

MUNLawS 2025
HISTORICAL COMMITTEE
United Nations Conference on International Organization

THIS IS **NOT** THE FINAL VERSION OF THIS STUDY GUIDE. THIS STUDY GUIDE IS STILL BEING CHECKED BY OUR ORGANIZING TEAM AND MIGHT INCLUDE SOME MISTAKE. THE FINAL VERSION OF THIS STUDY GUIDE WILL BE UPLOADED SHORTLY. SOME **MINOR CHANGES** MIGHT BE MADE, BUT THEY ARE ONLY INTENDED TO FIX ANY POSSIBLE MISTAKES (GRAMMAR, CONTENT, FORMATTING) AND IMPROVE THE STUDY GUIDE FOR OUR PARTICIPANTS.

ONCE THE FINAL VERSIONS OF ALL STUDY GUIDES ARE UPLOADED, WE WILL MAKE THIS CLEAR ON OUR SOCIAL MEDIA AND VIA EMAIL TO ALL REGISTERED PARTICIPANTS.

THE FINAL VERSIONS OF THE STUDY GUIDES WILL INCLUDE OUR LOGO AND THE COVER WHICH IS SIMILAR TO THE COVER OF OUR RULES OF PROCEDURE AND FICTIONAL CASES FOR ECtHR AND OSCE CCA COMMITTEES, WHICH ARE ALREADY UPLOADED.

WE TRULY WANT TO ENSURE THE BEST EXPERIENCE FOR OUR PARTICIPANTS. WE THANK YOU FOR YOUR UNDERSTANDING.

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1. INTRODUCTION

1.1. About MUNLawS

It is our great pleasure to welcome, after a year of absence, the delegates, head delegates, observers, and faculty advisors back to the festive city of Ljubljana to once again take on the pressing issues of the day at the 12th MUNLawS Model United Nations Conference.

As the prospects of this year's conference were discussed, it fell upon us to determine its scope and focus. Facing wide array of global challenges – each significant in its own right – our instinct times and again was to return to the fundamental yet enduring discussion on the construction of the global order and its respect for international law – the solemn commitment of one for all with no one left behind. Reaching, in good faith, Beyond Divisions, Ensuring Security for All.

The unfolding year spares no shortage of anniversaries. Eighty years ago, the deadliest war in human history came to an end, and the foundations of a bold new vision for global governance were laid. Today, complacency toward the binding rules of this international order is being tested, as a series of conflicts steadily erodes its very ideal, rekindling the specter of wider confrontation. Thirty years ago, in Srebrenica, former compatriots turned against their own, committing one of the most horrendous atrocities in modern European history. Today, echoes of such despair resonate in many parts of the world, reminding us that the struggle for justice and the protection of human life and dignity remains urgent.

At the same time, the year 2025 is the one of considerable achievements. With the recent ceasefire in Gaza, the seeming resolution of the Armenian–Azerbaijani conflict, the groundbreaking Advisory Opinion of the International Court of Justice on the Obligations of States in Respect of Climate Change and other significant developments, a trebling light on the horizon reminding us of the promise of tomorrow still shines brightly. As a non-permanent member of the UN Security Council, the Republic of Slovenia devoted considerable effort to fulfilling its responsibilities. It is, therefore, a privilege to count the Ministry of Foreign and European Affairs of the Republic of Slovenia as our trusted partner in organizing this conference.

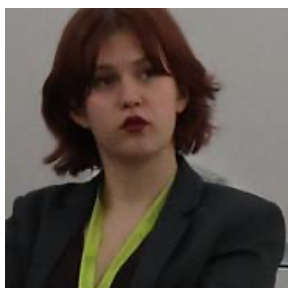
Furthermore, we extend our sincere gratitude to the European Parliament Liaison Office in Slovenia for their steadfast and invaluable support in bringing this conference to fruition. Representing a core institution of arguably the greatest peace project in human history, their involvement underscores the enduring importance of forging bridges in the pursuit of a cause far greater than ourselves. We are also deeply thankful to Tourism Ljubljana, which, together with the Liaison Office, made it possible to organise two incredible social events.

We sincerely hope you will delight in exploring this mosaic, forge meaningful new friendships, and cherish the experience of MUNLawS 2025. Let the festivities begin!

Yours truly,

Žiga Murn Lindič, Secretary-General of MUNLawS 2025

1.2. About the Chairs



Katarina Adam is beginning her studies at the Faculty of Law in Ljubljana and continuing pursuing her passion for MUNs, which she discovered and attended as both delegate and chair in high school. As a history enthusiast with a soft spot for historical MUN committees, really excited to join as a Historical Committee chair.

As a Faculty of Law student and a yearlong MUN participant, **Žiga Kovačič** is thrilled to be chairing this year's Historical Committee. With past experiences of chairing Historical Councils and his love for world history and international relations, he believes that together with the team we can make this Committee very interesting and engaging, especially with this year's incredibly relevant topic on multilateralism and international cooperation.



Črt Lahajnar is a law student at the University of Ljubljana, entering his second year. He has cultivated his passion for diplomacy through numerous MUN conferences, sharpening skills in public speaking, negotiation and committee procedure. In addition to his strong MUN background, he is also a devoted coffee enthusiast as well as an avid hiker. He finds peace and clarity on alpine trails and believes few things compare to the comfort of a freshly brewed espresso at dawn.

1.3. About the Committee

“We recognize that our future is linked with a world future in which the term "good neighbor" has become a global consideration. We have learned that understanding of one another's problems is the greatest assurance of peace. And that true understanding comes only as a product of free consultation. This conference is proof in itself of the new conception of neighborliness and unity which must be recognized in world affairs.” With their words, Earl Warren, then Governor of California and future Chief Justice of the United States Supreme Court, welcomed the representatives of 50 delegation convening in San Francisco in April 1945. While World War II was still raging, the leaders of the Allied nations reviewed the Dumbarton Oaks agreement, building on its foundations to finalize the Charter of the United Nations. The Charter did not only establish the foundation for the new international organization but also set the tone for the post-war world order.

In the Historical Committee, delegates will represent the leaders of the relevant world countries. The working procedure of the Committee will be led by the Committee Directors (Chairs). All delegates must write position papers and submit them to the MUNLawS Academic team. Position papers will be reviewed and scored by the Academic team and shall significantly contribute to the final scores of delegates, upon which Committee awards will be based. Instructions on how to write the position paper are published on this website. Failure to follow these instructions or to meet the deadline for the submission of the position papers will result in negative points for the position paper.

The main goal of the Committee is to adopt the fundamental treaty. Issues that have not been discussed during formal debate may not be included in the document. Every delegate shall read the General Rules of Procedure before the start of the MUNLawS Conference for a further detailed description of the procedure.

2. STATE OF THE WORLD

It is Wednesday, April 25th 1945, and cheering crowds have gathered before the San Francisco War Memorial Opera House in the moments before the opening of the United Nations conference on International Organization. The light rain does nothing to dampen the excited spirits of the observers, standing under the flags of 46 nations, which line the streets.

Guards stand alert as representatives arrive at the building. 850 delegates make their way to their seats along with their advisers, staff and the conference secretariat, bringing the number of all attendees to about 3,500. Their every move is accompanied by bright flashlights, clicking and whirring of the cameras, belonging to more than 2,500 members of the press.¹ After all, these men and women will soon be deciding on what the post-war world will look like. They represent almost 2,000,000,000 people, which amounts to more than 80% of humanity, and they have one common goal in mind - to end all war.²

Thankfully, the ongoing world war seems to be nearing an end. Today, Soviet and American forces met at the Elbe River, near Torgau, effectively cutting Germany in two, weakening it even further. Meanwhile, Soviets completed the encirclement of Berlin near Ketzin, as 1st Belorussian and 1st Ukrainian formations continued their attacks on the city, advancing from the east and south. Berchtesgaden and coastal batteries at Wangerrooge are attacked by British RAF bombers, while Americans strike Pilsen. In Italy, significant numbers of German troops surrender as more towns are liberated, while British forces make rapid advances in Burma and Japanese troops begin to withdraw into Thailand.³

Yet, despite the good news, it is impossible to overlook the trail of bodies and destruction that the ongoing war continues to leave behind. It has killed more than 40 million people,

¹ United Nations. (n.d.). The San Francisco Conference. United Nations; United Nations. <https://www.un.org/en/about-us/history-of-the-un/san-francisco-conference> (accessed on September 20, 2025).

² United Nations. (2022, October 28). Founding of the United Nations - San Francisco 1945 | Archives | United Nations [Video]. YouTube. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=sG_4eCxIUeM (accessed on September 20, 2025).

³ World War II Chronology for April 1945. (n.d.). <https://www.onwar.com/wwii/chronology/194504.html> (accessed on September 21, 2025).

displaced tens of millions, and the number of casualties continues to grow.⁴ For many, this is not even the first world war they have witnessed in their lifetime. The Great War as it was called, saw more than 8,500,000 soldiers die, with the exact number of civilian casualties remaining unknown due to lack of proper records.⁵ Both wars leave humanity grieving and traumatised, yet motivated, like never before, to ensure, such catastrophe will never happen again.

The former State Secretary of the US, Mr. Hall, expressed his opinion that "San Francisco will be the acid test of whether mankind has suffered enough to have acquired the vision and resolution to build a structure by which order under law can be established and maintained.", labelling the conference "a great turning-point in history", reports the Marlborough Express.⁶

The idea for this world security organisation was conceived by the late President Roosevelt of the United States, who, unfortunately, will not be able to see it established. Without his efforts, this conference would most likely not have existed. Now, great minds gather, to honour his work and deliver to the world, a collaboration of the world's nations, as never seen before, an organisation that would protect the peace that the end of this war should bring.

⁴ Chmielewski, K. (2024, May 15). casualties of World War II. Encyclopedia Britannica. <https://www.britannica.com/event/casualties-of-World-War-II-2231003> (accessed on September 20, 2025).

⁵ Showalter, D. E. & Royde-Smith, J. G. (2025, September 27). World War I. Encyclopedia Britannica. <https://www.britannica.com/event/World-War-I> (accessed on September 20, 2025).

⁶ (2025). Govt.nz. <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/MEX19450423.2.29.1> (accessed on September 21, 2025).

3. HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

The idea of a world government was an aspiration of ancient rulers as early as the Bronze Age; ancient Egyptian kings aimed to rule "All That the Sun Encircles", Mesopotamian kings "All from the Sunrise to the Sunset", and ancient Chinese and Japanese emperors "All under Heaven". In ancient Greece, Diogenes of Sinope was the starter of the cosmopolitan movement which advocated that humans live in a universal community. Asked where he came from, Diogenes answered: **"I am a citizen of the world (*kosmopolitês*)"**.⁷

Later, the Roman Empire and its rule over much of the known world at the time brought the *Pax Romana*, a roughly two-century period of stable Roman hegemony across three continents, which reflected the positive aspirations of a world government, as it was deemed to have brought prosperity and security to what was once a politically and culturally fractious region.⁸ In Italy, Florence, poet Dante Alighieri advocated for an Universal Monarchy which would secure peace and prosperity for the years to come, writing about it extensively in his work *De Monarchia*.⁹

The idea of a new, federative system of uniting the world can be dated back to the 17/18th century philosophers, notably Immanuel Kant, who in his 1795 essay *Zum ewigen Frieden (Perpetual Peace: A Philosophical Sketch)* called for the world to be united in a federation of rulers, arguing for a voluntary league of sovereign states committed to solving international disputes.¹⁰ This view, later adopted by certain representatives of the American idealist movement, principally Theodore Roosevelt in 1906 proclaiming: **"The great powers had the force necessary to prevent war as well as make it"**.¹¹

⁷ Britannica. (2025). Ancient empires. Encyclopaedia Britannica. <https://www.britannica.com/browse/Ancient-World> (accessed September 22, 2025).

⁸ The Editors of Encyclopaedia Britannica (2025, September 23). Roman Empire. Encyclopedia Britannica. <https://www.britannica.com/place/Roman-Empire> (accessed September 22, 2025).

⁹ Dante Alighieri. (1320/1996). *De Monarchia* (G. M. Williamson, Trans.). Cambridge University Press. http://files.libertyfund.org/files/2196/Dante_1477.pdf (accessed September 22, 2025).

¹⁰ Kant, I. (1795/2006). *Perpetual Peace: A Philosophical Sketch* (T. Humphrey, Trans.). <https://www.gutenberg.org/files/50922/50922-h/50922-h.htm> (accessed September 22, 2025).

¹¹ McGlinchey, S. (2010). E.H Carr and The Failure of the League of Nations <https://www.e-ir.info/pdf/4915> (accessed August 14, 2025).

3.1. The League of Nations

3.1.1. History

In the aftermath of the largest and most destructive conflict humanity has known up to date, World War One, the idea found willing ears, with US president Woodrow Wilson in his 14 points spearheading the initiative to set up some kind of “League of Peace”. The premise of this organisation was agreement of all members **“not only to abide by the decisions of a common tribunal, but to back with force the decision of that common tribunal”**.¹² The signing of The Covenant of the League of Nations as a Part I of the Treaty of Versailles established the framework of the new organisation, and when the Treaty became effective on 10 January 1920, the League was officially born.¹³ During the following years, despite high hopes by the general academia as shown Edvard Harriman’s 1927 article in which he concludes that the League is **“one of the most important events in all history”** and that he **“fully expects that the League will naturally evolve into a rudimentary superstate and will iron out its problems”**,¹⁴ the League would prove thoroughly incapable of dealing with major international disputes, only seeing success in some minor cases, such as in the Åland crisis, Upper Silesian dispute and the 1925 Greco-Bulgarian hostilities. 1933 would prove disastrous for the organisation, as following the adoption of the report on the Manchurian crisis by the League Assembly, and the rise of the Nazism in Germany, Japan and Germany withdrew from the League.¹⁵ This incident shook the organisation to its core, as it clearly showed that nations could defy the League without serious consequences, especially as the League had no military force and the major members were unwilling to impose sanctions out of national interests. As best put by historian A. J. P. Taylor **“In the face of its first serious challenge, the League buckled and capitulated.”**¹⁶

¹² McGlinchey, S. (2010). E.H Carr and The Failure of the League of Nations <https://www.e-ir.info/pdf/4915> (accessed August 14, 2025).

¹³ Britannica. (2025). League of Nations | History, Definition & Purpose. Encyclopaedia Britannica. <https://www.britannica.com/topic/League-of-Nations> (accessed September 18, 2025).

¹⁴ Harriman, E. A. (1927). The League of Nations a Rudimentary Superstate. American Political Science Review, 21(1), 137–140. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/1945546>.

¹⁵ McGlinchey, S. (2010). E.H Carr and The Failure of the League of Nations <https://www.e-ir.info/pdf/4915> (accessed August 14, 2025).

¹⁶ The Manchurian Crisis, 1931-33. (2017, May 31). RGS History. <https://rgshistory.com/the-manchurian-crisis-1931-33/> (accessed September 17, 2025).

