The Berlin Wall was erected in 1961, ostensibly to keep Western ‘fascists’ out of Soviet-controlled East Germany, but in reality its purpose was to prevent citizens of East Germany from defecting to the democratic West. The wall was seen as a symbol of the ‘Iron Curtain’ that had fallen across Europe in the wake of the Second World War and it became the defining icon of the Cold War that followed.

On 9 November 1989, the head of the East German Communist Party declared that citizens were free to cross the border into West Germany. Jubilant Berliners gathered at the wall to celebrate, and began demolishing the wall in an act that symbolically marked the end of Soviet dominance in Eastern Europe and paved the way to German reunification and the end of the Cold War.

In October 1990, the reunification of East and West Germany was made official and in June 1991, Berlin once again became the capital of a united Germany.

The Changing World Order

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Ronald Reagan and Mikhail Gorbachev

Ronald Reagan, President of the United States from 1981 to 1989, and Mikhail Gorbachev, the leader of the Soviet Union from 1985 to 1991, together played central roles in bringing about the end of the Cold War. Learn more about Reagan and Gorbachev in Chapter 5.
“All treaties between great states cease to be binding when they come in conflict with the struggle for existence.”

Otto von Bismarck
CONTENTS

About the series iv
Series editor acknowledgements vi
Author acknowledgements vii

001 Introduction

010 CHAPTER 1
Towards a new world order

028 CHAPTER 2
The Cold War begins, 1945–1949

056 CHAPTER 3
The Cold War world order, 1949–1979

098 CHAPTER 4
Australia’s Cold War

124 CHAPTER 5
The Cold War ends, 1980–1991

156 CHAPTER 6
A new world order

188 Conclusion

Index 192
Using The Changing World Order

The Changing World Order has been developed especially for senior secondary students of History and is part of the Nelson Modern History series. Each book in the series is based on the understanding that History is an interpretive study of the past by which you also come to better appreciate the making of the modern world.

Developing understandings of the past and present in senior History extends on the skills you learnt in earlier years. As senior students you will use historical skills, including research, evaluation, synthesis, analysis and communication, and the historical concepts, such as evidence, continuity and change, cause and effect, significance, empathy, perspectives and contestability, to understand and interpret societies from the past. The activities and tasks in The Changing World Order have been written to ensure that you develop the skills and attributes you need in senior History subjects.

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is a bird’s-eye view of the topic and summarises the major developments of the period.

SOURCE STUDIES

of visual and text primary sources and secondary literature appear frequently throughout the text and are combined with questions and activities to aid your evaluation and interpretation of evidence from the past.

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feature brief biographies, profiles, definitions and summaries of key documents as a ready reference for learning and revision.

INQUIRY QUESTIONS

are listed at the start of the chapter. These questions provide a focus for you as you read each chapter.

CHAPTER INTRODUCTIONS

provide a context to the issues that are addressed.

SIGNIFICANT INDIVIDUALS

are biographical profiles and assessments of key historical figures and frequently include questions and activities.
The crew, Michael Collins, manned the command module that orbited the Moon. Astronauts Neil Armstrong and Edwin 'Buzz' Aldrin set foot on the surface of the Moon. The third member of the American space program 'of landing a man on the Moon and returning him safely to the Earth'. In what would become the early 1960s, the US and the Soviet Union were engaged in a space race. The first American astronaut in space was John Glenn, who orbited the Earth in 1962. The first7 The first man in space was Yuri Gagarin, on 12 April 1961. The first American woman in space was Sally Ride, on 19 June 1983.

The creation of the United Nations (UN) in 1945 was the result of a complex geopolitical arrangement to the advantage of their leaders who were the dominant powers at the time. The UN was established to provide a forum for the resolution of international disputes, to promote cooperation in the maintenance of international peace and security, and to encourage international respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms. The UN was also tasked with promoting economic and social progress and raising the standard of living in all countries. The UN was established in 1945, following the end of World War II and the failure of the League of Nations. The UN was created by the United Nations Declaration, which was signed by the victorious Allies in 1945. The Declaration established the UN as a successor to the League of Nations, which had been unable to prevent the outbreak of World War II.

In the Middle East, a group calling itself Islamic State (IS) had declared large areas of Iraq and Syria to be the caliphate. The IS had been formed in response to the perceived shortcomings of the Syrian and Iraqi governments, and had been fighting against Western forces since 2014. IS's actions had been met with a strong international response, with many countries, including the United States, joining forces to fight against the group. The United Nations had also played a role in efforts to bring about a political solution to the conflict in the Middle East. The UN had been involved in the promotion of peace talks and the negotiation of ceasefires between opposing sides. The UN had also provided humanitarian aid to those affected by the conflict, and had been involved in the provision of security for refugees and displaced persons.

As it turned out, the First World War was not 'the war to end all wars', as it had been hoped, but the war to make all the wars that followed worse. The war had been marked by extraordinary acts of violence against Westerners and other Muslims, and had led to the destruction of many cities and the loss of many lives. The war had also had a profound impact on the international system, with the United States and the Soviet Union emerging as the dominant powers. The war had also led to the creation of the United Nations, which was established in 1945 with the aim of preventing future wars and promoting peace and cooperation among nations.

The year 2014 marked the beginning of four years of commemoration of the centenary of the First World War. As world leaders gathered at Liège in Belgium in 2014 to remember the First World War, the year 2014 marked the beginning of four years of commemoration of the centenary of the First World War. The commemoration included a series of events and activities, including the laying of wreaths at the site of the Battle of the Somme, the opening of new museums and exhibitions, and the screening of films and documentaries. The commemoration was also the occasion for a renewed focus on the causes and consequences of the First World War, and on the lessons that can be learned from the conflict. The commemoration included a series of events and activities, including the laying of wreaths at the site of the Battle of the Somme, the opening of new museums and exhibitions, and the screening of films and documentaries. The commemoration was also the occasion for a renewed focus on the causes and consequences of the First World War, and on the lessons that can be learned from the conflict.

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The United Nations headquarters in New York City. The sculpture was a gift from Luxembourg to the UN in 1988. The sculpture again the economic strength of Europe and in dispute with other nations over the size of their military budgets. In the Middle East, a group calling itself Islamic State (IS) had declared large areas of Iraq and Syria to be the caliphate. The IS had been formed in response to the perceived shortcomings of the Syrian and Iraqi governments, and had been fighting against Western forces since 2014. IS’s actions had been met with a strong international response, with many countries, including the United States, joining forces to fight against the group. The United Nations had also played a role in efforts to bring about a political solution to the conflict in the Middle East. The United Nations had also played a role in efforts to bring about a political solution to the conflict in the Middle East. The United Nations had also played a role in efforts to bring about a political solution to the conflict in the Middle East.

