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Intentional International Presence of United Nation's Locations

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INTENTIONAL INTERNATIONAL PRESENCE OF UNITED NATION'S
LOCATIONS

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Abstract

INTENTIONAL INTERNATIONAL PRESENCE OF UNITED NATION'S
LOCATIONS

The United Nations chose specific locations to house its main headquarters and major

offices. While there are many smaller regional offices of the United Nations, this focuses

only on the four main offices and the Hague, which houses the International Court of

Justice. The different locations of New York, the Hague, Geneva, Vienna, and Nairobi

were chosen over a time period of fifty years with New York, the first permanent

location, chosen in 1946 and Nairobi, the most recent addition, finalized in 1996. The

locations were not chosen purely because of monetary concerns but because they met

specific qualifications set up with the establishment of the United Nations and because

the cities chosen had an existing presence on the international stage. Whether that

presence could be traced back to the Habsburg Empire or it was just being established

due to new infrastructure, the cities that the United Nations picked stood out from their

neighbors. By analyzing UN documents and other primary sources, this thesis will

provide evidence that the UN headquarters were chosen for specific reasons. New York

City, Geneva, The Hague, Vienna, and Nairobi were chosen to house UN headquarters

and UN bodies because they met certain qualifications and standards, such as location

and accessibility, and because they already bad a presence on the international stage. This

thesis will also show that while the ideal of the United Nations is to be a truly

international body and organization, the reality is that it is still very Euro-centric. This is

shown in the decisions to house United Nations Offices in places that are either European

or have strong ties to Western capitalist Europe. All of the major offices and locations of

the United Nations were chosen during the Cold War and that is reflected in the choices of United Nations representatives. This thesis will expand on existing historiography by sharing why Geneva, the Hague, Vienna, and Nairobi were chosen. Existing literature only dealt with why the United States and New York City in particular were chosen to house the first permanent headquarters.

Keywords: United Nations headquarters; international presence; New York; Vienna; Geneva; Nairobi; the Hague; Euro-centric

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I. Introduction

The permanent locations of the United Nations headquarters and offices were chosen with care and precision based on a number of important factors. While there are many smaller regional offices of the United Nations, this focuses only on the four main offices and the Hague, which houses the International Court of Justice. The different locations of New York, the Hague, Geneva, Vienna, and Nairobi were chosen over a time period of fifty years with New York, the first permanent location, chosen in 1946 and Nairobi, the most recent addition, which was established in 1996. The United Nations chose specific cities to house the headquarters and offices because they already had an international relations presence. The physical locations within the cities that hold the United Nations headquarters and offices have their own importance. They were either built specifically for the United Nations, or they held an international organization before the United Nations took them over. The existing historiography neglects to explain why officials chose New York, Geneva, Nairobi, and Vienna to house the headquarters and offices of the United Nations. What little coverage historians have produced on the topic deals exclusively with New York as the permanent headquarters of the United Nations.[1] Historians' neglect in explaining why Geneva, Nairobi, and Vienna presents a gaping hole in the literature. Many students of this history may simply take it for granted that Geneva should hold an office for the United Nations without digging deeper into the history of the city to look at its place on the international stage. My work shows that Geneva, Nairobi, and Vienna were all already contenders on the stage of international relations prior to

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[1] Charlene Mires, *Capital of the World: The Race to Host the United Nations* (New York: New York University Press, 2013.) and Jan Molema, "Unknown History: Le Corbusier in front of the "Academism" of Jan De Ranitz in the preparations for the United Nations Headquarters at New York (1946)" *Revista Proyecto, Progreso, Arquitectura* no. 8 (05, 2013): 18-27.

having United Nations Offices established in them.[2] It helps establish that even though the United Nations is supposed to be an international organization, that is only an ideal. The truth is that the United Nations is Eurocentric and holds a strong pro-European and pro-capitalism bias. The permanent members of the Security Council are a European majority and a capitalist majority which helps prove the existence of a bias that is inherent in the very foundation of the United Nations. My project also discusses the significance of the location of the International Court of Justice at the Hague and how it is connected to the League of Nations and the United Nations.[3]

This work relies on official documents from the United Nations and the League of Nations to establish why the United Nations chose Geneva to house its first office after the establishment of the permanent headquarters.[4] Geneva was the home of the League of Nations before it became the home of the first Office of the United Nations. The Palais des Nations, which was the seat of the League of Nations, was transferred to the United Nations

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[2] *United Nations at a Glance* (New York: United Nations Publications, 2013).

[3] United Nations General Assembly, *United Nations Resolution A/RES/84(I): Resolutions Adopted on the Reports of the Joint Fifth and Sixth Committee,* (165-168), (United Nations, 1946), https://undocs,org/en/A/RES/84(I) and United Nations League of Nations Committee*, League of Nations Committee: Summary Record of Meetings 30 January-1 February 1946,* (United Nations, 1946), https://documents-dds-ny,un,org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/NL3/449/25/pdf/NL344925,pdf?OpenElement*,*

[4] United Nations General Assembly, *United Nations Resolution A/RES/698(VII): Resolutions Adopted without Reference to a Committee* (71), (United Nations, 1952), https://undocs,org/en/A/RES/698(VII); United Nations, General Assembly, U*nited Nations Resolution A/RES/2216(XX): Pattern of Conferences*, (76), (United Nations, 1965), https://undocs,org/en/A/RES/2116(XX) ; United Nations, General Assembly, *United Nations Resolution A/RES/2246(XXI): Extension of Conference Facilities at the Palais des Nations*, (93), (United Nations, 1966), https://undocs,org/en/A/RES/2245(XXI) ; UNOG Registry, Records and Archives, "*Seat of the League of Nations – Mr., Paul Pictet – Text of the Speech by the President to the Grand Council of Geneva on 7 May on the Choice of Geneva as the Seat of the League of Nations,*" (League of Nations, May 7, 1915), https://biblio-archive,unog,ch/detail,aspx?ID=310649 ; League of Nations, Admissions to the League, "*Switzerland and the League of Nations – Lord Acton, N, 194 (from speech by Mr., Motta) – Duty of Switzerland to enter the League, Suitability of Geneva as the seat of the League,"* (League of Nations, July 1, 1917), https://lontad-project,unog,ch/records/item/5756-switzerland-and-the-league-of-nations-lord-acton-n-194-from-speech-by-mr-motta-duty-of-switzerland-to-enter-the-league-suitability-of-geneva-as-the-seat-of-the-league?offset=10 ; and "The Covenant of the League of Nations",

in 1945.[5] Geneva previously hosted the headquarters of various international organizations before the League of Nations. The International Red Cross worked out of Geneva. This along with Switzerland's historic neutrality encouraged the League of Nations to choose the site.[6]

The United Nations documents also reveal the relationship between the International Court of Justice to the League of Nations and the United Nations.[7] The precursor to the International Court of Justice was the Permanent Court of International Justice. The Carnegie Foundation allowed the League of Nations to use The Hague for their permanent court. The United Nations renegotiated its use for the International Court of Justice.[8]

Sources also show that the Kenyatta International Convention Center had established an international relations presence prior to the United Nations Office opening in Nairobi.[9] The Kenyatta International Convention Center held international conferences in Nairobi before the United Nations opened an Office in Nairobi. The Kenyatta International Convention Center was the first international convention center in Africa, and

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[5] United Nations Secretariat, Secretary-General's bulletin: *Organization of the United Nations Office at Nairobi*, (1), (United Nations, 2000), https://documents-dds-ny,un,org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/N00/655/95/pdf/N0065595,pdf?OpenElement

[6] C.N. Truman, "League of Nations" (2015),

[7] United Nations, Economic and Social Council, *Transfer to the United Nations of Powers Exercised by the League of Nations Under the Conventions on Narcotic Drugs*, (United Nations, July 31, 1946), https://documents-dds-ny,un,org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/NL3/449/29/pdf/NL344929,pdf?OpenElement,; United Nations, League of Nations Committee, *League of Nations Committee: Summary Record of Meetings 30 January-1 February 1946,* (United Nations, 1946), https://documents-dds-ny,un,org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/NL3/449/25/pdf/NL344925,pdf?OpenElement,; United Nations, General Assembly, *United Nations Resolution A/RES/84(I): Resolutions Adopted on the Reports of the Joint Fifth and Sixth Committee,* (165-168), (United Nations, 1946), https://undocs,org/en/A/RES/84(I)

[8] United Nations, League of Nations Committee, *League of Nations Committee: Summary Record of Meetings 30 January-1 February 1946,* (United Nations, 1946), https://documents-dds-ny,un,org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/NL3/449/25/pdf/NL344925,pdf?OpenElement

[9] "The Government of Kenya Welcomes the Governors of the World Bank Group and the IMF and Other Delegates to the Annual Meetings in Nairobi in September 1973" *The Times,* September 21, 1973,

it was located in Nairobi. This shows that Nairobi was already operating on an international stage. While Nairobi does not have the same history of international presence that the other locations hold, the amount of influence it contained on the international stage so shortly after its decolonization occurred helps show the focus that the Kenyan government wished to place on international relations.

Likewise, Vienna already hosted the Vienna International Centre which held international conventions before the United Nations opened their office in the city. Vienna was home to additional international organizations, like the International Atomic Energy Agency, which was associated with the United Nations before the United Nations chose to open their Office in Vienna. United Nations documents establish the international presence that the city of Vienna held before the United Nations Office was established. Vienna was also chosen because Austria had its own brand of neutrality similar to Switzerland. While Austria was not traditionally neutral, it did straddle the East-West divide of Europe. Eastern European countries considered Vienna to be a more neutral location to house a United Nations office than other Western European cities.[10]

The specific spaces and places the headquarters and offices of the United Nations came to occupy hold significance beyond their immediate connection to the UN. Architects designed the buildings with the idea of international relations and cooperation in mind. Whether architects built the locations for the League of Nations or for the United Nations, the ultimate goal was to foster international relationships and cooperation. Before the states built the Hague, the Palais des Nations, the Office of Nairobi, and the (improved and expanded) Vienna International Centre, the land contained parks or other areas for public

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[10] Sue Masterman, "Historic Role as East-West Pivot: An Active Neutral," *The Times*, May 29, 1980.

use.[11] Some of the locations even held international architecture contests to design the buildings that the United Nations would use in those cities. The contests and the actual act of building the offices were an international collaborative effort even before the United Nations Offices moved into the buildings.

The United Nations chose the United States for the permanent headquarters for specific reasons. One of those reasons was to pay tribute to both President Woodrow Wilson and President Franklin D. Roosevelt. Woodrow Wilson came up with the original idea for the League of Nations, the predecessor of the United Nations, in his Fourteen Points speech. While the United States failed to join the League of Nations due to domestic political reasons, the idea was still Wilson's. The charter of the League of Nations states that the session for the first assembly should be opened by the President of the United States.[12] President Franklin D. Roosevelt was actually the one who coined the term "United Nations" in 1942, while he was the President of the United States, which was another reason that the United States housed the permanent location of the United Nations. Charlene Mires argues that part of the reason that the United States became the permanent headquarters of the United Nations is owed to an organized campaign by the citizens. Citizens of the United States went from supporting the war to refocusing their patriotism to advocate for the United Nations to locate in the United States.[13] My project expands upon and applies Mires' approach to the other United Nations offices. This work focuses

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[11] "Vienna Wins Costly Battle to House UN Offices." *The Times,* September 26, 1973; Nic Cheeseman, "Introduction: Political Linkage and Political Space in the Era of Decolonization," *Africa Today*. 53, no. 2 (2006): 3-24.

[12] "The League of Nations, 1920" (United States State Department, 2017) and "The Covenant of the League of Nations."

[13] Charlene Mires, *Capital of the World: The Race to Host the United Nations*. (New York, New York University Press: 2013).

more extensively on why the United Nations chose to locate its headquarters in the United States.

New York was not the only U.S. contender. Cities across the United States appealed to the Permanent Headquarters Committee to present their case to hold the United Nations.[14] San Francisco, for example, made a strong case, relying on its history as the place where the Charter for the United Nations was signed. New York eventually prevailed for many reasons, not the least of which was John Rockefeller Jr.'s offer to donate $8.5 million if New York housed the United Nations Headquarters on Manhattan's East 42nd Street.[15] Beyond Rockefeller's money, New York offered a location more desirable than San Francisco's, being closer to the historically political powerhouse of Europe.[16] This is an example of the pro-European bias that existed within the formation of the United Nations from the very beginning. New York included some drawbacks, however, including its crowded field of organizations that could overshadow the U.N.'s presence there.[17]

This thesis will look at the locations of the United Nations Headquarters and Offices and look at the international presence of the places and cities themselves. This work establishes that these locations already had a presence on the international stage. The United Nations chose them specifically for their ability to perform on that stage. Architects and the states built the locations with the idea of international cooperation in mind, and the

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[14] United Nations, General Assembly, *United Nations Meeting Record PV.65* (1370-1375). (United Nations, 1946). https://undocs.org/en/A/PV.65

[15] "8 ½ Million City Site Offered UN By Rockefeller", *The Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, December 11, 1946 ; United Nations, General Assembly, *United Nations Resolution A/RES/100(I): Resolutions Adopted on the Report of the Permanent Headquarters Committee*, (United Nations, 1946), https://undocs.org/en/A/RES/100(I) ; United Nations, General Assembly, *United Nations Meeting Record PV.65* (1370-1375). (United Nations, 1946). https://undocs.org/en/A/PV.65

[16] United Nations, General Assembly, *United Nations Meeting Record PV.65* (1370-1375), (United Nations, 1946), https://undocs.org/en/A/PV.65

[17] United Nations, General Assembly, *United Nations Meeting Record PV.65* (1370-1375), (United Nations, 1946), https://undocs.org/en/A/PV.65

United Nations chose cities that already either held international organizations or showed potential to house international organizations to place their permanent headquarters and offices.