Despite the temporary strengthening of the organisation in 1934 with the inclusion of the Soviet Union the respite would be short lived, as the 1935 Italian invasion of Abyssinia, further discredited the League. Historian P. Raffo dissecting the crisis notes the haphazard deliberations over whether or not to impose sanctions on Italy for its aggressive actions, concluding that **“the League of Nations has not been tried and found wanting; it has been found inconvenient and not tried”** and worse still, **“the League was an ineffective safeguard of the peace of the world”**.¹⁷ By 1937, all heart for collective action had gone out of the league, and the Soviet invasion of Finland in 1939 and their subsequent expulsion would cement the final death blow to the organisation. While the organisation still legally exists in 1945, only some specialised agencies of the organisation are still running, such as the Health Organization and the International Labor Organisation, with the League planning for its dissolution and incorporation into the United Nations.¹⁸

¹⁷ McGlinchey, S. (2010). E.H Carr and The Failure of the League of Nations <https://www.e-ir.info/pdf/4915> (accessed August 14, 2025).

¹⁸ Britannica. (2025). League of Nations | History, Definition & Purpose. Encyclopaedia Britannica. <https://www.britannica.com/topic/League-of-Nations> (accessed September 18, 2025).

3.1.2. Organs and agencies

Summarised from official UN [website](#) (*Main Organs of the League of Nations | the United Nations Office at Geneva*, n.d.)¹⁹

3.1.2.1. Main bodies

The Assembly was the main representative body of the League of Nations. It consisted of delegates of all Member States, which were equally represented: every State had one vote, without geographic, demographic or economic distinction.

The functions of the Assembly were very broad. According to the Covenant, it could deal with “any matter within the sphere of action of the League affecting the peace of the world”. The Assembly had also specific competences, for instance, it oversaw approving the admission of new members and of amending the Covenant. The Assembly also adopted the budget of the League, which was financed by all the Member States according to their economic and financial position.

The decisions of the Assembly were based on the unanimity rule: Except in specific motions as provided for in the Covenant, all decisions required the agreement of all Member States present at the meeting.

The Council, like the Assembly, dealt with any question coming within the sphere of action of the League or affecting world peace. The two organs were to work in parallel, following up on issues brought up by the Member States. However, the Council also had special functions: For instance, it formulated plans for the reduction of armaments and oversaw all questions concerning the territories under mandate.

The Council consisted of permanent and non-permanent members. In 1920, the four permanent members were the British Empire, France, Italy, and Japan. The non-permanent members were elected by the Assembly for a three-year term. The logic behind the limited representation of the Council and the presence of major powers was to ensure quick and effective decision-making. Decisions were taken by unanimity.

¹⁹ United Nations. (n.d.). Main Organs of the League of Nations. UN GENEVA. <https://www.ungeneva.org/en/about/league-of-nations/organs> (accessed August 14, 2025).

The Secretariat was the administrative organ of the League of Nations. It was composed of international civil servants headed by a Secretary-General. The Secretariat was in charge of preparing the work of the different bodies, overseeing the smooth running of meetings, and following up on decisions taken by Member States.

3.1.2.2. Auxiliary organisations

These subsidiary bodies which were created by the Covenant or established by the Assembly and the Council prepared the work of the principal organs and provided advice on specific matters. They were tasked with technical matters and largely composed by experts appointed for their qualifications. Among these organizations were the Economic and Financial Organization, the Communication and Transit Organization, the Health Organization, and the Intellectual Cooperation Organization.

3.1.2.3. Associated organisations

The International Labour Organization (ILO) was established at the Paris Peace Conference, on the basis that “universal and lasting peace can be established only if it is based upon social justice”. Its main function was to frame and supervise the application of international rules concerning labour conditions. Its scope included limitation of working hours, unemployment protection, maternity protection, child labour, minimum age laws, and occupational safety. The organisation saw notable success during the interwar period, adopting 67 Conventions (legally binding) and numerous Recommendations (non-binding guidelines). With the Declaration of Philadelphia in 1944, the reinvigorated agency expanded in scope to also cover human rights in context of social policy, and the need for international economic planning. The Declaration also positioned the ILO as a specialized agency in the future United Nations system, cementing its survival after the League of Nations dissolution.

The Permanent Court of International Justice (PCIJ), established in 1922 under stipulation of Article 14 of the Covenant of the League of Nations, was an international court attached to the League of Nations. Its jurisdiction included Contentious cases between states that accepted its jurisdiction and advisory opinions (legal advice to the League). The Court saw limited success in the early years but was less and less used in the decade

predating the Second Great War. The Court, especially after the proclamations of the Dumbarton Oaks Conference is widely expected to be legally continued in the framework of the United Nations, especially with the statute of the Court enjoying wide diplomatic respect and recognition.

3.1.3. Covenant of The League of Nations

Summarised from official UN [website](#) (The Covenant of the League of Nations | *the United Nations Office at Geneva*, n.d.)²⁰

The Covenant of The League of Nations was the charter of the League of Nations. It established the scope and goals of the fledgling organisation. The Covenants full text is available [here](#), in both French and English. The most notable articles of the Covenant include:

Article 5 - Principle of unanimity

Except where otherwise expressly provided in this Covenant or by the terms of the present Treaty, decisions at any meeting of the Assembly or of the Council shall require the agreement of all the Members of the League represented at the meeting.

Article 10 - Territorial integrity and political independence

Members undertake to respect and preserve against external aggression the territorial integrity and existing political independence of all Members of the League.

Article 11 – League’s right to address threats to peace

Any war or threat of war, whether immediately affecting any of the Members of the League or not, is hereby declared a matter of concern to the whole League.

Articles 12–15 – Dispute resolution mechanisms

Established a formal *legal/diplomatic process* before conflict, members agreed not to go to war until disputes had been submitted to arbitration, or inquiry by the Council

Article 16 – Actions Against Aggressors

Should any Member of the League resort to war in disregard of its covenants under Articles 12, 13 or 15, it shall be deemed to have committed an act of war against all other Members of the League...

²⁰ United Nations. (1919). The Covenant of the League of Nations. UN GENEVA. <https://www.ungeneva.org/en/about/league-of-nations/covenant> (accessed August 14, 2025).

Established a mechanism for dealing with breaches of the covenant, by sanctions, condemnations and expulsion from the League.

Article 22 – The Mandatory system

To those colonies and territories which as a consequence of the late war have ceased to be under the sovereignty of the States which formerly governed them and which are inhabited by peoples not yet able to stand by themselves under the strenuous conditions of the modern world, there should be applied the principle that the well-being and development of such peoples form a sacred trust of civilisation and that securities for the performance of this trust should be embodied in this Covenant.

Former colonies and territories of defeated powers to be administered by “advanced nations” under League supervision.

3.1.4. Criticisms of The League of Nations

Despite the optimism of the early years, the League would prove thoroughly incapable of dealing with the brewing tensions of the interwar era, largely due to the core systemic issues present in the framework of the organisation. Historian F.S. Northedge states: “***There was general agreement that the League had failed because it lacked teeth, or the means of enforcing its will.***”²¹ Some of other core issues of the League were: notable abstentions of major powers, the principle of unanimous consent, slow procedure and the underfunded and lacking bureaucracy.

3.1.4.1. Lack of an executive arm and enforceability

While the Covenant of the League of Nations was legally binding, the lack of enforcement of its compliance and the often-vague obligations of the Charter meant it could in most cases be safely ignored. Here the issue was twofold, the principle of unanimous consent, and the inability of the League and the PCIJ to enforce the agreed upon resolutions.²²

As provided for in the Article 5 of the Covenant, both in the Assembly and in the Council, there was the rule of unanimity, where any country could veto a resolution or decision it did not feel followed its national interests. Notable exceptions to this rule were established in the Article 1 which stated new members needed only a 2/3 majority, and the Article 15 which established that parties involved in a dispute could not vote on the matter of such dispute. Even Article 15 failed to prevent the abuse of the unanimity principle, as evidently shown in the 1923 Corfu incident, when the mere threat of a French veto due to its ties to the Italian government blocked the passage of the Council resolution.²³

The second glaring issue on the executive level was the utter inability of the League to enforce its decisions and the decisions of the PCIJ. The League had no standing force or a military wing, and while this was intended by design to reinforce the pacifistic nature of the

²¹ F. S. Northedge (1986). The League of Nations: its life and times, 1920–1946. International Affairs, 63(1), 101–102. <https://archive.org/details/leagueofnationsi0000nort/mode/2up> (accessed August 15, 2025).

²² Stromberg, R. N. (1972). Uncertainties and obscurities about the League of Nations. The Journal of Modern History, 44(4), 623–636 <https://www.jstor.org/stable/2709062>.

²³ H. James Burgwyn. Italian Foreign Policy in the Interwar Period, 1918–1940. Westport, Conn.: Praeger. 1997. The American Historical Review. https://books.google.si/books?id=PNHxISN-dmQC&pg=PA23&redir_esc=y (accessed August 15, 2025).

organisation, it nonetheless served as another reason why the nations could safely ignore the decisions and arbitrations. While there were some proposals for the creation of a “League Army” most notably by France during the drafting of the covenant, opposition from the British Empire and the United States prevented such a move.²⁴

The remaining tools of the League, diplomatic condemnations and economic sanctions would also prove largely ineffective. Condemnations, except in some minor conflicts such as the 1925 Greco-Bulgarian border clashes were largely ignored, while League demonstrated an irresolute approach to sanction enforcement for fear it might only spark further conflict. For this reason, they were only implemented once, in the Abyssinian crisis, and even then, they failed to make any notable impact. The sanctions were limited from the outset and later altogether abandoned despite Italy being declared the aggressors in the conflict, due to reluctance of major western powers to completely sever ties with the Italian nation and the inability of the League to enforce the obedience of Article 16 of the Covenant.²⁵ The Article was brought up before, as minor powers demanded sanctions following the Japanese invasion of Manchuria and the refusal of the Japanese to follow the recommendations of the Lytton Commission, but was never implemented due to fears by major powers that their economies could be damaged in the fallout of the economic wars, once again showing the refusal of great powers to put international interests before national ones.²⁶

3.1.4.2. Legitimacy and absent major powers

The legitimacy of the organisation was called into question from the early years of the organisation, as the League was seen, especially from the side of the defeated Central powers, a league of victors to protect the status quo, a fact with which the revanchist powers did not agree with. The Covenant of the League of Nations was embedded into the Treaty of Versailles, and the founding members were all signatories of the treaty which led

²⁴ F. S. Northedge (1986). *The League of Nations: its life and times, 1920–1946*. *International Affairs*, 63(1), 101–102. <https://archive.org/details/leagueofnationsi0000nort/mode/2up> (accessed August 15, 2025).

²⁵ H. James Burgwyn. *Italian Foreign Policy in the Interwar Period, 1918–1940*. Westport, Conn.: Praeger. 1997. *The American Historical Review*. https://books.google.si/books?id=PNHxISN-dmQC&pg=PA23&redir_esc=y (accessed August 15, 2025).

²⁶ The Manchurian Crisis, 1931–33. (2017, May 31). RGS History. <https://rgshistory.com/the-manchurian-crisis-1931-33/> (accessed September 17, 2025).

to the organisation being associated with the enforced peace treaties that ended the Great War, and widespread distrust in the populations of defeated nations.²⁷ The refusal of France to grant Germany equal membership until 1925 only exacerbated the situation. The aspirant Oriental and Asian nations were also deeply distrustful towards the League, seeing it as a mere tool of the colonialist powers. This view stemmed from the drafting of the Covenant, when Japan pushed for an inclusion of a clause upholding the principle of racial equality, a clause which was unanimously denied by the western powers, showing the deeply embedded racism and the notion of western supremacy in the post-war world.²⁸

Initially composed of 42 nations, signatories of the Treaty of Versailles, the League had some notable absentees. Not represented were the 3 major powers of the afterwar period, a fact which significantly damaged the legitimacy of the League and hampered its global outreach. Despite being the main backer of the League, the United States of America never joined the organisation, largely due to the ever-present isolationist spirits of the American political establishment. Initially also not present was Germany, which due to opposition by France was not allowed to enter until 1925. Lastly, the Soviet Union, which was denied entry due to Allied opposition against its revolutionary government would join the League only in 1934, but at that time the organisation had already lost its legitimacy and was left a hollow shell with the leaving of Germany and Japan.²⁹

3.1.4.3. Underfunded bureaucracy and secretariat

Looking backwards, the Secretariat of the League of Nations was the perfect analogy with the League as a whole, incredibly optimistic in its scope, but constrained by the resources and mechanisms available to actually implement their vision. The Secretariat, meant to be the impartial main organiser for everything technical, from organising meetings, drafting reports, publishing treaties and maintaining records, to providing legal and technical experts, was also responsible for organising at its height more than fifty commissions,

²⁷ Maiolo, J., & Robson, L. (2025). The League of Nations. Cambridge University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1017/9781009514149>.

²⁸ MacMillan, M. (2002). Paris 1919: Six Months That Changed the World. Random House <https://bnk.institutkurde.org/images/pdf/EJNCB23UK7.pdf> (accessed September 18, 2025).

²⁹ Britannica. (2025). League of Nations | History, Definition & Purpose. Encyclopaedia Britannica. <https://www.britannica.com/topic/League-of-Nations> (accessed September 18, 2025).

councils, committees and offices.³⁰ For this, they had a grand total of around 1000 employees and at its height, around half of the total League budget of 15 million Gold Francs, converted only around 2.9 million US Dollars, a drop in the bucket compared to budgets of major powers of the time.³¹ While this amount of funding was just nearly enough for normal operations of the League, extraordinary crises would show just how lacking the Secretariat was, as due to lack of personnel, many urgent matters got delayed. Preparing commissions, gathering evidence, drafting reports etc., especially in crises, were slow processes. The Lytton Report on the Japanese invasion of Manchuria is the most prominent example, as the report took more than a year following the invasion to finally be published, allowing the Japanese to entrench in their position to accept League findings with impunity.³²

The Secretariat was also purely administrative in nature, meaning they could not force any action and were dependent on the decisions of major members, even in times of crisis. This meant that numerous commission findings could be safely ignored, as without Council and Assembly approval, the Secretariat had no way of enforcing its decisions.³³

The final problem with the Secretariat was the one of impartiality, despite it being designed to be inclusive to all its members, the interests of great powers often outweighed these principles and led to appointments of biased and flawed commissioners and secretariat members. The budget, financed by voluntary or mandatory donations by member nations, was also prone to cause impartiality issues, as nations under threat of League repercussions could always just threaten the cutting of funding.³⁴

³⁰ United Nations. (n.d.). Main Organs of the League of Nations. UN GENEVA. <https://www.ungeneva.org/en/about/league-of-nations/organs> (accessed August 14, 2025).

³¹ United Nations. Research Guides: League of Nations Secretariat: The Secretariat in Financial Terms. <https://libraryresources.unog.ch/LONSecretariat/financial> (accessed September 17, 2025).

³² Auberer, B. (2016). Digesting the League of Nations: Planning the International Secretariat of the Future, 1941–1944. *New Global Studies*, 10(3). <https://www.degruyterbrill.com/document/doi/10.1515/ngs-2016-0017/html> (accessed September 17, 2025).

³³ La Porte, P. (2021). Dissenting voices: The Secretariat of the League of Nations and the creation of mandates. *International Politics*, 58(4), 501–519. <https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/09592296.2021.1961485> (accessed September 18, 2025).

³⁴ Auberer, B. (2016). Digesting the League of Nations: Planning the International Secretariat of the Future, 1941–1944. *New Global Studies*, 10(3). <https://www.degruyterbrill.com/document/doi/10.1515/ngs-2016-0017/html> (accessed September 17, 2025).

3.1.5. Strengths

The Assembly of the League of Nations was unprecedented: It gave, for the first time, small and medium states the opportunity to make their voices heard on global issues and to participate in diplomatic discussions on a regular basis. The meetings were open to the public and the press. At that time, this was very innovative.