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Osama bin Laden (1957–2011)

Saudi Arabian, Islamic militant who founded Al Qaeda. Son of a building magnate born in Yemen, Bin Laden studied in Saudi Arabia and became a fierce advocate of Islamic purity. In the 1980s he financed and organised militants to fight the Soviets in Afghanistan. In the 1990s he turned his attention to fighting against the US presence and influence in the Middle East and elsewhere.

Leonid Brezhnev (1906–1982)

Leader of the Soviet Union from 1964 to 1982. He served as a political commissar in the Red Army during the Second World War, rising to become a party official after the war. He succeeded Khrushchev as General Secretary of the Communist Party, ruling the USSR until his death. During Brezhnev’s rule the Soviet economy slowed to near stagnation. Many of the problems facing the USSR in the 1980s developed during Brezhnev’s 18-year term.

George HW Bush (1924–)

Born in Massachusetts, Republican president George Bush Senior served as a pilot in the Pacific theatre during the Second World War, before founding and establishing a successful family oil business in Texas. He entered politics in the 1950s. Bush succeeded Reagan as president in 1989, serving two terms, until 1993.

George W Bush (1946–)

Son of George HW Bush. Former governor of Texas and owner of oil businesses. He was president of the United States from 2001 to 2009. He led the US in its campaigns against Al Qaeda and Iraq.

Arthur Calwell (1896–1973)

Calwell served as the Chifley government’s Immigration Minister from 1945 to 1949, during the immediate postwar migration period. From 1960 to 1967 he was leader of the Australian Labor Party in opposition to Menzies. He was an outspoken opponent of Australia’s involvement in the Vietnam War and in 1966 became the only Australian politician to be the victim of an assassination attempt, in which he suffered only minor injuries.

Winston Churchill (1874–1965)

British prime minister from 1940 to 1945. As Britain’s main wartime prime minister, Churchill became known for his dogged leadership of Britain. He was strongly anti-Soviet in his outlook.
**DENG XIAOPING (1904–1997)**

Low-key but astute leader of China during the 1980s and 1990s. Led a cautiously reformist government that changed China’s economic, social and diplomatic attitudes.

**MIKHAIL GORBACHEV (1931–)**

Leader of the Soviet Union from 1985 to 1991. Gorbachev was a committed communist whose policies of glasnost and perestroika, which were designed to strengthen Soviet communism, had the unintended consequence of destroying it.

**DWIGHT EISENHOWER (1890–1969)**

Military leader and, from 1952 to 1961, the 34th president of the United States. Eisenhower was Supreme Commander of Allied Forces in Europe in the last years of the Second World War and the commander of NATO forces in Europe from 1950. His popularity led him to the presidency in 1952, and to re-election in 1956. He played a key role in ending the Korean War in 1953 but continued to adhere to the policy of containment and a belief in the domino theory.

**HERBERT VERE EVATT (1894–1965)**

Australian judge and politician. He was a justice of the High Court of Australia for 10 years, from 1930 to 1940. He entered federal politics and served as Minister for External Affairs during the 1940s. He was appointed the third president of the General Assembly of the United Nations, and he served as leader of the Australian Labor Party from 1951 to 1960.

**JOHN F KENNEDY (1917–1963)**

The 35th president of the United States. Played a key role in the Cold War through his dealings with Khrushchev over Berlin and during the Cuban Missile crisis. Kennedy was concerned that the Soviets were in a strong position to gain territory in the Third World and he oversaw a build-up of armed forces. He was politically embarrassed by the Bay of Pigs fiasco in 1961 and took a more cautious approach during the Cuban crisis the following year. He was assassinated in November 1963.

**SADDAM HUSSEIN (1937–2006)**

Brutal dictator of Iraq from 1979 to 2003. He organised the nationalisation of the Iraqi oil industry in 1972 and involved his nation in costly wars against Iran and Kuwait.

**NIKITA KHRUSHCHEV (1894–1971)**

Leader of the Soviet Union from 1955 to 1964. He was a member of the Communist Party from 1918 and fought in both the Russian Civil War and the Second World War. His denunciation of Stalin in 1956 led to hopes of an easing of Cold War tensions, but tensions with the US reached their peak over the Cuban Missile Crisis in 1962. Khrushchev’s failure to improve the Soviet economy led to him being deposed in 1964 and replaced by Brezhnev.
**ROBERT MENZIES (1894–1978)**

Australian politician and prime minister from 1939 to 1941 and from 1949 to 1966. Menzies first entered the Victorian parliament in 1928 and moved to federal politics six years later. He was strongly anti-communist and actively pursued the commitments outlined in the SEATO and ANZUS treaties to protect Australia and its region from communist insurgency. Menzies oversaw a period of economic growth and prosperity in Australia.

**RONALD REAGAN (1911–2004)**

President of the United States from 1980 to 1988. Reagan came to power as a tough anti-communist who was determined to undermine the Soviets at every turn.

**FRANKLIN DELANO ROOSEVELT (1882–1945)**

Served a successive four terms as US president, from 1932 to 1944. Roosevelt was president through most of the Great Depression and most of the Second World War. During the Great Depression he was the architect of the US government’s interventionist New Deal program (1933–39). During the Second World War he formed a strong personal bond with imperialist British prime minister Winston Churchill, although Roosevelt was committed to ending British colonial rule after the war.

**RICHARD NIXON (1913–1994)**

The 37th president of the United States. Nixon was elected to the House of Representatives in 1946 and he played an active role in HUAC (the House Un-American Activities Committee). He served as vice president under Eisenhower for two terms and lost the 1960 presidential election to Kennedy. He won in 1968 and went on to enjoy diplomatic success with both China and the Soviet Union, but he was forced to resign after the Watergate affair in 1974.

