline, and mid-morning may be a bit late. Can you make it as early as possible, say by 10 a.m.?

Thanks
Paul

-----Original Message-----

From: Kiingi, Elizabeth M
Sent: Wednesday, October 19, 2005 5:20 PM
To: Claussen, Paul(PA/HO/SP)
Cc: Buchwald, Todd F; Garrett, Amy C (PACE)
Subject: RE: FOR CLEARANCE: PA/HO paper on U.S. and Founding of United Nations, 1945

Thanks Paul.

I will be happy to look at your expanded version of the paper. I will try to get you comments by mid-morning at the latest.

Regards,

Elizabeth Kiingi
Office of the Legal Adviser
United Nations Affairs
(202) 647-2767 (tel)
(202) 736-7028 (fax)
kiingiem@state.gov

-----Original Message-----

From: Claussen, Paul
Sent: Wednesday, October 19, 2005 4:58 PM
To: Kiingi, Elizabeth M(L/UNA)
Cc: Buchwald, Todd F(Room 3422 Main State); Garrett, Amy C (PACE)
Subject: RE: FOR CLEARANCE: PA/HO paper on U.S. and Founding of United Nations, 1945

Elizabeth,

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UNCLASSIFIED

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Thanks
Paul

< <UN founding 10-19-05.doc> >

-----Original Message-----

From: Kiingi, Elizabeth M
Sent: Wednesday, October 19, 2005 4:36 PM
To: Claussen, Paul(PA/HO/SP)
Cc: Buchwald, Todd F
Subject: RE: FOR CLEARANCE: PA/HO paper on U.S. and Founding of United Nations, 1945

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Office of the Legal Adviser
United Nations Affairs
(202) 647-2767 (tel)
(202) 736-7028 (fax)
kiingiem@state.gov

-----Original Message-----

From: Buchwald, Todd F
Sent: Wednesday, October 19, 2005 7:47 AM
To: Kiingi, Elizabeth M
Subject: FW: FOR CLEARANCE: PA/HO paper on U.S. and Founding of United Nations, 1945

Elizabeth-- couldI ask you to look at this for the office. Thx, Todd.

-----Original Message-----

From: Claussen, Paul
Sent: Tuesday, October 18, 2005 9:05 PM

UNCLASSIFIED

To: Legal-L-UNA

Subject: FW: FOR CLEARANCE: PA/HO paper on U.S. and Founding of United Nations, 1945

For L/UNA comment or clearance, if appropriate.

Paul

> -----Original Message-----

> From: Claussen, Paul

> Sent: Tuesday, October 18, 2005 9:03 PM

> To: Fennell, Daniel J(Main State Rm 1318)

> Cc: USUN, PublicAffairs(NY); Denig, Paul N(Main State Rm 1318); Godfrey,

> Jennifer H(Main State Rm 1318); Wilbur, Richard M(Main State Rm 1317);

> Chikes, Csaba(Main State Rm 1318); IO Staff Assistants

> Subject: FOR CLEARANCE: PA/HO paper on U.S. and Founding of United

> Nations, 1945

>

> <<UN founding 10-18-05 rev.doc>>

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website.

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> May I have your response by COB Wednesday October 19?

>

> Thanks,

>

> Paul

>

> Paul Claussen

> Chief, Policy Studies Division

> Office of the Historian (PA/HO)

> 202-663-1126

>

>

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UNCLASSIFIED

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> Paul

>

> Paul Claussen

> Chief, Policy Studies and Outreach Division

> Office of the Historian (PA/HO)

> 202-663-1126

>

>

UNCLASSIFIED
RELEASED IN FULL

Hove, Mark T (PACE)

P51

From: Claussen, Paul
Sent: Wednesday, 19 October, 2005 17:32
To: Harris, Brian F(Main State Rm 6334)
Cc: Meyer, Robin D(Main State Rm 6334); Washington, Adrienne M(Main State Rm 6319); Garrett, Amy C (PACE)
Subject: RE: FOR CLEARANCE: PA/HO paper on U.S. and Founding of United Nations, 1945

Brian,

Thanks.

For the record, I'm attaching an updated version with a few minor changes.

Paul

Paul Claussen
Chief, Policy Studies and Outreach Division
Office of the Historian (PA/HO)
202-663-1126

-----Original Message-----

From: Harris, Brian F
Sent: Wednesday, October 19, 2005 5:26 PM
To: Claussen, Paul(PA/HO/SP)
Cc: Meyer, Robin D; Washington, Adrienne M
Subject: RE: FOR CLEARANCE: PA/HO paper on U.S. and Founding of United Nations, 1945

Clear for IO/UNP
Brian Harris

-----Original Message-----

From: Meyer, Robin D
Sent: Wednesday, October 19, 2005 8:33 AM
To: Harris, Brian F
Subject: FW: FOR CLEARANCE: PA/HO paper on U.S. and Founding of United Nations, 1945

Brian,

Can you take a look at this? Thanks.

rdm

-----Original Message-----

From: Washington, Adrienne M
Sent: Tuesday, October 18, 2005 9:06 PM
To: IO-UNP users; IO-PPC users
Cc: IO Staff Assistants; Dibble, Philo L
Subject: FW: FOR CLEARANCE: PA/HO paper on U.S. and Founding of United Nations, 1945

UNCLASSIFIED

For IO clearance by COB TODAY.

Thanks,

Adrienne M. Washington
IO, Staff Assistant
7-9490

In accordance with E.O. 12958 this message is unclassified.

-----Original Message-----

From: Claussen, Paul
Sent: Tuesday, October 18, 2005 9:02 PM
To: Fennell, Daniel J(Main State Rm 1318)
Cc: USUN, PublicAffairs(NY); Denig, Paul N(Main State Rm 1318); Godfrey, Jennifer H(Main State Rm 1318); Wilbur, Richard M(Main State Rm 1317); Chikes, Csaba(Main State Rm 1318); IO Staff Assistants
Subject: FOR CLEARANCE: PA/HO paper on U.S. and Founding of United Nations, 1945

<<UN founding 10-18-05 rev.doc>>

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Thanks,

Paul

Paul Claussen
Chief, Policy Studies Division
Office of the Historian (PA/HO)
202-663-1126

-----Original Message-----

From: Claussen, Paul
Sent: Monday, October 03, 2005 2:58 PM
To: Fennell, Daniel J(Main State Rm 1318); Claussen, Paul
Cc: USUN, PublicAffairs(NY); Denig, Paul N(Main State Rm 1318); Godfrey, Jennifer H(Main State Rm 1318); Wilbur, Richard M(Main State Rm 1317); Chikes, Csaba(Main State Rm 1318); Garrett, Amy C (PACE)
Subject: RE: Proposed historical piece on the 60th anniversary of the United Nations

Dany,

I just wanted to confirm that we'll have a paper shortly.
Do you still want to talk about it?

Paul

-----Original Message-----

From: Fennell, Daniel J
Sent: Wednesday, September 14, 2005 5:04 PM
To: Claussen, Paul(PA/HO/SP)
Cc: USUN, PublicAffairs ; Denig, Paul N; Godfrey, Jennifer H; Wilbur, Richard M; Chikes, Csaba
Subject: RE: Proposed historical piece on the 60th anniversary of the

UNCLASSIFIED

United Nations

Paul,

This is a welcome and very timely offer. IO/PPC has been working with IIP on a few historically-oriented articles, and your project might be an excellent companion. Can we get together to talk about this with our PD team in the IO bureau?

Many thanks,
Dany Fennell

Daniel Fennell
Bureau of International Organization Affairs
U.S. Department of State
(202) 647-7142
FennellDJ@state.gov

This e-mail is UNCLASSIFIED based upon provisions found in E.O. 12958.

-----Original Message-----

From: Claussen, Paul
Sent: Wednesday, September 14, 2005 4:46 PM
To: Godfrey, Jennifer H(Main State Rm 1318); Fennell, Daniel J(Main State Rm 1318); USUN, PublicAffairs(NY)
Cc: IO Staff Assistants; USUN-PA-Public
Subject: Proposed historical piece on the 60th anniversary of the United Nations

<<U.S.-Russian End of WW II 1945 Rev 4-28-05.doc>>

The Office of the Historian (PA/HO) often produces short historical background papers on significant historical developments or anniversaries for public affairs use. A recent example is a 2-pager for the 60th anniversary of the end of World War II on the United States, the Soviet Union, and the End of World War II (attached).

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Please let us know if you would like us to do this.

Paul

Paul Claussen
Chief, Policy Studies and Outreach Division
Office of the Historian (PA/HO)
202-663-1126

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RELEASED IN FULL

Hove, Mark T (PACE)

From: Claussen, Paul
Sent: Wednesday, 19 October, 2005 17:46
To: Garrett, Amy C (PACE)
Subject: FW: FOR CLEARANCE: PA/HO paper on U.S. and Founding of United Nations, 1945

752

He clears for the IO Bureau. We're pretty much done!

-----Original Message-----

From: Harris, Brian F
Sent: Wednesday, October 19, 2005 5:26 PM
To: Claussen, Paul(PA/HO/SP)
Cc: Meyer, Robin D; Washington, Adrienne M
Subject: RE: FOR CLEARANCE: PA/HO paper on U.S. and Founding of United Nations, 1945

Clear for IO/UNP
Brian Harris

-----Original Message-----

From: Meyer, Robin D
Sent: Wednesday, October 19, 2005 8:33 AM
To: Harris, Brian F
Subject: FW: FOR CLEARANCE: PA/HO paper on U.S. and Founding of United Nations, 1945

Brian,

Can you take a look at this? Thanks.

rdm

-----Original Message-----

From: Washington, Adrienne M
Sent: Tuesday, October 18, 2005 9:06 PM
To: IO-UNP users; IO-PPC users
Cc: IO Staff Assistants; Dibble, Philo L
Subject: FW: FOR CLEARANCE: PA/HO paper on U.S. and Founding of United Nations, 1945

For IO clearance by COB TODAY.

Thanks,

Adrienne M. Washington

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE
REVIEW AUTHORITY: THEODORE SELLIN
DATE/CASE ID: 22 FEB 2008 200704292

1

UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

IO, Staff Assistant
7-9490

In accordance with E.O. 12958 this message is unclassified.