This thesis is important because it shows that there was a European bias surrounding the formation of the United Nations that has existed throughout its history. Each of the major locations of the United Nations is either in Western Europe or has close ties to Western Europe. The United States government is the same capitalist style government that many of the Western European countries have, and Kenya's post-colonial government has some of the closest ties on the African continent to its former colonial government.[18]

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[18] Nic Cheeseman, "Introduction: Political Linkage and Political Space in the Era of Decolonization." *Africa Today* 53, no. 2 (2006): 3-24.

II. Establishment of a Permanent United Nations Headquarters

Committee 10 of the Preparatory Commission

Before the United Nations even began trying to decide where its permanent headquarters should be located, it put together the Preparatory Commission to help decide how the United Nations should be organized. Part of that preparatory commission was "Committee 10" which helped develop a set of guidelines to establish what a permanent seat of headquarters of the United Nations would require. Committee 10 acted over a period from September 10, 1945, to September 27, 1945, to establish guidelines for the selection of the United Nations headquarters and to organize a paper of their findings to present to the Preparatory Commission Executive Committee.[19]
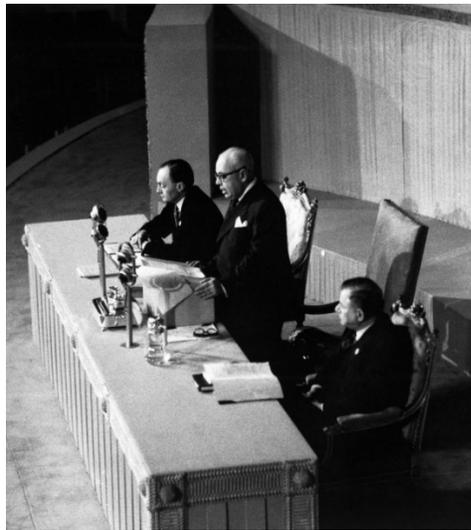
Illustration 1 Dr. Eduardo Zuleta Angel Chairman of the Preparatory Commission Speaking at the First General Assembly[20]

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[19] Preparatory Commission of the United Nations, *Committee 10: Memorandum on the Headquarters of the United Nations Organization*, (3) (United Nations, 1945), https://documents-dds-ny.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/NL3/573/93/pdf/NL357393.pdf?OpenElement

[20] "First Session of the United Nations General Assembly" UN Photo, UN7480625, January 10, 1946

The first order of Committee 10 established why the United Nations needed a permanent "well-established" headquarters.[21] The Committee considered multiple possibilities when investigating this question. First it considered the possibility of having a common general headquarters; then it considered whether the specialized organizations of the United Nations (examples today would include the Human Rights Council or UNESCO) should have different headquarters stationed around the world.[22] Some of the Committee members made a strong argument for decentralization because it would enable more countries to feel the prestige of housing part of the international organization, it was eventually decided that complete decentralization was not a practical option due to constraints on communication and cooperation.[23]

Instead, the committee decided on a centralized permanent headquarters with the option that some regional offices or committees may be required in later years as the organization grew and different circumstances arose. The committee speculated that the establishment of "a world financial centre might be more suitable for the seat of a specialized international financial institution" and, "a region of the world that needs health development might be more suitable for the seat of a specialized international health organization."[24]

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[21] Preparatory Commission of the United Nations, *Committee 10: Memorandum on the Headquarters of the United Nations Organization*, (3) (United Nations, 1945), https://documents-dds-ny.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/NL3/573/93/pdf/NL357393.pdf?OpenElement

[22] Preparatory Commission of the United Nations, *Committee 10: Memorandum on the Headquarters of the United Nations Organization*, (4) (United Nations, 1945), https://documents-dds-ny.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/NL3/573/93/pdf/NL357393.pdf?OpenElement

[23] Preparatory Commission of the United Nations, *Committee 10: Memorandum on the Headquarters of the United Nations Organization*, (4) (United Nations, 1945), https://documents-dds-ny.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/NL3/573/93/pdf/NL357393.pdf?OpenElement

[24] Preparatory Commission of the United Nations, *Committee 10: Memorandum on the Headquarters of the United Nations Organization*, (5) (United Nations, 1945), https://documents-dds-ny.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/NL3/573/93/pdf/NL357393.pdf?OpenElement

After establishing that a centralized headquarters would best serve the United Nations, Committee 10 went on to establish some requirements that the location of the headquarters would need to meet:

 Freedom from Political Control or Exercise of Undue Influence by the Host State.
    A. Facility of Communication with all Parts of the World.
    B. Extraterritoriality of the Common General Headquarters of the U.N.O. and Diplomatic Immunity of the Members of foreign Delegations credited to it.
    C. Geographical and Climatic Requirements.
    D. Cultural Atmosphere.
    E. Linguistic Requirements.
    F. Accommodation.[25]

Those were the main seven requirements that Committee 10 came up with to present to the executive committee of the preparatory commission. While these were just recommendations to the executive committee, each of the requirements helped the committee members judge different locations that wanted to hold the United Nations headquarters later. Requirement selection developed in a specific historical context. World War II had just ended, and the committee was leery of a return to fascism. The committee felt that "Fortunately, the headquarters of the League of Nations was located in the Cantonal capital of a small and neutral state."[26] The committee members specifically mentioned in their *Memorandum on the Headquarters of the United Nations Organization* that,

> When Fascism was at its climax, the League of Nations suffered constantly
>
> from the pressure of undue Fascist influence directly or indirectly.

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[25] Preparatory Commission of the United Nations, *Committee 10: Memorandum on the Headquarters of the United Nations Organization*, (6-9) (United Nations, 1945), https://documents-dds-ny.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/NL3/573/93/pdf/NL357393.pdf?OpenElement
[26] Preparatory Commission of the United Nations, *Committee 10: Memorandum on the Headquarters of the United Nations Organization*, (6) (United Nations, 1945), https://documents-dds-ny.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/NL3/573/93/pdf/NL357393.pdf?OpenElement

Fortunately, the headquarters of the League of Nations was located in the Cantonal capital of a small and neutral state. If the League of Nations headquarters had been located in the territory of a big Fascist state it would have been forcibly closed or brought under political control.

The fulfilment of the requirement of freedom from political control or exercise of undue influence by the host state demands that the headquarters of the U.N.O. should be located in the territory of a small and traditionally liberal state.[27]

The members of Committee 10 decided amongst themselves that in order to best secure the United Nations against fascist states both then and into the future, that it needed to be free from political control or influence from the host state.[28] The ability to communicate with the world at large and to help parts of the world communicate with each other was an integral part of any international organization, especially one like the United Nations. Thus, the location of the permanent headquarters needed to be able to facilitate those communications by providing facilities for travel and the ability to gift diplomatic visas.[29] The headquarters location also needed to include an ease of travel to and from the area through various means such as rail, air, and boat travel. If this is considered in its historical context, the ease of travel favored more liberal Western nations. Most of the countries that had developed rail, air, and boat travel throughout the country and to other

[27] Preparatory Commission of the United Nations, *Committee 10: Memorandum on the Headquarters of the United Nations Organization*, (6) (United Nations, 1945), https://documents-dds-ny.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/NL3/573/93/pdf/NL357393.pdf?OpenElement

[28] Preparatory Commission of the United Nations, *Committee 10: Memorandum on the Headquarters of the United Nations Organization*, (6) (United Nations, 1945), https://documents-dds-ny.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/NL3/573/93/pdf/NL357393.pdf?OpenElement

[29] Preparatory Commission of the United Nations, *Committee 10: Memorandum on the Headquarters of the United Nations Organization*, (7) (United Nations, 1945), https://documents-dds-ny.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/NL3/573/93/pdf/NL357393.pdf?OpenElement

countries were Western capitalist nations. The Soviet Union, the main communist country at the time, on the other hand did not have the same level of infrastructure set up and was thus excluded from consideration in this aspect. The Soviet Union was also viewed with some suspicion due to thinkers such as Hannah Arendt who were linking communism with fascism in their works. In her book, *The Origins of Totalitarianism*, Arendt pointed out multiple times that the Soviet Union used another form of totalitarianism like the fascist governments from pre-World War II. On the first page of her first chapter, Arendt pointed out that, "Nazi 'nationalism' had more than one aspect in common with the recent nationalistic propaganda in the Soviet Union, which is also used only to feed the prejudices of the masses."[30]

The requirements for headquarters also require examination in a specific context surrounding the type of government. The requirements for communications and geographic and cultural atmosphere are both heavily influenced by democratic and capitalist governments such as Western Europe and the United States. The Committee members were more worried about communication and distance from Western European nations. This is shown through the later decision to exclude San Francisco from the running because it is farther away from Europe than the locations that were considered on the Eastern coast of the United States such as Philadelphia, Washington D.C., and New York. The geographic and cultural standards that the Committee established heavily favored liberal democratic nations in Western Europe and cut out Eastern European countries who did not meet the cultural standards. The worry about fascism that permeated the discussion surrounding political freedoms and extraterritoriality kept the Soviet Union and other Communist

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[30] Hannah Arendt, *The Origins of Totalitarianism* (San Diego, NY, London : Harcourt Brace, 1951), https://archive.org/details/originsoftotali100aren/page/n47/mode/2up?q=Soviet+Union.

nations from being seriously considered using the standards. Communism became the newer form of fascism that members of the United Nations, especially members such as the United States and the United Kingdom worried about.

The question of diplomatic immunity and extraterritoriality as a qualification was an extension of the previous agreement that the League of Nations enjoyed. The Committee left the particulars of that qualification up to the legal committee that was formed by the preparatory commission because they felt that the legal committee was more qualified to set the parameters.[31] The geographical and climatic requirements were not important on their own; rather they gained importance when paired with the facility of communication qualification. Because the United Nations headquarters needed to be reachable through various types of travel at any particular point in time, it needed to be "as far as possible, exempt from frequent clouds, storms, and tempests."[32] This also applied in the case of ensuring that telecommunications continued to operate normally. Additionally, a temperate climate required less "human energy" than a climate of extreme hot or cold weather.[33] While this not only favored the United States and Europe, but also excluded the Soviet Union which was in a much more extreme climate, as well as countries in much warmer climates such as South America and Africa.

Committee 10 argued that a highly cultured atmosphere, such as a city, helped encourage idealistic thinking. The conclusion that the Committee 10 members presented

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[31] Preparatory Commission of the United Nations, *Committee 10: Memorandum on the Headquarters of the United Nations Organization*, (7) (United Nations, 1945), https://documents-dds-ny.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/NL3/573/93/pdf/NL357393.pdf?OpenElement

[32] Preparatory Commission of the United Nations, *Committee 10: Memorandum on the Headquarters of the United Nations Organization*, (7) (United Nations, 1945), https://documents-dds-ny.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/NL3/573/93/pdf/NL357393.pdf?OpenElement

[33] Preparatory Commission of the United Nations, *Committee 10: Memorandum on the Headquarters of the United Nations Organization*, (8) (United Nations, 1945), https://documents-dds-ny.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/NL3/573/93/pdf/NL357393.pdf?OpenElement

to the Preparatory Commission was that, "The building of a new world based on peaceful co=operation between nations requires militant idealists to fight for its realization. Only a highly cultured atmosphere incited human beings to think."[34] This very overtly favored a more liberal democratic government of Western Europe or the United States instead of a communist nation such as the Soviet Union or later China. Areas that have cultural meaning like universities, libraries, and museums helped to promote idealistic thinking and provided the type of cultured atmosphere that the committee wanted the United Nations headquarters to exist in. The linguistic requirement unlike the cultural atmosphere was more of a practical requirement than an idealistic one. The United Nations planned to operate with five official languages: English, French, Spanish, Russian, and Chinese.[35] The location of the permanent headquarters should speak one of those languages as their main language in order to standardize communication for the employees and the written documents that the United Nations planned to provide. French and English were preferred languages because they were the two main working languages of the United Nations at the time. Accommodation as a qualification was also a practical requirement. The location chosen as the headquarters of the United Nations needed to have the infrastructure in place to support such an organization. Residential accommodations and hotels in particular needed to be able to house not only the personnel and officers of the organization but also visiting foreign delegations.[36]

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[34] Preparatory Commission of the United Nations, *Committee 10: Memorandum on the Headquarters of the United Nations Organization*, (8) (United Nations, 1945), https://documents-dds-ny.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/NL3/573/93/pdf/NL357393.pdf?OpenElement

[35] Preparatory Commission of the United Nations, *Committee 10: Memorandum on the Headquarters of the United Nations Organization*, (8) (United Nations, 1945), https://documents-dds-ny.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/NL3/573/93/pdf/NL357393.pdf?OpenElement

[36] Preparatory Commission of the United Nations, *Committee 10: Memorandum on the Headquarters of the United Nations Organization*, (9) (United Nations, 1945), https://documents-dds-ny.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/NL3/573/93/pdf/NL357393.pdf?OpenElement

After establishing the qualifications that the location of the permanent headquarters of the United Nations must meet, Committee 10 suggested that "their international organization enjoy as much independence and freedom as an independent state." They envisioned an international independent area like Vatican City.[37] The Committee favored a smaller independent territory because it would be less of a burden on the host state which would be part of the reason of establishing an independent territory. While the Committee 10 members would prefer that the headquarters be placed in an independent territory, the qualifications and standards that they established for choosing a location were more important. The committee believed that the headquarters of the United Nations should be a mix "between the type of the League of Nations' headquarters and an internationalized independent area."[38] This question of how the United Nations headquarters should be organized guaranteed

> "…free exercise of their functions, diplomatic immunities and privileges,
>
> including inviolability of buildings and property owned or occupied by the
>
> United Nations or its origins, satisfactory visa facilities, exemption from
>
> immigration regulations for the members of the staff, experts and permanent
>
> and temporary foreign delegations connected to the United Nations…"[39]

While the committee does not mention in their reports which countries they believed would not offer such extraterritoriality, it can be inferred from their previous worries about

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[37] Preparatory Commission of the United Nations, *Committee 10: Memorandum on the Headquarters of the United Nations Organization*, (9) (United Nations, 1945), https://documents-dds-ny.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/NL3/573/93/pdf/NL357393.pdf?OpenElement

[38] Preparatory Commission of the United Nations. *Committee 10: Memorandum on the Headquarters of the United Nations Organization*. (United Nations, 1945). https://documents-dds-ny.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/NL3/573/93/pdf/NL357393.pdf?OpenElement pg. 11

[39] Preparatory Commission of the United Nations, *Report to the Executive Committee from Committee 10 on the Selection of a Seat for Headquarters of the United Nations,*(1) (United Nations, 1945), https://documents-dds-ny.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/NL3/573/74/pdf/NL357374.pdf?OpenElement

fascism and the linking of fascism and the anti-communist feelings in some of their host governments at the time that the comments were aimed at communist nations. In a September 1945 report, Committee 10 went into more detail about the two possible options available for internationalizing the location of the United Nations and the problems, as well as possible solutions, for both options. The first option would be to house the United Nations in an autonomous international zone which would allow it to have self-government but also require its own public services.[40] The second option would be to establish an international zone situated on a national territory which would come with public services from the nation it was housed in, but it would require strict guidelines and agreements with the host nation in order to gain self-governance.[41] Members of Committee 10 wanted the United Nations to obtain self-governance because they realized that Fascism could have had a much worse effect on the League of Nations if it had not existed in such a neutral territory.[42] This requirement was one reason that Washington D.C. was not as favored to house the United Nations headquarters. The Committee members believed that since Washington D.C. was the capital of the United States, it would be harder for United Nations business to be separated from the thoughts and focuses of the United States government.