**ELEANOR ROOSEVELT (1884–1962)**

First Lady of the United States from 1933 to 1945; high-profile diplomat and humanitarian activist. Roosevelt was appointed as the US delegate to the UN Human Rights Commission and she was first chair of the commission from 1946 to 1951. Globally acknowledged as an influential political operator in her own right, she served as an American delegate to the UN General Assembly (1945–53), chaired the UN’s Human Rights Commission, and played a key role in writing the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

**JOSEPH STALIN (1879–1953)**

Leader of the USSR. He was both secretary-general of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (1922–53) and premier of the Soviet state (1941–53). Stalin was a ruthless dictator and, by the 1930s, an obsessed paranoiac who distrusted his Western allies. His aim late in the war was to Sovietise eastern Europe and turn it into a Soviet-controlled buffer zone against the West.
HARRY S TRUMAN (1884–1972)
President of the United States from 1945 to 1953. Truman came to the presidency after the death of Roosevelt in April 1945. He steered the US through the final months of the war and the early stages of the Cold War.

WOODY WILSON (1856–1924)
Born in the US state of Virginia, Wilson was an austere, principled and stubborn man. He began his career as an academic in 1888 and became president of Princeton University, in 1902. He entered politics in 1911 and was elected president of the US in 1912. It was Wilson’s ‘Fourteen Points’ speech in 1918 that paved the way for the establishment of the League of Nations (1920–46). During Wilson’s second term as president, in 1920, American women became eligible to vote.

AL QAEDA
Established by Osama bin Laden in the 1980s, as a network to support militant Islamists who were fighting against the Soviets in the Afghan war. During the 1990s Al Qaeda evolved into an international network of anti-Western Islamist terrorist organisations. Responsible for the terrorist attacks in the US on 11 September 2001, Al Qaeda was identified as a key target during the ‘war on terror’. With the death of Bin Laden in 2011 its influence diminished but the network was still active in 2015.

‘COALITION OF THE WILLING’
A coalition of nations actively supporting the US military campaign against Saddam Hussein, which was not backed by the United Nations. The expression ‘coalition of the willing’ was first used by George W Bush in 2002; it is generally regarded by critics as a cover term for the US’s intervention in Iraq in 2003.

GOGG WHITLAM (1916–2014)
Australian prime minister from 1972 to 1975. He first entered politics in 1952 and led the Australian Labor Party from 1967 to 1977, and in 1972 to its first federal election victory since 1949. His administration recognised communist China and withdrew the last Australian troops from Vietnam. He was controversially dismissed in 1975 and later became Australia’s ambassador to UNESCO.

AXIS POWERS
The alliance of Germany, Japan and Italy that fought against the Allied forces during the Second World War.

CONGRESS PARTY OF INDIA
Formally the Indian National Congress, this political party played a leading role in the establishment of an independent India in 1947, and remains the dominant political party in India.

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CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY (CIA)
The main US foreign intelligence and counter-intelligence agency, set up in 1947 principally as a Cold War operation. The CIA’s poor liaison with other intelligence agencies such as the FBI was criticised in the wake of the September 11 terrorist attacks in New York and Washington, and may have contributed to the events of that day.

EUROPEAN UNION (EU)
Since 1993 an international organisation of European states that share common economic, security and social policies. Based in Brussels. The EU is the successor to the European Economic Community, which was also called the European Common Market.
**LEAGUE OF NATIONS**  
* (1920–1946)  
A voluntary association of states that aimed to set up a collective security arrangement and avoid repetition of the kind of breakdown in international relations that had led to the First World War. American president Woodrow Wilson strongly supported the formation of the League. His ideas about international relations represented a ‘New World’ solution to what many in America saw as imperialist, ‘Old World’ problems.

**NORTH ATLANTIC TREATY ORGANIZATION**  
* (NATO)  
Established in April 1949 as a permanent military alliance between Western European countries, the United States and Canada. It was initially established to deter Soviet expansion. The NATO alliance has remained active since the end of the Cold War and membership has expanded to include former Warsaw Pact states. In the 1990s NATO deployed forces in the Balkans and in 2003 it deployed forces in Afghanistan.

**SOUTH-EAST ASIA TREATY ORGANIZATION**  
* (SEATO)  
A Cold War era alliance between Australia, Great Britain, the United States, France, New Zealand, Thailand, the Philippines and Pakistan. Established in 1954 to coordinate anti-communist responses in the South-East Asian region. Dissolved in 1977.

**TALIBAN**  
Fundamentalist Islamic group that originated in Afghanistan. It moved into the political gap left by the USSR's withdrawal from Afghanistan in 1989 to take over almost all of Afghanistan by 2001. Driven from power in Afghanistan after 2001 by a US-led coalition, the Taliban remains active in Afghanistan and Pakistan.

**UNITED NATIONS**  
* (UN)  
The term ‘United Nations’ initially described the 26 Allied nations fighting the Axis states during the Second World War. This military alliance evolved into the United Nations Organization in 1945. It was the successor to the League of Nations. The Charter of the UN defines the organisation’s role. This encompasses peacekeeping, and also includes the promotion of human rights, economic development, humanitarian programs and international law. Today there are 193 member nations in the UN.

**WARSAW PACT**  
The term ‘world order’ has been loosely used since the 20th century by politicians and other commentators attempting to explain the motivations behind globally based activities through which certain nations have tried to dominate world politics, either on their own or in alliances with others. International power plays in the 20th century and in the first decade of the 21st century have had various motivations. Some players, such as Britain, have been driven by imperialist ambitions and interest in the exploitation of the natural and human resources of other lands. The actions of others, such as the Soviet Union, have been repressive, and aimed to impose totalitarian political systems within and beyond their own borders. Finally, other organisations, such as the United Nations, have had progressive motivations for influencing world order, and have attempted to support international development and hold back the advances of aggressive nations, even attempting to prevent international conflict.

This chapter introduces the concept of world order. It provides an overview of attempts to establish international systems in the first half of the 20th century and explores the challenges inherent in these attempts. More specifically it considers the establishment of the League of Nations, the Axis threat to that system of international collaboration, and the formation of new international institutions, such as the United Nations, at the end of the Second World War.

Dr Nagai, a medical instructor and X-ray specialist at Nagasaki Hospital, was a victim of atomic radiation caused by the nuclear bombing of Nagasaki on 9 August 1945. Here, he surveys the charred ruins of the city. He died a few days after this photo was taken.

**INQUIRY QUESTIONS**

- What is a world order?
- How and why did attempts to establish world orders succeed or fail in the first half of the 20th century?
What is a ‘world order’?

What we call a ‘world order’ varies from time to time and from place to place. A world order is often seen as a grouping of nations or of geopolitical bodies that operates at a global rather than a national level. The grouping may have arisen for political, ideological, military, economic, social or religious reasons, or for any mixture of these. For example, the Great Powers depicted in Source 1.1 came together temporarily in 1900 to carve up a helpless China, but by 1914 most of them were at each other’s throats.