Delegates could make their statements in any language, provided that they submitted a translation of their speech in French or English, the two official languages of the League. This served to highlight the at least nominal equality of all members, who could also decide to appear in traditional clothing, though western style was still the standard.³⁵

The League, in its entirety, serves as a good basis and foundation for the new United Nations. Despite being an international peace project that largely failed, it still provided invaluable insight into international relations and creation of a multipolar world. The delegations at the San Francisco Conference would be wise to try not to repeat its mistakes but still take a look back and transfer its working parts into the new future.

³⁵ Britannica. (2025). League of Nations | History, Definition & Purpose. Encyclopaedia Britannica. <https://www.britannica.com/topic/League-of-Nations> (accessed September 18, 2025).

3.2. The St. James' Palace Agreement / Declaration of St James Palace

June 12th, 1941

On June 12, 1941, the representatives of Great Britain, Canada, Australia, New Zealand and the Union of South Africa and of the exiled governments of Belgium, Czechoslovakia, Greece, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Norway, Poland, Yugoslavia and of General de Gaulle of France, signed a declaration with a vision for the post-war world - the Declaration of St. James' Palace.³⁶

The resolution consists of three clauses, the first two relating to the nations' joint effort against German and Italian aggression, as well as that of their allies. The last clause, however, speaks about a world after and states "That the only true basis of enduring peace is the willing co-operation of free peoples in a world in which, relieved of the menace of aggression, all may enjoy economic and social security; and that it is their intention to work together, and with other free peoples, both in war and peace to this end."³⁷

This document represents the first Allied expression to their commitment to peace based on "willing co-operation of free peoples", laying ground for following efforts of establishing a new, better post-war world order, including an international organisation to protect it.

³⁶ 1941: The Declaration of St. James' Palace. (2016, January 29). United Nations. <https://www.unpopulation.org/en/sections/history-united-nations-charter/1941-declaration-st-james-palace/index.html> (accessed on August 17, 2025).

³⁷ Washington, DC: Government Printing Office,. (n.d.). The Avalon Project: St. James Agreement; June 12 1941. <https://avalon.law.yale.edu/imt/imtjames.asp> (accessed on August 17, 2025).

3.3. The Atlantic Charter

August 14th, 1941

The Atlantic Charter was a joint declaration issued by Franklin D. Roosevelt and Winston Churchill on August 14, 1941. The document underlined a shared vision of the post-World War II world. At the time the joint statement was made the USA was not actively belligerent in the war.

In the period between the start of the World War II and the Atlantic conference, there were 4 main policies circulating in the academic circles on how the new international organisation must be structured; (1) Peace through a system of cooperation through sovereign states; (2) Peace through federal union; (3) Peace through a Concert of Great European Powers; (4) Peace through a standing alliance of ex-Allies for controlling Germany, with its corollary of keeping Germany weak. It is clear that the two leaders decided to implement the 1st option, which in itself would be a reformed model of League of Nations, which is clear from previous addresses by the Prime Minister and the President. It is important to note, that the document was not legally binding. Franklin D. Roosevelt opposed imperialism and took the stance that the right of people to choose their own government must be incorporated in the Atlantic Charter. His intent was to transfer control of French Indochina and Dakar under international trusteeship. Later in 1942 he also put diplomatic pressure on the UK to fast-track Indian Independence.³⁸

As the Atlantic Charter is a concise document, we will not try to further explain its content but rather provide you with full text:

³⁸ BELL, P. M. H. Twelve Turning Points of the Second World War. Yale University Press, 2011. JSTOR, <https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctt1np8q>.

3.3.1. Joint Statement by President Roosevelt and Prime Minister Churchill, August 14, 1941:

They have agreed upon the following joint declaration:

Joint declaration of the President of the United States of America and the Prime Minister, Mr. Churchill, representing His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom, being met together, deem it right to make known certain common principles in the national policies of their respective countries on which they base their hopes for a better future for the world.

First, their countries seek no aggrandizement, territorial or other;

Second, they desire to see no territorial changes that do not accord with the freely expressed wishes of the peoples concerned;

Third, they respect the right of all peoples to choose the form of government under which they will live; and they wish to see sovereign rights and self government restored to those who have been forcibly deprived of them;

Fourth, they will endeavor, with due respect for their existing obligations, to further the enjoyment by all States, great or small, victor or vanquished, of access, on equal terms, to the trade and to the raw materials of the world which are needed for their economic prosperity;

Fifth, they desire to bring about the fullest collaboration between all nations in the economic field with the object of securing, for all, improved labor standards, economic advancement and social security;

Sixth, after the final destruction of the Nazi tyranny, they hope to see established a peace which will afford to all nations the means of dwelling in safety within their own boundaries, and which will afford assurance that all the men in all the lands may live out their lives in freedom from fear and want;

Seventh, such a peace should enable all men to traverse the high seas and oceans without hindrance;

Eighth, they believe that all of the nations of the world, for realistic as well as spiritual reasons must come to the abandonment of the use of force. Since no future peace can be maintained if land, sea or air armaments continue to be employed by nations which threaten, or may threaten, aggression outside of their frontiers, they believe, pending the establishment of a wider and permanent system of general security, that the disarmament of such nations is essential. They will likewise aid and encourage all other practicable measures which will lighten for peace-loving peoples the crushing burden of armaments.

Signed by: Franklin D. Roosevelt & Winston S. Churchill ³⁹

³⁹ The Avalon Project: President Roosevelt's message to Congress on the Atlantic Charter. (n.d.). <https://avalon.law.yale.edu/wwii/atcmess.asp> (accessed on August 17, 2025).

3.4. The ARCADIA Conference

December 22nd, 1941 - January 14th, 1942

In his speech, following the tragic Japanese attack on Pearl Harbour, President Roosevelt called for a declaration of war on Japan by the United States. Now allies in war, Roosevelt remarked they and the UK were **“all in the same boat now”**, for which Prime Minister Churchill recalls being most thankful. With such a powerful ally as the United States, a positive outcome was almost assured.⁴⁰

Churchill soon embarked on a voyage to the US for what would become known as the Washington Conference, codenamed ARCADIA. Staying as a personal guest of the Roosevelts at the White House, the British Prime Minister attended talks, discussing the allied strategy for the world war.⁴¹

According to Brigadier General Dwight D. Eisenhower, the conference had two main purposes. The first was organising a workable system for American and British cooperation and achieving “achieving national and coalition unity of effort among the forces in the various theaters of the global war”. The second was to confirm the previously agreed Germany First strategic approach.⁴²

The ARCADIA Conference represents an important milestone, not only in the Allied effort against the Axis powers, but also in achieving a level of international cooperation and unity on which an international organization, entrusted with protecting post-war peace, should be based. As already apparent from Eleanor Roosevelt’s radio address from December 7th,

⁴⁰ Malloryk. (2022, January 2). The Declaration of the United Nations in the aftermath of Pearl Harbor. The National WWII Museum | New Orleans. <https://www.nationalww2museum.org/war/articles/united-nations-declaration-1942> (accessed on September 29, 2025).

⁴¹ Malloryk. (2022, January 2). The Declaration of the United Nations in the aftermath of Pearl Harbor. The National WWII Museum | New Orleans. <https://www.nationalww2museum.org/war/articles/united-nations-declaration-1942> (accessed on September 29, 2025).

⁴² Malloryk. (2022b, January 13). First Washington Conference: ARCADIA. The National WWII Museum | New Orleans. <https://www.nationalww2museum.org/war/articles/first-washington-conference-arcadia> (accessed on September 29, 2025).

1941, the Roosevelts were already thinking ahead about building a better world after they succeeded in the war.⁴³

On the morning of January 1st, 1942, Roosevelt entered Churchill's room to talk to him, accidentally catching him fresh from the bath, pacing the room while dictating the message in the nude, as his towel had fallen off. The Prime Minister had reportedly quipped ***“You see, Mr President, I have nothing to conceal from you.”***. Roosevelt's intrusion, however, besides making a funny anecdote, represents an important moment in the history of creation of postwar order. His intention upon entering was to convey to Churchill his sudden decision to change the name of the allied coalition against the Axis forces from the Associated Powers to the United Nations.⁴⁴

Later that day he, Churchill, Maxim Litvinov, of the USSR, and T. V. Soong, of China signed the Declaration of the United Nations, to which 22 nations added their signatures on the next day.⁴⁵

In the declaration, the signatory governments subscribe “to a common program of purposes and principles embodied in the Joint Declaration of the President of the United States of America and the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland dated August 14, 1941, known as the Atlantic Charter” and “Being convinced that complete victory over their enemies is essential to defend life, liberty, independence and religious freedom, and to preserve human rights and justice in their own lands as well as in other lands, and that they are now engaged in a common struggle against savage and brutal forces seeking to subjugate the world, Declare:

⁴³ Malloryk. (2022, January 2). The Declaration of the United Nations in the aftermath of Pearl Harbor. The National WWII Museum | New Orleans. <https://www.nationalww2museum.org/war/articles/united-nations-declaration-1942> (accessed on September 29, 2025).

⁴⁴ Malloryk. (2022, January 2). The Declaration of the United Nations in the aftermath of Pearl Harbor. The National WWII Museum | New Orleans. <https://www.nationalww2museum.org/war/articles/united-nations-declaration-1942> (accessed on September 29, 2025).

⁴⁵ 1942: Declaration of the United Nations. (2017, December 13). United Nations. <https://www.unpopulation.org/en/sections/history-united-nations-charter/1942-declaration-united-nations/index.html> (accessed on September 29, 2025).

(1) Each Government pledges itself to employ its full resources, military or economic, against those members of the Tripartite Pact and its adherents with which such government is at war.

(2) Each Government pledges itself to cooperate with the Governments signatory hereto and not to make a separate armistice or peace with the enemies.

The foregoing declaration may be adhered to by other nations which are, or which may be, rendering material assistance and contributions in the struggle, for victory over Hitlerism. [99]”.⁴⁶

This year, only those states which had declared war on the Axis powers by March and subscribed to this declaration, were invited to the conference in San Francisco.⁴⁷

3.5. The Moscow Conference

October 18th - November 1st, 1943

The Moscow Conference of Foreign Ministers was held from October 18 to November 1, 1943, bringing together representatives from the United States, United Kingdom, and Soviet Union during World War II. It was in principle a preliminary meeting of the three allied foreign ministers in order to prepare for the Tehran Conference.⁴⁸

The main agenda of the meeting was set by chairman Molotov, who, when the list of subjects for discussion was being drafted, proposed only one “Measures to shorten war against Germany and its allies in Europe”. However, the discussion at the conference far overreached the stated subjects for discussion and has incorporated a wide array of topics. On November 1st the following declarations were published, (1) Declaration regarding Italy, (2) Declaration on Austria, (3) Statement on Atrocities, (4) Joint Four Nation Declaration.

⁴⁶ Declaration by United Nations. (n.d.). <https://www.ibiblio.org/pha/paw/274.html> (accessed on September 29, 2025).

⁴⁷ 1942: Declaration of the United Nations. (2017, December 13). United Nations. <https://www.unpopulation.org/en/sections/history-united-nations-charter/1942-declaration-united-nations/index.html> (accessed on September 29, 2025).

⁴⁸ BELL, P. M. H. Twelve Turning Points of the Second World War. Yale University Press, 2011. JSTOR, <https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctt1npx8q>.

The 1st 3 declarations are not as important to the topic of this committee, they discuss the common allied policy on the three great powers on post-war policies and government in the two countries, while the Statement on Atrocities recognises the crimes against humanity perpetrated by Nazi forces. Much more interesting from the perspective of our committee is the last one, which we will discuss in greater detail in the following paragraphs. The Joint Four Nation Declaration was the first in a series of four agreements signed in Moscow. It consisted of 7 paragraphs, from which the 1st three are concerned with principles against the enemy. 4th, 5th, 6th and 7th paragraph are:

4. That they recognize the necessity of establishing at the earliest practicable date a general international organization, based on the principle of the sovereign equality of all peace-loving states, and open to membership by all such states, large and small, for the maintenance of international peace and security.

5. That for the purpose of maintaining international peace and security pending the re-establishment of law and order and the inauguration of a system of general security they will consult with one another and as occasion requires with other members of the United Nations, with a view to joint action on behalf of the community of nations.

6. That after the termination of hostilities they will not employ their military forces within the territories of other states except for the purposes envisaged in this declaration and after joint consultation.

7. That they will confer and cooperate with one another and with other members of the United Nations to bring about a practicable general agreement with respect to the regulation of armaments in the post-war period.

The declaration was prepared by the US State Department, with small alterations, with most important of them being the additions in point 4 which adding peace-loving and sovereign, which build upon the idea of self-determination introduced in the Atlantic Charter and whole point 6, which was added to elevate the fears of western nations in view of military achievements by the USSR.

The conference failed to resolve the question of post-war settlement, although it created the European Advisory Commission, an entity that drew up the occupation zones after the war.⁴⁹

⁴⁹ THE MEANING OF THE MOSCOW CONFERENCE Author(s): SIDNEY B. FAY Source: Current History, Vol. 5, No. 28 (DECEMBER, 1943), pp. 289-294 Published by: University of California Press Stable URL: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/45307128>.

3.6. The Teheran Conference

November 28th - December 1st, 1943

The Tehran Conference which took place from 28th of November until 1st of December 1943 was one of historically most significant meetings that took place between the allied leaders. Those leaders were Joseph Stalin, representing the Soviet Union, Franklin D. Roosevelt representing the United States and Winston Churchill, representing the United Kingdom. It was the first time all three allied leaders met.

At the Tehran conference the three leaders allocated most of their time to the issue of a second front with soviet demands of cross-channel invasion. The American president conceded Polish and Baltic territory to the USSR, with vague hope of some gesture of self-determination and the idea of moving the Polish state into German territory. He also proposed international trusteeship for French Indochina. They have also reaffirmed the creation of a new international organisation and discussed its nature and role in the post-war world.⁵⁰

3.7. The Dumbarton Oaks Conference

August 21st – October 7th, 1944

The Dumbarton Oaks Conference symbolises the first step taken by the four major Allied powers to realise paragraph four of the Joint Four-Nation Declaration, signed in October 1943 during the Moscow Conference⁵¹, which recognises “the necessity of establishing at the earliest practicable date a general international organization, based on the principle of the sovereign equality of all peace-loving states, and open to membership by all such states, large and small, for the maintenance of international peace and security”.⁵² Such an organisation should succeed the League of Nations, which despite not having yet been formally disbanded had already run its course.

⁵⁰ BELL, P. M. H. *Twelve Turning Points of the Second World War*. Yale University Press, 2011. JSTOR, <https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctt1npx8q>.

⁵¹ The Editors of Encyclopaedia Britannica (2025, August 14). Dumbarton Oaks Conference. Encyclopaedia Britannica. <https://www.britannica.com/event/Dumbarton-Oaks-Conference> (accessed on August 14, 2025).

⁵² The Avalon Project: The Moscow Conference, October 1943. (n.d.-b). <https://avalon.law.yale.edu/wwii/moscow.asp> (accessed on August 14, 2025).