-----Original Message-----

From: Claussen, Paul
Sent: Tuesday, October 18, 2005 9:02 PM
To: Fennell, Daniel J(Main State Rm 1318)
Cc: USUN, PublicAffairs(NY); Denig, Paul N(Main State Rm 1318); Godfrey, Jennifer H(Main State Rm 1318); Wilbur, Richard M(Main State Rm 1317); Chikes, Csaba(Main State Rm 1318); IO Staff Assistants
Subject: FOR CLEARANCE: PA/HO paper on U.S. and Founding of United Nations, 1945

< <UN founding 10-18-05 rev.doc> >

I'm forwarding for IO and USUN clearance the draft of a historical paper on "The United States and the Founding of the United Nations, August 1941-October 1945," prepared by the Office of the Historian. Among other uses, it would presumably be posted on the Department's website.

May I have your response by COB Wednesday October 19?

Thanks,

Paul

Paul Claussen
Chief, Policy Studies Division
Office of the Historian (PA/HO)
202-663-1126

-----Original Message-----

From: Claussen, Paul
Sent: Monday, October 03, 2005 2:58 PM
To: Fennell, Daniel J(Main State Rm 1318); Claussen, Paul
Cc: USUN, PublicAffairs(NY); Denig, Paul N(Main State Rm 1318); Godfrey, Jennifer H(Main State Rm 1318); Wilbur, Richard M(Main State Rm 1317); Chikes, Csaba(Main State Rm 1318); Garrett, Amy C (PACE)
Subject: RE: Proposed historical piece on the 60th anniversary of the United Nations

Dany,

I just wanted to confirm that we'll have a paper shortly.
Do you still want to talk about it?

UNCLASSIFIED

Paul

-----Original Message-----

From: Fennell, Daniel J

Sent: Wednesday, September 14, 2005 5:04 PM

To: Claussen, Paul(PA/HO/SP)

Cc: USUN, PublicAffairs ; Denig, Paul N; Godfrey, Jennifer H; Wilbur, Richard M; Chikes, Csaba

Subject: RE: Proposed historical piece on the 60th anniversary of the United Nations

Paul,

This is a welcome and very timely offer. IO/PPC has been working with IIP on a few historically-oriented articles, and your project might be an excellent companion. Can we get together to talk about this with our PD team in the IO bureau?

Many thanks,
Dany Fennell

Daniel Fennell
Bureau of International Organization Affairs
U.S. Department of State
(202) 647-7142
FennellDJ@state.gov

This e-mail is UNCLASSIFIED based upon provisions found in E.O. 12958.

-----Original Message-----

From: Claussen, Paul

Sent: Wednesday, September 14, 2005 4:46 PM

To: Godfrey, Jennifer H(Main State Rm 1318); Fennell, Daniel J(Main State Rm 1318); USUN, PublicAffairs(NY)

Cc: IO Staff Assistants; USUN-PA-Public

Subject: Proposed historical piece on the 60th anniversary of the United Nations

<<U.S.-Russian End of WW II 1945 Rev 4-28-05.doc>>

The Office of the Historian (PA/HO) often produces short historical background papers on significant historical developments or anniversaries for public affairs use. A recent example is a 2-pager for the 60th anniversary of the end of World War II

on the United States, the Soviet Union, and the End of World War II (attached).

UNCLASSIFIED

It is possible that we could do a short piece for the 60th anniversary of the founding of the United Nations, that could be used for public affairs and public diplomacy purposes, including the Department's website.

Please let us know if you would like us to do this.

Paul

Paul Claussen
Chief, Policy Studies and Outreach Division
Office of the Historian (PA/HO)
202-663-1126

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RELEASED IN FULL

Hove, Mark T (PACE)

From: Herschler, David H
Sent: Thursday, 20 October, 2005 09:34
To: Claussen, Paul; Susser, Marc J
Subject: RE: Paper on Founding of United Nations

P57

During the morning phone call, Rob asked that we circulate a copy of the UN paper going up on the website to the PA Front Office. He also mentioned that the video proposal for Karen did not get her attention before she went off on travel -- so there will be ne news on that until after she returns.

-----Original Message-----

From: Claussen, Paul
Sent: Wednesday, October 19, 2005 6:33 PM
To: Susser, Marc J
Cc: Herschler, David H; Garrett, Amy C (PACE); Kovalik, Susan F (PACE)
Subject: Paper on Founding of United Nations

<< File: United Nations founding 10-19-05.doc >>

Marc,

If you have time to look at this paper first thing on Thursday, that would be great. It should go forward as soon as possible for posting on the website. All of us have worked it over exhaustively, through quite a few drafts, and it has been cleared by IO and USUN.

Thanks,
Paul

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RELEASED IN FULL

Hove, Mark T (PACE)

From: Claussen, Paul
Sent: Thursday, 20 October, 2005 10:05
To: Herschler, David H; Susser, Marc J
Subject: RE: Paper on Founding of United Nations

P59

Yes. We're just waiting for a clearance from L/UNA (expected 10 a.m.), especially to cover a couple of technical points.

-----Original Message-----

From: Herschler, David H
Sent: Thursday, October 20, 2005 9:34 AM
To: Claussen, Paul; Susser, Marc J
Subject: RE: Paper on Founding of United Nations

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-----Original Message-----

From: Claussen, Paul
Sent: Wednesday, October 19, 2005 6:33 PM
To: Susser, Marc J
Cc: Herschler, David H; Garrett, Amy C (PACE); Kovalik, Susan F (PACE)
Subject: Paper on Founding of United Nations

<< File: United Nations founding 10-19-05.doc >>

Marc,

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Thanks,
Paul

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Hove, Mark T (PACE)

F60

From: Claussen, Paul
Sent: Thursday, 20 October, 2005 10:08
To: Brooks, Josephine C (PACE)
Cc: Walele, Jennifer R; Weetman, Susan C (PACE)
Subject: RE: AWAITING FINAL CLEARANCE: DRAFT Paper on Founding of United Nations

Jo,

Thanks! PA/HO usually puts up its own work on the website, but do you have a way of linking it to the mainstream UN stuff so people will find it?

Maybe it can be highlighted either on the HO home page or elsewhere.

We expect to have the final cleared version by about 10:30 this morning.

Thanks,
Paul
ext. 31126

-----Original Message-----

From: Brooks, Josephine C (PACE)
Sent: Thursday, October 20, 2005 7:53 AM
To: Claussen, Paul
Subject: RE: AWAITING FINAL CLEARANCE: DRAFT Paper on Founding of United Nations

Hi, Paul

yes, that is ok!

jo

-----Original Message-----

From: Claussen, Paul
Sent: Wednesday, October 19, 2005 6:46 PM
To: PA EI Mailbox (For Web Postings Only)
Cc: Hope, Colleen A (PACE)
Subject: AWAITING FINAL CLEARANCE: DRAFT Paper on Founding of United Nations

-----Original Message-----

From: Claussen, Paul
Sent: Wednesday, October 19, 2005 6:44 PM
To: Clark, Janice E (PACE); MacDonald, Chris M
Subject: Paper on Founding of United Nations

<< File: United Nations founding 10-19-05.doc >>

FYI, attached is a draft paper on the founding of the United Nations in 1945, in connection with the 60th anniversary of the signing of the UN Charter on October 24. I expect to have a final cleared version tomorrow morning. USUN and IO have both cleared.

If this were to go up on www.state.gov, could there be a link to mainstream IO United Nations stuff, in addition to being buried within the PA/HO part of the website?

Paul

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Hove, Mark T (PACE)

From: Claussen, Paul
Sent: Thursday, 20 October, 2005 10:09
To: MacDonald, Chris M
Cc: Janice Clark (E-mail)
Subject: RE: Paper on Founding of United Nations

P61

Thanks! Can it also be highlighted somewhere?

-----Original Message-----

From: MacDonald, Chris M
Sent: Thursday, October 20, 2005 9:59 AM
To: Claussen, Paul
Cc: Janice Clark (E-mail)
Subject: RE: Paper on Founding of United Nations

Paul,

Yes, we can link to this from the UN section, wherever appropriate -- the Desk will probably let us know where they want it. Thanks!

Chris

-----Original Message-----

From: Claussen, Paul
Sent: Wednesday, October 19, 2005 6:44 PM
To: Clark, Janice E (PACE); MacDonald, Chris M
Subject: Paper on Founding of United Nations

<< File: United Nations founding 10-19-05.doc >>

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Paul

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Hove, Mark T (PACE)

From: Janice Clark [jan_clark55@yahoo.com]
 Sent: Thursday, 20 October, 2005, 10:10
 To: Claussen, Paul; MacDonald, Chris M
 Cc: Janice Clark (E-mail); brooksjc2@state.gov
 Subject: RE: Paper on Founding of United Nations

P 62

Hi Paul,

It sure can.

JO: Might be good for "In Other News" on home page, and in highlights on a couple of the daughter pages.

Thanks,

Janice

"Claussen, Paul" <ClaussenP@state.gov> wrote:

Thanks! Can it also be highlighted somewhere?

> -----Original Message-----

> From: MacDonald, Chris M
 > Sent: Thursday, October 20, 2005 9:59 AM
 > To: Claussen, Paul
 > Cc: Janice Clark (E-mail)
 > Subject: RE: Paper on Founding of United Nations

>

> Paul,

>

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 > Desk will probably let us know where they want it. Thanks!

>

> Chris

>

> -----Original Message-----

> From: Claussen, Paul
 > Sent: Wednesday, October 19, 2005 6:44 PM
 > To: Clark, Janice E (PACE); MacDonald, Chris M
 > Subject: Paper on Founding of United Nations

>

>

> << File: United Nations.founding 10-19-05.doc >>

>

- > FYI, attached is a draft paper on the founding of the United
- > Nations in 1945, in connection with the 60th anniversary of the signing of
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- > If this were to go up on www.state.gov, could there be a
- > link to mainstream IO United Nations stuff, in addition to being buried
- > within the PA/HO part of the website?
- >
- > Paul

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P63

Hove, Mark T (PACE)

From: Claussen, Paul
Sent: Thursday, 20 October, 2005 10:15
To: 'Janice Clark'
Cc: Walele, Jennifer R; Weetman, Susan C (PACE); Garrett, Amy C (PACE)
Subject: RE: Paper on Founding of United Nations

Janice, Jo, Chris

Sounds good! We'll get the final text to you ASAP this morning.