‘The real trouble will come with the “wake”’

This famous satirical image was published in the US in 1900. It depicts disorderly and ruthless Great Powers at work, and shows a Japanese leopard, a Russian bear, a British lion, a French rooster, a German eagle, an Austrian double-headed eagle and an Italian fox arguing over how to carve up the corpse of a Chinese dragon. The US eagle stands watchfully aloof. The image represents the evils of unrestrained foreign policy, nationalism and imperialism. These were underlying factors in the two world wars that followed later in the 20th century. The wars eventually led to the creation of a United Nations world order in 1945.

Questions

1. Why do you think the United States is represented in the cartoon as standing aloof from the corpse of China?
2. What does the title of the artwork mean?
3. What does this cartoon suggest about the nature of international relations?
Historical instances of world orders include the ancient world’s *Pax Romana* (Roman peace), which lasted from Augustus’ reign (27 BCE – 14 CE) until Marcus Aurelius’ death in 180 CE. Under the *Pax Romana*, Mediterranean, African, Middle Eastern and western European societies came under the protection of a single patron, the Roman Empire, for just over 200 years.

The powerful Ottoman or Turkish Empire is a medieval and early modern example of an enforced world order that affected North Africa, Asia and southern Europe (its peak years were 1299–1697 CE).

An early modern European order was set up by the 1648 Treaty of Westphalia, which ended the horrendous Thirty Years War (1618–48) in Europe. This treaty attempted to establish a balance of power arrangement in which a group of states would share a more or less equal military capability that would act as a deterrent to a more powerfully resourced nation inflicting its will on any other state.

The Concert of Europe was an informal 19th-century, multinational world order involving the major European nations at that time, the so-called ‘Great Powers’ of Austria, Prussia, France, Russia and Great Britain. The Great Powers had suffered as a consequence of the French Revolution and the subsequent rise of Napoleon, and they combined through the Concert of Europe and its consequent 1815 Congress of Vienna to impose an anti-radical peace settlement on European powers large and small. This period of international relations from 1814 to 1890 was dominated by two aristocrats – the Austrian diplomat Prince Klemens von Metternich and the Prussian chancellor Prince Otto von Bismarck – and each was a peacemaker, of a sort.

An objective of the Concert of Europe was to preserve respect for monarchical rule and traditional order. According to British historian Mark Mazower, these aims were given priority over equality and justice. This settlement was to be managed by keeping a balance of power through diplomatic congresses, or meetings. It worked, more or less, for more than half a century. The so-called ‘Congress System’, as it came to be known, is still regarded as something of a success because many of the members knew each other, they had a common goal and they took their time to reach decisions. But there were distractions at the congresses too. The US historian Fraser J Harbutt has noted that members ‘wined, dined, and seduced their way through about a year of spasmodic activity’.¹

The Congress System formed the basis of 19th-century collaboration in Europe. But it collapsed, as the Great Powers became involved in rivalries during the late 19th century. These rivalries led to toxic relations between Britain, France and Russia on the one side, and Germany and Austria–Hungary on the other, which ultimately led to the outbreak of the First World War in 1914.

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**World orders of the early 20th century**

To bring the idea of a world order into the 20th century, let’s consider how US president Woodrow Wilson (1856–1924), who was an early proponent of *liberal internationalism*, outlined his ‘Fourteen Points’ in 1918. These ideas represented a ‘New World’ solution to what political and popular *isolationist* opinion in the United States saw as imperialist ‘Old World’ problems – problems that had dragged the US into an unwanted and distant conflict in 1917. Wilson was instrumental in creating the League of Nations (1920–46),...
a voluntary association of states that aimed to avoid a repetition of the kinds of breakdowns in international relations that had led to the First World War in 1914. The League planned to set up a collective security arrangement to further its aims. Isolationist opinion, however, blocked US membership of the League. After some initial success in the 1920s with minor international crises, the League failed in the 1930s mainly because it lacked US involvement, its sanctions policy against delinquent states was a failure, it had no way of militarily enforcing its resolutions and it came up against the ruthless militaristic and expansionist regimes of Nazi Germany, Fascist Italy and Imperial Japan. After Wilson left office he died a disillusioned man.

**WILSON’S ‘FOURTEEN POINTS’: A SUMMARY**

- 1. No more secret agreements or treaties between nations.
- 2. Free navigation of all seas.
- 3. An end to all economic barriers between countries.
- 4. Countries to reduce weapon numbers.
- 5. All decisions regarding the colonies should be impartial.

**TERRITORIAL ISSUES**

- 6. The German Army to withdraw from Russia.
- 7. Belgium to be restored.
- 8. Alsace-Lorraine to be returned to France.
- 9. Adjustment to Italian borders ‘along clearly recognisable lines of nationality’.
- 10. Self-determination for the peoples of Austria–Hungary.
- 11. Self-determination and guarantees of independence should be allowed for Rumania, Serbia and Montenegro.
- 12. The Turkish people of the Ottoman Empire should be governed by the Turkish government. Non-Turks should govern themselves.
- 13. The creation of an independent Poland.
- 14. The establishment of an association of nations (the League of Nations) to guarantee the political independence and territorial integrity of states.

After the 1939 outbreak of the Second World War, continuing isolationist, anti-war sentiment in the US did not prevent President Franklin Delano Roosevelt from giving moral and material support to Britain’s prime minister, Winston Churchill. This backing was to turn into an actual alliance when Japanese imperial forces attacked US and British naval and land forces in December 1941.

Roosevelt’s armed services, Churchill’s imperial forces and the armed forces of Stalin’s USSR were to become the chief members of the Allied Powers (who would later found the United Nations). The Allied Powers were the bulwark of resistance against the combined Axis forces from 1941 onwards. After startlingly successful beginnings on all fronts, the Axis powers were, by 1943, facing defeat: the Allied Powers began to prepare for a postwar world.
Franklin Delano Roosevelt (1882–1945)

Franklin Delano Roosevelt was president of the US for an unprecedented four terms, from 1931 to 1945. Roosevelt, who came from a genteel New York family, was related to former Republican president Theodore Roosevelt, but FDR, as he became known, was a socially progressive Democrat. He entered state politics in 1910 after a conventional education for a young man of his class (Harvard College and Columbia Law School). He had married his distant cousin Eleanor Roosevelt in 1905; she would later became a world-famous social reformer in her own right. But their relationship became more of an alliance than a marriage because of FDR’s intermittent but long-term relationship with Eleanor’s social secretary Lucy Mercer.