These unofficial talks between representatives of China, the Soviet Union, United States and United Kingdom were held in two phases at the Dumbarton Oaks mansion in Georgetown, Washington D.C. The first phase (August 21 to September 28) of the conference consisted of talks between the Soviet, American and British representatives, while the second (September 29 to October 7) included Chinese representatives with the absence of those from the USSR. That was due to the unwillingness of the Soviets to hold talks directly with the Chinese.⁵³

The latter's influence on the outcome of the talks was however relatively negligible as the second phase only confirmed the results of discussion from phase one as they stood. The final results of the conference were then published on October 9, 1944, under the title 'Proposals for the Establishment of a General International Organization', better known as the Dumbarton Oaks Proposals. They serve as recommendations to the respective governments of party nations and should lay ground for establishment of the much-needed League of Nations successor. This is why the Proposals were forwarded to the governments of the Declaration by United Nations signatories. "In the letter of invitation to the San Francisco Conference, issued in early March 1945, it was stated that the four sponsoring governments 'suggest that the conference consider as affording a basis for such a charter the proposals for the establishment of a general international organization, which were made public last October as a result of the Dumbarton Oaks Conference'".⁵⁴

The Proposals included a potential structure of the organisation to be known as the United Nations. It was to be composed of four principal bodies, namely the General Assembly, the Security Council, the international Court of Justice, and a Secretariat, with an Economic and Social Council operating under the wing of the General Assembly. The former body was to include all the organisation's members, while the Security Council, the body to which all questions demanding actions should be referred, was to include eleven members,

⁵³ The Dumbarton Oaks Conversations, 1944. (n.d.). Dumbarton Oaks. <https://www.doaks.org/newsletter/news-archives/2015/the-dumbarton-oaks-conversations-1944> (accessed on August 14, 2025).

⁵⁴ Oxford Public International Law, & Fassbender, B. F. (2007, March). Dumbarton Oaks Conference (1944). <https://opil.ouplaw.com/display/10.1093/law:epil/9780199231690/law-9780199231690-e458?d=%2F10.1093%2Faw%3Aepil%2F9780199231690%2Faw-9780199231690-e458&p=emailA6FzEEEPZo97c#> (accessed on August 15, 2025).

permanent and those chosen from the General Assembly every two years. The four Allied Powers additionally agreed that, learning from the mistakes of the League of Nations, member states should place armed forces at the disposal of the Security Council in aim to suppress potential aggressions that threatened fragile peace.

“The Dumbarton Oaks proposals were fully discussed throughout the Allied countries. The British Government issued a detailed commentary, and in the United States, the Department of State distributed 1,900,000 copies of the text and arranged for speakers, radio programs and motion picture films to explain the proposals. Comments and constructive criticisms came from several governments, e.g., Australia, Belgium, Canada, Czechoslovakia, France, the Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Poland, the Union of South Africa, the USSR, the United Kingdom and the United States.”⁵⁵

But perhaps the most controversial topic of the conference remained a question unsolved - the right to veto in the proposed Security Council. The method of voting in the Security Council was left undecided upon at the end of the talks at Dumbarton Oaks. The Russian delegation has proposed and insisted on the four major Allied Powers having the right to veto any attempt by the new international organisation to discipline an aggressor, including another veto right holder. The N.Y. Times’s James B. Reston commented on the situation, claiming that Russia’s reasons behind this decision lie in the Baltics and Poland. According to Reston, Russia needs assurance that these states could not appeal to the proposed security league to charge Russia with aggression, as she sees them as rightfully hers.⁵⁶

3.8. The Yalta Conference

February 4th - 11th, 1945

Between the 4th and 11th of February 1945, Yalta, a resort town in Crimea, hosted a historic conference. The Yalta conference saw none other than Pres. Franklin D. Roosevelt of the

⁵⁵ 1944-1945: Dumbarton Oaks and Yalta. (2016, January 29). United Nations. <https://www.unpopulation.org/en/sections/history-united-nations-charter/1944-1945-dumbarton-oaks-and-ylta/index.html> (accessed on August 15, 2025).

⁵⁶ TIME. (1944, October 9). World Battlefronts: INTERNATIONAL. TIME; nextgen. <https://time.com/archive/6605636/world-battlefronts-international/> (accessed on August 15, 2025).

United States, Prime Minister Winston Churchill of the United Kingdom, and Premier Joseph Stalin of the Soviet Union confer to plan the final defeat of Axis Powers, discuss the future of a free Europe and continue where the Dumbarton Oaks talks left off.⁵⁷

Despite not completely sharing late US President Roosevelt's optimism about the United Nations' ability to prevent international war, British Prime Minister Churchill and Soviet Marshal Stalin eventually approved future establishment of such organisation. The Soviet leader, however, was quick to express concern over inevitable disputes between the three leading powers, giving them the title of the biggest danger to the organisation.⁵⁸

Yet, so far, the big three somehow managed to overcome many differences and especially at the Yalta conference, they seemed to find middle ground solutions for most issues, remaining from previous conferences regarding the United Nations.⁵⁹

Marshal Stalin settled for the entry of two Soviet republics, Ukraine and White Russia into the United Nations organisation, despite originally advocating for all 16 soviet republics to have a seat at the General Assembly.⁶⁰ Meanwhile, both he and Prime Minister Churchill assented to the proposal by President Roosevelt that the United States should receive more seats at the General Assembly, as not to remain the only among the big three with only one vote. Marshal Stalin proposed the number of US votes to reflect the number of votes his nation would have (i.e. three).⁶¹

The question of voting procedure and rights in the Security Council, which has been expanded to five permanent members, has been resolved as well⁶², which was announced immediately in the Report of the Crimea Conference. The report also announced the date

⁵⁷ The Editors of Encyclopaedia Britannica (2025, July 26). Yalta Conference. Encyclopaedia Britannica. <https://www.britannica.com/event/Yalta-Conference> (accessed on September 19, 2025).

⁵⁸ Leahy, W. D. (1954). Notes on the Yalta Conference. The Wisconsin Magazine of History, 38(2), 67–112. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/4632787>.

⁵⁹ Leahy, W. D. (1954). Notes on the Yalta Conference. The Wisconsin Magazine of History, 38(2), 67–112. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/4632787>.

⁶⁰ Leahy, W. D. (1954). Notes on the Yalta Conference. The Wisconsin Magazine of History, 38(2), 67–112. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/4632787>.

⁶¹ Historical Documents - Office of the Historian. (2025). State.gov. <https://history.state.gov/historicaldocuments/frus1945Malta/ch10subch1> (accessed on September 19, 2025).

⁶² Office of the Historian. (2023). The Yalta Conference, 1945. State.gov. <https://history.state.gov/milestones/1937-1945/yalta-conf> (accessed on September 19, 2025).

and place of the upcoming conference to establish the United Nations, as well as the intention to invite China and France to co-sponsor the invitations.⁶³

The invitations, drafted in Crimea, already included a proposal for the voting procedure at the United Nations.

“The above-named governments suggest that the Conference consider as affording a basis for such a Charter the Proposals for the Establishment of a General International Organisation, which were made public last October as a result of the Dumbarton Oaks Conference, and which have now been supplemented by the following provisions for Section C of Chapter VI:

“C. Voting

‘1. Each member of the Security Council should have one vote.

‘2. Decisions of the Security Council on procedural matters should be made by an affirmative vote of seven members.

‘3. Decisions of the Security Council on all other matters should be made by an affirmative vote of seven members including the concurring votes of the permanent members; provided that, in decisions under Chapter VIII, Section A and under the second sentence of paragraph 1 of Chapter VIII, Section C, a party to a dispute should abstain from voting’.

“Further information as to arrangements will be transmitted subsequently.

“In the event that the Government of _____ desires in advance of the Conference to present views or comments concerning the proposals, the Government of the United States of America will be pleased to transmit such views and comments to the other participating Governments”.

⁶³ Foreign Relations of the United States: Diplomatic Papers, Conferences at Malta and Yalta, 1945 - Office of the Historian. (n.d.). History.state.gov. <https://history.state.gov/historicaldocuments/frus1945Malta/d500> (accessed on September 19, 2025).

The invitations were subsequently issued to the nations of “the United Nations as they existed on the 8th February, 1945” and “the Associated Nations as have declared war on the common enemy by 1st March, 1945”, as agreed at Yalta.⁶⁴

⁶⁴ Historical Documents - Office of the Historian. (2024). State.gov. <https://history.state.gov/historicaldocuments/frus1945Malta/d501> (accessed on September 19, 2025).

4. LIST OF HEAD DELEGATES

1. Argentina: **César Ameghino**

Argentinian Minister of Foreign Affairs and Worship since 1944, his most notable achievement was the declaration of war on the Axis powers of Germany and Japan. The country is currently experiencing strained relations with majority of world powers, since they consider Argentinian leadership fascist and dictatorial, putting it in the unique spot of nearly not being allowed to join the conference.



2. Australia: **Francis Michael Forde**

Dabbling in Australian politics from a young age, Forde was the chief architect of Australian protectionist policies following the great depression. Elected deputy chief of Labor in 1931, Forde served in the very significant role of Minister of War during the Second World War. In that role he was responsible for internment of enemy aliens during World War II and administration of the POW camps, also cracking down on Australia First Movement activities. The Australian delegation as a whole is positioning itself as the leading voice of anti-colonialism at the conference, trying to bring accountability and transparency into the colonial rule of empires of old.



3. Belgium: **A.E. De Schryver**

Born into a Flemish Roman Catholic family, de Schryver is a veteran of the Great war, in which he participated as a volunteer and a strong proponent of Flemish emancipation in the Belgian State. De Schryver held a number of ministerial positions predating the Second World War, ranging from Justice to Economic and Foreign Affairs, and was a part of the Belgian government in exile following the German invasion.



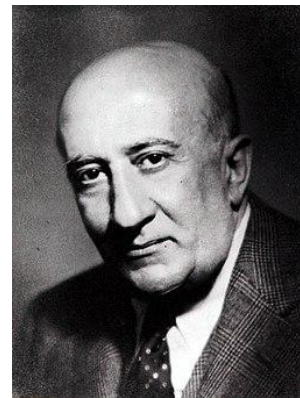
4. 🇧🇴 Bolivia: **Victor Andrade Uzquiano**

A lawyer and economist by profession, Victor Andrade is a man with strong nationalist beliefs, especially following the disastrous Chaco War against the Paraguayan State. Serving as the Foreign Minister and Minister of Labor of Bolivia between 1943 and 1944 and being appointed ambassador to the United States in 1944, he is the chosen representative of the Bolivian Government



5. 🇧🇷 Brazil: **Pedro Leão Veloso**

Pedro Leão Veloso Neto is a Brazilian diplomat who has served in the positions of ambassador to China, Japan and Italy in the years prior to the Brazilian entry into the war. He has also served as the Minister of Foreign Affairs in the anti-communist authoritarian Estado Novo government of Getúlio Vargas, which is currently still ruling Brazil and shaping the foreign policy of the Latin American nation.



6. 🇨🇦 Canada: **William Lyon Mackenzie King**

King, the current Canadian Head of Government, has been the dominant force in Canadian politics since the 1920s, serving in the position of Prime Minister for three non-consecutive terms, a total of 19 years up to this point. The Leader of the Liberal Party, he is one of the most prominent backers of Canadian autonomy and has distanced the nation from the British Empire, despite providing extensive support during World War 2. King, despite accepting the dominance of great powers following the war still seeks extended influence of middle powers such as Canada in the post-war framework.



7. 🇨🇱 Chile: **Joaquín Fernández Fernández**

Graduating from the University of Chile as a lawyer, Fernández Fernández has in the previous years served as the Mayor of Santiago and the Minister of the Interior. More centrally, he has been appointed by President Juan Antonio Ríos as Minister of Foreign Affairs in 1942, a function which made him the central protagonist of the process that ended up triggering the breakdown of relations between Chile and the member countries of the Axis and the subsequent declaration of war.



8. 🇨🇳 China: **T.V. Soong**

Brother-in-law of both the father of the Chinese Revolution Sun Yat-sen and current Premier Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek, Soong has served in numerous central roles in the Kuomintang-led Republic of China. Serving as Minister of Finance two separate times, he managed to balance the Chinese budget, which was no small accomplishment. Appointed Minister of Foreign Affairs in 1942. Known for his tough negotiating style, Soong was in charge of negotiating with Joseph Stalin regarding Soviet interests in China during the German invasion, and extracted from Stalin recognition of the Republic of China as the legitimate regime of China. T.V. Soong is also accompanied by Dong Biwu, the representative of the Chinese Communist Party.



9. 🇨🇴 Colombia: **Alberto Lleras Camargo**

A representative of the Colombian Liberal Party, Camargo has been in politics since his young years. Named the Minister of Government in 1935 at only 29 years old, he is one of the younger representatives at the San Francisco Conference. In 1943 he briefly occupied the position of the Ambassador to the United States and was named Minister of Foreign Relations in 1945. In capacity, he also represented Colombia at the Chapultepec Conference this year.



10. 🇨🇷 Costa Rica: **Julio Acosta Garcia**

A veteran of Costarican politics, Garcia has served as Foreign Minister of Panama already in 1915, navigating through the tumultuous period of border conflicts with Panama. In 1920, he was elected president of the nation and was renowned for his progressive policies. Post-presidency he worked for the International Red Cross for a number of years, before being reappointed as the Foreign Minister.



11. 🇨🇺 Cuba: **Guillermo Belt Ramirez**

Guillermo Belt Ramírez is a Cuban lawyer, diplomat, and politician. He rose quickly in government service, gaining a reputation as a skilled legal mind and public servant. By the 1930s and early 1940s he held important posts in Cuba's foreign ministry, represented Cuba in regional diplomatic work, and built strong ties with U.S. and Latin American officials. He is known for his prominence in Pan-American affairs and has a reputation of a committed internationalist.



12. 🇨🇪 Czechoslovakia: **Jan Masaryk**

Son of T. G. Masaryk, the founding father of Czechoslovakia, Jan Masaryk has served as the Foreign Minister of the Czechoslovak government-in-exile since 1940. Educated in the United States and renowned for his American manners, he is regarded as most unconventional of diplomats, not tied to protocol. Serving as the Czechoslovak diplomat to London since 1925, he became a national hero of the Czech people for his speeches on the BBC's Czech language station, which people in German occupied Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia listened to whenever possible, despite it being banned.



13. 🇩🇰 Denmark: **Henrik Kauffmann**

Kauffmann is a diplomatic veteran of the Kingdom of Denmark, serving as the envoy to Italy, China and Norway prior to the war. In 1939, he was posted to Washington DC, where he served as the official Danish representative despite the German occupation of the nation. Signing the treaty with the US authorising them to protect Danish overseas holdings on his own accord, he was charged with high treason by the occupied Danish government. Rehabilitated immediately following the war, he is the main representative of the Danes at the San Francisco Conference.



14. 🇩🇲 Dominican Republic: **Manuel A. Peña Batlle**

Manuel A. Peña Batlle is a Dominican lawyer, historian, ideologue and diplomat, who has served as the Foreign Minister of the Dominican Republic since 1943. Serving as the president of the Haitian Dominican Border Commission, he was initially sceptical of the newly founded fascistic regime of Rafael Trujillo, he became one of the leading ideologues of the authoritarian regime, known for his nationalistic tendencies.



15. 🇪🇨 Ecuador: **Camilo Ponce Enriquez**

Camilo Enriquez embraced a political career from a young age, and being born only in 1912, he is one of the youngest state representatives on the San Francisco Conference. One of the founders of the Ecuadorian Democratic Alliance which fought for universal suffrage in Ecuador, he was subsequently one of the major players of the 1944 Glorious May Revolution which overthrew the dictatorship of Carlos del Río.