Committee 10 gave their report to the Executive Committee of the Preparatory Commission on September 29, 1945. The Chairman of the Committee, M. Nasrullah Entezam, explained that the report had come up with four main questions that the

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[40] Preparatory Commission of the United Nations, *Report to the Executive Committee from Committee 10 on the Selection of a Seat for Headquarters of the United Nations,* (2) (United Nations, 1945), https://documents-dds-ny.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/NL3/573/74/pdf/NL357374.pdf?OpenElement

[41] Preparatory Commission of the United Nations, *Report to the Executive Committee from Committee 10 on the Selection of a Seat for Headquarters of the United Nations,* (2) (United Nations, 1945), https://documents-dds-ny.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/NL3/573/74/pdf/NL357374.pdf?OpenElement

[42] Preparatory Commission of the United Nations, *Committee 10: Memorandum on the Headquarters of the United Nations Organization*, (6) (United Nations, 1945), https://documents-dds-ny.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/NL3/573/93/pdf/NL357393.pdf?OpenElement

Preparatory Commission needed to address when establishing the United Nations Organizations headquarters.[43] Should the organization be centralized? Should it be based in an international territory? What facilities would be needed? What arrangements are needed with the host government? While Committee 10 tried to address all of those issues in their report, they only had the authority to make recommendations, they did not believe that their purview extended to actually making the decisions themselves.

The Executive Committee discussed the report and discussed their options. The biggest discussion that the Executive Committee had was about how centralized the organization should be when the headquarters was established. Overall, the consensus of the Executive Committee was that the main organs of the organization needed to be located at the permanent headquarters but that exceptions could be made if needed. Once example given was that the committee did not plan to locate the International Court at the permanent headquarters.[44]

Twenty-First Meeting of the Preparatory Commission's Executive Committee

On October 3, 1945, the Executive Committee met in Westminster England and began to put forth specific recommendations for where the permanent headquarters of the United Nations should be located.[45] Representatives from thirteen different countries discussed the issue based off of the recommendations that Committee 10 gave them. Most of the locations that were put forward were either in the United States or in Europe. The

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[43] Preparatory Commission of the United Nations, *Summary Report of the Twentieth Meeting of the Executive Committee of the Preparatory Commission of the United Nations*, (1) (United Nations, 1945), https://documents-dds-ny.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/NL3/572/96/pdf/NL357296.pdf?OpenElement

[44] Preparatory Commission of the United Nations, *Summary Report of the Twentieth Meeting of the Executive Committee of the Preparatory Commission of the United Nations*, (7) (United Nations, 1945), https://documents-dds-ny.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/NL3/572/96/pdf/NL357296.pdf?OpenElement

[45] Preparatory Commission of the United Nations, *Approved Verbatim Record of the Twenty-First Meeting of the Executive Committee of the Preparatory Commission of the United Nations,*(1) (United Nations, 1945), https://documents-dds-ny,un,org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/NL3/573/01/pdf/NL357301,pdf?OpenElement

first debated location was Geneva. It was actually mentioned first by the Chinese Representative who did not favor Geneva as the permanent headquarters.[46] The Chinese delegate did not believe that Geneva should be the location of the permanent headquarters because China in particular had been let down by the League of Nations following World War I.[47] China was not the only country that had been let down by the League of Nations during its tenure. Woodrow Wilson convinced China to become more involved in World War I by telling the Chinese government that it would be able to get its territory back through the League of Nations he planned to set up after the war. When the time came for negotiations following World War I, China lost all of the territory it was supposed to regain for Woodrow Wilson to gain enough support for the League of Nations to even be established. Sally Marks wrote in *World Affairs* that the League failed to represent non-European states in general:

> On the whole, however, the League was a European club for the small powers as well as the great. Those in Geneva whose names recur constantly were almost all European…Most of them were foreign ministers who attended League session regularly before it was de rigeur for foreign ministers to do so…Their motives were rarely altruistic or particularly idealistic. They hoped that collective security could benefit their nations. They thought at first that the international forum of Geneva would give their states a voice, until they learned that few listened. They saw a way to

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[46] Preparatory Commission of the United Nations, *Approved Verbatim Record of the Twenty-First Meeting of the Executive Committee of the Preparatory Commission of the United Nations,(2)* (United Nations, 1945), https://documents-dds-ny,un,org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/NL3/573/01/pdf/NL357301,pdf?OpenElement
[47] Preparatory Commission of the United Nations, *Approved Verbatim Record of the Twenty-First Meeting of the Executive Committee of the Preparatory Commission of the United Nations,*(2) (United Nations, 1945), https://documents-dds-ny,un,org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/NL3/573/01/pdf/NL357301,pdf?OpenElement

achieve, if not power, at least prominence on the world stage for their countries and especially themselves.[48]

Marks points out not only that the League of Nations was very Euro-centric, but that the smaller nations were not able to get the international political power for their states that they believed they should. To those states that were not any of "the great powers", especially those that were not European nations, the League did not carry out its goal. Geneva represented the League of Nations and this pro-European bias.[49] China did not believe that Geneva should house the United Nations because it did not want the failures of the League of Nations to taint the new organization. Instead, China would favor a location in the United States, although the representative did say that a different location in Europe would be an acceptable compromise. Specifically, the Chinese representative suggested San Francisco as an alternative. Since the 19th century, a persistent belief in American foreign policy has been its special relationship with China. The idea was that since the United States advocated for an open-door policy instead of trying to trap China in vastly uneven trade treaties like European countries had, that the United States had a special duty to protect China and its interests on a global scale. Michael Hunt addressed this idea of a special relationship in his book *The Making of a Special Relationship: The United States and China to 1914.* In the books Epilogue Hunt points out that,

By the early twentieth century the concept of a special relationship was coming under heavy fire from Chinese nationalists, but among Americans

[48] Sally Marks, "The Small States at Geneva." *World Affairs* 157, no. 4 (Spring 1995): 191, https://libcatalog.atu.edu:2104/login.aspx?direct=true&db=a2h&AN=9505306068&site=ehost-live&scope=site.
[49] Sally Marks, "The Small States at Geneva." *World Affairs* 157, no. 4 (Spring 1995): 191, https://libcatalog.atu.edu:2104/login.aspx?direct=true&db=a2h&AN=9505306068&site=ehost-live&scope=site.

the idea had become a staple of both popular and official rhetoric, to persist to mid-century and beyond…Americans held to the reassuring myth of a golden age of friendship engendered by altruistic American aid and rewarded by ample Chinese gratitude.[50]

This quote sums up Hunt's general belief towards the idea of a special relationship. It existed more in the minds of American public opinion and the rhetoric of American officials than it did from the viewpoint of the Chinese. However, Hunt also showed throughout his book that the American government was more open with the Chinese government and while the treaties shared between the two governments are not equal, they were much fairer than the agreements that were in place with the European nations before the United States got involved.

In April 1945, the San Francisco Conference was held with delegates from the United States, the United Kingdom, France, the Soviet Union, and China as well as delegates from smaller countries.[51] The San Francisco Conference established the Charter of the United Nations.[52]

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[50] Michael H. Hunt, *The Making of a Special Relationship: The United States and China to 1914,* (Columbia University Press, 1983).

[51] *Foreign Relations of the United States*, Diplomatic Papers, 1945, General: The United Nations, Volume 1, eds. Velma Hastings Cassidy, Ralph R. Goodwin, and George H. Dengler, (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1967), Document 179

[52] *Foreign Relations of the United States*, Diplomatic Papers, 1945, General: The United Nations, Volume 1. eds. Velma Hastings Cassidy, Ralph R. Goodwin, and George H. Dengler, (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1967), Document 197

Illustration 2 The San Francisco Conference, 25 April - 26 June 1945: The United States Sign the United Nations Charter[53]

The city of San Francisco made a favorable impression on many of the delegates represented at the conference and was thus mentioned by many when offering options to host the seat of the United Nations Headquarters. San Francisco and Geneva were the two cities discussed the most throughout the twenty-first meeting. The discussion developed into a United States versus Europe housing argument. Those countries that argued against Europe did so by pointing out how the League of Nations at Geneva failed, and that Europe was broken following World War II. The countries against the United States on the other hand argued that San Francisco was less accessible than a European seat due to its distance from Europe. While the Chinese Representative had proposed San Francisco, China was willing to compromise and accept a location on the Eastern coast of the United States to keep the United Nations away from Geneva. The only country that really proposed other

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[53] "The San Francisco Conference, 25 April-26 June 1945: The United States Sign the United Nations Charter" UN7629641, UN Photo, May 26, 1945

concrete European nations to house the United Nations was France who proposed Austria. The main reason that France objected to the United States being chosen as the permanent location was that the French did not want one of the permanent members of the United Nations Security Council to have that much power.[54] The French government believed that the organization would not be able to have "full independence and full freedom in all circumstances" if it was placed in, "the territory of any state whose Government has been given, under the Charter, special rights and prerogatives."[55] This suggested that they would have also voted against locations in Great Britain, France, the Soviet Union, and China. The attitude that the French representative had helps explain why even though Paris was considered one of the main locations of diplomacy in Europe, it was not chosen to house any of the United Nations headquarters. Even though France did not favor any of the Security Council members having the United Nations headquarters, the French Representative indicated that France was willing to accept the majority decision made by the Preparatory Commission. Similarly, no representatives during the discussion brought up the fact that a country in the Pacific would be more accessible. In fact, a location outside of Europe and the United States was not mentioned at all and the only two countries that advocated for a location on the Western coast of the United States instead of the Eastern Coast were the Soviet Union and China.

At the end of the meeting the Executive Committee held two different votes, one to suggest to the preparatory commission that the headquarters be located in the United States

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[54] Preparatory Commission of the United Nations, *Approved Verbatim Record of the Twenty-First Meeting of the Executive Committee of the Preparatory Commission of the United Nations,* (4) (United Nations, 1945), https://documents-dds-ny.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/NL3/573/01/pdf/NL357301.pdf?OpenElement
[55] Preparatory Commission of the United Nations, *Approved Verbatim Record of the Twenty-First Meeting of the Executive Committee of the Preparatory Commission of the United Nations,* (4) (United Nations, 1945), https://documents-dds-ny.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/NL3/573/01/pdf/NL357301.pdf?OpenElement

and the second to suggest a headquarters in Europe. The vote for the United States came in at 9-3 in favor while the vote for Europe was 3 yes votes and 7 nos. All of the yes votes for Europe came from European countries. The United States abstained in both votes to maintain an image of impartiality should the United States end up chosen. Even the Soviet Union voted to house the United Nations headquarters in the United States. The Soviet Union was an ally of the United States during World War II and the Cold War had barely begun when the voting occurred, so there was no strong reason for the Soviet Union Representative to object to the United States holding the United Nations. The Soviet Union was also against Geneva being the location of the United Nations and saw that the United States was the other main contender.[56]

The White House and the Truman administration made the decision to maintain impartiality. Declassified internal documents suggested that the United States wanted to be open to the possibility of housing the United Nations without looking like they were influencing the vote. In a telegram to President Truman, the United States representative at the United Nations, Edward Stettinius worried that there was dissatisfaction with New York as the temporary headquarters following the vote to have the permanent headquarters there.[57] Apparently the temporary arrangements were not well received, and delegates were leaning toward Geneva housing the United Nations instead. He insisted that while the United States should continue to maintain a neutral position on the issue of the permanent headquarters, the time had come to improve the United States image as a viable location,

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[56] Preparatory Commission of the United Nations, *Approved Verbatim Record of the Twenty-First Meeting of the Executive Committee of the Preparatory Commission of the United Nations,* (17) (United Nations, 1945), https://documents-dds-ny.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/NL3/573/01/pdf/NL357301.pdf?OpenElement
[57] *Foreign Relations of the United States*, 1946, General; The United Nations, Volume 1. Eds. Ralph R. Goodwin, Neal H. Peterson, Marvin W. Kranz, and William Slany, (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1972), Document 45

"our full support and assistance on the interim location is so critical, however, that I am convinced we must act immediately in order to avoid a damaging situation."[58] The United States moved toward accepting housing the permanent location of the United Nations, but they avoided publicly campaigning for it.