Disabled after a 1921 bout of poliomyelitis, Roosevelt defied the odds by staying on in politics and was eventually elected to the presidency in late 1931 on a ticket of ‘a new deal for the American people’. Roosevelt, with the collaboration of the media, carefully concealed his paralysis from the public, and his success in steering his nation through the worst years of the Great Depression ensured his mass popularity and his first three consecutive terms in office. However, his New Deal economic interventionism was not popular with the Republicans, who saw it as a form of socialism.

Roosevelt’s main foreign policy aims were to change the US’s role in Latin America to that of a ‘Good Neighbour’ (instead of a meddling big brother); to support colonial self-determination and democracy; to alter the US’s isolationist policy and to consider the militaristic and anti-democratic regimes of Germany and Japan as hostile to US interests. Between 1935 and 1939, Roosevelt was hampered in that last regard after Congress passed five isolationist Neutrality Acts. As the Second World War ground on, Roosevelt took personal initiatives, such as instigating the March 1941 Lend-Lease Act, which got around the US’s official policy of neutrality by allowing arms and any other war materials to be sent to the government of any country whose defence the president considered was ‘vital’ to the defence of the US. When the Japanese attacked Pearl Harbor and when Germany declared war on the US in late 1941, US neutrality was no longer an option.

Winston Spencer Churchill (1874–1965)

Winston Spencer Churchill came from an aristocratic English family, though his mother was American. After a miserable childhood and an unhappy and undistinguished school career, he entered military college where he excelled, becoming a combined soldier–journalist in Britain’s colonial wars of the 1890s. Churchill then entered politics as a Conservative in 1900. Switching parties, he joined the Liberals in 1904, becoming a social reformer. In 1908 he married Clementine Hozier, a clever society beauty with firm views. Their marriage, which had a few
ups and downs, was long-lasting and affectionate, with ‘Clemmie’ stoically supportive of a husband who was highly opinionated, as well as a drinker and a gambler.

During the First World War, as First Sea Lord (minister of the navy), Churchill supported the disastrous Dardanelles campaign. He was heavily criticised for this, and resigned in 1915, rejoining the army. But he returned to politics in 1916 to become War Minister in 1919. It was during the period from 1900 to 1919 that Churchill developed an intense and lasting hostility to German nationalism and a hatred of Bolshevism. Churchill oversaw Britain’s part in the muddled and failed Allied anti-Bolshevik military intervention in northern Russia, from 1918 to 1920. During the 1920s and 1930s, Churchill was in and out of office, with a reputation as a talented, erratic, impatient Liberal (later again Conservative), anti-socialist champion of the British Empire. He took to writing, painting and bricklaying as sidelines, becoming a rich and successful author, with painting and bricklaying as his therapeutic activities. During the 1930s, Churchill adapted his loathing for German nationalism into a public hatred for Nazism; he was a lone voice warning his colleagues and the nation that Hitler’s ambitions were contrary to British interests. Coming at a time when his more conservative colleagues saw Hitler as a check against Bolshevism, he received little support. This was to change in 1939 on the outbreak of war, and Conservative prime minister Neville Chamberlain appointed Churchill as First Sea Lord, much to Roosevelt’s satisfaction. Roosevelt cabled Churchill his congratulations, and this was the start of a close correspondence that formed the basis of their strong personal alliance in years to come. Chamberlain resigned as prime minister in May 1940 after military setbacks in Norway and France. The popular Churchill was appointed to succeed him. In his first prime ministerial speech to the House of Commons on 13 May, Churchill famously promised the British people, ‘I have nothing to offer but blood, toil, tears and sweat’.

Although Churchill and Roosevelt got on very well, their opinions differed on colonialism and on the importance of keeping the USSR out of eastern Europe. Churchill was an adamant imperialist and a firm anti-communist. In July 1945, having neglected the internal organisation of the Conservative party during the war years and having handed over social policy to Labour politicians in the years of his wartime coalition (1940–45), Churchill was evicted from office in a landslide general election. He is generally remembered as a great wartime leader but a peacetime failure.

**Facing an Allied victory, 1943 to 1944**

In January 1943, Churchill, Roosevelt and the commander of the Free French Forces, General Charles de Gaulle, met in Casablanca, in French North Africa, to discuss, among other matters, the idea and terms of an unconditional surrender by the Axis powers. The Allies had come a long way from their shaky 1939–41 resistance to the Axis powers. The outcome of the Casablanca meeting was an uncompromising demand for unconditional surrender by the Axis powers, an idea Roosevelt had borrowed from Ulysses S Grant, a general in the American Civil War. Churchill was not so keen but went along with the idea, which absolutely cut out the possibility of anti-Hitler forces within Germany negotiating a conditional surrender.

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**unconditional surrender**
Unqualified surrender in which no guarantees are offered by the victorious power(s)
THE BRETTON WOODS CONFERENCE, 1944

A succession of strategic wartime meetings followed the Casablanca Conference, but it was not until the Bretton Woods Conference in the United States that serious planning about how to rearrange postwar international affairs and establish a stable postwar economic and financial system began – a new world order. The Bretton Woods Conference was held over 22 days in July 1944, at the Mount Washington Hotel in Bretton Woods, New Hampshire. It was attended by representatives from 44 nations, including delegates from the anti-capitalist USSR. France, in the process of liberation, was not present.

Planning for this kind of international accord had actually started back in 1936 with a peacetime exchange of correspondence between English economist John Maynard Keynes and US Treasury official and liberal internationalist Harry Dexter White. Their exchange of ideas was followed by more intense planning from 1942–43, and by detailed agenda discussion in 1943–44.

The significance of the Bretton Woods strategy lay in its attempt to deal with the problems caused by the financial and economic meltdowns of the 1920s and the 1930s, including crises that had figured in the rise of Nazism in Germany. The League of Nations had failed in its attempts to deal with these kinds of politico-economic issues, and the Bretton Woods agreement attempted to remedy this failure by regulating global financial and economic systems. The Bretton Woods accord would, it was hoped, provide a secure platform for postwar international political, diplomatic and social stability.

The Bretton Woods document, drafted in the main by Keynes, aimed to set up a balanced economic and financial international environment, and attempted to block the early 20th-century trade restrictions and currency manipulations that had bedevilled worldwide trade, global finance and international diplomacy, particularly in the 1930s.