16. Egypt: **Abdel Hamid Badawi Pasha**

Abdel Hamid Pasha is a prominent Egyptian legislator and jurist, working in different state courts for a number of years. Pasha helped draft the 1923 Egyptian Constitution and was subsequently the head of the Litigation of the State Court, Minister of Finance and from 1945 forward, the Foreign Minister of the nation.



17. El Salvador: **Hector David Castro**

Hector David Castro is a veteran Salvadorian diplomat, who has served in a number of diplomatic jobs in the years prior. Starting his career as a consul in Liverpool, he would in 1922 become the Salvadorian diplomat to the United States. Also serving as the nation's Minister of Foreign Affairs in two non-consecutive terms, he again assumed the position of the ambassador to Washington DC in 1935, where he has served since.



18. Ethiopia: **Bitwoded Makonnen Endalkachew**

Ethiopian aristocrat, diplomat and politician, he started his career with the position of an ambassador to Great Britain, from which he resigned following an affair in 1932. Assuming the position of the governor of Illubabor Province, he led the troops of the province against the Italian invaders during the Second Italo-Ethiopian War. Going into exile together with king Haile Selassie, he returned to the nation following the liberation in 1941. Due to his inability to speak English or French, he is not particularly suited to the debates of the San Francisco conference, but he is nonetheless still the head of the delegation.



19. 🇫🇷 France: **Georges Bidault**

Before the war, Bidault did not enjoy an extensive political career like most of his peers at the conference, instead teaching history in the colleges of Reims and Lycée Louis-le-Grand. A member of the Christian democratic ACJF association, he enlisted into the army following the start of the Second World War, and after the German occupation, he joined the resistance. Present at the founding of CNR, the core resistance organisation, he succeeded its first leader Jean Moulin after his disappearance by the Gestapo. Appointed Minister of Foreign Affairs in the De Gaulle government following the liberation, he serves as the head representative of the French Nation, hoping to secure the French spot between the great powers of the world.



20. 🇬🇷 Greece: **Ioannis Sofianopoulos**

Descended from a family of freedom fighters, Sofianopoulos is a veteran politician, starting his political career during the Balkan Wars, serving in the office of Eleftherios Venizelos. Serving in numerous government positions during the First World War, he was also the head of the Greek mission at the International Labour Council in Washington. Exiled following the start of the Metaxas dictatorship and arrested by Germans in 1941, Sofianopoulos was appointed Foreign Minister of the nation, chairing the Varkiza conference, temporarily ending the Greek civil war.



21. 🇬🇹 Guatemala: **Jorge Toriello Garrido**

Jorge Toriello was part of the 1944 Guatemalan Revolution that ended the illiberal authoritarian regime operating under significant backing from the United Fruit Company. One of the three members of the Revolutionary Board which ruled Guatemala until the victory of the progressive president on March 15 1945, Garrido has subsequently been named the Minister of Foreign Affairs.



22. 🇭🇹 Haiti: **Gerard E. Lescot**

Son of the current Haitian president Élie Lescot, he has been placed into the position of Foreign Minister by his father's administration in 1943. Lescot's government is known for its strong pro-United States views, declaring war on Japan after Pearl Harbor and supporting Allied wartime production, but which resulted in significant government overspending. Now near bankruptcy, revolutionary troubles are brewing in the nation.



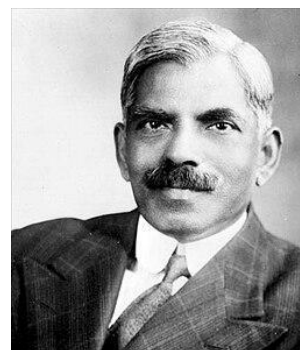
23. 🇧🇩 Honduras: **Julian R. Caceres**

Honduran governor and diplomat, Caceres graduated in Law at the University of Honduras. Serving as Governor of Cortes and Atlantis in the 1930s, he was appointed Ambassador to the United States of America in 1938 under the staunch pro-US pro-corporations administration of Tiburcio Andino. He later led the Honduran delegation to the Breton Woods Conference.



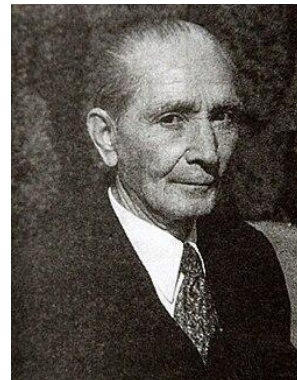
24. 🇮🇳 India: **Arcot Ramaswami Mudaliar**

Born into a Tamil-speaking family in British India, Mudaliar represents the reformist anti-caste Justice Party, serving as its General Secretary since its creation in 1919. A lawyer by profession, he served as a member of the Imperial Legislative Council until 1941, when he became a member of the British War Cabinet. Additionally serving as the Indian representative at the Pacific War council, Mudalair is a veteran of international politics.



25. Iran: **Seyyed Mostafa Adle**

Mostafa Adle is an Iranian lawyer and politician who played an important role in the establishment of the new Iranian justice system during the reign of Reza Shah. Serving as the Minister of Culture and Minister of Justice, Mostafa Adler is additionally a seasoned diplomat, serving as the ambassador to Italy and Switzerland and the Nation's permanent representative to the League of Nations. Able public speaker, his goals at the conference also include the withdrawal of foreign troops from the territory of Iran, which is currently still occupied by British Soviet forces.



26. Iraq: **Arshad Al-Omari**

Graduating as an architect in Istanbul, Al-Omari was conscripted into the Ottoman Army at the outbreak of the Second World War. Elected MEP to the first Iraqi Parliament, he helped found the Iraqi Red Crescent Society and was subsequently elected the society's President in 1932. Also serving as the Lord Mayor of Baghdad, the nation's capital, he was appointed Foreign Minister in 1944, overseeing the establishment of relations with the Soviet Union and the formation of the Arab League.



27. Lebanon: **Charles Habib Malik**

Born into a Orthodox Christian, Charles Malik graduated with a degree in mathematics and physics, later pursuing a Ph.D. in philosophy at Harvard. He founded the philosophy department at the American University of Beirut, where he stayed until his appointment as the Lebanese representative to the United States.



28. 🇱🇲 Liberia: **Clarence Lorenzo Simpson**

Clarence Simpson is a veteran of Liberian politics, serving as the Secretary of State for 9 years during much of World War 2. Additionally, the Liberian representative to the League of Nations in 1934, he is currently the Vice President of the Nation, serving in the Tubman administration, which is dedicated both to American ties and the pan-African movement



29. 🇱🇺 Luxembourg: **Joseph Bech**

Member of the conservative Luxembourgish Party of the Right, serving as the nation's Prime Minister from 1926-1937, as well as Minister for Foreign Affairs, Education and Winegrowing. With the German invasion, Bech escaped together with the Government and served as the Foreign Minister of the Government-in-Exile, in that capacity he signed the London Customs Convention establishing the Benelux Union.



30. 🇲🇽 Mexico: **Ezequiel Padilla**

Ezequiel Padilla is a Mexican statesman and diplomat known for his progressive policies. Exiled in 1916 for involvement in anti-government student movements, he returned when the new Obregon government granted him amnesty. Former ambassador to Italy and Hungary and an able foreign minister, he is an avid proponent of Interamerican unity and internationalism, even supporting the ideas of drafting a world constitution.



31. Netherlands: **Eelco N. van Kleffens**

Descendant of an old Frisian family of public servants, van Kleffens worked in international politics from a young age, working in the Secretariat of the League of Nations. Named Minister of Foreign Affairs in 1939, he continued his work in the Dutch Government-in-exile. He is additionally one of the signatories of the Benelux Union. Though politically liberal, van Kleffens was not affiliated with any party, instead staying a career diplomat.



32. New Zealand: **Peter Fraser**

Born in Scotland, Fraser moved to New Zealand at the age of 26 in the search of work. Quickly involving himself into politics, he joined the New Zealand Socialist Party and was arrested for a year for protesting against wartime conscription. He participated in the founding of the Social Democratic Party and the Labour Party, becoming the nation's Prime Minister in 1940 following his predecessor's death. Notable for his strong leadership during the war, Fraser is a progressive, skilled diplomat and a staunch opponent of the UN veto, a voice for the smaller nations and the colonies at the San Francisco Conference.



33. Nicaragua: **Mariano Arguello Vargas**

Nicaraguan politician and lawyer, Vargas is one of the members of the ruling Somoza clique, which took power in a coup with the help of US marines. Known for his authoritarian conservative politics, the administration enjoys the backing of the United States and is their staunch supporter.



34. Norway: **Wilhelm Munthe Morgenstierne**

A career diplomat and a long-time ambassador to the United States, Morgenstierne has served in several diplomatic positions on behalf of Norway, serving in the nation's foreign ministry. He also served as an expert in the Hague Court of Arbitration. Appointed diplomat to the United States in 1934, he served an important role in World War 2, being the main link of the exiled Norwegian Government to the US.



35. Panamá: **Roberto Jimenez**

A Panamanian lawyer and diplomat, he was appointed Minister of Foreign Affairs in 1945, just weeks before the conference. Serving in the staunch pro-United States administration of Ricardo Adolfo that declared war on Japan even before the US, Jimenez is expected to try further the ties with the North American superpower.



36. Paraguay: **Celso Ramon Velazquez**

A lawyer by profession, Velazquez has served on a number of judicial positions including a military tribunal during the Chaco War, as well as assuming the position of dean of Asunción law school. In 1942, he was appointed as the first Paraguayan ambassador to the United States. He also led the Paraguayan delegations to Breton Woods and the Inter-American Conference of 1945



37. 🇵🇪 Peru: **Manuel Gallagher Canaval**

Manuel Canaval is a prominent Peruvian politician and a lawyer. He has previously served as director of the Peruvian Central Bank, Minister of Justice, before being appointed Minister of Foreign Affairs in 1944 by the pro-United States administration of Manuel Prado Ugarteche, under whom Peru became the first South American nation to break off relations with the Axis powers. Canaval has previously attended the Chapultepec Conference, and he is the leading delegate of the Republic of Peru.



38. 🇵🇭 Philippines: **Carlos P. Romulo**

Born into a family of public servants, Romulo was active from an early age, founding the Boy Scouts of the Philippines. As a major, he served as an aide to general Douglas Macarthur, being one of the last evacuees from the Japanese occupied homeland. Appointed Resident Commissioner of the Philippines, the nation's representative to the United States, Romulo holds strong anti-fascist, anti-communist and ant-colonialist views.



39. 🇸🇦 Saudi Arabia: **Amir Faisal ibn Abdul Aziz**

Third son of King Abdulaziz Al Saud, founder of the Saudi nation, Faisal is an able diplomat, governor and military leader. Named Saudi Foreign Minister in 1930, he led a number of important foreign missions, establishing diplomatic contacts with the UK, France, US, Russia and Turkey. He commanded Saudi troops during the successful 1934 Saudi-Yemeni War. Embracing a bedouin lifestyle, Faisal is an ardent anti-communist and pan-islamist.



40. Syrian Republic: **Faris al-Khoury**

The so called "father of modern Syrian politics", al-Khoury was born into a Orthodox Christian family. During World War One, he sided with the Arab revolt against Ottoman rule, supporting King Faisal until his overthrow by the French colonialist forces. Founding the liberal People's Party, al-Khoury served in the positions of Minister of Finance and Education, and was elected Prime Minister in 1944. Known for his strong orals and eloquent speech, he is a staunch anti-colonialist and secularist, believing in the unity and independence of Syria.



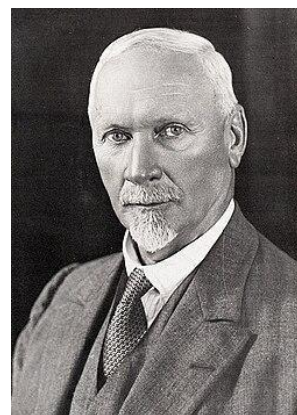
41. Turkey: **Hasan Saka**

Turkish economist and politician, Saka was part of the Lausanne conference that ended the conflicts between Turkey and the Allied powers following the Great War. As a prominent economist he served in the positions of Minister of Finance, Economy and Commerce in different administrations. Also dabbling in international affairs, Saka was the president of the Balkan Friendship Association and was named Foreign Minister in 1944.



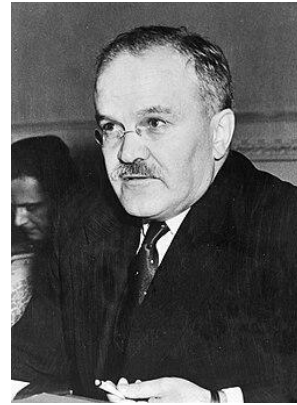
42. South Africa: **Jan Christian Smuts**

Born to Afrikaner parents, Jan Smuts was involved in diplomacy from a young age, negotiating treaties that ended the Second Boer War. Integral in the creation of the Union of South Africa and its constitution, Smuts was additionally also present at the Paris Peace Conference, signing the Treaty of Versailles and advocating for the League of Nations. Leader of the pro-Commonwealth United Party, he is the leading political figure in South Africa, guiding the nation through war as its prime minister. Despite his pronounced internationalist views he is also an ardent supporter of racial segregation.



43. 🇷🇺 Soviet Union: **Vyacheslav Molotov**

One of the old Bolsheviks and an ardent Stalinist, Molotov has been in the leading positions of the Soviet Union from its inception. Becoming the nation's premier in 1930, he oversaw the most extensive of efforts to industrialise the Soviet Union, implementing the First Five-Year Plan and forced collectivisation. He stood by Stalin's side during the Great Purge, leading the efforts to clean the party of old cadres together with Lavrentiy Beria. Appointed Foreign Minister in 1939, he signed the infamous Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact with the Third Reich.



After the start of The Great Patriotic War, Molotov served as the main negotiator with the Allied Powers, signing lend-lease and alliance agreements, additionally attending the Tehran, Yalta and Potsdam conferences together with Stalin. Described as bureaucratic and dull, he nonetheless conceals a sharp mind and is a tough negotiator, eager to further the interests of the Soviet Union.

44. 🇷🇺 Byelorussian SSR: **Kuzma Venediktovich Kiselev**

Graduating at the Voronezh State University in neurology, Kiselev started his political career in 1937 when he was appointed People's Commissar of Health of the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic. Serving in the administration of Panteleimon Ponomarenko, he was in 1944 appointed First People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs of the BSSR, the role in which he is now attending the San Francisco Conference alongside the Soviet delegation, as agreed upon at the Yalta Conference.



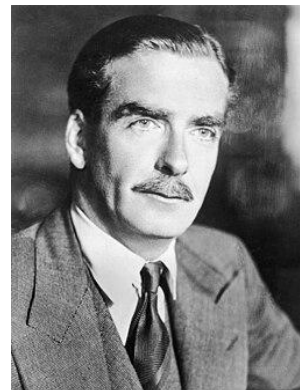
45. 🇺🇦 Ukrainian SSR: **Dmitry Zakharovich Manuisky**

Revolutionary from a young age, Manuisky joined the socialist RSDLP party at the age of 21. A year later he participated in the Kronstadt mutiny during the Revolution of 1905, after which he was exiled until 1917, when together with Trotsky he returned to Russia. Fighting Denikin and the White Army during the Civil War, Manuisky afterwards worked for the Comintern, the Communist Third International aimed at overthrowing world capitalism. Appointed People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs of the Ukrainian SSR in 1944, Manuisky is dedicated to in every way support the line of the Soviet delegation on the main issues, but still pursue independent policy on secondary issues, to show the autonomy granted to states in the great Soviet Union.