The same could not be said for other countries. Canada for example wrote multiple letters to the Preparatory Commission outlining an offer to hold the United Nations within its borders.[59] There is no indication in the documents from the Preparatory Commission to suggest that the Canadian offer was ever seriously considered. The only locations that were seriously discussed were the United States and various cities in Europe. However, there were other sites proposed by Committee 10 to the Executive Committee. In the Memorandum on Sites already formally proposed for the headquarters of the United Nations Organization, which was submitted on September 12, 1945, there were four different locations listed.[60] The sites were a mix of international territories and territories inside a host state. The first option was an area jointly held by the United States and Canada that could be ceded to the United Nations for it to hold its own sovereignty. The second option, Navy Island, was similar in that it was located on the Niagara River and its sovereignty could be handed over to the United Nations easily. The third option was the Monterrey Peninsula in California which could be established in agreement with the host nation of the United States. The last option was the only one from Europe, and it

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[58]*Foreign Relations of the United States*, 1946, General; The United Nations, Volume 1. Eds. Ralph R. Goodwin, Neal H. Peterson, Marvin W. Kranz, and William Slany, (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1972), Document 45
[59] Preparatory Commission of the United Nations, *Approved Verbatim Record of the Twenty-First Meeting of the Executive Committee of the Preparatory Commission of the United Nation,* (United Nations, 1945), https://documents-dds-ny.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/NL3/573/01/pdf/NL357301.pdf?OpenElement
[60] Preparatory Commission of the United Nations, *Memorandum on Sites already formally proposed for the Headquarters of the United Nations Organization submitted by Committee 10,* (1) (United Nations, 1945), https://documents-dds-ny.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/NL3/573/95/pdf/NL357395.pdf?OpenElement

recommended that a world city be established in Belgium to house various international organizations, not just the United Nations.[61] None of these options ended up being seriously considered by the Executive Committee at the time; however, the idea of a world city did play a role in the location of one of the subsequent headquarters of the United Nations later.

The official report of the Preparatory Commission was delivered on December 23, 1945. The report included the official recommendation of the commission concerning the headquarters location:

> "The Economic and Social Council…should make the location of the headquarters of these agencies a point of major importance…however, the undoubted advantages following the centralization must be weighed against the factors which, in certain instances, may operate in favour of locating the headquarters of an agency in a place which is particularly suited to the discharge of its functions."[62]

At the end of the report there was a draft treaty which established that the United States of America house the headquarters of the United Nations. While the treaty given by the Preparatory Commission was just a draft and needed to be modified by the General Assembly before it was presented to the United States, it did show that the United States had been conclusively chosen to house the permanent headquarters of the United Nations. The treaty settled not only the question of which nation should house the United Nations

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[61] Preparatory Commission of the United Nations, *Memorandum on Sites already formally proposed for the Headquarters of the United Nations Organization submitted by Committee 10,* (2) (United Nations, 1945), https://documents-dds-ny.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/NL3/573/95/pdf/NL357395.pdf?OpenElement

[62] Preparatory Commission of the United Nations, *Report of the Preparatory Commission of the United Nations,* (48) (United Nations, 1946), https://documents-dds-ny.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/NL4/600/01/pdf/NL460001.pdf?OpenElement

but also the question of whether an international territory should be used or whether a host country should establish the seat. In the draft resolution there were over 30 articles that discussed the particulars that the United States and the United Nations would need to agree on in order for the United Nations to hold sovereignty over their headquarters and the surrounding lands.[63]   Following the agreement that the United States would have the permanent headquarters of the United Nations, an agreement was made at the 31st plenary meeting of the United Nations which drafted a special convention between the United States and the United Nations to help cover any potential issues that should arise from the United States housing the United Nations as well as establishing boundaries for the United Nations while operating in the United States.[64] While the French Representative still did not believe that one of the Security Council countries should have that much power over the United Nations, they accepted that the majority of the Preparatory Committee favored the United States and were willing to accept that decision. The biggest European countries such as France and Great Britain still preferred a location in Europe but accepted that they were outvoted.[65]

Just because the Preparatory Committee had decided that the United States should house the seat of the United Nations, it did not mean that all the work of deciding a location was over. The General Assembly had to appoint a group in order to investigate potential locations within the United States to decide where specifically the organization should be housed. While some specifics about location were recommended by the preparatory

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[63] Preparatory Commission of the United Nations, *Report of the Preparatory Commission of the United Nations,* (75-78) (United Nations, 1946), https://documents-dds-ny.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/NL4/600/01/pdf/NL460001.pdf?OpenElement
[64] United Nations, General Assembly, *United Nations 31st Plenary Meeting PV.31* (448-455) (United Nations, 1946), https://undocs.org/en/A/PV.31
[65] United Nations, General Assembly, *United Nations 31st Plenary Meeting PV.31* (448-455) (United Nations, 1946), https://undocs.org/en/A/PV.31

commission, including the suggestion that the site would be best located on the East Coast, most of the recommendations and details surrounding the specific location fell under the authority of the Interim Committee which was established by the Preparatory Commission and the General Assembly.[66] While the Interim Committee was going to choose the location of the headquarters, they did have to follow the qualifications and standards that Committee 10 established and were verified by the Preparatory Commission.

Committee 10 and the requirements for a permanent headquarters that its members established shows that from its very inception, the United Nations favored more liberal democratic nations. The majority of those liberal democratic nations that best fit the requirements were Western European. The United States, while not a Western European nation, holds the same democratic capitalist form of government and can be viewed as an extension of the pro-Western and pro-European bias that exists throughout the creation and growth of the United Nations. While the requirements that were created did not explicitly favor the United States and Western Europe, when the requirements are analyzed more closely they clearly benefit the more liberal and democratic capitalist nations.

The Interim Committee and the United States

The Inspection Group arrived in the United States to begin their inspection tour on January 5, 1946.[67] They met with President Truman before they began the tour itself and, in the meeting Truman promised, "full assistance and co-operation of the United States

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[66] Preparatory Commission of the United Nations, *Report of the Preparatory Commission of the United Nations,* (114) (United Nations, 1946), https://documents-dds-ny.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/NL4/600/01/pdf/NL460001.pdf?OpenElement
[67] United Nations, General Assembly, *Report and Recommendations of the Inspection Group on selecting the permanent site and interim facilities for the Headquarters of the United Nations,* (4) (United Nations, 1946), https://documents-dds-ny.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/NL4/603/64/pdf/NL460364.pdf?OpenElement

authorities in any manner that might be possible."[68] The United States continued to follow a policy of overt neutrality towards the location of the United Nations permanent headquarters even after it had been selected. In an earlier memorandum from Representative Stettinius to President Truman, the United States representative to the UN outlined the U.S. position:

> It appears that a majority of the United Nations may be in favor of the permanent headquarters of the organization being in the United States…I favor the United States as the permanent location and recommend that my instruction be to state informally to my colleagues in London that the United States would be glad to become the host to the United Nations if that is the desire of the other countries; that no effort should be made initially, at least, to enlist support for the United States as the seat of the Organization; that we should propose that the Assembly and other organs of the United Nations should meet in various parts of the world from time to time.[69]

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[68] United Nations, General Assembly, *Report and Recommendations of the Inspection Group on selecting the permanent site and interim facilities for the Headquarters of the United Nations,* (4-5) (United Nations, 1946), https://documents-dds-ny.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/NL4/603/64/pdf/NL460364.pdf?OpenElement

[69] *Foreign Relations of the United States*, Diplomatic Papers, 1945, General: The United Nations, Volume 1. eds. Velma Hastings Cassidy, Ralph R. Goodwin, and George H. Dengler, (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1967), Document 322

The United States publicly declared neutrality concerning the housing of the United Nations throughout the entire process, even though the personal opinions of the representatives would favor the United States. Edward Stettinius himself favored the United States housing the United Nations. In his diaries which were published in 1975, he recalls a conversation that he had with President Truman on October 22, 1945.

He told the president that it was absolutely vital that the United States give real leadership and drive to UNO. If they didn't, it was unlikely to succeed. He said that Mr. Hull and President Roosevelt had given the organization its original impetus, it was their leadership which made it possible to hold the San Francisco conference last spring. The United Nations was definitely

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[70] "Edward Reilly Stettinius, 1900-1944." Miscellaneous Items in High Demand, Prints and Photographs Division, Library of Congress, LC-USZ62-68831. November 30, 1944.

our baby and it was up to us to teach it to walk and talk. Mr. Stettinius made a very impassioned plea to the president to give the United Nations his full support.[71]

In that same conversation, Mr. Stettinius talked about how he was annoyed that he had been campaigning so hard for the United States to have the permanent headquarters for the United Nations while he was in London, and yet when he got back to the United States he did not have as much support for the idea as he believed he should.[72]

The committee went to various locations in New York, New Jersey, Massachusetts, and Rhode Island over the month of January and met with city and state officials of different areas that wanted to be considered for the seat.[73] After visiting different sites in the four states, members of the Inspection Group went back to New York to put together their report and recommendations before they left the United States. In their report, they measured the different locations against the qualifications and standards that the permanent Headquarters of the United Nations needed to meet. One of the most important standards that the recommended site would have to meet was its accommodability. It needed to have the infrastructure to support an international organization. It had to have the space to build the headquarters and it had to have nearby hotels that could house all the workers that would end up working at the United Nations. The Preparatory Committee also wanted the site chosen to house the United Nations headquarters to provide cultural opportunities to

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[71] Edward R. Stettinius and Thomas M. Campbell, *The Diaries of Edward R. Stettinius, Jr. 1943-1945* (New York: New Viewpoints, 1975), https://archive.org/details/diariesofedwardr0000stet/page/436/mode/2up?q=Headquarters.

[72] Edward R. Stettinius and Thomas M. Campbell, *The Diaries of Edward R. Stettinius, Jr. 1943-1945* (New York: New Viewpoints, 1975), https://archive.org/details/diariesofedwardr0000stet/page/436/mode/2up?q=Headquarters.

[73] United Nations, General Assembly, *Report and Recommendations of the Inspection Group on selecting the permanent site and interim facilities for the Headquarters of the United Nations,* (5-7) (United Nations, 1946), https://documents-dds-ny.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/NL4/603/64/pdf/NL460364.pdf?OpenElement

the workers and visiting dignitaries who came to stay at the United Nations. Boston and New York were early front runners of the Inspection Group because they offered multiple cultural opportunities while being easily accessible. The committee had decided that "no site should be selected which could not be reached by road or rail within an hour and a half" from the closest major cosmopolitan location.[74] The locations that the Inspection Group visited all had a similar climate which, while not ideal, was less important than the considerations of accessibility to the rest of the world. While places like San Francisco had a better climate overall, it was further away from Europe and did not meet the recommendation of the Preparatory Committee to house the United Nations on the East Coast of the United States. The Group went into further detail about their inspection of four specific sites: Blue Hills (south of Boston), Hyde Park (eastern bank of the Hudson River), North Shore (near Boston), and North Stamford-Greenwich (straddling New York and Connecticut).[75] Two of those locations were viewed more negatively by some of the committee members, including the Soviet Union Representative Mr. G.H. Saskin. Saskin objected to locations surrounding Boston following a speech made by Judge John E. Swift of the Massachusetts Supreme Court on January 20, 1946. Judge Swift showed hostility towards the United Nations in his speech, and his language was not rebuked by anyone at the meeting that the Interim Committee had when touring Boston with the State Deputy the following day.[76] Representative Saskin was offended by the content of Judge Swift's

[74] United Nations, General Assembly, *Report and Recommendations of the Inspection Group on selecting the permanent site and interim facilities for the Headquarters of the United Nations,* (10) (United Nations, 1946), https://documents-dds-ny.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/NL4/603/64/pdf/NL460364.pdf?OpenElement
[75] United Nations, General Assembly, *Report and Recommendations of the Inspection Group on selecting the permanent site and interim facilities for the Headquarters of the United Nations,* (15) (United Nations, 1946), https://documents-dds-ny.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/NL4/603/64/pdf/NL460364.pdf?OpenElement
[76] United Nations, General Assembly, *Report and Recommendations of the Inspection Group on selecting the permanent site and interim facilities for the Headquarters of the United Nations,* (16) (United Nations, 1946), https://documents-dds-ny.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/NL4/603/64/pdf/NL460364.pdf?OpenElement

speech and thought that since no one at the meeting objected to the language used, he felt that the members shared Swift's feelings of hostility to the United Nations. There is no evidence to suggest that Judge Swift's opinion was popular throughout the area however. Overall, there seemed to be an attitude of goodwill towards the United Nations by other members of the Boston community including the Massachusetts Governor, Maurice Tobin, and the Legislature of Massachusetts which adopted a formal resolution concerning the United Nations committee visit.[77]

After considering all of the qualifications and standards, the Interim Committee recommendation decided on a permanent headquarters:

> Inspection Group recommends unanimously that the permanent headquarters of the United Nations should be established:
>
> (a) near to New York City
>
> and
>
> (b) in the North Stamford-Greenwich district.[78]

The French Representative, Mr. Francios Briere, actually abstained from voting because he did not believe that the Inspection Group had the authority to recommend a site, only that they had the authority to report and review the sites. The various subcommittee discussions helped to establish that there was not one unanimous idea that was accepted by the United Nations. There were differing opinions and different representatives had to both

[77] United Nations, General Assembly, *Report and Recommendations of the Inspection Group on selecting the permanent site and interim facilities for the Headquarters of the United Nations,* (17) (United Nations, 1946), https://documents-dds-ny.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/NL4/603/64/pdf/NL460364.pdf?OpenElement

[78] United Nations, General Assembly, *Report and Recommendations of the Inspection Group on selecting the permanent site and interim facilities for the Headquarters of the United Nations,* (18) (United Nations, 1946), https://documents-dds-ny.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/NL4/603/64/pdf/NL460364.pdf?OpenElement

support the view that their government gave them and try and find the best location for the United Nations overall.