Paul

-----Original Message-----

From: Janice Clark [mailto:jan_clark55@yahoo.com]
Sent: Thursday, October 20, 2005 10:10 AM
To: Claussen, Paul; MacDonald, Chris M
Cc: Janice Clark (E-mail); brooksjc2@state.gov
Subject: RE: Paper on Founding of United Nations

Hi Paul,

It sure can.

JO: Might be good for "In Other News" on home page, and in highlights on a couple of the daughter pages.

Thanks,

Janice

"Claussen, Paul" <ClaussenP@state.gov> wrote:

Thanks! Can it also be highlighted somewhere?

> -----Original Message-----

> From: MacDonald, Chris M

> Sent: Thursday, October 20, 2005 9:59 AM

> To: Claussen, Paul

> Cc: Janice Clark (E-mail)

> Subject: RE: Paper on Founding of United Nations

>

> Paul,

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> Yes, we can link to this from the UN section, wherever appropriate -- the

> Desk will probably let us know where they want it. Thanks!

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> Chris
>
> -----Original Message-----
> From: Claussen, Paul
> Sent: Wednesday, October 19, 2005 6:44 PM
> To: Clark, Janice E. (PACE); MacDonald, Chris M
> Subject: Paper on Founding of United Nations
>
>
> << File: United Nations: founding 10-19-05.doc >>
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>
> Paul

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Page 1 of 2

Hove, Mark T (PACE)

765

From: Claussen, Paul
Sent: Thursday, 20 October, 2005 10:19
To: Herschler, David H
Cc: Susser, Marc J
Subject: FW: Paper on Founding of United Nations

David,

PA/EI is on standby to put the paper up this morning with multiple links.

-----Original Message-----

From: Claussen, Paul
Sent: Thursday, October 20, 2005 10:15 AM
To: 'Janice Clark'
Cc: Walele, Jennifer R; Weetman, Susari C (PACE); Garrett, Amy C (PACE)
Subject: RE: Paper on Founding of United Nations

Janice, Jo, Chris

Sounds good! We'll get the final text to you ASAP this morning.

Paul

-----Original Message-----

From: Janice Clark [mailto:jan_clark55@yahoo.com]
Sent: Thursday, October 20, 2005 10:10 AM
To: Claussen, Paul; MacDonald, Chris M
Cc: Janice Clark (E-mail); brooksjc2@state.gov
Subject: RE: Paper on Founding of United Nations

Hi Paul,

It sure can.

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Thanks,

Janice

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> Subject: Paper on Founding of United Nations
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> Paul

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Hove, Mark T (PACE)

From: Claussen, Paul
Sent: Thursday, 20 October, 2005 10:22
To: Susser, Marc J
Subject: RE: Paper on Founding of United Nations

PLC

Marc,

Can I put you down for clearance of the UN paper (after you've read it, of course). As a matter of courtesy, should we ask for a PA clearance?

-----Original Message-----

From: Claussen, Paul
Sent: Thursday, October 20, 2005 10:05 AM
To: Herschler, David H; Susser, Marc J
Subject: RE: Paper on Founding of United Nations

Yes. We're just waiting for a clearance from L/UNA (expected 10 a.m.), especially to cover a couple of technical points.

-----Original Message-----

From: Herschler, David H
Sent: Thursday, October 20, 2005 9:34 AM
To: Claussen, Paul; Susser, Marc J
Subject: RE: Paper on Founding of United Nations

During the morning phone call, Rob asked that we circulate a copy of the UN paper going up on the website to the PA Front Office. He also mentioned that the video proposal for Karen did not get her attention before she went off on travel -- so there will be no news on that until after she returns.

-----Original Message-----

From: Claussen, Paul
Sent: Wednesday, October 19, 2005 6:33 PM
To: Susser, Marc J
Cc: Herschler, David H; Garrett, Amy C (PACE); Kovalik, Susan F (PACE)
Subject: Paper on Founding of United Nations

<< File: United Nations founding 10-19-05.doc >>

Marc,

If you have time to look at this paper first thing on Thursday, that would be great. It should go forward as soon as possible for posting on the website. All of us have worked it over exhaustively, through quite a few drafts, and it has been cleared by IO and USUN.

Thanks,
Paul

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RELEASED IN FULL

Hove, Mark T (PACE)

From: Kiingi, Elizabeth M
Sent: Thursday, 20 October, 2005 11:12
To: Claussen, Paul(PA/HO/SP)
Cc: Buchwald, Todd F; Garrett, Amy C (PACE)
Subject: RE: FOR CLEARANCE: PA/HO paper on U.S. and Founding of United Nations, 1945

P67

Paul:

I have not had a chance to review this version of your paper. I would be happy to do so, but will not be able to get to it till late this afternoon at the earliest. On your question below, regarding your new text on veto power, the situation in the Security Council is as follows:

The five permanent Security Council members have the right to exercise veto power to block substantive (i.e., non-procedural) decisions of the Security Council (i.e., unanimity on the part of the permanent members is required for a substantive decision to move forward in the Security Council. See Article 27 (3) of the Charter.

With respect to procedural matters, decisions are made by the affirmative vote of nine members. Unanimity on the part of the permanent SC members is not required. See Article 27(2) of the Charter.

Regards,

Elizabeth

-----Original Message-----

From: Claussen, Paul
Sent: Wednesday, October 19, 2005 4:58 PM
To: Kiingi, Elizabeth M(L/UNA)
Cc: Buchwald, Todd F(Room 3422 Main State); Garrett, Amy C (PACE)
Subject: RE: FOR CLEARANCE: PA/HO paper on U.S. and Founding of United Nations, 1945

Elizabeth,

Early tomorrow morning would be OK.

I'm forwarding a slightly expanded version of the paper. Could I ask you in particular about the last sentence in the paragraph continuing at the top of page 5 beginning "While the permanent members retained veto power...." (see our bracketed query in Track Changes).

Thanks
Paul

<<UN founding 10-19-05.doc>>

-----Original Message-----

From: Kiingi, Elizabeth M

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE
REVIEW AUTHORITY: THEODORE SELLIN
DATE/CASE ID: 22 FEB 2008 200704292

1

UNCLASSIFIED

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Sent: Wednesday, October 19, 2005 4:36 PM
To: Claussen, Paul(PA/HO/SP)
Cc: Buchwald, Todd F
Subject: RE: FOR CLEARANCE: PA/HO paper on U.S. and Founding of United Nations, 1945

Paul:

I am reviewing the paper you forwarded to Todd last night. I was hoping to have comments to you by cob today. However, I may not be able to meet that deadline. Would tomorrow morning suffice?

Thanks.

Elizabeth Kiingi
Office of the Legal Adviser
United Nations Affairs
(202) 647-2767 (tel)
(202) 736-7028 (fax)
kiingiem@state.gov

-----Original Message-----

From: Buchwald, Todd F
Sent: Wednesday, October 19, 2005 7:47 AM
To: Kiingi, Elizabeth M
Subject: FW: FOR CLEARANCE: PA/HO paper on U.S. and Founding of United Nations, 1945

Elizabeth-- couldI ask you to look at this for the office. Thx, Todd.

-----Original Message-----

From: Claussen, Paul
Sent: Tuesday, October 18, 2005 9:05 PM
To: Legal-L-UNA
Subject: FW: FOR CLEARANCE: PA/HO paper on U.S. and Founding of United Nations, 1945

For L/UNA comment or clearance, if appropriate.

Paul

> -----Original Message-----

> From: Claussen, Paul
> Sent: Tuesday, October 18, 2005 9:03 PM
> To: Fennell, Daniel J(Main State Rm 1318)
> Cc: USUN, PublicAffairs(NY); Denig, Paul N(Main State Rm 1318); Godfrey,
> Jennifer H(Main State Rm 1318); Wilbur, Richard M(Main State Rm 1317);
> Chikes, Csaba(Main State Rm 1318); IO Staff Assistants
> Subject: FOR CLEARANCE: PA/HO paper on U.S. and Founding of United

UNCLASSIFIED

> Nations, 1945

>

> <<UN founding 10-18-05 rev.doc>>

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> I'm forwarding for IO and USUN clearance the draft of a historical
> paper on "The United States and the Founding of the United Nations,
> August 1941-October 1945," prepared by the Office of the Historian.
> Among other uses, it would presumably be posted on the Department's
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>

> May I have your response by COB Wednesday October 19?

>

> Thanks,

>

> Paul

>

> Paul Claussen

> Chief, Policy Studies Division

> Office of the Historian (PA/HO)

> 202-663-1126

>

>

> The Office of the Historian (PA/HO) often produces short historical
> background papers on significant historical developments or anniversaries
> for public affairs use. A recent example is a 2-pager for the 60th
> anniversary of the end of World War II
> on the United States, the Soviet Union, and the End of World War II
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> anniversary of the founding of the United Nations, that could be used
> for public affairs and public diplomacy purposes, including the
> Department's website.

>

> Please let us know if you would like us to do this.

>

> Paul

>

> Paul Claussen

> Chief, Policy Studies and Outreach Division

> Office of the Historian (PA/HO)

> 202-663-1126

>

>

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RELEASED IN FULL

Hove, Mark T (PACE)

From: Claussen, Paul
Sent: Thursday, 20 October, 2005 11:13
To: Kiingi, Elizabeth M(L/UNA)
Subject: RE: FOR CLEARANCE: PA/HO paper on U.S. and Founding of United Nations, 1945

P68

Elizabeth,

Thanks! Much appreciated!

Paul

-----Original Message-----

From: Kiingi, Elizabeth M
Sent: Thursday, October 20, 2005 10:56 AM
To: Claussen, Paul(PA/HO/SP)
Cc: Buchwald, Todd F; Garrett, Amy C (PACE)
Subject: FW: FOR CLEARANCE: PA/HO paper on U.S. and Founding of United Nations, 1945

Paul:

My apologies for not meeting your 10:00 am deadline -- competing priorities I am afraid. Attached are some comments on your draft. I would have liked to have spent more time on it, but unfortunately time constraints prevented me from doing so.

If you questions about any of my comments, feel free to contact me.