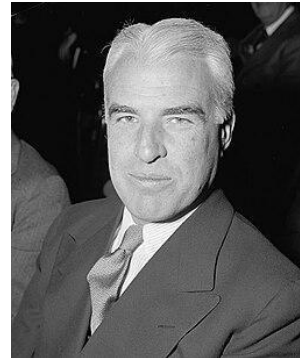
46. 🇬🇧 United Kingdom: **Anthony Eden**

British conservative politician, diplomat, military officer and 1st Earl of Avon, Anthony Eden has no shortage of titles. Fighting in the First World War, he was awarded a Military Cross for his actions, but he left the army following the conflict's conclusion. Afterwards, Eden entered politics with a specialisation in foreign affairs, joining the Conservative Party and was appointed Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs in 1931. Strongly antiwar, Eden initially supported the British policy of appeasement, and supported multilateralism of the League of Nations, but changed his mind in 1935, opposing the efforts of Stanley Baldwin to appease Italy during the Ethiopian War, resigning in 1938 due to increasing appeasement of the British government. Returning to service in 1940 under the Churchill's War administration, Eden was the leading diplomat of the UK throughout the war. Fluent in French and German, he is determined to secure the relevancy of the British Empire in the post-war multilateral world order.



47. 🇺🇸 United States: **Edward Stettinius**

Stettinius is a United States businessman and public servant, a fierce loyalist of President Franklin D. Roosevelt and the New Deal. Alternating between public and private sector in his early years, he served in the National Recovery Administration established under the New Deal, as well as becoming the chairman of U.S. Steel, the nation's largest corporation. Returning to public service a couple of years before the war, Stettinius served as the administrator of the Lend-Lease Program and the chairman of the War Resources Board. In 1944, he chaired the Dumbarton Oaks Conference, additionally succeeding US Secretary of State Cordell Hull in his position. Taking part in the Yalta Conference, Stettinius is a dedicated interventionist and internationalist, following the late President Roosevelt's vision of great power collaboration of the Big Four as the backbone of postwar order. Not wanting the UN paralysed by universal vetoes and excessive small nation's influence, he is a strong proponent of big-power domination in the San Francisco Conference.



48. 🇺🇾 Uruguay: **José Serrato**

A veteran of Uruguayan politics, Serrato is one of the older participants of the conference, being born in 1868. Broadly liberal, Serrato is not particularly ideological, able to work with different political parties. President from 1923 to 1927, he has been appointed Foreign Minister under President Juan José de Amézaga, striving to deepen relations with the US and counter Argentinian influence in the nation.



49. Venezuela: **Caracciolo Parra Pérez**

Venezuelan historian and diplomat, Pérez has spent nearly all the years since 1913 abroad, representing Venezuela in a number of diplomatic positions. He has served in the positions of chargé d'affaires to Switzerland, representative to the League of Nations, and ambassador to Italy. Appointed Foreign Minister in 1941, he oversaw the severing of ties with the Axis nations and headed the Venezuelan delegation to the Chapultepec Conference.



50. Yugoslavia: **Ivan Šubašić**

Born into a Croatian under Austria-Hungary, Šubašić was mobilised into the Imperial Army during the First World War, falling into Russian captivity, afterwards serving as a volunteer for the Entente on the Salonica front, where he was awarded the “Karađorđeva zvijezda” for bravery. Joining the HSS, Croatian Peasant Party, he was named the Ban of Croatia in 1939, before escaping to exile from a German invasion. Under Churchill’s initiative, Šubašić became the head of Yugoslav government-in-exile, supporting the idea of a post-war federatively organised Yugoslavia, in which capacity he signed two agreements with the communist partisan leader Josip Broz Tito. In 1945, he was appointed Foreign Minister under the provisional government led by Tito.



5. ENVISIONING THE NEW INTERNATIONAL ORGANISATION

Throughout all our history, humanity strived to resolve a complex international situation through means of war, to achieve a world order. The concepts of such order varied through the course of human history, from the Chinese approach, which viewed its emperor as ruler of “All under heaven” or Islamic view of its universal concept of divinely sanctioned world order. The first concept that recognized the sovereignty of other states in its internal affairs can be deducted from the treaty of Westphalia at the end of thirty years war, where the political reality did not allow involved states to hold such a hegemonic position to be able to unilaterally impose their political interests on other participants. If we look at the social and political situation in that part of the world and compare it with the situation at the end of the second world war, we can find similarities especially in the scale of destruction left by the conflict.⁶⁵

5.1. Drafting

Although there have been previous “planning” conferences on which the delegates conducted negotiations on how the United Nations will be established, we must not forget what an impressive feat the delegates achieved, when they successfully drafted the organization of never-before-seen complexity, that has been functioning for 80 years in the short time they could afford.

In this subsection I will shine a light on the complex organisation of the United Nations Conference on International Organization conference as well as on the drafting procedures.

To begin the conference the 46 delegations that were present at the time met in a preliminary meeting in which they discussed the organisation of the following meetings. Rules were proposed by the U.S. State Department and were as follows; The Plenary session was to be composed of all delegations with equal voting rights, one vote per delegation. The Plenary session would be presided over by the President of the Conference, who would be assisted by the SG. At the time it was assumed that the presidential function would be

⁶⁵ Kissinger, H. (2015). World order. Penguin Books.

filled by the Chairman of the American Delegation. The work would be further divided between the 4 general committees; Steering, Coordination , Executive and Credentials. The Steering committee would be composed from delegates of all delegations, the Executive Committee would be made up from four sponsoring powers and the chairmen of 7 delegations. , coordination committee would be composed from the same delegations as the Executive, with its members composed from legal experts, with its task being technical adjunct to the Executive Committee. Later at the conference its job was chiefly “translating” the phrasing of technical committees into the final Charter. The Credentials Committee would be composed of 6 members with its stated function of finding if the credentials of the delegates were in order. The function of the four general committees was one of coordination and the substantive work of the conference. The substantive work would be allotted to the committee and technical committees. The committees were divided based on the general division derived from Dumbarton Oaks proposal; The general principle and power that would be endowed to the organization and composition, functions and powers, of the General Assembly, Security Council and International court of justice. Appropriately the four commissions were created for the overall task of Charter construction. These committees were further divided into technical committees, whose objective I will provide in order to convey the array of topics that need to be covered:

1. Committee
 1. Preamble, Purposes and Principles
 2. Membership, Amendment, and the Secretariat
2. Committee - GA
 1. Structure and Procedures
 2. Political and Security Functions
 3. Economic and Social Cooperation
 4. Trusteeship System
3. Committee - SC
 1. Structure and Procedures

2. Procedure of Peaceful Settlement
3. Enforcement Arrangement
4. Regional Security Arrangement
4. Committee - Judicial organisation
 1. International Court of Justice
 2. Legal Problems

The whole system did overall not face many changes from original proposal, notable ones are; the change from single president to four, each one from one supporting power, who rotated throughout the conference, while the U.S.A. president would preside over Steering and Executive committees and the change of size of Executive and Steering Committee from 11 to 14 nations to better represent the small nations.⁶⁶

5.2. Membership

The first question that the victor states needed to decide, when creating the new international organisation was the question of membership. Considering that the conference has 50 delegates it is unlikely that the initial membership will exceed that number.

It is clear that when we discuss the international organisation, we must firstly discuss from which states the organisation will be composed of. At the Dumbarton Oaks Conference the member states decided to make the criteria of membership very broad and limit it to “all peace-loving states.”. Which leaves delegates at the conference with a wide array of options. (*Kelsen, 1945*) When discussing membership, we must focus on 4 criteria; original membership, later admission, status of territories and permanency of membership.

5.2.1. Original membership

Original membership at the conference was resolved under pressure of the three great powers with qualification being that the state was formally at war with the axis powers.

⁶⁶ Kirk, Grayson, and Lawrence H. Chamberlain. “The Organization of the San Francisco Conference.” *Political Science Quarterly*, vol. 60, no. 3, 1945, pp. 321–42. JSTOR, <https://doi.org/10.2307/2144248>.

When deciding who the original members will be, we must take in the account the composition, exclusion and eligibility. Delegates must decide which states will be denied membership, here the main question that arises is the potential membership of defeated states as well as their puppet government. How many members will the organisation have, how many states and which need to ratify the Charter to come into the effect.⁶⁷

5.2.2. Latter admission

Later admission is a complex issue that closely intertwines with the question of the structure of the Security council and its voting process. When considering later admission we must concentrate on the approval process, at the conference it was decided that countries will be admitted upon the recommendation from the Security Council and voted upon in the General Assembly. When considering the admission process, we must decide how much power is given to each of the bodies in the UN, the delegates must consider the needed majority, appropriate bodies and the whole process. UN members must evaluate the benchmarks needed for neutral countries as well as conditions of entry for former wartime enemies.⁶⁸

5.2.3. Status of territories

The delegates present at the conference include representatives from territories that don't have full sovereign status under international law. The examples of these delegates include India, Syria and Lebanon. Should the delegates model the inclusion of such nations similarly to the League of Nations or should territories considered autonomous such as Ukraine and Belorussian be members of the organisation inclusion of which further challenges the separation of domestic and international affairs.⁶⁹

⁶⁷ Johnstone, William C. "The San Francisco Conference." *Pacific Affairs* 18, no. 3 (1945): 213–28. <https://doi.org/10.2307/2752581>.

⁶⁸ Johnstone, William C. "The San Francisco Conference." *Pacific Affairs* 18, no. 3 (1945): 213–28. <https://doi.org/10.2307/2752581>.

⁶⁹ Johnstone, William C. "The San Francisco Conference." *Pacific Affairs* 18, no. 3 (1945): 213–28. <https://doi.org/10.2307/2752581>.

5.2.4. Permanency of membership

When discussing the permanency of membership we can focus on mainly two things, the ability to withdraw from the United Nations and the ability of UN bodies to suspend rights of members or expulsion. At the Dumbarton Oaks conference it was decided that a member state that becomes a member of the organisation cannot legally withdraw from it. Which was a notable shift from League of Nations, where members could leave. Delegates must decide whether they will foresee the ability to secede from the organisation and under which circumstances, the inability to secede has significant implications on smaller member states as they are bound to remain a member without regard for changing political situation. Secondly, delegates must decide whether the UN body will have authority to suspend or expel member states. Delegates must also decide on an appropriate process considering the balance of privileges given to each body.⁷⁰

5.3. Structure, voting and integration of other international organisations

In the following paragraphs the UN, its proposed structure, voting and its procedure and potential international organizations that can be associated or absorbed into the United Nations will be discussed.

5.3.1. The purpose the new organisation

The key purpose that we can observe or derive from documents that predate the San Francisco conference are; Peace and security, which focuses on preventing future wars, that can only be achieved, if the shortcomings of the League of Nations can be addressed. Self-Determination of all Peoples with the core idea being the ability of peoples to choose their political status without it being externally imposed. Equality and sovereignty, the idea that every member is legally equal and that all countries must adhere to the charter. International Cooperation, fostering peaceful cooperation between states. Human Rights and Dignity, the belief that all men and women have fundamental and equal rights.

⁷⁰ HULA, ERICH. "THE DUMBARTON OAKS PROPOSALS." *Social Research* 12, no. 2 (1945): 135–56. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/40982069>.

The newly formed United Nations must be able to effectively uphold these values.

5.3.2. Legally binding

The Authority of the United Nations will be based on the binding treaty that must be signed by all states wishing to be part of the new international organization. It was outlined in the Dumbarton Oaks proposal that the Security Council will have binding authority with ability to act decisively on the matter at hand to avoid shortcomings from the League of Nations. This was insisted by the major powers under the explanation, that because of the SC limited membership and the veto power this body will act more responsible, than the GA with universal membership.⁷¹

The following summaries will be derived from previous treaties and are only meant to give general overview on the topic.

5.3.3. General Assembly

The General Assembly would be a UN body that consisted of all members of the organization, all members would have equal voting rights, one vote per member. The decisions would be made by either two thirds, or a simple majority. Depending on the importance of the decision, the delegates at the conference must decide which votes fall under which. The General Assembly has the authority to discuss and make recommendations on matters related to international peace and security, but it cannot make recommendations on issues already being dealt with by the Security Council without its input. The Assembly can only act on such matters upon the recommendation of the Security Council. The General Assembly is responsible for electing non-permanent members of the Security Council and members of the Economic and Social Council.⁷²

5.3.4. Security Council

The Security Council of the UN will be the body of the UN responsible for maintaining international peace and security. It would have the authority to make binding decisions.

⁷¹ HULA, ERICH. "THE DUMBARTON OAKS PROPOSALS." Social Research 12, no. 2 (1945): 135–56. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/40982069>.

⁷² The Old and the New League: The Covenant and the Dumbarton Oaks Proposals Author(s): Hans Kelsen Source: The American Journal of International Law, Vol. 39, No. 1 (Jan., 1945), pp. 45-83 Published by: Cambridge University Press Stable URL: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/2192309> (accessed August 17, 2025).

The body would have much broader powers compared to the League of Nations council such as enforcement mechanisms, that include military action, when deemed necessary to maintain peace. It would work on the majority principle rather than unanimity role of the League of Nations, which would address the shortcomings of the previous international organization. The bodies authority to interfere into Internal Affairs would be limited. It would be composed from permanent and non-permanent members.

5.3.4.1. Composition and representation in the Security Council

The composition of the UN SC is a complex issue that the delegates at the conference must address. I will try to consider a wide scope of potential qualifiers. The idea under which the major powers legitimized the SC as the organ with wide array of powers on the matter of peace and war is that the body could act decisively on these matters and to act decisively permanent members of the SC must have means to act, which affects the one of two considerations the contribution to the organization, this can be financial, diplomatic or military. The second consideration is the representation, which takes into account the population and specific geographic regions. It is clear that the major powers, which defeated the Axis powers will initially occupy the permanent seats of the UNSC, but the delegates must also consider future implications of their decision after all you will be creating a new global order that must have long term impact. For an idea of a potential flexible body, we can observe the structure of the League council, which permanent and non-permanent seats were subjected to change if the council and the majority of the assembly voted in favour of such change. It has also empowered the assembly to change the rules of election of non-permanent members including the length of terms and their re-eligibility. In the Dumbarton Oaks agreement, it was decided that the number of seats will not be subject to change and will be capped at 5 permanent members and 6 non-permanent, however this can be subjected to change at the conference, as is evident from the USA lobbying for a 6th permanent seat of the Brazil. One thing we can also observe is that the number of seats is odd for obvious reasons and that the number of non-permanent seats is greater than permanent. When deciding on the size of the council the delegates must also take into account the possible changes to the membership of the UN. The delegates must resolve the question of eligibility for immediate re-election as well as

criterion for eligibility, these can be based on but not limited to their contribution to the UN or simply by the geographic distribution or perhaps both or neither.⁷³ I must also emphasize that if there is no mechanism on how to change the number of members or rules on how the non-permanent or even perhaps permanent members are chosen, they will only be able to change by direct changes made to the Charter.