At the first meeting of the Interim Committee on February 2, 1946, after officers were elected, the Inspection Group announced that it had investigated some sites in the United States and that they would give their report in the next meeting on February 6.[79] The report stated that New York City was recommended because it had excellent accommodations. The only negative reported was that the provisional headquarters would cause the population living within the zone to be displaced. Delegates assumed that populations would be displaced no matter where the headquarters ended up being located and understood that the displacement would happen gradually as construction in the area increased.[80] During the discussion that followed there was some dissatisfaction with the way that the inspection group had carried out its task. Instead of reviewing six cities, they only reviewed two, Boston and New York, in depth. Additionally, some delegates believed that the process should be redone after reopening consideration to all cities in the United States including San Francisco.[81] The main reason that San Francisco was not chosen in the end was that even at its inception the United Nations could not get away from its Euro-centric bias. The only advantage that New York City had over San Francisco was that it was closer to Europe. San Francisco met the climate requirement more than New York City and the other requirements from the Preparatory Commission both New York City and San

[79] United Nations, Permanent Headquarters Committee, *Summary Record of Meeting,.* (United Nations, 1946), Journal 22, https://documents-dds-ny.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/NL4/603/51/pdf/NL460351.pdf?OpenElement

[80] United Nations, Permanent Headquarters Committee, *Summary Record of Meetings*, (United Nations, 1946), Journal 26:1, https://documents-dds-ny.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/NL4/603/69/pdf/NL460369.pdf?OpenElement

[81] United Nations, Permanent Headquarters Committee, *Summary Record of Meetings*, (United Nations, 1946), Journal 26:2, https://documents-dds-ny.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/NL4/603/69/pdf/NL460369.pdf?OpenElement

Francisco met. Moreover, building a structure large enough to house the U.N. in New York City was expensive.[82]

General Assembly

At the 65th Plenary meeting of the United Nation General Assembly that took place on December 14, 1946, the first item up for discussion was the report of the Permanent Headquarters Committee concerning the headquarters of the United Nations.[83] At the beginning of the discussion, it was established that the Permanent Headquarters will be placed in the United States of America as recommended by the Permanent Headquarters Committee. The first representative to speak on the topic, Mr. Nasrullah Entezam from Iran, said,

> I have a pleasant duty to perform. By a unanimous vote the members of the
>
> Permanent Headquarters Committee have instructed me to express before
>
> this Assembly its gratitude to Mr. John D. Rockefeller, Jr., for the generous
>
> offer he has just made to the United Nations.[84]

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[82] United Nations, Permanent Headquarters Committee, *Summary Record of Meetings,* (United Nations, 1946), Journal 26:2-3, https://documents-dds-ny.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/NL4/603/69/pdf/NL460369.pdf?OpenElement

[83] United Nations, General Assembly, *United Nations Meeting Record PV.65*, (1) (United Nations, 1946), https://undocs.org/en/A/PV.65

[84] United Nations, General Assembly, *United Nations Meeting Record PV.65*, (3) (United Nations, 1946), https://undocs.org/en/A/PV.65

Illustration 4 Mr. John Rockefeller Jr. Donor of Money for New York City for United Nations Headquarters[85]

Mr. Rockefeller's offer to the United Nations included six blocks on the East River Front in New York City from 42nd Street to 48th Street to house the United Nations Headquarters.[86] The donation of the land was worth $8.5 million.[87] The size of that donation went a long way to offsetting the potential cost that worried members of the Interim Committee and the Permanent Headquarters Committee. While the offer was only good for 30 days, the timing was tremendous.[88] Rockefeller had obtained an option on the land beginning on December 10, 1946, and the meeting to discuss the permanent headquarters occurred just four days later which gave the United Nations General

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[85] "John Davidson Rockefeller, Jr., 1847-1960, Underwood and Underwood, Prints and Photographs Division, Library of Congress, S-18579-10

[86] "8 ½ Million City Site Offered UN By Rockefeller", *The Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, Dec 11, 1946. https://www.newspapers.com/image/52910382/

[87] "8 ½ Million City Site Offered UN By Rockefeller", *The Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, Dec 11, 1946. https://www.newspapers.com/image/52910382/

[88] "8 ½ Million City Site Offered UN By Rockefeller", *The Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, Dec 11, 1946. https://www.newspapers.com/image/52910382/

Assembly time to debate the offer and decide to take Rockefeller up on it. John Rockefeller Jr. did not make the offer to the United Nations at random. There were a couple of different reasons behind his generosity. One reason was that Mr. Rockefeller was one of the great philanthropists of the time. He had donated money to multiple organizations throughout his years. Not only did he help his father, John D. Rockefeller Sr., establish the Rockefeller Foundation in 1913, he was its first president. John D. Rockefeller Jr. had even donated to the League of Nations, helping the League establish its library. The other main reason that Rockefeller donated the money for the land to the United Nations was much more personal. It concerned his son, Nelson Rockefeller.

Figure 5 Nelson Aldrich Rockefeller[89]

Nelson Rockefeller was part of the Roosevelt administration and briefly a member of the Truman administration as well. He had been a representative for the United States at the San Francisco Conference that created the United Nations charter with Stettinius. When

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[89] Dixon Royden, photographer, Nelson Aldrich Rockefeller, -, half length, seated behind desk, facing slightly left, papers in his hands; as Coordinator of Commercial and Cultural Relations between the American Republics. , 1940, Photograph, https://www.loc.gov/item/2005693058/.

it looked like New York might be passed over as the permanent location of the United Nations, Nelson Rockefeller stepped in. He asked his father for help in order to allow New York to be a better contender. New York was the favored location of both Nelson Rockefeller and Ed Stettinius.

Figure 6 E.R. Stettinius Jr. and Nelson Rockefeller[90]

While the decision had already been made to house the United Nations headquarters in the United States, and the recommendation had been made to accept the offer by Mr. Rockefeller to locate it in New York City, the General Assembly debated not only the possibility of New York but also of San Francisco and Philadelphia.[91] San Francisco in particular was offered as an alternative site by multiple delegates including the delegates of Australia and Egypt. The final vote by the General Assembly, however, was 46-7 in favor of housing the permanent headquarters of the United Nations in New York City and

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[90] "The San Francisco Conference, 25 April - 26 June 1945", UN Photo, UN7683780, April 30, 1945.
[91] United Nations, General Assembly, *United Nations Meeting Record PV.65*, (6) (United Nations, 1946), https://undocs.org/en/A/PV.65

accepting Rockefeller's offer.[92] The United Nations adopted the Resolution to house the Headquarters of the United Nations in New York City with Resolution 100 (I).[93] The resolution established that the donation of Mr. Rockefeller on December 10, 1946 made the decision possible and that the Secretary-General of the United Nations was authorized to lease the structures that currently existed on the site until demolition and construction began.[94] As far as construction was concerned, the resolution further established that a report concerning recommendations on accommodation and facilities for the headquarters was to be prepared before July 1, 1947 and the next regular General Assembly session.[95] While the specific site that ended up being chosen was not the only site proposed around New York City, it was the site that had the most support from the general populace. Parts of the government preferred a location in Greenwich, but it was not popular with the citizens of the area and in order to keep the United Nations in New York after the United Nations Interim Committee discarded Greenwich as a choice, Nelson Rockefeller had his father John D. Rockefeller Jr. donate the land in the middle of New York City.[96]

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[92] United Nations, General Assembly, *United Nations Meeting Record PV.65*, (7) (United Nations, 1946), https://undocs.org/en/A/PV.65

[93] United Nations, General Assembly, *United Nations Resolution A/RES/100(I): Resolutions Adopted on the Report of the Permanent Headquarters Committee*, (1) (United Nations, 1946), https://undocs.org/en/A/RES/100(I)

[94] United Nations, General Assembly, *United Nations Resolution A/RES/100(I): Resolutions Adopted on the Report of the Permanent Headquarters Committee*, (1) (United Nations, 1946), https://undocs.org/en/A/RES/100(I)

[95] United Nations, General Assembly, *United Nations Resolution A/RES/100(I): Resolutions Adopted on the Report of the Permanent Headquarters Committee*, (2) (United Nations, 1946), https://undocs.org/en/A/RES/100(I)

[96] Michael Powell, "How the U.N. Came to Be in Manhattan," *The Washington Post* (WP Company, October 26, 2003), https://www.washingtonpost.com/archive/politics/2003/10/26/how-the-un-came-to-be-in-manhattan/2ed92b13-fbc1-47b3-b2fa-2b0b83692702/.

Illustration 7 General view of the Manhattan site of the United Nations permanent headquarters, four weeks after the beginning of the demolition work.[97]

Historian Charlene Mires wrote in detail about the different cities in the United States who were competing to house the United Nations in her book *Capital of the World: The Race to Host the United Nations*.[98] The first city from the United States to actually offered to house the United Nations was not one that got much attention from the Permanent Headquarters Committee. On September 12, 1944, the Detroit city council offered up their city to house the United Nations Headquarters. This was among the first cities to seek the headquarters, but it did not get the attention that San Francisco and other cities later got because it did not meet the qualifications that Committee 10 came up with. Detroit, Michigan was not in an easily accessible location by ship in the same way that San Francisco or New York City was. It did not have easy access to both boat and plane travel, and it was farther away from European countries than a location on the east coast would

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[97] "Site of United Nations Permanent Headquarters", UN Photo, UN7779952, August 6, 1947.
[98] Charlene Mires, *Capital of the World: The Race to Host the United Nations,* (New York, New York University Press: 2013.)

be. While Detroit would actually have been closer to China and other Asian countries than New York, the majority of the Security Council and some of the more influential nations that had already signed the United Nations Charter were European. Europe as a whole had more political power than Asia, and the Inspection Group only focusing on locations on the East Coast reflects that Euro-centric worldview.

Philadelphia also had a large following to hold the headquarters of the United Nations. Philadelphia had a large international presence since it housed the signing of the United States Constitution in 1787.[99] Washington D.C. was also a contender and met the qualifications that Committee 10 had set up. It had votes against it because it was also the capital of the United States. Some thought Washington politics would get in the way of United Nations matters.[100] Chicago was also interested, but like Detroit, it was less accessible and a harder location for other states to get to than cities on the East Coast.[101]

Historian Jan Molema also wrote about different United States cities that wanted to hold the United Nations headquarters in her article "Unknown History." She included cities such as New York, San Francisco, Philadelphia, and Boston as contenders.[102] In her book, Mires focused on the approaches different cities took to attract the United Nations. She did not necessarily take the United Nations subcommittee's actions into account throughout her work which makes it harder to apply her approach universally to the other United

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[99] Charlene Mires, *Capital of the World: The Race to Host the United Nations,* (23) (New York, New York University Press: 2013)

[100] Charlene Mires, *Capital of the World: The Race to Host the United Nations,* (26) (New York, New York University Press: 2013)

[101] Charlene Mires, *Capital of the World: The Race to Host the United Nations,* (68) (New York, New York University Press 2013)

[102] Jan Molema, "Unknown History: Le Corbusier in front of the "Academism" of Jan De Ranitz in the preparations for the United Nations Headquarters at New York (1946)", *Revista Proyecto, Progreso, Arquitectura* no. 8 (05, 2013): 18-27. https://libcatalog.atu.edu:443/login?url=https://www.proquest.com/scholarly-journals/unknown-history-le-corbusier-front-academism-jan/docview/1400196199/se-2?accountid=8364.

Nations locations. She wrote more about the different contenders from the United States instead of focusing on the thoughts and opinions of any other actors that were involved in the decision-making process. Mires did not include the initial discussion that led to the United States being chosen to house the United Nations or on any of the dissenting opinions that favored a location in Europe. Ignoring the discussion of the various committees from the United Nations itself takes away the agency of the United Nations in making the decision on a location for its permanent headquarters. Mires also ignores both the European bias that is shown throughout the process by the various representatives and the specific qualifications that Committee 10 of the United Nations came up with for the headquarters location. Mires' book also ignores the anti-communist emphasis that exists in the background of choosing where in the United States the United Nations resided. Especially the argument surrounding a location on the Eastern Coast of the United States instead of San Francisco where the biggest difference in the two sites was the distance that existed between the site and Europe.

While the official stance of the United States government on the placement of the United Nations within the country was neutral, a closer analysis of government sources shows that many individuals were hoping to gain a better standing in the United Nations by housing the permanent headquarters. People such as Ed Stettinius, Nelson Rockefeller, and even President Truman were supportive of the United Nations accepting a headquarters location in the United States. Documents from the Foreign Relations of the United States series, diary pages of Ed Stettinius, and official United Nations documentation, outline the campaigning of the United States to try and gain power through housing the United Nations becomes clear. However, since the idea was not universally supported in the United States

government, the official government policy continued to be a neutral position. If the United States government was entirely neutral, John Rockefeller would not have felt the need to offer money for land in order to keep the headquarters in New York City instead of having the headquarters possibly shift to a European location after the Greenwich location fell through.

III. Major United Nations European Locations

Secondary Headquarters: Geneva

Illustration 8 A view of the Palais des Nations with the Manship Sphere in the foreground.[103]

The United Nations Office (UNO) at Geneva had a different function than the permanent headquarters in New York. The UNO Geneva was established:

To serve as the headquarters for (i) the Economic Commission for Europe; (ii) the Narcotic Drugs Supervisory Body; (iii) the Permanent Central Opium Board; (iv) the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees; (v) the International Law Commission; and such other United Nations bodies and activities as may be decided by the appropriate organs.

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[103] "Exterior View of the United Nations Office at Geneva (UNOG)." UN Photo, UN7778824, July 1, 1994.

To serve as a centre for United Nations meetings in Europe.

To perform such liaison and representation duties as may be decided upon by the Secretary-General.