This agreement led first to a stabilised international system of monetary exchange linked to a US dollar that was tied to the gold standard. Second, the accord established an International Stabilisation Fund (which later became the International Monetary Fund); this would supervise exchange rates and, where necessary, provide loans to nations whose trade was in deficit. The third part of the agreement was to set up an International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (later the World Bank); this would provide newly developing nations with growth capital. Each signatory to the accord was to provide a membership contribution proportionate to its economic and financial status. The Bretton Woods agreement was not perfect, nor was it lasting, nor was it universal in its application – and nor indeed was it all about principles.
Perfect?
Keynes had wanted an international bank, to be called the International Clearing Union, which would give debtor nations an annual overdraft facility with interest charges. This system would have allowed debtor nations to avoid lasting trade imbalances, often the cause of national financial collapse. Keynes’ scheme, although supported by the British government, was opposed by the American economist and treasury official Harry Dexter White. This was because the US was the world’s largest creditor nation, and, under Keynes’ scheme, it would have had to pay interest on a proportion of its credit balance. Instead, White argued for an International Stabilisation Fund. It would be focused mainly on opening up new markets to US trade, while Keynes’ plan was based on Britain giving trade preferences to its imperial nations. The successor of the International Stabilisation Fund, the International Monetary Fund (IMF), has since become a target of criticism for its allegedly coercive interference in the affairs of nations in crisis. According to Nobel prize-winning economist and former World Bank vice president Joseph Stiglitz, the IMF has, since the 1950s, created economic crises, destabilised the currencies of nations in crisis, made balance of payments problems worse, forced struggling nations into greater debt, damaged public service infrastructures and put tens of millions of people out of work.

Lasting?
Tying the US dollar to gold benefited the US economic and financial system at the expense of other nations until 1971 at least, when the US found itself in the middle of a financial and economic crisis. To protect an overvalued (gold-standard) US currency from demands by several foreign nations that their US dollar stocks should be exchanged for gold, President Richard Nixon, in what became known as his ‘Nixon Shock’ policy announcement, pulled the US out of the Bretton Woods system. The US then floated the dollar, forcing other nations to do the same. This effectively ended the financial platform on which the Bretton Woods agreement was based, although its other elements, the IMF and the World Bank, continue their work into the early 21st century, still with US support but enduring criticism from progressive, anti-interventionist commentators.

Universal?
As for the agreement having universal support, although the USSR was represented at the Bretton Woods Conference and it was a signatory to the draft agreement, in full Stalinist, uncooperative mode, it later opted out of both the IMF and the World Bank.

Principled?
On the face of it, the Bretton Woods agreement appeared to be an accord in which the US and Britain had combined to lead the way to help save the world from future economic and financial uncertainty. However, using recently discovered evidence, US historian Benn Steil argues that Roosevelt and his officials, including Harry Dexter White and the US delegation, were playing two games at once (financial and anti-imperialist) when they tied the dollar to gold, because this blocked the British pound sterling from resuming its former place as the US dollar’s rival.
Steil outlines his views in his book, published in 2013, titled *The Battle of Bretton Woods: John Maynard Keynes, Harry Dexter White, and the Making of a New World Order*. He argues that an arrogant Keynes was outmanoeuvred by US representatives. He summarises his views in a 2013 *Washington Post* interview:

“... In the 1940s, after the war had started, the FDR administration is already thinking quite seriously about how Britain’s impending bankruptcy can redound to the geopolitical benefit of the United States. They were thinking about how if we manage our financial aid to Britain carefully and control it tightly, we can get Britain through the war, but also simultaneously limit its room for maneuver in the postwar world. It was a conscious effort to force liquidation of the British empire after the war.


Following on from Bretton Woods there were discussions between August and early October 1944 about a new postwar version of the League of Nations. The Dumbarton Oaks meeting in Washington, DC, was attended by representatives of the ‘Big Three’ (the US, Britain and the USSR) and by nationalist China. France, still in the process of being liberated, was absent but was promised a seat in the new organisation’s council.

**THE YALTA CONFERENCE AND THE POSTWAR WORLD ORDER**

In February 1945, the Big Three leaders met at an eight-day conference at the Livadia Palace in Yalta, in the Crimea. A frail Roosevelt (he died four months later), a suspicious and sidelined Churchill, and a self-assured Stalin were to form the postwar world order in a secret agreement. De Gaulle was not invited, on the advice of France’s provisional foreign minister Georges Bidault. This actually suited de Gaulle since he distrusted the ‘Anglo-Saxon’ members of the Big Three, and could later absolve himself of any unpopular decisions that came out of the meeting. De Gaulle was anyway a notoriously difficult ally. Indeed, in private correspondence with Churchill, Roosevelt referred to him as ‘well nigh intolerable’ and Churchill said he was ‘vain and even malignant’. De Gaulle’s absence therefore suited at least two of the Big Three.

The gist of the secret Yalta arrangement for Germany was as follows. The former Nazi state was to be weakened by splitting it between the USSR and the West; the German people were to be provided with a subsistence living; what was left of German industry was to be destroyed or confiscated; war criminals were to be prosecuted; and central and eastern European nations were to be given the opportunity to elect representative governments. Stalin supported this latter move although he clearly had plans to dominate eastern and central European nations after their liberation.

When the Yalta agreement was finally published in 1946, its terms provoked an outburst of anger in Britain and in the US. It was alleged that eastern Europe (Poland featured heavily here) had been betrayed and handed over to communism. In Britain it was further alleged that an unwell and therefore pliable Roosevelt had colluded with a forceful Stalin at Churchill’s expense, weakening the negotiating power of the Western allies and Britain’s imperial status. This was the
beginning of a lasting myth about Yalta – that a feeble Roosevelt and an uncaring Churchill had handed Poland, and the rest of eastern Europe, to the Soviets.

As it happened, in February 1945, Roosevelt and Churchill were caught in a cleft stick. The US diplomat James F Byrnes summed up the Allies’ dilemma. With a ferocious war in the east yet to be won, and with 11 million combined Soviet forces in occupation throughout central and eastern Europe, he pointed out that it was not what the Western allies would allow the Russians to do, but more a question of what they could get the Russians to do.

Stalin was determined to set up Poland as a Moscow-friendly, communist buffer state. After all, it had been a corridor for two German invasions of Russia (in 1914 and 1941). To further his plan, Stalin held a strong bargaining chip, because both Roosevelt and Churchill needed Russian assurances that the USSR would join in the unfinished war against Japan, at a time when the US atomic bomb was not yet operationally available. Accordingly, Churchill’s plan for a democratic, Western-friendly Poland – it was the nation Britain had gone to war for to save from dictatorship by Hitler in 1939, after all – was stymied. With Russia holding central and eastern Europe in its grip, there was little else to be done, much to Churchill’s exasperation.