5.3.4.2. Veto

The Security Council will have the right to make binding decisions for all member states with majority vote, which defies the longstanding principle of international life, that no state that is sovereign will be bound by decisions to which the state didn't agree to. The veto gives the states the ability to retain this status and gives them power to veto decisions that go against their interests.⁷⁴ The major powers decided to adopt a model of five permanent members with veto at the Yalta conference, however this is not the only possible way that veto can be implemented into the Security Council, the veto itself can be more targeted, the permanent members could have a right to veto only on certain issues. Furthermore, the veto power could be changed to be effective only if two permanent members used the results to the use of veto.⁷⁵

5.3.5. International Court of Justice

The International Court of Justice would be, according to Dumbarton Oaks agreement, largely based on the Permanent Court of International Justice, which was one of the organs of the United Nations, whose function was deemed satisfactory. The document also indicates that the Security Council has the authority to recommend methods of settlement for disputes and can employ economic or military enforcement measures if peaceful methods fail. This highlights the relationship between the Security Council and the International Court of Justice in maintaining international peace and security.⁷⁶ There also

⁷³ Blum, Y. Z. (2005). Proposals for UN Security Council Reform. *The American Journal of International Law*, 99(3), 632–649. <https://doi.org/10.2307/1602295>.

⁷⁴ Dorr, N. (1986). The Security Council of the United Nations. *Irish Studies in International Affairs*, 2(2), 13–33. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/30001951>.

⁷⁵ Wouters, J., & Ruys, T. (2005). Use and Abuse of the Veto Power. In *SECURITY COUNCIL REFORM: A NEW VETO FOR A NEW CENTURY?* (pp. 9–18). Egmont Institute. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/resrep06699.5>.

⁷⁶ THE MEANING OF THE MOSCOW CONFERENCE Author(s): SIDNEY B. FAY Source: *Current History*, Vol. 5, No. 28 (DECEMBER, 1943), pp. 289-294 Published by: University of California Press Stable URL: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/45307128>.

arises the question of enforcement of court rulings and the role that the security council will play in the enforcement.⁷⁷

5.3.6. Economic and social council

The idea for a body that manages social projects is not one devised by those who drafted the Atlantic Charter or Dumbarton Oaks Proposal, but rather an organization that was proposed towards the end of the League of Nations. The experiences gained from the league of nations and the scale of human suffering and destruction led the diplomats to stress the importance of economic and social aims in the objectives of the Allied postwar recovery in the Atlantic Charter. The Dumbarton Oaks agreement went further and organized several specialized agencies in the fields of; Food and agriculture (FAO), education (UNESCO), finance (IMF), banking (IBRD), aviation (ICAO), relief and rehabilitation (UNRRA). It was also recognized that some international agencies that existed before could join the new international system. The role of the ECOSOC would be to coordinate these and potential future organs. The organization must be able to effectively and swiftly address the magnitude of the postwar reconstruction. The problem of coordination between the ECOSOC and agencies is a complex one, as all agencies are established by different international agreements and completely different staff, budget and constitutions. We must also take into account the potential difference in membership between organizations, as for example the UPU had at the time of the conference 93 members. The agreement between the UN and agencies are between equals. Therefore, it must be decided who has authority to negotiate with agencies. The question also remains of the relationship with the other bodies, who will guarantee funding and how will the fields that are not part of any agency be addressed.⁷⁸

5.4. Great and small powers

The United Nations should, according to the Proposals for the Establishment of a General International Organization, follow the principle of the “sovereign equality of all peace-

⁷⁷ Johnstone, William C. “The San Francisco Conference.” *Pacific Affairs* 18, no. 3 (1945): 213–28. <https://doi.org/10.2307/2752581>.

⁷⁸ Lubin, I., & Murden, F. (1955). ECOSOC: CONCEPT VERSUS PRACTICE. *Journal of International Affairs*, 9(2), 67–78. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/24363179>

loving states”.⁷⁹ Yet the farther the international community progresses in its establishment, the more it seems to distance itself from the premise of strict equality.

5.4.1. Membership

Membership and admission rules, as envisioned in the aforementioned proposals, however, embrace all “peace-loving” nations⁸⁰, as already envisioned in the Moscow Declaration (1943)⁸¹. Invitations were issued to all nations who declared war on the Axis powers before March. Those countries on the other side of the war will have to work their way into respectability and possible UN membership.⁸²

They are supposed to all become members of the General Assembly, a generalist body, entrusted with the function of discussing “any questions relating to the maintenance of international peace and security”, as well as many others, working in close cooperation with the Security Council.⁸³ The latter in its proposed structure also represents a great improvement from its predecessor, the League Council, which lacked more international representation and was largely europocentric. The League of Nations executive body certainly lacked representation from the Americas, which should now be done by the US, with Brazil posing as a candidate for a potential sixth permanent member. The proposal for granting them a SC permanent seat, has enjoyed support both by the late President Roosevelt as well as by the ex-Secretary of State Cordell Hull. The British and Soviet representatives, however, see this as a US attempt to double its power in the council, as Brazil is expected to hold similar opinions as them.⁸⁴

⁷⁹ PROPOSALS FOR THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A GENERAL INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION. (1944). World Affairs, 107(4), 220–231. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/20664065>.

⁸⁰ PROPOSALS FOR THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A GENERAL INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION. (1944). World Affairs, 107(4), 220–231. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/20664065>.

⁸¹ De Estudos Brasileiros Em Macau, A. (n.d.). BRAZIL’S FAILURE TO GRAB A UN SECURITY COUNCIL PERMANENT SEAT: A TALE OF EXPECTATIONS AND DISAPPOINTMENT - Associação de Estudos Brasileiros em Macau. Associação De Estudos Brasileiros Em Macau. <https://aebm.mo/en/2018Vol1Issue1/5> (accessed on September 27, 2025).

⁸² Finkelstein, L. S. (1965). The United Nations: Then and Now. International Organization, 19(3), 367–393. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2705860>.

⁸³ PROPOSALS FOR THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A GENERAL INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION. (1944). World Affairs, 107(4), 220–231. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/20664065>.

⁸⁴ De Estudos Brasileiros Em Macau, A. (n.d.). BRAZIL’S FAILURE TO GRAB A UN SECURITY COUNCIL PERMANENT SEAT: A TALE OF EXPECTATIONS AND DISAPPOINTMENT - Associação de Estudos Brasileiros em Macau. Associação De Estudos Brasileiros Em Macau. <https://aebm.mo/en/2018Vol1Issue1/5> (accessed on September 27, 2025).

It is not only in permanent membership that causes disputes among the great powers. Admission of Argentina enjoyed American favour, while Soviets opposed it, citing Argentinian proximity with the Axis countries and its government's alleged fascist traits.⁸⁵ In the end it received the invitation to San Francisco, since it had declared war on the Axis powers on March 27th.⁸⁶

Meanwhile, Poland remains without a representative at the upcoming conference, as the conference in Crimea failed to bring consensus of the Big Three on the problem. Stalin supports the government in Lublin and would wish to see their representation, while Churchill (and before his death Roosevelt) support a coalition government and prompt elections. As there is currently no generally recognized Polish government, their nation cannot attend the conference.⁸⁷

5.4.2. Permanent membership and veto

The permanent members of the Security Council should hold the power of veto, according to the agreement on voting procedures by the great powers of US, USSR, the UK, China and later France. The agreement, which later became known as the Yalta formula, has been added to the Proposals for the Establishment of a General International Organization as well as to the invitations to the conference.⁸⁸

“1. Each member of the Security Council should have one vote.

⁸⁵ De Estudos Brasileiros Em Macau, A. (n.d.). BRAZIL'S FAILURE TO GRAB A UN SECURITY COUNCIL PERMANENT SEAT: A TALE OF EXPECTATIONS AND DISAPPOINTMENT - Associação de Estudos Brasileiros em Macau. Associação De Estudos Brasileiros Em Macau. <https://aebm.mo/en/2018Vol1Issue1/5> (accessed on September 27, 2025).

⁸⁶ Center on National Security. (2025, March 7). The San Francisco Conference and the evitable UN vetoes - Georgetown Law - Center on National Security. Georgetown Law - Center on National Security. <https://nationalsecurity.law.georgetown.edu/journal/2024/01/20/the-san-francisco-conference-and-the-avoidable-un-vetoes/> (accessed on September 27, 2025).

⁸⁷ Center on National Security. (2025, March 7). The San Francisco Conference and the evitable UN vetoes - Georgetown Law - Center on National Security. Georgetown Law - Center on National Security. <https://nationalsecurity.law.georgetown.edu/journal/2024/01/20/the-san-francisco-conference-and-the-avoidable-un-vetoes/> (accessed on September 27, 2025).

⁸⁸ De Estudos Brasileiros Em Macau, A. (n.d.). BRAZIL'S FAILURE TO GRAB A UN SECURITY COUNCIL PERMANENT SEAT: A TALE OF EXPECTATIONS AND DISAPPOINTMENT - Associação de Estudos Brasileiros em Macau. Associação De Estudos Brasileiros Em Macau. <https://aebm.mo/en/2018Vol1Issue1/5> (accessed on September 27, 2025).

‘2. Decisions of the Security Council on procedural matters should be made by an affirmative vote of seven members.

‘3. Decisions of the Security Council on all other matters should be made by an affirmative vote of seven members including the concurring votes of the permanent members; provided that, in decisions under Chapter VIII, Section A and under the second sentence of paragraph 1 of Chapter VIII, Section C, a party to a dispute should abstain from voting’.”⁸⁹

Despite their past disagreements regarding voting in the Security Council, the Great Powers currently seem to have settled on an agreement, which is not in the least unexpected. The international organization they wish to establish relies on the perseverance of cooperation and friendliness achieved during the war. The great powers, despite their many differences and common disagreements, strive for unanimity where possible. This can also mean sacrificing acceding to small power demands in the name of great power unanimity.⁹⁰

In case of disputes between smaller powers, intervention of great powers might prove crucial, especially, since there seems not to be an alternative to pacify a situation that small powers could act out. This is in part why they hold permanent seats in the Security Council.⁹¹

The UK is believed to potentially want middle-sized powers to be granted something akin to semi-permanent seats, arguing that they are better suited to help in potential situations that require pacifying or military involvement.⁹² Meanwhile, some, like ex Secretary of State Welles⁹³, advocate for a “regionalistic approach” and distribution of authority to a number of regional blocks. This would grant permanent seats to regional powers instead of just

⁸⁹ Historical Documents - Office of the Historian. (2024). State.gov. <https://history.state.gov/historicaldocuments/frus1945Malta/d501> (accessed on September 27, 2025).

⁹⁰ Finkelstein, L. S. (1965). The United Nations: Then and Now. *International Organization*, 19(3), 367–393. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2705860>.

⁹¹ Finkelstein, L. S. (1965). The United Nations: Then and Now. *International Organization*, 19(3), 367–393. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2705860>.

⁹² Historical Documents - Office of the Historian. (2025). State.gov. https://history.state.gov/historicaldocuments/frus1945Malta/pg_90 (accessed on September 22, 2025).

⁹³ Center on National Security. (2025, March 7). The San Francisco Conference and the evitable UN vetoes - Georgetown Law - Center on National Security. Georgetown Law - Center on National Security. <https://nationalsecurity.law.georgetown.edu/journal/2024/01/20/the-san-francisco-conference-and-the-avoidable-un-vetoes/> (accessed on September 27, 2025).

global great powers, believing this would ease solving of potential regional disputes across the globe.⁹⁴

The veto is important for the great powers because it ensures them that they cannot be coerced into involvement in settlement of disputes by other member states through the Security Council. This aspect seems to be especially important to the US, who advocates for strict limitation of the UN's powers, emphasising that especially in the field of economic and social matters, the UN should not have powers beyond hortatory. (*Finkelstein, 1965*) They are also strongly opposed to any interference in domestic matters and the senate requires assurance that the UN cannot force the US to use its military force without approval from Washington. (*Center on National Security, 2025*) Similarly, at the Dumbarton Oaks talks, Stalin firmly advocated for a veto that could be cast in all matters, including disputes where they were party in the subject resolution and in procedural votes, meaning they would be empowered to block discussions in the SC.⁹⁵ Over this US representatives expressed concern that the smaller powers might withdraw their support of the United Nations, if the council would not retain at least some authority. They stated that vetoing resolutions on disputes where one is a stakeholder offends a deeply rooted legal principle. The American Senate, however, has mostly been opposed to any veto weakening.⁹⁶

The power of veto is a great power, very attractive to the big nations that should wield it. Yet, it also comes with a great responsibility. Should the voice of the great powers who hold it completely overpower the rest of the nations, they would become exclusively responsible for maintaining international peace. Who's to say that the appeal of catering only to one's own nation's interests will not overpower the principle of fair peace?

⁹⁴ De Estudos Brasileiros Em Macau, A. (n.d.). BRAZIL'S FAILURE TO GRAB A UN SECURITY COUNCIL PERMANENT SEAT: A TALE OF EXPECTATIONS AND DISAPPOINTMENT - Associação de Estudos Brasileiros em Macau. Associação De Estudos Brasileiros Em Macau. <https://aebm.mo/en/2018Vol1Issue1/5> (accessed on September 27, 2025).

⁹⁵ De Estudos Brasileiros Em Macau, A. (n.d.). BRAZIL'S FAILURE TO GRAB A UN SECURITY COUNCIL PERMANENT SEAT: A TALE OF EXPECTATIONS AND DISAPPOINTMENT - Associação de Estudos Brasileiros em Macau. Associação De Estudos Brasileiros Em Macau. <https://aebm.mo/en/2018Vol1Issue1/5> (accessed on September 27, 2025).

⁹⁶ Center on National Security. (2025, March 7). The San Francisco Conference and the evitable UN vetoes - Georgetown Law - Center on National Security. Georgetown Law - Center on National Security. <https://nationalsecurity.law.georgetown.edu/journal/2024/01/20/the-san-francisco-conference-and-the-avoidable-un-vetoes/> (accessed on September 27, 2025).

The Yalta formula contains a safeguard that prevents the five major powers from acting by themselves, as any decision made by the Security Council requires concurring votes from at least two non-permanent members, even in case of great power unanimity. This in theory means that the six non-permanent members could exercise a joint veto as a group.⁹⁷

The proposal of veto has been analysed and critiqued in many states, especially those that do not expect to hold permanent seats in the Security Council. Some smaller powers contend that the concept of veto violates the principle of equality, on which the UN should be based. Australia, with its delegate Herbert Vere Evatt, seems to consider the Dumbarton Oaks proposals and the Yalta formula merely as a draft, coming to the conference with many suggestions to improve it. One of these includes requiring three vetoes to defeat a motion, with referring the matter to a regional body if one or more vetoes are exercised.⁹⁸

Concerns have also been voiced over the possibility of a drop in rank of the great powers that should hold permanent seats, fearing potential abuse of veto power by middle powers. The question presents itself, if permanent memberships can be revoked or changed.⁹⁹ The Bretton Woods system might have effectively cemented a hierarchy based on economic weight and consequent allocated influence in the Bretton Woods institutions.¹⁰⁰ Yet, the hierarchy is far from unchangeable, and some smaller or middle powers could see the upcoming conference as an opportunity for a change in their rank, perhaps as regional powers, especially as the great powers who are expected to receive permanent membership already differ in greatness. It is clear that US, USSR and the UK are the real leaders¹⁰¹, while France's acceptance of the invitation among the permanent members was

⁹⁷ Historical Documents - Office of the Historian. (n.d.-b). <https://history.state.gov/historicaldocuments/frus1945v01/d273> (accessed on September 22, 2025).

⁹⁸ Center on National Security. (2025, March 7). The San Francisco Conference and the evitable UN vetoes - Georgetown Law - Center on National Security. Georgetown Law - Center on National Security. <https://nationalsecurity.law.georgetown.edu/journal/2024/01/20/the-san-francisco-conference-and-the-avoidable-un-vetoes/> (accessed on September 27, 2025).