So far as possible, and with the approval of the Secretary-General to provide office space and conference facilities for specialized agencies if requested, subject to such financial and other arrangements as may be agreed upon in accordance with the principles laid down by the General Assembly, and in so doing to make every effort to ensure the establishment and maintenance of common services at Geneva to the greatest possible extent.[104]

Geneva was the second headquarters established by the United Nations. It had been briefly considered for the main headquarters, but its association with the failed League of Nations eliminated it from consideration, especially for countries such as the Soviet Union and China who were members of the big four following World War II who had been let down by the League of Nations as the Germans and Japanese rose to power. In addition, the Soviet Union preferred the United States to Europe if the headquarters had to be in either territory. Geneva was the last place in Europe that the Soviet Union would have chosen even if it had accepted a European home for the UN. The League of Nations had invited the Soviet Union to join its organization multiple times since it was founded. It ended up joining the League of Nations in 1934, but it was kicked out in 1940, after the

[104] United Nations, Secretariat, *Secretary-General's bulletin: United Nations Office at Geneva,* (1) (United Nations, 1957), https://documents-dds-ny.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/N57/342/54/pdf/N5734254.pdf?OpenElement

Nazi-Soviet Pact.[105] Being kicked out of the League of Nations soured the USSR against the organization and against Geneva by association. ..[106]

Geneva was established as the home of the League of Nations in Article 7 of the Covenant of the League of Nations.[107] While the United States did not join the League of Nations, President Woodrow Wilson still played a large part in Geneva being established as its headquarters. It was on President Wilson's recommendation that Geneva was chosen.[108] Two of the biggest competitors to house the League of Nations were Switzerland and Belgium. When the voting occurred on where to house the League of Nations, most of the great powers ended up voting for Geneva instead of Brussels. The great powers following World War I were the United States, France, the United Kingdom, Italy, and Japan. Two votes went to each of those nations toward deciding the location of the League of Nations instead of just one vote that other countries involved in the decision had. The only great power that ended up voting for Brussels was France.[109] The United States, Great Britain, Italy, and Japan all voted for Geneva, due to the famous Swiss neutrality. They argued that Geneva being neutral was more likely to be accepted by nations like Germany who were not involved in the decision. Germany would have had a bigger problem with the League of Nations being based in Belgium, since Belgium was on the opposite side of

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[105] John N. Hazard, "The Soviet Union and the United Nations." *The Yale Law Journal* 55, no. 5 (1946): 1016–35. https://doi.org/10.2307/792751.
[106] John N. Hazard, "The Soviet Union and the United Nations." *The Yale Law Journal* 55, no. 5 (1946): 1016–35. https://doi.org/10.2307/792751.
[107] "The Covenant and the League"
[108]UNOG Records, Registry and Archives, "Seat of the League of Nations – Foreign Office, London – Despatch No.594 from Berne states that there is some Anxiety as to whether Geneva is to remain the Seat of the League of Nations in view of the Absence of American Delegates at the First Meeting of the Council of the League of Nations." (League of Nations, November 1, 1919) https://unog.access.preservica.com/uncategorized/IO_f4dcfa49-f568-4686-9670-bbd56b44d314/?view=gallery
[109] "Geneva—The Capital of the League of Nations", *The Independent*, April 26, 1919

the war. Belgium's delegates to the vote reflected, "had Geneva withstood the terrific bombardment to which Antwerp was subjected, had the Swiss army battled for four years along the Rhine as the Belgians fought and died along the Yser, then we should understand why Geneva should be chosen."[110]

For the Belgian and French officials, Switzerland's neutrality was actually viewed as a negative. The Swiss did not get involved in the war, they reasoned, so why should they profit from the ending of it. The other great powers, however, viewed Geneva's neutrality as a positive. Since Switzerland was neutral, it was able to bring together countries from both sides of the war and help them put the divisions of the war behind them. Additionally, the people of Geneva had been less affected by the war and thus were more open to representatives from both sides of the conflict without as much potential conflict as Brussels would have been. Thus, Switzerland ended up edging out Belgium due in large part to their historic neutrality which can be traced back to the Swiss Constitution of 1848.[111]

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[110] "Geneva—The Capital of the League of Nations", *The Independent*, April 26, 1919
[111] Switzerland, "The Federal Constitution of the Swiss Confederation: September 12, 1848, with Art. XLI and XLVIII as Amended January 14, 1866." 2nd ed, (Berne, 1867)
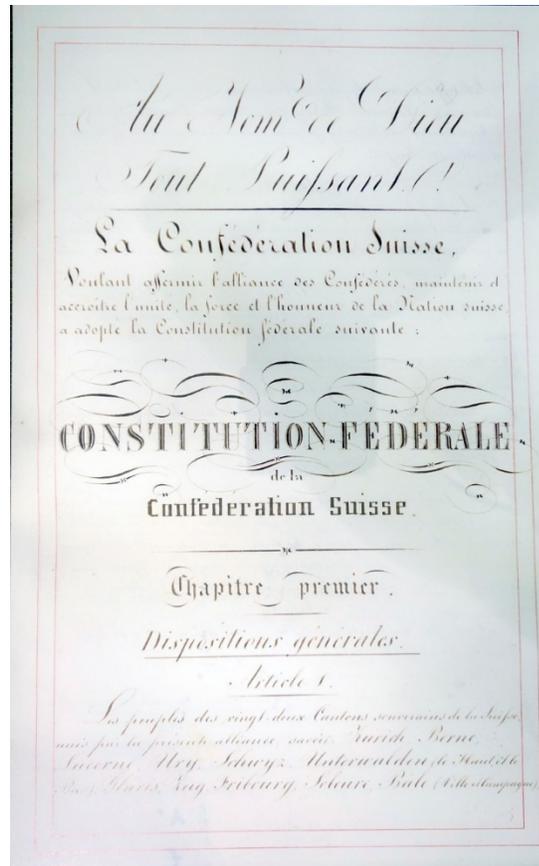
Illustration 9 Swiss Constitution 1848[112]

According to Paul Pictet who was the President of the Grand Council of Geneva and one of its most prominent politicians at the time, one of the reasons that Geneva was chosen as the seat of the League of Nations was that Geneva was not previously a capital city which allowed Swiss politics to have a degree of separation from League of Nations politics.[113] This allowed the League of Nations a level of independence from Switzerland, even as it was located within Switzerland. Brussels, the other main city in the running, did not have the same advantages as Geneva even if they held the same rank internationally.

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[112] Swiss Federal Constitution 1848, Wikimedia, 2014.
[113] UNOG Registry, Records and Archives, "Seat of the League of Nations – Mr. Paul Pictet – Text of the Speech by the President to the Grand Council of Geneva on 7 May on the Choice of Geneva as the Seat of the League of Nations." (League of Nations, May 7, 1915), https://biblio-archive.unog.ch/detail.aspx?ID=310649

Pictet and members of the League of Nations were not the only politicians pushing for Geneva to house the League of Nations. Giuseppe Motta, who was the Director of Finance for Switzerland, sent a telegram to delegates of the Peace Conference of 1919 where he discussed why Switzerland joined the League and the suitability of Switzerland, and especially Geneva, to be the seat of the League of Nations. He said, "the greatest homage which the conscience of civilized world could pay to Switzerland," would be being chosen as the seat of the League although he did not go into detail about why Geneva should be chosen.[114]

Illustration 10 Motta- Swiss President[115]

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[114] League of Nations, Admissions to the League, "Switzerland and the League of Nations – Lord Acton. N. 194 (from speech by Mr. Motta) – Duty of Switzerland to enter the League. Suitability of Geneva as the seat of the League." (League of Nations, July 1, 1917), https://lontad-project.unog.ch/records/item/5756-switzerland-and-the-league-of-nations-lord-acton-n-194-from-speech-by-mr-motta-duty-of-switzerland-to-enter-the-league-suitability-of-geneva-as-the-seat-of-the-league?offset=10

[115] Bain News Service, Publisher, *Motta - Swiss Pres't.*, Sept 15, 1915, Bain, Photograph, https://www.loc.gov/item/2014699845/.

While the Swiss politicians were advocates for joining and housing the League of Nations, not all of its citizens were as enthusiastic about the idea. According to an article first printed in *Le Journal de Geneve* and then republished in the United States in *The Living Age (1897-1941)*, there were some critics of the idea. The author, only known as a Genevan, calls attention to these claims such as,

> "Those who thus animadverted asked if Geneva, in thus becoming the capital of the federation of civilization, did not risk certain moral and political dangers, even the danger of becoming denationalized."[116]

The author takes the claims seriously, discussing the challenges that Geneva will face in housing the League. He points out that Geneva, "does not for an instant separate her destiny from that of her own land."[117]The author emphasized that it was not just Geneva that was honored with this request but Switzerland as a whole. Geneva did not plan to break away from the Swiss federation in any form by accepting this honor on its behalf. The author also pointed out that there were advantages and disadvantages that were risked by accepting this honor, but he felt that overall, "the sentiment which dominates us is one of pride and responsibility."[118] Geneva, the author felt, accepted the responsibility of holding the League of Nations because of the pride that it had in itself, and the peace that the new organization wanted to establish. This article helps to prove the credentials that Geneva had on the world stage to hold an international organization, and the pride that the people of Geneva should have in their city.

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[116] "Geneva and the League of Nations", *The Living Age (1897-1941),* November 29, 1919.
[117] "Geneva and the League of Nations", *The Living Age (1897-1941),* November 29, 1919.
[118] "Geneva and the League of Nations", *The Living Age (1897-1941),* November 29,1919.

Woodrow Wilson's support of Geneva for the League of Nations was so strong that when the United States did not end up joining the League of Nations, there were discussions of moving the League to either Brussels or Vienna instead. In a letter written from Theo Russell to his Lord, George Curzon the Earl of Kedleston in October of 1919, Theo points out that,

> Judging from a quotation which has recently appeared in 'Corriere della Sara', it would seem that there is some little anxiety as to whether Geneva is to remain the seat of the League of Nations. The 'Corriere' apparently implied that, as the American delegates could not now be present at the first meetings of the Council of the League, the solution in favour of Geneva, which was taken largely on President Wilson's personal initiative might be reversed.[119]

George Curzon was the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs for the British Government at the time this message was written. That means that the idea that Geneva might not be the best seat of the League of Nations without President Wilson and American support was a serious enough idea to make it to the highest levels of the British government. This letter also showed that Italy was also nervous about Geneva. The "Corriere della Sara" was an Italian newspaper.

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[119] UNOG Records, Registry and Archives, "Seat of the League of Nations – Foreign Office, London – Despatch No.594 from Berne states that there is some Anxiety as to whether Geneva is to remain the Seat of the League of Nations in view of the Absence of American Delegates at the First Meeting of the Council of the League of Nations." (League of Nations, November 1, 1919), https://unog.access.preservica.com/uncategorized/IO_f4dcfa49-f568-4686-9670-bbd56b44d314/?view=gallery

Illustration 11 Woodrow Wilson, Pres. U.S., 1856-1924[120]

Figure 12 Lord Curzon[121]

The British government was not the only government that was worried about

Geneva remaining the seat of the League of Nations. The Austrian government was so

prepared for the eventuality that the League of Nations would be moved that their Federal

[120] "Woodrow Wilson, Pres. U.S., 1856-1924." National Photo Company Collection, Prints and Photographs Division, Library of Congress, LC-USZ62-85706

[121] "Lord Curzon", National Photo Company Collection, Prints and Photographs Division, Library of Congress, LC-B2- 3070-6

Chancellor and Minister of Foreign Affairs, Johann Schober sent a letter to the Secretary-

General of the League of Nations Sir Eric offering to "receive, if necessary, with special

gratitude for the transfer of the seat of the League of Nations…" in Vienna.[122]

Figure 13 Austrian Chancellor Johann Schober[123]

The London Times was behind the idea of Geneva being the seat of the League of

Nations as well in an article titled "The League at Geneva" which was published December

20, 1920. The article mentioned that Geneva was detached from the recent world problems,

and the recent war gave it advantages for the League of Nations being settled there.[124]

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[122] UNOG Records, Registry and Archives, "The Seat of the League of Nations - Dr Lederer, Delegate for the Austrian Government at the Third Labour Conference, 1921 - Transmits the Answer of the Austrian Government to a verbal Request from Mr. Thomas, made to Dr Lederer, for Information as to the Facilities which would be offered to the League of Nations and the Labour Office should the Seat be changed to Vienna" (League of Nations, November 15, 1921), https://unog.access.preservica.com/uncategorized/IO_f4dcfa49-f568-4686-9670-bbd56b44d314/?view=gallery

[123] Georg Fayer, Johann Schober, photograph, ONB Digital (Vienna: Austrian National Library, n.d.), Austrian National Library, https://onb.digital/result/BAG_10453983.

[124] "The League at Geneva", *The Times*, December 20, 1920, https://www.thetimes.co.uk/archive/article/1920-12-20/11/3.html?region=global

Switzerland was neutral which would help it be more accepted by countries and governments from both sides of the war. While Geneva had the same advantages as Brussels in transportation and location, it did not have to contend with being the capital city. The influence shown by the United States and Western European countries in establishing the League of Nations continues through to the establishment of the United Nations. Both organizations claimed or claim to be international yet hold major Eurocentric mentalities. Even the United States which did not end up joining the League of Nations had a major role in a capitalist Western European nation housing the League. This does not change with the transition from the League of Nations to the United Nations.

Another reason that Geneva was chosen over Brussels was that Geneva had already shown that it had the infrastructure and capacity to house an international organization. The International Red Cross was based in Geneva, and according to Pictet, Geneva came to mind when delegates thought of a location that gave off an aura of international presence.[125] Geneva already having an existence on the world stage through the International Red Cross helped show that it was equipped to hold an international organization. When the United Nations was establishing its permanent main offices, Geneva had not only the successful operation of the International Red Cross to support its claim but also the successful operation of the League of Nations.

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[125]UNOG Registry, Records and Archives, "Seat of the League of Nations – Mr. Paul Pictet – Text of the Speech by the President to the Grand Council of Geneva on 7 May on the Choice of Geneva as the Seat of the League of Nations." League of Nations, (May 7, 1915), https://biblio-archive.unog.ch/detail.aspx?ID=310649; C. N. Truman, "League of Nations," March 17, 2015, https://www.historylearningsite.co.uk/modern-world-history-1918-to-1980/league-of-nations/

Illustration 14 League of Nations Symbol[126]

While the UN site selection committees avoided Geneva as the main headquarters to separate the new organization from the previous League of Nations, it was the first choice to house a main office other than the first headquarters because the city was adapted to similar international organizations. The United Nations did not want to lose all of the resources that the Palais des Nations had provided the League of Nations which was an incentive to choose Geneva as the second main office. The United Nations Resolution A/RES/698(VII) established the co-ordination between the United Nations and different specialized agencies that were associated with it. It specifically outlined a program of special conferences that would operate at the permanent headquarters in New York as well as the Palais des Nations in Geneva.[127] This resolution was released in 1952, so even though the United Nations may not have had a secondary headquarters at that point, it was still using the Palais des Nations and the resources that it had to help the United Nations.