In any case, the war in Europe ended on 8 May 1945 (9 May in the USSR), and the war against the Japanese was to end on 14 August 1945. By the summer of 1945 it was time for a more comprehensive postwar settlement.

The ‘Big Three’ at Yalta

There are several photographs of the ‘Big Three’ at Yalta. (Harry Hopkins, one of Roosevelt’s closest advisers, referred to the trio as the ‘Big Two and a Half’ a sardonic remark about Britain’s waning geopolitical influence.) Considering the Big Three as individuals, rather than governments, raises a serious question about the importance of personalities over principles in international negotiations.

The image in Source 1.5 captures Churchill chatting, possibly about the Polish issue, with Roosevelt. British diplomat Hugh Lunghi was taken aback at the president’s appearance, saying, ‘His face was waxen to a sort of yellow, waxen and very drawn, very thin, and a lot of the time he was sort of sitting there with his mouth open sort of staring ahead. So that was quite a shock’. Later medical evidence suggests that Roosevelt was suffering from temporary blackouts now known as transient ischemic attacks, or TIAs. Even so, and contrary to Yalta mythology, Roosevelt gained his publicly professed aims at the conference, apart from a TIA-induced lapse that allowed the USSR to regain its territorial position in China at the expense of the nationalist Chinese government. Stalin looks impassive.
THE POTSDAM CONFERENCE: THE NEXT STAGE

From 17 July to 2 August 1945, following Germany’s defeat but prior to Japan’s surrender, the Big Three met at the Cecilienhof Palace, in Potsdam. This conference was a follow-up to Yalta, and intended to decide Germany’s fate in more detail. With the European war over, cracks had begun to appear in the alliance. These differences were mainly to do with Stalin’s anxiety that the USSR needed a generous reparations settlement to help rebuild its shattered economy. Stalin was worried that the US and Britain would block his request for compensation.

The composition of the Big Three had changed that summer. Roosevelt had died on 12 April and was replaced by Harry Truman. Churchill had been electorally defeated and replaced on 26 July by Labour prime minister Clement Attlee. Stalin remained the USSR’s chief representative.

Although there were ongoing disagreements between the Allies, particularly over reparations and the borders of Poland, they did agree to the occupation of Germany in four zones (US, British, French and Russian), to be overseen by an Allied Control Commission. In addition they agreed that Germany should be demilitarised, democratised and denazified, and that war criminals should be arrested and tried. A final ultimatum was also issued to Japan, but not by Russia, which was yet to go to war with Japan.

In a conversation on 24 July that changed the USSR’s relations with the West, Truman told Stalin that the US had successfully detonated an atom bomb. This was arguably an attempt to coerce Stalin into reducing his reparations demands, but Stalin remained intransigent. Through his intelligence services, he already knew about the ‘A-bomb’, as it became known. Indeed, the USSR had been planning its own version since 1943, and it would go on to conduct its own first test in August 1949 – this would mark the start of a fierce and dangerous nuclear rivalry between the USSR and its former Allies, and become a key element in the coming Cold War. As for reparations, the USSR was allowed to demand reparations of its Soviet-occupied German zone and to take 10 per cent of what was left of western German industrial equipment back to Russia.

THE UNITED NATIONS ORGANIZATION: A NEW GLOBAL ORDER

A less controversial feature of the Yalta and Potsdam meetings was the continuing work of drafting the charter for a postwar United Nations Organization (UNO; it later became known simply as the United Nations), a key Roosevelt goal. While the UNO was to be based on the unsuccessful League of Nations model, it was designed to be more inclusive, more efficient, more comprehensive and more effective than the League.
The League of Nations as a cautionary tale for the 1940s

After some minor successes in the 1920s, the League of Nation’s efforts had come to nothing in the 1930s, when the League had encountered the ruthless and scornful brutality of the Axis powers and their own idea of a three-way world order – a Nazi Europe and Russia, a Fascist Italian Africa and an imperial Japanese Asia.

Weaknesses of the League of Nations

- Foundation based on vindictive 1919 Versailles peace settlement; this undermined the League’s moral authority and gave some nations, such as Japan and the defeated Germany, leverage when dealing with censure.
- The US had refused to join, and as a result its commercial interests were not committed to the League’s sanctions program; as a potential, powerful, New World circuit-breaker in what were mostly Old World disputes the US was sorely missed.
- Ability to function effectively in international disputes hampered by the need for all parties in any dispute to agree to arbitration; when the international troublemakers Japan, Germany and Italy left the League in the 1930s, they were formally beyond the League’s arbitration process but could and did still take part in arbitration outside the League, which undermined its authority.
- No military capability when enforcing resolutions; the League relied on the voluntary armed forces of member states, who were reluctant to use their own troops against third parties in disputes in which they had no immediate interest.
- Sanctions policies were unpopular with member states because they acted as a two-edged sword, affecting the economies of both the states imposing and receiving the sanctions.
- Administered by two largely ineffective and undistinguished Secretaries Generals; the secretariat was understaffed.
- Established to deal with the failings of 19th-century style international relations; but the Axis powers introduced a new brand of 20th-century global politics for which the League was unprepared.
SETTING UP THE UNITED NATIONS

On 25 April 1945, just a few weeks before the war in Europe was to end, a major conference was convened in San Francisco of the major Allies and 46 other nations. That conference framed the terms of the UN's work in its charter. The charter included specifications that the UN would, among other things, oppose war, advocate for universal human rights, ensure treaty obligations and international laws were met, and promote social progress and a 'larger freedom'.

The Charter of the United Nations
The introductory ‘Purposes and Principles’ of the 1945 UN Charter give a good indication of what this new organisation was meant to do; they have remained unchanged to this day. Here are the four key points.

1. To maintain international peace and security, and to that end: to take effective collective measures for the prevention and removal of threats to the peace, and for the suppression of acts of aggression or other breaches of the peace, and to bring about by peaceful means, and in conformity with the principles of justice and international law, adjustment or settlement of international disputes or situations which might lead to a breach of the peace;

2. To develop friendly relations among nations based on respect for the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples, and to take other appropriate measures to strengthen universal peace;

3. To achieve international co-operation in solving international problems of an economic, social, cultural, or humanitarian character, and in promoting and encouraging respect for human rights and for fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language, or religion; and

4. To be a centre for harmonizing the actions of nations in the attainment of these common ends.


Questions

1. Examine each point above carefully. Explain how the wording might relate to events in international relations between 1900 and 1945.