Regards,

Elizabeth Kiingi
Office of the Legal Adviser
United Nations Affairs
(202) 647-2767 (tel)
(202) 736-7028 (fax)
kiingiem@state.gov

-----Original Message-----

From: Buchwald, Todd F
Sent: Wednesday, October 19, 2005 7:47 AM
To: Kiingi, Elizabeth M
Subject: FW: FOR CLEARANCE: PA/HO paper on U.S. and Founding of United Nations, 1945

Elizabeth-- couldI ask you to look at this for the office. Thx, Todd.

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-----Original Message-----

From: Claussen, Paul

Sent: Tuesday, October 18, 2005 9:05 PM

To: Legal-L-UNA

Subject: FW: FOR CLEARANCE: PA/HO paper on U.S. and Founding of United Nations, 1945

For L/UNA comment or clearance, if appropriate.

Paul

> -----Original Message-----

> From: Claussen, Paul

> Sent: Tuesday, October 18, 2005 9:03 PM

> To: Fennell, Daniel J(Main State Rm 1318)

> Cc: USUN, PublicAffairs(NY); Denig, Paul N(Main State Rm 1318); Godfrey,

> Jennifer H(Main State Rm 1318); Wilbur, Richard M(Main State Rm 1317);

> Chikes, Csaba(Main State Rm 1318); IO Staff Assistants

> Subject: FOR CLEARANCE: PA/HO paper on U.S. and Founding of United

> Nations, 1945

>

> <<UN founding 10-18-05 rev.doc>>

>

> I'm forwarding for IO and USUN clearance the draft of a historical

> paper on "The United States and the Founding of the United Nations,

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>

> Thanks,

>

> Paul

>

> Paul Claussen

> Chief, Policy Studies Division

> Office of the Historian (PA/HO)

> 202-663-1126

>

>

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> background papers on significant historical developments or anniversaries

> for public affairs use. A recent example is a 2-pager for the 60th

> anniversary of the end of World War II

> on the United States, the Soviet Union, and the End of World War II

> (attached).

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> for public affairs and public diplomacy purposes, including the

> Department's website.

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Hove, Mark T (PACE)

From: Claussen, Paul
Sent: Thursday, 20 October, 2005 11:15
To: Susser, Marc J
Subject: FW: FOR CLEARANCE: PA/HO paper on U.S. and Founding of United Nations, 1945

Attachments: UN founding 10-18-05 rev.doc

P 69



UN founding
8-05 rev.doc

FYI, we've received some good comments on small details from L/UNA, below, most of which I can take account of.

-----Original Message-----

From: Kiingi, Elizabeth M
Sent: Thursday, October 20, 2005 10:56 AM
To: Claussen, Paul(PA/HO/SP)
Cc: Buchwald, Todd F; Garrett, Amy C (PACE)
Subject: FW: FOR CLEARANCE: PA/HO paper on U.S. and Founding of United Nations, 1945

Paul:

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Office of the Legal Adviser
United Nations Affairs
(202) 647-2767 (tel)
(202) 736-7028 (fax)
kiingiem@state.gov

-----Original Message-----

From: Buchwald, Todd F
Sent: Wednesday, October 19, 2005 7:47 AM
To: Kiingi, Elizabeth M
Subject: FW: FOR CLEARANCE: PA/HO paper on U.S. and Founding of United Nations, 1945

UNCLASSIFIED

Elizabeth-- couldI ask you to look at this for the office. Thx, Todd.

-----Original Message-----

From: Claussen, Paul

Sent: Tuesday, October 18, 2005 9:05 PM

To: Legal-L-UNA

Subject: FW: FOR CLEARANCE: PA/HO paper on U.S. and Founding of United Nations, 1945

For L/UNA comment or clearance, if appropriate.

Paul

> -----Original Message-----

> From: Claussen, Paul

> Sent: Tuesday, October 18, 2005 9:03 PM

> To: Fennell, Daniel J(Main State Rm 1318)

> Cc: USUN, PublicAffairs(NY); Denig, Paul N(Main State Rm 1318); Godfrey,

> Jennifer H(Main State Rm 1318); Wilbur, Richard M(Main State Rm 1317);

> Chikes, Csaba(Main State Rm 1318); IO Staff Assistants

> Subject: FOR CLEARANCE: PA/HO paper on U.S. and Founding of United
> Nations, 1945

>

> <<UN founding 10-18-05 rev.doc > >

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> I'm forwarding for IO and USUN clearance the draft of a historical

> paper on "The United States and the Founding of the United Nations,

> August 1941-October 1945," prepared by the Office of the Historian.

> Among other uses, it would presumably be posted on the Department's website.

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> May I have your response by COB Wednesday October 19?

>

> Thanks,

>

> Paul

>

> Paul Claussen

> Chief, Policy Studies Division

> Office of the Historian (PA/HO)

> 202-663-1126

>

>

> The Office of the Historian (PA/HO) often produces short historical

> background papers on significant historical developments or anniversaries

> for public affairs use. A recent example is a 2-pager for the 60th

> anniversary of the end of World War II

> on the United States, the Soviet Union, and the End of World War II

> (attached).

>

> It is possible that we could do a short piece for the 60th

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Page 1 of 2

P70

Hove, Mark T (PACE)

From: Herschler, David H
Sent: Thursday, 20 October 2005 11:47
To: Claussen, Paul
Subject: RE: Paper on Founding of United Nations

Right. Still waiting for Marc's okay?

-----Original Message-----

From: Claussen, Paul
Sent: Thursday, October 20, 2005 10:19 AM
To: Herschler, David H
Cc: Susser, Marc J
Subject: FW: Paper on Founding of United Nations

David,

PA/EI is on standby to put the paper up this morning with multiple links.

-----Original Message-----

From: Claussen, Paul
Sent: Thursday, October 20, 2005 10:15 AM
To: 'Janice Clark'
Cc: Walele, Jennifer R; Weetman, Susan C (PACE); Garrett, Amy C (PACE)
Subject: RE: Paper on Founding of United Nations

Janice, Jo, Chris

Sounds good! We'll get the final text to you ASAP this morning.

Paul

-----Original Message-----

From: Janice Clark [mailto:jan_clark55@yahoo.com]
Sent: Thursday, October 20, 2005 10:10 AM
To: Claussen, Paul; MacDonald, Chris M
Cc: Janice Clark (E-mail); brooksjc2@state.gov
Subject: RE: Paper on Founding of United Nations

Hi Paul,

It sure can.

JO: Might be good for "In Other News" on home page, and in highlights on a couple of the daughter pages.

Thanks,

Janice

"Claussen, Paul" <ClaussenP@state.gov> wrote:

Thanks! Can it also be highlighted somewhere?

> -----Original Message-----

> From: MacDonald, Chris M.

> Sent: Thursday, October 20, 2005 9:59 AM

> To: Claussen, Paul

> Cc: Janice Clark (E-mail)

> Subject: RE: Paper on Founding of United Nations

>

> Paul,

>

> Yes, we can link to this from the UN section, wherever appropriate -- the

> Desk will probably let us know where they want it. Thanks!

>

> Chris

>

> -----Original Message-----

> From: Claussen, Paul

> Sent: Wednesday, October 19, 2005 6:44 PM

> To: Clark, Janice E (PACE); MacDonald, Chris M

> Subject: Paper on Founding of United Nations

>

>

> << File: United Nations founding.10-19-05.doc >>

>

> FYI, attached is a draft paper on the founding of the United!

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> If this were to go up on www.state.gov, could there be a

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Page 1 of 3

P 71

Hove, Mark T (PACE)

From: Claussen, Paul
Sent: Thursday, 20 October, 2005 11:49
To: Herschler, David H
Subject: RE: Paper on Founding of United Nations

yes.

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Sent: Thursday, October 20, 2005 11:47 AM
To: Claussen, Paul
Subject: RE: Paper on Founding of United Nations

Right. Still waiting for Marc's okay?

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Cc: Susser, Marc J.
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Hove, Mark T (PACE)

From: Garrett, Amy C (PACE)
Sent: Thursday, 20 October, 2005 12:13
To: Claussen, Paul
Subject: RE: FOR CLEARANCE: PA/HO paper on U.S. and Founding of United Nations, 1945

P 72

Hi Paul! Just let me know if you need any additional help. I'm around all afternoon!

-----Original Message-----

From: Claussen, Paul
Sent: Thursday, October 20, 2005 12:06 PM
To: 'sarahinkazan@yahoo.com'
Cc: Garrett, Amy C (PACE); Kovalik, Susan F (PACE)
Subject: FW: FOR CLEARANCE: PA/HO paper on U.S. and Founding of United Nations, 1945

Sarah,

As I mentioned, everybody likes the paper. Here are some technical comments from the Office of the Assistant Legal Adviser for UN Affairs (L/UNA).

If you have time (and only if you have time), could you give them a quick look and see if there is anything we should not accept or should modify?

We are trying to move this fast today because of the Oct. 24 anniversary.

Thanks

Paul

-----Original Message-----

From: Kiingi, Elizabeth M
Sent: Thursday, October 20, 2005 10:56 AM
To: Claussen, Paul(PA/HO/SP)
Cc: Buchwald, Todd F; Garrett, Amy C (PACE)
Subject: FW: FOR CLEARANCE: PA/HO paper on U.S. and Founding of United Nations, 1945

Paul:

My apologies for not meeting your 10:00 am deadline -- competing priorities I am afraid. Attached are some comments on your draft. I would have liked to have spent more time on it, but unfortunately time constraints prevented me from doing so.

If you questions about any of my comments, feel free to contact me.

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Regards,

Elizabeth Kiingi
Office of the Legal Adviser
United Nations Affairs
(202) 647-2767 (tel)
(202) 736-7028 (fax)
kiingiem@state.gov

-----Original Message-----

From: Buchwald, Todd F
Sent: Wednesday, October 19, 2005 7:47 AM
To: Kiingi, Elizabeth M
Subject: FW: FOR CLEARANCE: PA/HO paper on U.S. and Founding of United Nations, 1945

Elizabeth-- couldI ask you to look at this for the office. Thx, Todd.

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Subject: FW: FOR CLEARANCE: PA/HO paper on U.S. and Founding of United Nations, 1945

For L/UNA comment or clearance, if appropriate.