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[126] "Flag of the League of Nations (1939-1941)", Wikimedia Commons:1939, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Flag_of_the_League_of_Nations_(1939%E2%80%931941).svg
[127] United Nations, General Assembly, *United Nations Resolution A/RES/698(VII): Resolutions Adopted without Reference to a Committee,* (71) (United Nations, 1952), https://undocs.org/en/A/RES/698(VII)

Illustration 15 Flags of Member States fly at the Palais des Nations[128]

Geneva was not chosen as the main headquarters of the United Nations because the UN wanted to establish its difference from the League of Nations and because parts of the United Nations did not want its first location to be in Europe. The votes from the preparatory commission the majority of the commission favored the United States over Europe. All of the assets that the League of Nations owned were transferred to the United Nations through a Meeting of the League of Nations Committee. The transfer was unanimously approved, and the settlement was a clean sweeping, definite, and final settlement. All of the material assets of the League were scheduled to be transferred to the United Nations in a set course, except the Permanent Court of International Justice at The

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[128] "Palais des Nations, Geneva", UN Photo, UN77267548, February 7, 2014.

Hague which had special considerations.[129] Also choosing to set up the main headquarters in the United States tied the United States to the United Nations in a way that the League of Nations was lacking. That tie, many believed, would help the United Nations grow to function more efficiently and was thus considered more important than the resources that Geneva could have offered. The United States had agreed with the basic idea behind the League of Nations, but the U.S. Congress just did not want any one entity to have that much influence over the United States foreign policy decisions without a major say in the process. That place of oversight for the United States was established with the United Nations Security Council so there were fewer objections in the government to joining the United Nations then there were to joining the League of Nations. President Wilson recognized that the American people did not support America joining the League of Nations in his speech to Congress on April 12, 1921.

> Little avails in reciting the causes of delay in Europe or our own failure to
> agree. But there is no longer excuse for uncertainties respecting some
> phases of our foreign relationship. In the existing League of Nations, world-
> governing with its superpowers, this Republic will have no part. There can
> be no misinterpretation, and there will be no betrayal of the deliberate
> expression of the American people in the recent election; and, settled in our
> decision for ourselves, it is only fair to say to the world in general, and to

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[129] United Nations, League of Nations Committee, *League of Nations Committee: Summary Record of Meetings 30 January-1 February 1946*, (United Nations, 1946), https://documents-dds-ny.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/NL3/449/25/pdf/NL344925.pdf?OpenElement.

our associates in war in particular, that the League covenant can have no sanction by us.

The aim to associate nations to prevent war, preserve peace, and promote civilization our people most cordially applauded. We yearned for this new instrument of justice, but we can have no part in a committal to an agency of force in unknown contingencies; we can recognize no super-authority.[130]

The United Nations setting up their second main office in Geneva just shows that they valued the resources and international presence that Geneva still held even if they did not want it to be the main headquarters because of the shortcomings of the League of Nations.[131] Geneva also called to mind the "spirit of Geneva" which is defined by François Bugnion as, "a way of referring to the Wilsonian ideal of international reconciliation and universal and lasting peace embodied by the new League of Nations [in the 1920s]."[132] While the League of Nations did not live up to that ideal, the concept of a "spirit of Geneva" still brought to mind the image of international cooperation and peace. Geneva already met the qualifications and standards that Committee 10 had to establish a headquarters there. It was easily accessible and located in an area that had both rail and road travel options. French was the main language spoken in Geneva which was one of the main languages of the United Nations. It had the accommodations and infrastructure already with the Palais des Nations and the facilities it already had. It was in a temperate climate and had easy communication with other parts of the world. The freedom from political control and the

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[130] *Papers Relating to the Foreign Relations of the United States*, 1921, Volume I, ed. Joseph D Fuller, (United States Government Printing Office, 1936).

[131] Herbert George Nicholas, "Evolution." *The United Nations as a Political Institution*, (London: Oxford University Press, 1975) 41-75.

[132] François Bugnion, "The Spirit of Geneva and Its Relevance Today", *Refugee Survey Quarterly*, Volume 26, Issue 4, 2007, 33–51, https://doi.org/10.1093/rsq/hdi0261

extraterritoriality of the headquarters was already established with the League of Nations so the structure of the agreement was already in place.

One of the United Nations Programs that was supervised out of the United Nations Office at Geneva was the United Nations High Commission for Refugees. This program was in place in Geneva by 1957.[133] It made more sense for a refugee program established following World War II to be placed at a location in Europe instead of in the United States because Europe was in a worse state after the war than the United States. There were more refugees in Europe than there were in the United States following the war and since the United Nations had such a European bias, the idea of holding the refugee program in Asia instead was not even discussed. Since the Palais des Nations was already there and fell under the umbrella of the United Nations assets following the transfer from the League of Nations, placing the UNHCR there was a natural choice..[134]

Many different committees of the United Nations continued to meet at Geneva instead of the New York location. Even the Economic and Social Council which is one of the main bodies of the UN switched locations annually between Geneva and New York.[135] By 1952, years before Geneva was established as an official main office of the United Nations, the Palais des Nations held special conferences for UN activities. It also allowed specialized agencies that were not part of the United Nations but wanted to cooperate and

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[133] United Nations, Secretariat, *Secretary-General's bulletin: United Nations Office at Geneva,* (1) (United Nations, 1957), https://documents-dds-ny.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/N57/342/54/pdf/N5734254.pdf?OpenElement

[134] Preparatory Commission of the United Nations, *Committee 10: Memorandum on the Headquarters of the United Nations Organization*, (6-9) (United Nations, 1945), https://documents-dds-ny.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/NL3/573/93/pdf/NL357393.pdf?OpenElement

[135] United Nations, General Assembly, U*nited Nations Resolution A/RES/2216(XX): Pattern of Conferences*, (76) (United Nations, 1965), https://undocs.org/en/A/RES/2116(XX)

coordinate with the UN to work there.[136] The function of the Palais des Nations shifted throughout the transition from the seat of the League of Nations to its establishment as the second UN main office. The Palais des Nations has had various UN committees associated with it within its tenure as the UN Office of Geneva. The Palais des Nations was used so often by the United Nations that in 1966 the United Nations made a resolution to extend the conference facilities that were located there.[137]

Geneva being accepted as a secondary headquarters also continued to perpetuate the reality that the United Nations was a Eurocentric organization more than an international organization. With the establishment of Geneva as a main office of the United Nations, both of the main headquarters existed in a Western democratic nation. Geneva also helps to continue to advance an anti-communist ideology for the United Nations. While Switzerland is a historically neutral nation, and that neutrality worked in its favor, it did also have a liberal capitalist government. Thus, while the United Nations grew as an organization with the establishment of a secondary headquarters, it did so by placing more support and power in a Western European democratic and capitalist government,

Secondary Headquarters: Vienna

Each United Nations Office was established to follow a specific mandate, the mandate for the United Nations Office at Vienna included the following:

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[136] United Nations, General Assembly, *United Nations Resolution A/RES/698(VII): Resolutions Adopted without Reference to a Committee*, (71) (United Nations, 1952), https://undocs.org/en/A/RES/698(VII)
[137] United Nations, General Assembly, *United Nations Resolution A/RES/2246(XXI): Extension of Conference Facilities at the Palais des Nations,* (93) (United Nations, 1966), https://undocs.org/en/A/RES/2245(XXI)

To perform representation and liaison functions with permanent missions, the house Government, and other Governments and intergovernmental and non-governmental organizations in Vienna.

To manage programmes related to crime prevention and criminal justice and the peaceful uses of outer space [added in 1993 when the Programme of Crime Prevention and Criminal Justice and the Programme on Peaceful Uses of Outer Space were added to the UNO Vienna].

To provide administrative and other support services to the United Nations Secretariat units, and to administer joint common services for other organizations of the United Nations system located at Vienna.

To provide conference and interpretation services for meetings of the Office and the United Nations Industrial Development Organization (UNIDO) and interpretation services to meetings of the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA).

To manage the United Nations facilities at the Vienna International Centre and such other United Nations properties as may be required.

To ensure that legislative mandates and objectives of the United Nations offices at Vienna are translated into a coherent and effective programme structure and implemented accordingly.

To prepare the medium-term plan and the biennial programme budgets for the offices located at Vienna and to present them to the legislative bodies, as required.

To continue to improve the integrated process of programming, planning, budgeting, and monitoring in all sectors of the programme budget."[138]

Vienna was not connected to the League of Nations. It did host multiple international organizations before it became a United Nations Office. The largest of those organizations was the International Atomic Energy Agency.

Illustration 16 International Atomic Energy Agency Logo

The presence of the IAEA led the United Nations to consider Vienna as a branch site. The International Atomic Energy Agency, which was associated with the United Nations, came to Vienna in 1957.[139] The agency was connected to the United Nations but did not come under its control directly. In the late 1950s, the problem of atomic energy and who had should be trusted with the ability to make atomic weapons was a major focus of the Cold War. When the conference that finalized the IAEA was held in 1956, there were

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[138] United Nations, Secretariat, *Organization Manual: Functions and organization of the United Nations Office at Vienna,* (1) (United Nations, 1996), https://documents-dds-ny.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/N96/141/81/img/N9614181.pdf?OpenElement

[139] "The Republic of Austria and Its Capital Vienna Have Entered into One of the Greatest Building Projects Ever Realized in That Country: Austria Is Building Headquarters for Two of the Largest UN Organizations." *The Times*, April 29, 1975.

four potential headquarters, Vienna, Geneva, Copenhagen, and Rio de Janeiro.[140] In the end,

> The Austrian Government had especially strong grounds for pressing its case. Choosing Vienna as the IAEA's seat would underline Austria's neutral status and mark its re-entry into the international community after the ignominious years of 'Anschluss' and after the end of the four-power occupation. Vienna, on the frontier between Western and Soviet spheres of influence, was acceptable to both Washington and Moscow.[141]

The United Nations Industrial Development Organization was also established in Vienna 1967 in temporary accommodations before Vienna was chosen to house an official United Nations Office in 1980. By the 1960s, one of the big issues of the Cold War and the International community was decolonization. By the end of the 1960's the vast majority of former colonies had undergone decolonization.[142] The United Nations Industrial Development Organization was established to help those former colonies develop into their own independent countries. The reason that was important to the Cold War is that all of the former colonies were now countries which could be swayed to support either the communist agenda or the capitalist agenda with the promise of food and aid. The UN did not jump straight into establishing a major office building in the city; it established a temporary presence by allowing United Nations organized programs that were based out of Vienna to be set up before the UN established its third main office there. Those programs

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[140] David Fischer, History of the International Atomic Energy Agency: The First Forty Years (Vienna, Austria: International Atomic Energy Agency, 1997), 49.
[141] David Fischer, History of the International Atomic Energy Agency: The First Forty Years (Vienna, Austria: International Atomic Energy Agency, 1997), 49.
[142] Henri Grimal, Decolonization: The British, French, Dutch, and Belgian Empires, 1919-1963 (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1978).

included the UN Industrial Development Organization and the United Nations Relief and Works Agency which continued to operate out of Vienna after the establishment of the office there just in a more permanent fashion.[143]

Austria had its own brand of neutrality similar to Switzerland. In an article in *The London Times* in 1980, the Austrian Chancellor Dr. Bruno Kreisky was questioned on Austria's neutrality considering its presence on the international stage. He confirmed that Austria "practice[d] active neutrality".[144] Austria's neutrality was established with a state treaty in 1955.[145] While Austria was not traditionally neutral, it did straddle the East-West divide of Europe. Eastern European countries considered Vienna to be a more neutral location to house a United Nations office than other Western European cities.[146] The Austrian National Council adopted a resolution on June 7, 1955 which was finalized following the establishment of the "State Treaty for the Re-establishment of an Independent and Democratic Austria" which went into effect following the deadline of withdrawal of federal troops in October of 1955,"by which Austria declared 'its permanent neutrality of its own accord' and undertook not to join any military alliance".[147]

Austria had straddled the East-West divide of Europe since its time as the center of the Habsburg Empire when it was in competition with the Ottoman Empire.[148] Vienna's proximity to Eastern Europe helped to reassure Eastern Europeans countries that their wants would not be ignored in a way that other Western European cities could not, but

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[143] United Nations, General Assembly, *United Nations Report of the Secretary-General: United Nations Accommodation at the Vienna International Centre,* (United Nations, 1980), https://documents-dds-ny.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/N80/316/29/pdf/N8031629.pdf?OpenElement.
[144] Sue Masterman, "Historic Role as East-West Pivot: An Active Neutral." *The Times*, May 29, 1980.
[145] Sue Masterman, "Historic Role as East-West Pivot: An Active Neutral," *The Times*, May 29, 1980.
[146] Sue Masterman, "Historic Role as East-West Pivot: An Active Neutral," *The Times*, May 29, 1980.
[147] "1955 State Treaty and Neutrality: A New Strategy Neutrality." Republic of Austria Parliament, Austrian Parliament, n.d. https://www.parlament.gv.at/ENGL/PERK/HIS/REP2/1955/index.shtml.
[148] Sue Masterman, "Historic Role as East-West Pivot: An Active Neutral," *The Times*, May 29, 1980.

since it was still technically part of the liberal Western democratic country of Austria, the Western European countries and the United States did not have any major objections to locating a United Nations Office there especially since some of the organizations associated with the United Nations such as the International Atomic Energy Agency already operated there.

Vienna also has an obvious historical role on the international stage that helped support its campaign to house a UN Office. Historically, Vienna had a larger international presence than any of the other UN office or UN associated organ locations. Vienna had been a major player on the international stage going back to the Holy Roman Empire where it was the capital city. It survived a siege from the Ottoman Turks in 1683 while still maintaining its power on the international stage.

Illustration 17 The Turkish Siege of Vienna in the Year 1683[149]

After the Holy Roman Empire collapsed, Vienna continued to hold influence internationally as the site of the Congress of Vienna in 1814 and the site of the Viennese

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[149] Franz Geffels, "The Turkish Siege of Vienna in the Year 1683". (Vienna Museum Karsplatz, c.1685), http://germanhistorydocs.ghi-dc.org/sub_image.cfm?image_id=2893.