⁹⁹ Finkelstein, L. S. (1965). The United Nations: Then and Now. *International Organization*, 19(3), 367–393. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2705860>.

¹⁰⁰ De Estudos Brasileiros Em Macau, A. (n.d.). BRAZIL'S FAILURE TO GRAB A UN SECURITY COUNCIL PERMANENT SEAT: A TALE OF EXPECTATIONS AND DISAPPOINTMENT - Associação de Estudos Brasileiros em Macau. Associação De Estudos Brasileiros Em Macau. <https://aebm.mo/en/2018Vol1Issue1/5> (accessed on September 27, 2025).

¹⁰¹ Finkelstein, L. S. (1965). The United Nations: Then and Now. *International Organization*, 19(3), 367–393. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2705860>.

not clear for a long time¹⁰² and China seems to have been admitted only because of the American wish of creating a self-fulfilling prophecy (treating it as a great power so it becomes a great power).¹⁰³

5.5. The question of colonies

5.5.1. Historical overview

Colonialism, the practice of extending and maintaining political, social, economic, and cultural domination over a territory and its people can be traced back to antiquity, and in the last 500 years, it has shaped the face of the world.¹⁰⁴ Since the Spanish conquests of the Americas, people have been oppressed, resources extracted and liberties quashed, and practically no nation outside of Europe has been spared.¹⁰⁵ The huge colonial empires of Europe, made to enrich the distant metropole¹⁰⁶, have long been seen untouchable because of their imposing size, with only the United Kingdom controlling 25% of the total world landmass at its peak.¹⁰⁷ But efforts to counter and end these colonial projects have existed for nearly as long, and the San Francisco Conference is promising to be the change the oppressed native people yearn for.

The first successful opposition to colonial rule was the American Revolution of 1776, which saw the 12 British colonies in northern America break away from its overlord and establish a new state, based on liberties and the freedom of its people.¹⁰⁸ Later, the Latin American

¹⁰² Center on National Security. (2025, March 7). The San Francisco Conference and the evitable UN vetoes - Georgetown Law - Center on National Security. Georgetown Law - Center on National Security. <https://nationalsecurity.law.georgetown.edu/journal/2024/01/20/the-san-francisco-conference-and-the-avoidable-un-vetoes/> (accessed on September 27, 2025).

¹⁰³ Finkelstein, L. S. (1965). The United Nations: Then and Now. *International Organization*, 19(3), 367–393. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2705860>.

¹⁰⁴ Loomba, A. (2015). *Colonialism/Postcolonialism* (3rd ed.). Routledge. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315751245>.

¹⁰⁵ Said, E. (1978). *Orientalism*. Pantheon <https://www.jstor.org/stable/1354282>.

¹⁰⁶ Cain, P. J., & Hopkins, A. G. (1993). *British imperialism: Innovation and expansion 1688–1914*. Longman <https://www.jstor.org/stable/3828906>.

¹⁰⁷ Libecap, G. D., Lueck, D., & O'Grady, M. (2011). Land demarcation and empire: Evidence from the British colonial empire. *Journal of Law & Economics*, 54(3), 561–596. <https://www.hoover.org/research/bright-side-british-colonialism> (accessed September 26, 2025).

¹⁰⁸ Wood, G. S. (1993). *The Radicalism of the American Revolution*. Vintage Books. <https://dn720001.ca.archive.org/0/items/wood-gordon-the-radicalism-of-the-american-revolution-2011-1/Wood%2C%20Gordon%20The%20Radicalism%20of%20the%20American%20Revolution%202011%201.pdf> (accessed September 26, 2025).

colonial revolts of the 19th century additionally liberated the majority of the Americas from the Spanish and Portuguese, but elsewhere, victories over the colonialists remained sparse. Additionally cemented with the partition of Africa at the Berlin conference of 1884, colonialism remained the dominating force until the First World War, when change, while slow, would finally begin to appear.¹⁰⁹

After the war, the colonial peoples were angered because of the hypocrisy of the colonialist nations, which called for self determination of the people but applied these principles only in Europe, instead choosing to keep their empires and additionally partition the colonies of defeated nations between the victors. Numerous figures called for the correction of these racist biases, for example American sociologist W.E.B. Du Bois at the Pan-African Congress: ***“The problem of the twentieth century is the problem of the color line ... We are determined to press the demand for a recognition in the peace settlement of the principle that Africa should be ruled in the interest of Africans.”***¹¹⁰, also stating ***“We are determined to press the demand for a recognition in the peace settlement of the principle that Africa should be ruled in the interest of Africans”***¹¹¹ at the First Pan-African Congress. Despite the apparent total domination of imperial rule over the world following the war, cracks started to appear. In response to growing independence movements in its colonies, Great Britain started granting more and more autonomy to its subjects, with the Egyptian independence in 1922¹¹², the Balfour declaration of 1926 granting equal status to its dominions¹¹³, and the Government of India Act 1935¹¹⁴, and while Britain retained large control over these nations, they were still major steps towards decolonisation. In France, revolts such as the Rif War

¹⁰⁹ The Editors of Encyclopaedia Britannica (2025, April 1). decolonization. Encyclopedia Britannica. <https://www.britannica.com/topic/decolonization> (accessed September 26, 2025).

¹¹⁰ Du Bois, W. E. B. (1900, July 25). “To the Nations of the World” [Address, First Pan-African Conference]. Westminster Hall, London. Reprinted in "The Pan-African Congresses, 1900-1945 <https://blackpast.org/african-american-history/1900-w-e-b-du-bois-nations-world/> (accessed September 26, 2025).

¹¹¹ Du Bois, W. E. B. (1919, February). Address to the First Pan-African Congress (W. E. B. Du Bois Papers, MS 312). Special Collections and University of Massachusetts Amherst Libraries. <http://credo.library.umass.edu/view/full/mums312-b015-i049> (accessed September 26, 2025)

¹¹² Smith, C.G., Goldschmidt, A.E., Little, D.P., Hopwood, D., Baker, R.W., Holt, P.M. (2025, September 30). Egypt. Encyclopedia Britannica. <https://www.britannica.com/place/Egypt> (accessed September 26, 2025).

¹¹³ Tattre, J. (2018, April 21). Balfour Report. Encyclopedia Britannica. <https://www.britannica.com/topic/Balfour-Report> (accessed September 26, 2025).

¹¹⁴ Gilder Lehrman Institute of American History. (2021). Insurgent India: Purna Swaraj as self-determination. <https://www.gilderlehrman.org/history-resources/essays/insurgent-india-purna-swaraj-self-determination> (accessed September 26, 2025).

showed the opposition of natives to French rule, and in the United States, the government granted the Philippines a clear roadmap toward independence, in opposition of the trends of the European colonists. But the largest crack, the largest reform was the newly founded League of Nations.

The League prevented the normal annexation of the defeated colonies into the victor's empires, instead proposing the Mandatory system, under which the developed nations would take responsibility for the defeated colonies and be obliged to develop them and administer them responsibly, and in this light, the Permanent Mandates Commission was established. As called for by South African politician Jan Smuts: ***“There are regions which are not yet able to stand by themselves under the strenuous conditions of the modern world. For them, tutelage under the advanced nations is necessary, until such time as they can stand alone.”***¹¹⁵ While not really different from colonial rule in practice, it still granted the colonial nations a voice, in the words of historian Susan Pedersen: ***“The commission gave Samoans, Rwandans and Syrians an organisation in Geneva to which they could address complaints, and appeal for greater autonomy. And address it they did, sending hundreds of petitions outlining their grievances and demands for reform.”***. Furthermore, outlining some of the commission's less well-known achievements she shows that Britain decided, quite unilaterally, to give Iraq its independence in 1932 because Whitehall argued that the country would be better controlled if it was nominally independent – and free of commission scrutiny. But the system was far from perfect, with critics pointing out that it only legitimatises colonial rule, while not powerful enough to change the colonialist government's policies, such as during the 1925 French bombing of Damascus.¹¹⁶

During the Second World War, progress towards decolonisation would accelerate significantly. The French Empire was severely weakened with the occupation of the

¹¹⁵ Smuts, J. (1918). The League of Nations: A Practical Suggestion. <https://dn790002.ca.archive.org/0/items/leagueofnationsp00smutuoft/leagueofnationsp00smutuoft.pdf> (accessed September 26, 2025).

¹¹⁶ Mazower, M. (2015, November 6). The Guardians: The League of Nations and the Crisis of Empire by Susan Pedersen review – the legacy of an unlikely hero. The Guardian. <https://www.theguardian.com/books/2015/nov/06/guardians-league-of-nations-susan-pedersen-review> (accessed September 26, 2025).

metropole under the Nazi Germany, and despite the nominal sovereignty of Vichy France over all its colonies, Syria and Lebanon declared independence in the course of the war. Additionally, Britain was forced to promise independence to the Indian peninsula in exchange for their military service during the war, sacrificing their crown jewel. In East Asia, Japanese invasion replaced colonial administrators with locals, giving them a brief feeling of independence, now revolt is brewing.¹¹⁷ Also, as the defeated nations colonies fate will have to be decided, the UN has another challenge to try to overcome.

5.5.2. Trusteeship and colonies under the United Nations

With the transformation of the League of Nations into the new organisation, the Mandatory system is in dire need of reforms. Since 1941 and the Atlantic conference, the idea of international trusteeship has been floated around, officially confirmed as part of the future UN at the Yalta conference. Envisioned as a kind of way to peacefully and justly transition nations under colonialist yoke to full independence or at least autonomy, and to provide governance for the nation in the meanwhile, the trusteeships are meant to function under UN supervision. While not yet formally decided in what way the system will function, there are clear ideological differences between nations at play and different blocs have already started forming. Alongside the question which territories should the organisation even cover, there is also the dispute of how they will be organised, with numerous countries pushing for individual states managing these territories, while others point to the successes of the interwar Saar Basin Commission as proof of international ownership being the better solution.¹¹⁸

The colonial empires of Europe present at the conference, namely the United Kingdom, France, Belgium and the Netherlands are all pushing to limit the system to cover as little as possible and limit its authority, while keeping their grip over the colonial empire and denying people's self-determination in their territories. The hardliner of the bloc is the Union of South Africa, denying even the transition of their mandate of South West Africa into the new system, instead preferring its annexation into the Union. On the other side of

¹¹⁷ The Editors of Encyclopaedia Britannica (2025, April 1). decolonization. Encyclopedia Britannica. <https://www.britannica.com/topic/decolonization> (accessed September 26, 2025).

¹¹⁸ Gilchrist, H. (1945). V. Colonial Questions at the San Francisco Conference. American Political Science Review, 39(5), 982–992. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/i333571>.

the isle sits the radical bloc of small nations, Australia, New Zealand and a number of Latin American nations are pushing for increased transparency of colonial powers in regards to their colonies, possibly even transferring all of their colonial empire under the UN Trusteeship¹¹⁹, a position clearly shown in the quote from Australian Foreign Minister H.V. Evatt referencing the 1944 Australia-New Zealand Agreement: ***“The two Governments declare that, in applying the principles of the Atlantic Charter to the Pacific, the doctrine of “trusteeship” ... is applicable in broad principle to all colonial territories ... and that the main purpose of the trust is the welfare of the native peoples and their social, economic and political development.”***¹²⁰ Meanwhile, the other major powers of the Soviet Union and the United States are approaching this issue pragmatically, unwilling to concede to their rival and instead looking for strategic benefits of the situation.

5.6. Human rights

While not the main issue that has to be debated at the conference, which primarily focuses on furthering international relations and preventing the wars of the future, the question of a Universal Human Rights Declaration still floats in the air. The organisation's predecessor, the League of Nations, had fixed priorities on solving international disputes rather than caring for individual human rights, as evident in the League Covenant staying silent on this topic. While some limited effort was put into furthering human rights such as the Hague Conventions, Inter-Allied Women's Conference and the Minority Treaties, these attempts were extremely limited in scope.¹²¹ But this is beginning to look like its changing with important documents being drafted, such as the Atlantic Charter and the Declaration by United Nations, which alongside its main goals of defeating the Axis powers also called upon all nations to respect basic human rights, promising to uphold them in the post-war world.¹²² In 1941, Roosevelt outlined these points in his Four Freedoms speech:

¹¹⁹ Gilchrist, H. (1945). V. Colonial Questions at the San Francisco Conference. *American Political Science Review*, 39(5), 982–992. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/i333571>.

¹²⁰ 66 Minutes of British Commonwealth Meeting (1945). Australian Government Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade. <https://www.dfat.gov.au/about-us/publications/historical-documents/Pages/volume-08/66-minutes-of-british-commonwealth-meeting> (accessed September 26, 2025).

¹²¹ Mazower, M. (2004). The strange triumph of human rights, 1933–1950. *The Historical Journal*, 47(2), 379–398. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0018246X04003723>.

¹²² United Nations. (1942, January 1). Declaration by United Nations. https://avalon.law.yale.edu/20th_century/decade03.asp (accessed September 28, 2025).

“In the future days, which we seek to make secure, we look forward to a world founded upon four essential human freedoms.

The first is freedom of speech, and expression—everywhere in the world.

The second is freedom of every person to worship God in his own way—everywhere in the world.

The third is freedom from want—which, translated into world terms, means economic understandings which will secure to every nation a healthy peacetime life for its inhabitants—everywhere in the world.

The fourth is freedom from fear—which, translated into world terms, means a world-wide reduction of armaments to such a point and in such a thorough fashion that no nation will be in a position to commit an act of physical aggression against any neighbour—anywhere in the world.”¹²³

While idealistic, these ideas are starting to take solid shape, and while a full Human Rights Declaration seems unlikely with the amount of work ahead of the delegations, some references and action on individual rights will have to be made to further the cause of global peace and prosperity.

¹²³ Roosevelt, F. D. (1941, January 6). The Four Freedoms [Annual Message to Congress on the State of the Union]. In The American Presidency Project. <https://www.archives.gov/milestone-documents/president-franklin-roosevelts-annual-message-to-congress> (accessed September 28, 2025).

6. FURTHER READING AND QUESTIONS TO CONSIDER

In this committee we plunge into the history that could have been. The delegates are to carefully examine the historical context of the issues at hand and make themselves familiar with the role of their countries in the war and establishment of the United Nations, as well as in international politics of the previous years. Of course, one must not forget the domestic situation of their allocated country either. As the international community prepares to enter the post-war era, they should not forget that peace is not yet guaranteed and, as minor as they seem in comparison to the global armed conflict that the world just experienced, there still exist disputes, domestic and between countries, that could threaten it.

Down below are the questions that we advise you to keep in mind while conducting your research.

- Which documents related to the establishment of the United Nations is your country a signatory of?
- Was your country a member of the League of Nations? How did this influence it?
- What continuity does your country believe the new organisation should have from the League of Nations?
- What does your country expect to gain from the establishment of the United Nations?
- Does your delegation consider the Dumbarton Oaks proposals and the Proposals for the Establishment of a General International Organization as something to be strictly followed in the creation of the UN Charter or more as a rough draft?
- What power does your delegation believe the General Assembly, the Security Council and other potential committees should possess?
- What is your country's stance on the veto and permanent membership in the Security Council?
- What is your country's stance on the colonialist issues, expected to be discussed at the UN?

The chairs have also compiled an additional list of sources for further reading to help delegates begin their research.

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