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> To: Fennell, Daniel J(Main State Rm 1318)
> Cc: USUN, PublicAffairs(NY); Denig, Paul N(Main State Rm 1318); Godfrey,
> Jennifer H(Main State Rm 1318); Wilbur, Richard M(Main State Rm 1317);
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> Paul Claussen

> Chief, Policy Studies Division

> Office of the Historian (PA/HO)

> 202-663-1126

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> Department's website.

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> Please let us know if you would like us to do this.

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>

> Paul Claussen

> Chief, Policy Studies and Outreach Division

> Office of the Historian (PA/HO)

> 202-663-1126

>

>

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Hove, Mark T (PACE)

From: Sarah Snyder [sarahinkazan@yahoo.com]
Sent: Thursday, 20 October, 2005 12:41
To: Claussen, Paul
Subject: Re: FW: FOR CLEARANCE: PA/HO paper on U.S. and Founding of United Nations, 1945

P 73

Hi Paul,

Here are my thoughts on her comments:

-Second World War is fine. I am not sure about her insertion of "other" in the next sentence. "Joint declaration"--her language is better.

-Her comments on the Atlantic Charter vs. Declaration of United Nations: the Declaration did agree to the Atlantic Charter. However, the language of the first sentence doesn't make it clear if the reference is to the Declaration of the UN or a different formalization between those four powers--this was an addition after I turned in my draft, so I am not sure what it refers to, but I agree that it is unclear.

Here is the Declaration for reference:

<http://www.yale.edu/lawweb/avalon/decade/decade03.htm>

This text was in my first draft, re: her question about Connally Resolution, etc.:

Congress voted in support of the Fulbright Resolution in September 1943 and again in November 1943, the United States Senate overwhelmingly declared their support for the Connally Resolution, named for Senator Tom Connally (D-TX).

I agree re: her comments about China and Yalta. My original language read: At Yalta, the three states drafted invitations to a conference to establish the United Nations in San Francisco beginning in April 1945.

You can look here for more

info:<http://www.yale.edu/lawweb/avalon/wwii/yalta.htm>

But, my reading of the document is that the Big Three decided on the language of the invitations (from China, UK, US, and USSR) at Yalta, but they were issued in the U.S. name because the U.S. was going to be the host.

Re: "most controversial" I do think it was quite controversial--the United States was constantly worried the Soviet Union would pull out of the UN if they didn't get their two extra seats, but the Soviets were offended by the idea that Argentina who had not met any of the requirements of membership was being pushed in at the last minute. The United States couldn't get the votes on Ukraine and Byelorussia without the Latin American states and they required membership for Argentina as a prerequisite. The Soviets made some impassioned speeches at San Francisco about this and the United States was involved in considerable back room negotiations to get this obstacle solved. I did qualify it with "ONE OF THE most controversial" I would be fine with lessening it a bit, but along with the veto, I think it was one of the big fights of the conference.

I think everything else is fine--the "advice and consent" repetition is awkward, but I assume that is a legal or political necessity.

Please let me know if you have any additional questions.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE
REVIEW AUTHORITY: THEODORE SELLIN
DATE/CASE ID: 22 FEB 2008 200704292

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Sarah

-- "Claussen, Paul" <ClaussenP@state.gov> wrote:

- > Sarah,
- >
- > As I mentioned, everybody likes the paper. Here are some technical
- > comments from the Office of the Assistant Legal Adviser for UN Affairs
- > (L/UNA).
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- > If you have time (and only if you have time), could you give them a
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- > anniversary.
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- > Thanks
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- > From: Kiingi, Elizabeth M
- > Sent: Thursday, October 20, 2005 10:56 AM
- > To: Claussen, Paul(PA/HO/SP)
- > Cc: Buchwald, Todd F; Garrett, Amy C (PACE)
- > Subject: FW: FOR CLEARANCE: PA/HO paper on U.S. and Founding of United
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- > Paul:
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- > liked to have spent more time on it, but unfortunately time
- > constraints prevented me from doing so.
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- > If you questions about any of my comments, feel free to contact me.
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- > Regards,
- >
- >
- > Elizabeth Kiingi
- > Office of the Legal Adviser

UNCLASSIFIED

> United Nations Affairs
> (202) 647-2767 (tel)
> (202) 736-7028 (fax)
> kiingiem@state.gov

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> > Cc: USUN, PublicAffairs(NY); Denig, Paul N(Main
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> > Thanks,
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> > Paul Claussen
> > Chief, Policy Studies Division
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> > 202-663-1126
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Hove, Mark T (PACE)

From: Claussen, Paul
Sent: Friday, 21 October, 2005 11:47
To: Kovalik, Susan F (PACE)
Subject: FW: FOR CLEARANCE: PA/HO paper on U.S. and Founding of United Nations, 1945

P 18

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From: Kiingi, Elizabeth M
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Cc: Buchwald, Todd F; Garrett, Amy C (PACE)
Subject: FW: FOR CLEARANCE: PA/HO paper on U.S. and Founding of United Nations, 1945

Paul:

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Elizabeth Kiingi
Office of the Legal Adviser
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(202) 647-2767 (tel)
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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE
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Office of the Historian (PA/HO)
202-663-1126

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Hovë, Mark T (PACE)

From: Claussen, Paul
Sent: Friday, 21 October, 2005 12:31
To: Kovalik, Susan F (PACE)
Subject: RE: FOR CLEARANCE: PA/HO paper on U.S. and Founding of United Nations, 1945

P79

Oops! Marc came in for a long conversation. Sorry! I'm ready anytime!

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From: Kovalik, Susan F (PACE)
Sent: Friday, October 21, 2005 11:56 AM
To: Claussen, Paul
Subject: RE: FOR CLEARANCE: PA/HO paper on U.S. and Founding of United Nations, 1945

Your door is shut and I didn't want to interrupt anything; just let me know when/if you want to meet on the UN paper. (L didn't give a reason for deleting "temporary")

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Hove, Mark T (PACE)

From: Claussen, Paul
Sent: Friday, 21 October, 2005 12:43
To: Clark, Janice E (PACE)
Subject: RE: Paper on Founding of United Nations

P80

Revised version on the way. Cleared all around.

-----Original Message-----

From: Clark, Janice E (PACE)
Sent: Friday, October 21, 2005 10:55 AM
To: Claussen, Paul
Subject: RE: Paper on Founding of United Nations

Hi Paul,
What's the status of this one?
Thanks,
Janice

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From: Claussen, Paul
Sent: Wednesday, October 19, 2005 6:44 PM
To: Clark, Janice E (PACE); MacDonald, Chris M
Subject: Paper on Founding of United Nations

<< File: United Nations founding 10-19-05.doc >>

FYI, attached is a draft paper on the founding of the United Nations in 1945, in connection with the 60th anniversary of the signing of the UN Charter on October 24. I expect to have a final cleared version tomorrow morning. USUN and IO have both cleared.

If this were to go up on www.state.gov, could there be a link to mainstream IO United Nations stuff, in addition to being buried within the PA/HO part of the website?

Paul

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Office of the Historian



Bureau of Public Affairs

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF STATE

**THE UNITED STATES AND THE FOUNDING OF THE UNITED NATIONS,
AUGUST 1941 – OCTOBER 1945**

P83A

The impetus to establish the United Nations stemmed in large part from the inability of its predecessor, the League of Nations, to prevent the outbreak of the Second World War. Despite Germany's occupation of a number of European states, and the League's failure to stop other serious international transgressions in the 1930s, such as Japan's invasion of Manchuria, many international leaders remained committed to the League's ideals. Once World War II began, President Franklin D. Roosevelt determined that U.S. leadership was essential for the creation of another international organization aimed at preserving peace, and his administration engaged in international diplomacy in pursuit of that goal. He also worked ~~and domestic negotiations~~ to build domestic support for the concept of the United Nations. After Roosevelt's death, President Harry S. Truman also assumed the important task of maintaining support for the United Nations and worked through complicated international problems, particularly with the Soviet Union, to make the founding of the new organization possible. After nearly four years of planning, the international community finally established the United Nations in the spring of 1945.

Origins of the United Nations

The concept of creating a global organization of member states dedicated to preserving international peace through collective security increased in popularity during World War I. The bloodshed of the "Great War" persuaded President Woodrow Wilson, and a number of other American and international leaders, to seek the creation of an international forum in which conflicts could be resolved peacefully. The 1919 Treaty of Versailles that ended World War I, which Wilson negotiated on behalf of the United States, contained a framework for a League of Nations, intended to maintain peace and stability. However, despite Wilson's efforts to gain the domestic support of political leaders and the American public, he was unable to convince the United States Senate to approve U.S. membership in the League. This was due to strong isolationist sentiment and partisan conflicts, stemming in part from his failure to include any prominent Republicans in the peace negotiations. The League's opponents criticized it as a threat to American sovereignty and security, and objected most stridently to Article Ten of the League Charter, which committed member states to protect the territorial integrity of all other member states against external aggression. Many American lawmakers argued that Article Ten might obligate the United States to take part in wars in defense of dubious, often contested, colonial boundaries. After considering membership in the League with reservations, the Senate ultimately prevented the United States from joining the League. The absence of the United States weakened the League, which was also hindered in its efforts to resolve disputes by the widespread economic crises of the 1930s, its inability to compel states to abide by its decisions,

and its requirement that many decisions--including those involving a response to aggression--be decided unanimously. The fact that member states involved in a dispute were granted a seat on the League's Council, thereby allowing them to prevent unanimous action, meant that the League eventually resorted to expelling aggressor states such as Japan and Italy, with little effect. ~~That organization, despite its good intentions, ultimately proved weak and unable to resolve the international conflicts that arose in the 1920s and 1930s. ((SARAH: SHOULD WE EXPLORE WHY?))~~

Proposing the United Nations Concept

President Roosevelt recognized the inherent weaknesses of the League of Nations, but faced with the reality of another world war, also saw the value of planning for the creation of an international organization to maintain peace in the post-World War II era. He felt that this time, the United States needed to play a leading role both in the creation of the organization, and in the organization itself. Moreover, in contrast to the League, the new organization needed the power to enforce key decisions. The first wartime meeting between British Prime Minister Winston Churchill and President Roosevelt, the Atlantic Conference held off the coast of Newfoundland in August 1941, took place before the United States had formally entered the war as a combatant. Despite its official position of neutrality, the United States joined Britain in issuing a joint declaration that became known as the Atlantic Charter. This pronouncement outlined a vision for a postwar order supported, in part, by an effective international organization that would replace the struggling League of Nations. During this meeting, Roosevelt privately suggested to Churchill the name of the future organization: the United Nations.