2. How does this set of principles differ from the aims of the League of Nations? Explain any differences.

3. Why was the UN Charter a radical change from past international agreements?

4. What new forms of language in this section of the Charter demonstrate the idealism underpinning the UN? What motivations lay behind that thinking? Were these aims realistic?

On 24 October 1945, the UN was set up as an autonomous diplomatic entity in Manhattan, New York. The UN’s structure was based on that of the League of Nations, but it had a much more inclusive Council and Assembly and a larger secretariat.

The organisational structure was based on the decisions of a small, eleven-member Security Council, consisting of five permanent members (Britain, France, the US, the USSR and China, represented by the Republic of China, the nationalist government of Jiang Jieshi) and six rotating members. Each permanent member of the Security Council (including the People’s Republic
of China, which replaced the Republic of China in 1971) had the power of veto (‘I forbid’ in Latin). This meant that any substantive Security Council resolution could be blocked by a single permanent member whatever the Council’s majority might want. The veto would be used as a Cold War and decolonisation-era tactic by both sides in the 1950s and 1960s, tailing off in use towards the late 1980s.

The Security Council also had the authority to raise armed forces from member states and to take armed collective action to maintain the peace.

The second element in the UN’s organisational structure was the much larger General Assembly of 51 members. It was presided over from 1948 to 1949 by Australian jurist and diplomat Herbert Vere (‘HV’) Evatt, who had been a leading light in the foundation of the UN and in the drawing up of its human rights charter. From 1946 to 1951, US First Lady Eleanor Roosevelt was a highly influential chair of the UN Human Rights Commission.

Over time, the General Assembly, more of a debating chamber than an executive body, was to grow and become dominated by post-colonial nations, many of which were hostile to the interests of Western powers.

Finally, the UN’s work was administered by a secretariat. It would grow rapidly over the years, and was initially headed by a highly capable Secretary-General, Norwegian politician and diplomat Trygve Lie (pronounced ‘Trigvee Lee’).
In contrast to the League’s poor executive track record, Trygve Lie would become the first in a long line of distinguished UN Secretaries-General that includes Dag Hammarskjöld (Sweden, 1953–61), U Thant (Burma/Myanmar, 1961–71), Javier Pérez de Cuéllar (Peru, 1982–91) and 2001 Nobel Prize winner Kofi Annan (Ghana, 1997–2006). As another point of comparison with the League’s paltry 100-strong workforce, the UN secretariat in 2014 employed 43,000 staff, a figure, incidentally, that has led to criticism of over-bureaucratization of the UN.

As for the defeated powers, Japan was granted UN observer status in 1952 and full status in 1956. Italy was also admitted as an observer in 1952 and was granted full status in 1955. West Germany was admitted to the UN as an observer in 1955, and East Germany as an observer as late as 1972. Both Germanies were admitted to full status in 1973. The key point to note here is the difference between gaining observer status and full status. The two Germanies were slow to gain full UN recognition because of ongoing Cold War disagreements over proposals for their membership, tensions that positioned the Germanies as strategic pawns in the UN membership game.

As the UN developed, its shape and purpose were modified by subsequent events. These led, for example, to the establishment of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) in November 1945; the creation of the state of Israel in May 1948; the Universal Declaration of Human Rights in December 1948; and the formation of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) in December 1950.

**SOURCE 1.7** Structure of the UN. In the early 21st century the activities of the UN and its institutions are much more complex than they were at the time of its foundation in 1945.
Chapter summary

+ In modern history, serious attempts to stabilise international relations by establishing a world order date back to the early 19th century, when European diplomats set up secret geopolitical arrangements to the advantage of their leaders who were the dominant powers of the day. The diplomats formed an aristocratic collective who often knew each other personally, spoke French (the common diplomatic language) and met in leisurely gatherings to thrash out differences of opinion. This period of international relations was dominated by two individual aristocrats, Metternich and Bismarck.

+ In the early 20th century, Woodrow Wilson set his mark on the next stage of world order design when he insisted that international disputes be settled in an open fashion, that self-determination be an important part of negotiations and that democratic interests be served. His principled stand foundered on the rocks of US isolationism and on the League of Nations’ inability to deal with aggressive European dictators and a warlike Japanese military.

+ Failed efforts to create a stable international order in the first half of the 20th century led to two horrific world wars. The international relations of that time were again dominated by individuals, such as Hitler, Mussolini, Churchill, Roosevelt and Stalin.

+ The post-1945 priority for most of the victors of the Second World War was to set up a new and more effective collective and consultative association of nations. This led to the creation of the UN, an organisation built on effective collective security, and on policy and process, not on the personal ambitions of individual politicians as, for example, had been the case with the agreement between Stalin, Roosevelt and Churchill at Yalta.

+ Almost immediately, the UN faced powerful countermoves to its attempts at international stabilisation. These included the 1947 onset of the Cold War, successive and frequently violent decolonisation crises, and recurring conflicts in the Middle East over the creation of the state of Israel.

Endnotes

Weblinks
Weblinks relevant to this chapter can be found at http://nmh.nelsonnet.com.au/changingworld

Further resources
Chapter review activities

1. How realistic do you think Woodrow Wilson was about open international collaboration?
2. Was there any way the League of Nations could have thwarted the Axis powers?
3. Was Roosevelt simply carrying on the work of Woodrow Wilson?
4. How did the international conferences that occurred at the time of the Second World War between the years 1941 and 1945 differ from preceding arrangements for dealing with international relations?
5. Examine the life and work of Keynes and White. Assess which of the two was the more significant economist.
6. What were the motivations of the Big Three at the Yalta Conference?
7. Did anyone gain from Yalta? Explain your reasoning.
8. Why was the Potsdam Conference of global significance?
9. What factors led to the creation of the United Nations Organization in 1945?
10. How did the UN differ from its predecessor, the League of Nations?
11. What role did Eleanor Roosevelt play in establishing the UN’s Universal Declaration of Human Rights? How innovative and significant was that declaration?
12. There is an argument that liberal internationalism can be a cover for national goals. What evidence can you find among the events described in this chapter that might support or refute that argument?
13. The UN was set up in 1945. How did the world look in 1945 to a geopolitical optimist? How did it look to a geopolitical pessimist?

Essay question

14. How and why did attempts to establish world orders succeed or fail in the first half of the 20th century?