The governments of the United States, the Soviet Union, the United Kingdom, and China formalized the Atlantic Charter proposals in January 1942, shortly after the United States entered the war. In the Declaration of the United Nations, these major Allied nations, along with 22 other states, agreed to work together against the Axis powers (Germany, Japan, and Italy), and committed in principle to the establishment of the United Nations after the war.

Learning from Woodrow Wilson's failure to gain Congressional support for the League of Nations, the Roosevelt Administration aimed to include a wide range of administration and elected officials in its effort to establish the proposed United Nations. The State Department played a significant role in this process, and created a Special Subcommittee on International Organization in the Advisory Committee on Postwar Planning to advise Congress. The subcommittee reviewed past efforts at international cooperation, and by March 1943 had drafted a formal proposal to establish a new, more effective international organization. Secretary of State Cordell Hull took the proposal to members of Congress in an effort to build bipartisan support for the proposed postwar organization. Consultations between Congress and the Department of State continued into the summer of 1943, and by August, produced a draft United Nations Charter. Congress repeatedly passed resolutions declaring its support for the establishment of an international organization--and for United States membership in that organization.

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The major Allied Powers--the United States, the Soviet Union, the United Kingdom, and China--reiterated their commitment to forming an international organization in the Moscow Declaration of October 30, 1943, and more concrete international planning for the structure of the new organization commenced. Representatives from these four countries met at Dumbarton Oaks in Washington, DC, from August 21st through October 7,th 1944, and the four Allied powers issued a statement of Proposals for the Establishment of a General International Organization, largely based on the draft charter formulated by the State Department's Subcommittee on International Organization, in consultation with the U.S. Congress.

The Department of State undertook a public relations campaign to build support for the United Nations. As part of that effort, the Department printed over 200,000 copies of the Dumbarton Oaks proposal and an informative, eight-page guide to the draft United Nations Charter. The Department worked in concert with interested groups to inform the public about the United Nations and even dispatched officials around the country to answer questions on the proposed organization. By the end of the effort, the Department of State had coordinated almost 500 such meetings.

Creation of the United Nations

The basic framework for the proposed United Nations rested on President Roosevelt's vision that the United States, the Soviet Union, the United Kingdom, and China would provide leadership in the postwar international system. It was these four states, with the addition of France, that would assume permanent seats in the otherwise rotating membership of the United Nations Security Council. At the Anglo-American Malta Conference in early 1945, the two sides proposed that the permanent members of the Security Council would have a veto. Immediately thereafter, at the Yalta Conference, the United States, the Soviet Union, and the United Kingdom agreed on veto power for the permanent members of the Security Council. This crucial decision essentially required unanimity between the five permanent members on the pressing international decisions related to international security and use of force that would be brought before the Security Council.

Churchill and Roosevelt also made an important concession to Soviet leader Josef Stalin's request that the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic and the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic be seated in the United Nations General Assembly, thus increasing the Soviet Union's seats in that body to three. Stalin had originally requested seats for all sixteen Soviet Socialist Republics, but at Yalta this request was turned down, and the compromise was to allow Ukraine and Byelorussia into the United Nations. The United States originally had countered Stalin's proposal with the request to allow all fifty American states into the United Nations, a suggestion that encouraged Stalin to agree to the compromise. At Yalta, the United States, the Soviet Union, and the United Kingdom also drafted invitations to a conference beginning in April 1945 in San Francisco that would formally establish the United Nations.

After Roosevelt's death on April 12, 1945, days before the scheduled San Francisco Conference, Vice President Harry S Truman took the oath of office and immediately announced that the Conference should go forward as planned. Moved by Roosevelt's death, Stalin, who had initially planned to send Ambassador Andrei Gromyko as the Soviet representative to the San

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Francisco conference, announced that he would send Foreign Minister Vyacheslav Molotov as well. This news heartened American officials, who had been concerned about maintaining Soviet interest and participation in the United Nations after a number of disagreements over the extent of Soviet influence in Eastern Europe and the fate of Germany in the postwar period. In an address to Congress shortly thereafter, Truman called upon Americans "regardless of party, race, creed or color, to support our efforts to build a strong and lasting United Nations organization."

The San Francisco Conference, formally known as the United Nations Conference on International Organization, opened on April 25, 1945, with delegations from fifty countries present. The U.S. delegation to San Francisco included Secretary of State Edward R. Stettinius, Jr., former Secretary of State Cordell Hull, and Senators Tom Connally (D-Texas) and Arthur Vandenberg (R-Michigan), as well as other Congressional and public representatives. Among the most controversial issues at the San Francisco Conference was the seating of certain countries, in particular, Argentina, the Ukrainian and Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republics, and Poland. The vote to seat Argentina was particularly contentious because the Soviet Union strongly opposed Argentine membership arguing that Argentina had supported the Axis during the war. However, the other Latin American states refused to support the Ukrainian and Byelorussian candidacies if Argentina were blocked. The United States supported Argentina's membership, but also defended the Ukrainian and Byelorussian seats in order to maintain the Soviet Union's participation in the United Nations. The makeup of the Polish government was a continuing source of tension between the wartime allies, and thus a Polish delegation was not seated until after the conference.

At San Francisco, the delegates reviewed and often rewrote the text agreed to at Dumbarton Oaks. The delegations negotiated a role for regional organizations under the United Nations umbrella and outlined the powers of the office of Secretary General, including the authority to refer conflicts to the Security Council. Conference participants also considered a proposal for compulsory jurisdiction for a World Court, but Stettinius recognized such an outcome could imperil Senate ratification. The delegates then agreed that each state should make its own determination about World Court membership. The conference did approve the creation of an Economic and Social Council and a Trusteeship Council to assist in the process of decolonization, and agreed that these councils would have rotating geographic representation. The United Nations Charter also gave the United Nations broader jurisdiction over issues that were "essentially within" the domestic jurisdiction of states, such as human rights, than the League of Nations had, and broadened its scope on economic and technological issues.

Determining the extent of the veto power of the permanent members of the Security Council proved a more serious potential obstacle to agreement on a United Nations charter. The Soviet Union advocated broad use of the veto, viewing it as a possible tool to curb discussion on conflicts involving a permanent member. Such an interpretation worried the smaller states, which were already hesitant about the permanent veto. In order to gain Soviet agreement to modify such an expansive interpretation of the veto, Truman directed Harry Hopkins, who had many wartime discussions with Stalin, to travel to Moscow and negotiate with the Soviet leader on the issue. After bilateral Soviet-American negotiations in Moscow, the Soviet Union eventually agreed to a less extensive veto power. While the permanent members retained veto

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power, the Security Council would not require a unanimous vote to act, and its decisions would be enforceable.

Following the resolution of most outstanding issues, the San Francisco Conference closed on June 26, 1945. In a show of public support, Truman attended the final session for the signing of the United Nations Charter, and congratulated the delegates for creating a "solid structure upon which we can build a better world." However, Truman still needed to secure Senate ratification of the Charter. Both he and Stettinius urged the Senate to give its advice and consent to ratification; Truman said, "I want to see the United States do it first." In a testament to the sustained wartime efforts to build support for the United Nations, the Charter was approved in the Senate on July 28, 1945, by a vote of 89 to 2, with 5 abstentions. (The U.S. ratification followed that of Nicaragua and El Salvador.) The United Nations officially came into existence on October 24, 1945, after the United States, the Soviet Union, the United Kingdom, China, and France, as well as a majority of the other signatories, had ratified the United Nations Charter.

Early Challenges and Future Changes

At its first session, on February 14, 1946, the United Nations General Assembly voted to establish its permanent headquarters in New York City. In a world emerging from the overwhelming conflict of World War II, the United Nations seemed to represent hope that such devastation would not recur. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights, adopted by the General Assembly in 1948, symbolized this optimism and idealism. Yet the first true test of the United Nations' ability to prevent widespread international conflict came in June 1950, when North Korea invaded South Korea. In response, the United Nations Security Council initiated military sanctions against North Korea, an action made possible by the temporary absence of the Soviet representative, who had walked out in protest against the Council's refusal to seat representatives of Communist China. This allowed the Security Council to assist South Korea in repelling its attackers and maintaining its territorial integrity.

Other issues brought before the United Nations in its early years included the Greek and Turkish dispute over Cyprus and the Cuban Missile Crisis. However, as relations between the East and the West deteriorated in the Cold War era, the Yalta decision to grant all permanent members of the Security Council veto power frequently stymied the Security Council. This increased the profile of the General Assembly, where no state enjoyed a veto. As issues pertaining to international security remained deadlocked in the Security Council during the Cold War, the increasingly active General Assembly expanded the focus of the United Nations to include economic development, famine relief, women's rights, and environmental protection, among other issues.

With the end of the Cold War, the United Nations has taken on increasing security responsibilities, negotiated peaceful resolutions to conflict, and deployed peacekeeping forces around the world. In recognition of the organization's significant contributions, the United Nations and United Nations Secretary General Kofi Annan were awarded the 2001 Nobel Peace Prize. The Norwegian Nobel Committee declared in its award citation, "Today the organization is at the forefront of efforts to achieve peace and security in the world, and of the international

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6

mobilization aimed at meeting the world's economic, social and environmental challenges...the only negotiable route to global peace and cooperation goes by way of the United Nations.”

*Office of the Historian
Bureau of Public Affairs
U.S. Department of State
October 2005*

Drafted: PA/HO: SSnyder; ACGarrett; SKTully
202-663-3415 Rev. 10/21/2005

Clearance:

PA - RATappan

PA/HO - MJSusser; PClaussen

IO/UNP – BFHarris

USUN – JMerante

L/UNA - EMKiingi

S/P – MBockner - info

Q/ Research /.../ United Nations founding 10-20-05.doc

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Hove, Mark T (PACE)

From: Susser, Marc J
Sent: Friday, 21 October, 2005 14:23
To: Claussen, Paul
Subject: RE: Paper on US and Founding of the United Nations: ready to go

P84

ok

-----Original Message-----

From: Claussen, Paul
Sent: Friday, October 21, 2005 1:58 PM
To: Susser, Marc J
Cc: Kovalik, Susan F (PACE); Garrett, Amy C (PACE)
Subject: Paper on US and Founding of the United Nations: ready to go

<< File: United Nations founding 10-21-2005.doc >>

Marc,

Susan Tully and I went over the paper again, and it's ready to go (although she is trying to clarify one small point with Elizabeth Kiingi in L/UNA about the "temporary" absence of the Soviet Rep on SC in 1950 (p. 5, first full paragraph).

FYI, Rob Tappan had two reasonable suggestions (see below), which we've incorporated. OK with you?

Rob asked in yesterday morning's conference call that it be sent to all PA offices, right?

The final will also go on state.gov, probably the IIP website, to IO, USUN, S/P, L/UNA, the PAOs of the regional bureaus, and others.

-----Original Message-----

From: Homer, Jamie L (PACE) **On Behalf Of** PA Clearances Mailbox
Sent: Thursday, October 20, 2005 6:13 PM
To: Claussen, Paul
Subject: RE: FOR PA CLEARANCE: Paper on the U.S. and the Founding of the United Nations, 1941-1945

Paul,

Rob reviewed the paper and had just two comments.

1.)The first is on the second page, third paragraph in the heading "Proposing the United...." He asked that you not use the phrase "lobby Congress". Rather, something like "advise" or "inform." **[We substituted "advise." PC]**

2.)On page 4, first full paragraph, include first name in Secretary of State CORDELL Hull. **[inserted for clarity. PC]**

Let me know if you have any questions!

Jamie

-----Original Message-----

From: Claussen, Paul
Sent: Thursday, October 20, 2005 5:19 PM
To: Tappan, Robert A
Cc: PA Clearances Mailbox; Susser, Marc J
Subject: FOR PA CLEARANCE: Paper on the U.S. and the Founding of the United Nations, 1941-1945

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<< File: United Nations founding 10-20-2005 4pm.doc >>

Attached for PA clearance is a draft historical background paper on "The United States and the Founding of the United Nations, August 1941-October 1945," prepared by PA/HO in connection with the 60th anniversary of the United Nations, October 24, 2005.

It has been fully cleared by IO, USUN, and LUNA, and is intended for immediate release on the Department's website at www.state.gov.

Paul Claussen
Chief, Policy Studies Division
Office of the Historian (PA/HO)
Bureau of Public Affairs
202-663-1126

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Hove, Mark T (PACE)

From: Claussen, Paul
Sent: Friday, 21 October, 2005 15:17
To: Kovalik, Susan F (PACE)
Subject: RE: Paper on Founding of United Nations

788

yes, thanks

-----Original Message-----

From: Kovalik, Susan F (PACE)
Sent: Friday, October 21, 2005 3:09 PM
To: Claussen, Paul
Subject: RE: Paper on Founding of United Nations

You should send this to Amy, too.

-----Original Message-----

From: Claussen, Paul
Sent: Friday, October 21, 2005 3:08 PM
To: 'Janice Clark'; MacDonald, Chris M; PA/EI Mailbox (For Web Postings Only); Brooks, Josephine C (PACE)
Cc: Sussler, Marc J; Kovalik, Susan F (PACE)
Subject: RE: Paper on Founding of United Nations

Attached below is the final cleared text of the paper on "The United States and the Founding of the United Nations, August 1941-October 1945," prepared by the Office of the Historian (PA/HO) in connection with the forthcoming 60th anniversary of the signing of the UN Charter on October 24, 1945.

We have discussed with PA/EI earlier the possibility that it can appear in "In Other News" and be highlighted on a couple of the daughter pages.

Thanks,
Paul

Paul Claussen
Chief, Policy Studies Division
Office of the Historian (PA/HO)
202-663-1126

-----Original Message-----

From: Janice Clark [mailto:jan_clark55@yahoo.com]
Sent: Thursday, October 20, 2005 10:10 AM
To: Claussen, Paul; MacDonald, Chris M
Cc: Janice Clark (E-mail); brooksjc2@state.gov
Subject: RE: Paper on Founding of United Nations

Hi Paul,

It sure can.

JO: Might be good for "In Other News" on home page, and in highlights on a

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Thanks,
Paul

Paul Claussen
Chief, Policy Studies Division
Office of the Historian (PA/HO)
202-663-1126

-----Original Message-----

From: Janice Clark [mailto:jan_clark55@yahoo.com]

Sent: Thursday, October 20, 2005 10:10 AM

To: Claussen, Paul; MacDonald, Chris M.

Cc: Janice Clark (E-mail); brooksjc2@state.gov

Subject: RE: Paper on Founding of United Nations

Hi Paul,

It sure can.

JO: Might be good for "In Other News" on home page, and in highlights on a couple of the daughter pages.

Thanks;

Janice

"Claussen, Paul" <ClaussenP@state.gov> wrote:

Thanks! Can it also be highlighted somewhere?

> -----Original Message-----

> From: MacDonald, Chris M.

> Sent: Thursday, October 20, 2005 9:59 AM

> To: Claussen, Paul

> Cc: Janice Clark (E-mail)

> Subject: RE: Paper on Founding of United Nations

>

> Paul,

>

> Yes, we can link to this from the UN section, wherever appropriate -- the

> Desk will probably let us know where they want it. Thanks!

>
> Chris
>
> -----Original Message-----
> From: Claussen, Paul
> Sent: Wednesday, October 19, 2005 6:44 PM
> To: Clark, Janice E (PACE); MacDonald, Chris M
> Subject: Paper on Founding of United Nations
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> Paul

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Hove, Mark T (PACE)

From: Claussen, Paul
Sent: Friday, 21 October, 2005 15:41
To: Walele, Jennifer R; Goings, Renee A; Ahlberg, Kristin L; Weetman, Susan C (PACE)
Cc: Kovalik, Susan F (PACE); Süsser, Marc J; Garrett, Amy C (PACE)
Subject: FW: Paper on Founding of United Nations

792

Do we have time this afternoon to post this on the HO pages, with a highlight up front, and then let PA/EI know so they can cross reference to "Other Pages" and subsidiary pages.

Please let me know ASAP if we should ask PA/EI to put it up.

Thanks
 Paul

-----Original Message-----

From: Janice Clark [mailto:jan_clark55@yahoo.com]
Sent: Friday, October 21, 2005 3:19 PM
To: Claussen, Paul; MacDonald, Chris M; PA EI Mailbox (For Web Postings Only); Brooks, Josephine C (PACE)
Cc: Susser, Marc J; Kovalik, Susan F (PACE)
Subject: RE: Paper on Founding of United Nations

Paul,

Since this is an HO product, I'm assuming it should be posted to the HO pages, and then we'd cross-ref to it from IO and the home page, etc. Please let us know if HO won't be posting it. Thanks.

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We have discussed with PA/EI earlier the possibility that it can appear in "In Other News" and be highlighted on a couple of the daughter pages.

Thanks,
 Paul

Paul Claussen
 Chief, Policy Studies Division
 Office of the Historian (PA/HO)
 202-663-1126

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From: Janice Clark [mailto:jan_clark55@yahoo.com]
Sent: Thursday, October 20, 2005 10:10 AM
To: Claussen, Paul; MacDonald, Chris M
Cc: Janice Clark (E-mail); brooksjc2@state.gov
Subject: RE: Paper on Founding of United Nations

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE
 REVIEW AUTHORITY: THEODORE SELLIN
 DATE/CASE ID: 22 FEB 2008 200704292

Hi Paul,

It sure can.

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Thanks,

Janice

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> Sent: Thursday, October 20, 2005 9:59 AM

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> Chris

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> Sent: Wednesday, October 19, 2005 6:44 PM

> To: Clark, Janice E. (PACE); MacDonald, Chris M

> Subject: Paper on Founding of United Nations

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Hove, Mark T (PACE)

From: Claussen, Paul
Sent: Friday, 21 October, 2005 16:06
To: Clark, Janice E (PACE); PA El Mailbox (For Web Postings Only)
Cc: Walele, Jennifer R; Kovalik, Susan F (PACE)
Subject: FW: Paper on Founding of United Nations

P93

We're putting it up on the HO pages. We'll let you know when it's done so you can take it from there.

Thanks
Paul

-----Original Message-----

From: Walele, Jennifer R
Sent: Friday, October 21, 2005 3:52 PM
To: Claussen, Paul
Cc: Kovalik, Susan F (PACE); Susser, Marc J; Garrett, Amy C (PACE)
Subject: RE: Paper on Founding of United Nations

O.k., I will take out the drafting page. I should have it up within the next half hour. I will send you a confirmation email when it is done.

Jennifer

-----Original Message-----

From: Claussen, Paul
Sent: Friday, October 21, 2005 3:50 PM
To: Walele, Jennifer R
Cc: Kovalik, Susan F (PACE); Susser, Marc J; Garrett, Amy C (PACE)
Subject: RE: Paper on Founding of United Nations

It's attached below, and also in Q...Research/Research Projects Completed/United Nations Founding 10-21-05 FINAL CLEAN

And we'd take out the drafting page at the end.

Thanks
Paul

-----Original Message-----

From: Walele, Jennifer R
Sent: Friday, October 21, 2005 3:43 PM
To: Claussen, Paul; Goings, Renee A; Ahlberg, Kristin L; Weetman, Susan C (PACE)
Cc: Kovalik, Susan F (PACE); Susser, Marc J; Garrett, Amy C (PACE)
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Paul,

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Jennifer

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE
REVIEW AUTHORITY: THEODORE SELLIN
DATE/CASE ID: 22 FEB 2008 200704292

From: Claussen, Paul
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 202-663-1126

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> Subject: Paper on Founding of United Nations

>

>

> << File: United Nations founding 10-19-05.doc

>>

>

> FYI, attached is a draft paper on the founding of the United!

> Nations in 1945, in connection with the 60th anniversary of the signing of

> the UN Charter on October 24. I expect to have a

final cleared version
> tomorrow morning. USUN and IO have both
cleared.
>
> If this were to go up on www.state.gov, could
there be a
> link to mainstream IO United Nations stuff, in
addition to being buried
> within the PA/HO part of the website?
>
> Paul

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Hove, Mark T (PACE)

From: Claussen, Paul
Sent: Friday, 21 October, 2005 16:43
To: Kovalik, Susan F (PACE)
Subject: RE: UN Founding paper

P96

Yikes! Now I'm not sure. Maybe "ratification"? Do you have a minute to find out while I take care of some other things?

-----Original Message-----

From: Kovalik, Susan F (PACE)
Sent: Friday, October 21, 2005 4:41 PM
To: Claussen, Paul
Subject: RE: UN Founding paper

Was that when it was signed...or when the UN came into existence when a minimum number of countries ratified it?

-----Original Message-----

From: Claussen, Paul
Sent: Friday, October 21, 2005 4:31 PM
To: Walele, Jennifer R
Cc: Kovalik, Susan F (PACE)
Subject: UN Founding paper

Jennifer

As we discussed, you'll put this on the HO portion of the website under "Historical Background Papers" and also under "Highlights."

Under "Highlights," could we say something like the following:

Historical Background Paper:
The United States and the
Founding of the United Nations,
August 1941-October 1945,
prepared for [in connection with?]
the 60th anniversary of
the signing of the UN Charter,
October 24, 1945

Susan Tully might have some thoughts on this as well.

Thanks
Paul

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Hove, Mark T (PACE)

From: Walele, Jennifer R
Sent: Friday, 21 October, 2005 16:54
To: Claussen, Paul
Subject: RE: UN Founding paper

P99

O.k.

-----Original Message-----

From: Claussen, Paul
Sent: Friday, October 21, 2005 4:54 PM
To: Kovalik, Susan F (PACE); Walele, Jennifer R
Subject: RE: UN Founding paper

Susan and I think this will work:

Historical Background Paper: The United States and the Founding of the United Nations, August 1941-October 1945, prepared for United Nations Day, October 24, 2005, which this year marks the 60th anniversary of the date the United Nations came into existence.

-----Original Message-----

From: Kovalik, Susan F (PACE)
Sent: Friday, October 21, 2005 4:46 PM
To: Claussen, Paul; Walele, Jennifer R
Subject: RE: UN Founding paper

Historical Background Paper: The United States and the Founding of the United Nations, August 1941-October 1945, prepared for October 24, 2005--United Nations Day, which this year marks the 60th anniversary of when the United Nations came into existence, after ratification of the UN Charter by the United States, the United Kingdom, China, France, the Soviet Union, and a majority of other signatories.

-----Original Message-----

From: Claussen, Paul
Sent: Friday, October 21, 2005 4:31 PM
To: Walele, Jennifer R
Cc: Kovalik, Susan F (PACE)
Subject: UN Founding paper

Jennifer

As we discussed, you'll put this on the HO portion of the website under "Historical Background Papers" and also under "Highlights."

Under "Highlights," could we say something like the following:

Historical Background Paper:
The United States and the Founding of the United Nations, August 1941-October 1945, prepared for [in connection with?] the 60th anniversary of the signing of the UN Charter, October 24, 1945

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Susan Tully might have some thoughts on this as well.

Thanks
Paul

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Hove, Mark T (PACE)

From: Claussen, Paul
Sent: Friday, 21 October, 2005 17:04
To: Walele, Jennifer R
Cc: Kovalik, Susan F (PACE)
Subject: FW: UN Founding paper

7.100

[Claussen, Paul] Revised:

Historical Background Paper: The United States and the Founding of the United Nations, August 1941-October 1945, prepared for United Nations Day, October 24, 2005, the 60th anniversary of the date the United Nations came into existence.

-----Original Message-----

From: Kovalik, Susan F (PACE)
Sent: Friday, October 21, 2005 4:46 PM
To: Claussen, Paul; Walele, Jennifer R
Subject: RE: UN Founding paper

Historical Background Paper: The United States and the Founding of the United Nations, August 1941-October 1945, prepared for October 24, 2005--United Nations Day, which this year marks the 60th anniversary of when the United Nations came into existence, after ratification of the UN Charter by the United States, the United Kingdom, China, France, the Soviet Union, and a majority of other signatories.

-----Original Message-----

From: Claussen, Paul
Sent: Friday, October 21, 2005 4:31 PM
To: Walele, Jennifer R
Cc: Kovalik, Susan F (PACE)
Subject: UN Founding paper

Jennifer

As we discussed, you'll put this on the HO portion of the website under "Historical Background Papers" and also under "Highlights."

Under "Highlights," could we say something like the following:

Historical Background Paper:
The United States and the Founding of the United Nations, August 1941-October 1945, prepared for [in connection with?] the 60th anniversary of the signing of the UN Charter, October 24, 1945

Susan Tully might have some thoughts on this as well.

Thanks
Paul

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Hove, Mark T (PACE)

From: Claussen, Paul
Sent: Friday, 21 October, 2005 17:14
To: Hope, Colleen A (PACE)
Cc: Kovalik, Susan F (PACE); Walele, Jennifer R; Garrett, Amy C (PACE)
Subject: FW: Paper on Founding of United Nations

P102

Colleen,

I hope PA/EI's extra links to this this can go onto www.state.gov this afternoon: in "Other News" and a couple of daughter pages; as previously discussed with Janice and Jo.

Cheers,
 Paul

-----Original Message-----

From: Claussen, Paul
Sent: Friday, October 21, 2005 5:10 PM
To: 'Janice Clark'; MacDonald, Chris M; PA EI Mailbox (For Web Postings Only); Brooks, Josephine C (PACE)
Cc: Kovalik, Susan F (PACE); Walele, Jennifer R
Subject: RE: Paper on Founding of United Nations

Jennifer Walele in PA/HO has put the text of the paper up on the HO part of state.gov under "Historical Background Papers," and also has it listed under HO "Highlights" with the following language:

Historical Background Paper: The United States and the Founding of the United Nations.

August 1941-October 1945, prepared for United Nations Day, October 24, 2005,

the 60th anniversary of the date the United Nations came into existence.

We have discussed with PA/EI earlier the possibility that it can appear in "In Other News" and be highlighted on a couple of the daughter pages.

Thanks,

Paul

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE
 REVIEW AUTHORITY: THEODORE SELLIN
 DATE/CASE ID: 22 FEB 2008 200704292

21-Nov-07

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-----Original Message-----

From: Janice Clark [mailto:jan_clark55@yahoo.com]
Sent: Friday, October 21, 2005 3:19 PM
To: Claussen, Paul; MacDonald, Chris M; PA/EI Mailbox (For Web Postings Only); Brooks, Josephine C (PACE)
Cc: Süsser, Marc J; Kovalik, Susan F (PACE)
Subject: RE: Paper on Founding of United Nations

Paul,
Since this is an HO product, I'm assuming it should be posted to the HO pages, and then we'd cross-ref to it from IO and the home page, etc. Please let us know if HO won't be posting it. Thanks.

"Claussen, Paul" <ClaussenP@state.gov> wrote:

Attached below is the final cleared text of the paper on "The United States and the Founding of the United Nations, August 1941-October 1945," prepared by the Office of the Historian (PA/HO) in connection with the forthcoming 60th anniversary of the signing of the UN Charter on October 24, 1945.

We have discussed with PA/EI earlier the possibility that it can appear in "In Other News" and be highlighted on a couple of the daughter pages.

Thanks,
Paul

Paul Claussen
Chief, Policy Studies Division
Office of the Historian (PA/HO)
202-663-1126

-----Original Message-----

From: Janice Clark [mailto:jan_clark55@yahoo.com]
Sent: Thursday, October 20, 2005 10:10 AM
To: Claussen, Paul; MacDonald, Chris M.
Cc: Janice Clark (E-mail); brooksjc2@state.gov
Subject: RE: Paper on Founding of United Nations

Hi Paul,

It sure can.
JO: Might be good for "In Other News" on home page, and in highlights on a couple of the daughter pages.

Thanks,

Janice

"Claussen, Paul" <ClaussenP@state.gov> wrote:

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Hove, Mark T (PACE)

From: Claussen, Paul
Sent: Friday, 21 October, 2005 17:21
To: Baily, Jess (PACE)
Subject: RE: Historical background paper on "The United States and the Founding of the United Nations, August 1941-October 1945"

P103

Yes, minus the drafting page at the end.

-----Original Message-----

From: Baily, Jess (PACE)
Sent: Friday, October 21, 2005 5:11 PM
To: Claussen, Paul
Subject: RE: Historical background paper on "The United States and the Founding of the United Nations, August 1941-October 1945"

is this a public document?

-----Original Message-----

From: Claussen, Paul
Sent: Friday, October 21, 2005 3:16 PM
To: PA FO Group; PA Office Directors; PAO Rel
Subject: Historical background paper on "The United States and the Founding of the United Nations, August 1941-October 1945"

<< File: United Nations founding 10-21-2005 FINAL clean.doc >>

Attached above is a historical background paper on "The United States and the Founding of the United Nations, August 1941-October 1945," prepared by the Office of the Historian (PA/HO) in connection with the forthcoming 60th anniversary of the signing of the UN Charter on October 24, 1945.

Paul Claussen
Chief, Policy Studies and Outreach Division
Office of the Historian (PA/HO)
Bureau of Public Affairs
202-663-1126

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Sources:

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- Gazell, James A. "Arthur H. Vandenberg, Internationalism, and the United Nations," *Political Science Quarterly* 88:3 (September 1973); 375-94.
- Goodrich, Leland M. "American National Interests and the Responsibilities of United Nations Membership," *International Organization* 6:3 (August 1952): 369-80.
- Hughes, E. J. "Winston Churchill and the Formation of the United Nations Organization." *Journal of Contemporary History* 9:4 (October 1974): 177-94.
- Kennedy, David M. *Freedom From Fear: The American People in Depression and War, 1929-45*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2001.
- Kirgis, Frederic L. Jr. "The Security Council's First Fifty Years," *The American Journal of International Law* 89:3 (July 1995): 506-39.
- McCullough, David. *Truman*. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1992.
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- Sherwood, Marika. "'There is No New Deal for the Blackman in San Francisco': African Attempts to Influence the Founding Conference of the United Nations, April-July, 1945," *The International Journal of African Historical Studies* 29:1 (1996): 71-94.