Ministerial Conferences in 1820.[150] Holding "General Conferences" after major wars and inviting sovereigns throughout Europe was a common arrangement. Following the Battle of Leipzig, Tsar Alexander I of Russia proposed the idea of holding the coming gathering at Vienna because it was decided that France should not have a voice at the upcoming conference.[151] The two different conferences meeting in Vienna more than 100 years after the Turkish Siege of the Holy Roman Empire show that Vienna was able to retain respect on the international stage after the Holy Roman Empire collapsed.

Illustration 18 The Congress of Vienna under the Leadership of Clemens Prince von Metternich[152]

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[150] Jean Godefroy, "The Congress of Vienna under the Leadership of Clemens Prince von Metternich (1814-1814), (Bildarchiv PreuBisher Kulturbesitz, 1819), http://germanhistorydocs.ghi-dc.org/sub_image.cfm?image_id=255.; Karl Binding, *Deutshe StaatsgrudgesetzeI,* Trans. Jeremiah Riemer, (Leipzig, Germany, 1909), http://germanhistorydocs.ghi-dc.org/pdf/eng/1_C_NS4_Vienna%20Final%20Act.pdf.

[151] Mark Jarrett, *The Congress of Vienna and Its Legacy: War and Great Power Diplomacy After Napoleon*, (ILHS. London: I.B. Tauris, 2012), https://libcatalog.atu.edu:2104/login.aspx?direct=true&db=e000xna&AN=607224&site=ehost-live&scope=site.

[152] 152 Jean Godefroy, "The Congress of Vienna under the Leadership of Clemens Prince von Metternich (1814-1814). (Bildarchiv PreuBisher Kulturbesitz, 1819), http://germanhistorydocs.ghi-dc.org/sub_image.cfm?image_id=255.

Vienna was later chosen as one of the seats of the Holy Roman Empire with the Auglich of 1867.[153] The Auglich of 1867 was a compromise between Austria and Hungary to have two main capital cities, one in each half of the empire. Vienna was chosen as the capital city in the Austrian portion of the empire. Vienna adapted to the changing international landscape. It went from being the seat of an empire to a city with enough international presence to hold multiple international conferences. It also helped finalize German laws and then became a seat of an empire again. Vienna being able to support an office of an international organization like the United Nations was just continuing its legacy on the international stage. While the Vienna Office of the United Nations was not as prominent as the Geneva Office, that does not make it any less important.

Vienna also had a specific location within the city that hosted international conferences before the United Nations set up their main office there. The Vienna International Centre originally held international conferences in Vienna before it became the permanent headquarters of the United Nations Office of Vienna in 1980.[154] While originally the Austrian Government was going to have an Austrian architect build the Vienna International Centre but instead, they decided to hold an international competition. The original winners of the competition had to modify their design to fit in the atmosphere that the Austrian government was trying to create with the building and thus it became an international project. R. McE describes the contest and the compromise between the original winners' vision and the vision of the Austrian government:

[153] Budapest Éva Somogyi, "Austro-Hungarian Compromise of 1876" *Encyclopedia of Jewish History and Culture Online*, original German Language ed, (Stuttgart/Springer-Verlag GnigH Duetschland, 2011-2017), http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/2468-8894_ejhc_COM_0061.

[154] United Nations, General Assembly, *United Nations Report of the Secretary-General: United Nations Accommodation at the Vienna International Centre*, (United Nations, 1980), https://documents-dds-ny.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/N80/316/29/pdf/N8031629.pdf?OpenElement

Four prizes were offered, and the first prize went to an American architect (Pelli), with second prize going to the British Building Design Partnership. The Austrian Government decided that the American skyscraper design would not fit in harmoniously with the venerable Vienna silhouette and, in any case, would be prohibitively expensive to build…Finally, the three Americans acting on behalf of the United Nations, let it be known that they would accept the Staber design, provided extensive modifications were made. So, in the end, to the disgust of the American winner of the original competition, the British winner of the panel adjudication, and the eminent members of the expert panel themselves, the Austrian outsider is now to build the "UN City".[155]

Illustration 19 A View of the Vienna International Centre[156]

[155] R. McE, "United Nations Agencies Will Rule Vienna Skyline." *The Times*, May 10, 1972.
[156] "Vienna International Centre." UN Photo, UN7757617, September 1, 1979.

Following the establishment of the Vienna International Centre as the home of the UN Office of Vienna in 1980, various UN organizations transferred to the Vienna International Centre from both the New York Headquarters and the Office of Geneva. While the Vienna International Centre was built before the United Nations established an office in Vienna, it was built with the United Nations in mind. Vienna won the right to be a United Nations Office after fierce competition and the city planned to build the Vienna International Centre to give them an edge.[157] The Vienna International Centre was a remarkably large building project that was done with the intent to house an office of the United Nations.[158] It helped show that Vienna had the capabilities and the infrastructure to be the location of a major United Nations Office. The effort was successful, and the Vienna International Centre is sometimes referred to as the "UN City". Vienna was also selected because it held advantages that Geneva did not. The Vienna International Centre was a much larger space than the Palais des Nation, and it was built specifically for the United Nations instead of the League of Nations. Vienna is also more centrally located in Europe and gives less of a Western European slant to the United Nations.[159] While Vienna is no longer the only UN city, it is the first UN city, and it is the only UN city that is also one of the four major permanent offices of the United Nations.

The choice of Vienna as the third location for a United Nations headquarters does not shift the focus of the United Nations away from its pro-European leanings. Like Switzerland and the United States, Austria had a liberal democratic government. Austria

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[157] "Vienna Wins Costly Battle to House UN Offices." *The Times*, January 28, 1976.
[158] R. McE, "United Nations will Rule Vienna Skyline". *The Times,* 1972. ; "The Republic of Austria and Its Capital Vienna Have Entered into One of the Greatest Building Projects Ever Realized in That Country: Austria Is Building Headquarters for Two of the Largest UN Organizations." *The Times*, 1975.
[159] " Vienna Wins Costly Battle to House United Nations Offices." *The Times*, 1976.

was also a capitalist democracy and not a communist government which keeps the power away from communist governments even though the Soviet Union was a major power in the United Nations at that point in time and the support for the People's Republic of China to be given Chinese Representation in the United Nations was growing stronger. While the Soviet Union remained the biggest communist nation in the United Nations, the number of communist countries in the United Nations was growing but capitalist countries still held most of the power and all of the headquarters' locations. Politically, placing another headquarters in Europe shifts political power more towards Europe and away from the rest of the world. Africa, Asia, and South America do not have any headquarters locations at this point, yet Europe is allowed to have two. While both European locations meet the requirements for headquarters lined out by Committee 10, it's hard to believe that no cities in other parts of the world did not also meet the requirements.

The International Court of Justice at The Hague Peace Palace

The Hague was a bit of a special case in terms of UN selection. It housed the International Court of Justice which was the only major organ of the United Nations that was not in one of the four main offices. The ICJ is located in the Peace Palace in the Hague. Since the International Court of Justice is associated with the United Nations but is not one of the actual programmes of the United Nations, it needed to be housed separately from the permanent headquarters already established in New York. Since the Netherlands had worked out an agreement with the League of Nations and built the Hague Peace Palace to

hold the Permanent International Court of Justice, the United Nations just had to negotiate

with the Carnegie foundation for the continued use of the facility that already existed.[160]

Illustration 20 A View of the Peace Palace in The Hague[161]

The Hague was similar to Vienna also in that it had a presence on the international

stage holding conferences before it came to the attention of the League of Nations or the

United Nations. It was the location of both the first Hague Peace Conference of 1899 and

the Second Peace Conference in 1907. Not only did it have an established historical and

international standing but it had a history of diplomacy as shown by multiple major peace

conferences occurring in the city.[162] The *Permanent Court of International Justice at the*

Hague which was published by the Permanent Court of Justice goes into more detail on

the conferences.

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[160] United Nations, League of Nations Committee, *League of Nations Committee: Summary Record of Meetings 30 January-1 February 1946*, (United Nations, 1946), https://documents-dds-ny.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/NL3/449/25/pdf/NL344925.pdf?OpenElement.

[161] "The International Court of Justice." UN Photo, UN77020801, September 23, 1957.

[162] James Scott Brown and Martin Niihoff, *The Proceedings of the Hague Peace Conference: Translations of the Official Texts,* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1920).

The first step towards the creation of an international court of justice was taken by the First Peace Conference which met at The Hague in 1899 and adopted a Convention for the pacific settlement of international disputes, in which provision was made for the setting up of a Permanent Court of Arbitration… A *Second Peace Conference* was held at The Hague in 1907. Among the results of this Conference was the voting of a Convention on an International Prize Court and of a recommendation concerning a Judicial Arbitration Court.[163]

 The Hague was connected both to the United Nations and the League of Nations. In the Covenant of the League of Nations, Article 14 established a Permanent International Court of Justice which was located in the Hague.[164]All of the Peace Conferences which established the need for an international court occurred at the Hague, which helped contribute to the decision to house the Permanent International Court of Justice there[165] When the United Nations took over the duties of the League of Nations, the Permanent International Court of Justice was transformed into the International Court of Justice which continued to be housed at the Hague.[166] Before the United Nations could continue to use the Hague, however, it had to negotiate with the Carnegie Foundation because the transfer of assets of the League of Nations to the United Nations did not include The Hague[167] The

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[163] James Scott Brown and Martin Niihoff, *The Proceedings of the Hague Peace Conference: Translations of the Official Texts,* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1920).
[164] "The Covenant of the League of Nations".
[165] James Scott Brown and Martin Niihoff, *The Proceedings of the Hague Peace Conference: Translations of the Official Texts,* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1920).
[166] United Nations Economic and Security Council, *Transfer to the United Nations of Powers Exercised by the League of Nations Under the Conventions on Narcotic Drugs*, (United Nations, 1946), https://documents-dds-ny.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/NL3/449/29/pdf/NL344929.pdf?OpenElement
[167] United Nations, League of Nations Committee, *League of Nations Committee: Summary Record of Meetings 30 January-1 February 1946*, (United Nations, 1946), https://documents-dds-ny.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/NL3/449/25/pdf/NL344925.pdf?OpenElement.

Carnegie Foundation had built the Peace Palace at the Hague specifically for the Court of

Arbitration, but before it could be completed World War One occurred.[168] In 1903, Andrew

Carnegie signed a treaty which established the Carnegie Foundation in Netherlands which

set up a system to share responsibility of the upkeep and use of the Hague Peace Palace.[169]

Illustration 21 Andrew Carnegie[170]

While Andrew Carnegie donated the money to build the Peace Palace, French architect

L.M. Codonnier won the competition that Carnegie created to design the Peace Palace.[171]

The competition enabled Carnegie to make the Peace Palace a truly international endeavor

from the beginning, not just after it was built when other nations were contributing to its

decoration. He transferred one and a half million dollars to build a court and a library for a

Permanent Court of Arbitration. With the establishment of the League of Nations and the

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[168]United Nations, General Assembly*, United Nations Resolution A/RES/84(I): Resolutions Adopted on the Reports of the Joint Fifth and Sixth Committee,* (165-168) (United Nations, 1946), https://undocs.org/en/A/RES/84(I).

[169] "A Creed to create a Stichling for the purpose of erecting and maintaining at the Hague a Court House and Library for the Permanent Court of Arbitration established by the Treaty of the 29th of July 1899." (October 1903).

[170] Andrew Carnegie, [United states, between 1865 and 1880] Image, https://www.loc.gov/item/2017657457/.

[171] "Gets Order to Build Peace Palace." *New York Times*, September 30, 1906, LVI edition. https://timesmachine.nytimes.com/timesmachine/1906/09/30/issue.html.

decision to set up a Permanent International Court of Justice, the Peace Palace evolved to house the PICJ instead.[172] The treaty specified that the court would be placed in the Hague and left the distribution of the funds up to a trust handled jointly by the United States and the Netherlands. The Court of Arbitration which later became the Permanent International Court of Justice was set up to handle court cases which involved more than one country. It was set up with multiple arbitrators on a panel whose members came from different parts of the world to help avoid calls of bias and to make it a truly international building endeavor.[173] According to an article from *The Independent* one of the best aspects of the was that the Hague Peace Palace had, "A especially happy feature of the palace is the intention of all the nations to contribute something to its construction or adornment… In more senses than the construction this building will be the first truly international edifice in the world."[174] In that article, fifteen different nations from around the world, including nations in Europe, North America, South America, and Asia, contributed in various ways to the Hague Peace Palace.[175]

The United Nations negotiated with the Carnegie Foundation for continued use of the building, the accommodations, and the accompanying law library for their new

[172] A Creed to create a Stichling for the purpose of erecting and maintaining at the Hague a Court House and Library for the Permanent Court of Arbitration established by the Treaty of the 29th of July 1899." (October 1903).

[173] "A GLIMPSE OF THE PALACE OF PEACE, JUST DEDICATED; From an Architectural Standpoint It Has Aroused Adverse Criticism, but It Is a Superb Structure, the Interior Being Especially Beautiful." *New York Times*, September 7, 1913, LXII edition. https://timesmachine.nytimes.com/timesmachine/1913/09/07/100276838.html?pageNumber=81.

[174] "The Hague Peace Palace." *The Independent …Devoted to the Consideration of Politics, Social and Economic Tendencies, History, Literature, and the Arts (1848-1921),* Aug 18, 1910, 378, https://libcatalog.atu.edu:443/login?url=https://www.proquest.com/magazines/hague-peace-palace/docview/90581319/se-2?accountid=8364.

[175] "The Hague Peace Palace." *The Independent …Devoted to the Consideration of Politics, Social and Economic Tendencies, History, Literature, and the Arts (1848-1921),* Aug 18, 1910, 378, https://libcatalog.atu.edu:443/login?url=https://www.proquest.com/magazines/hague-peace-palace/docview/90581319/se-2?accountid=8364.

International Court of Justice. The ICJ operated not only in a city that has an established international presence but also in a specific location in the city that was built for international relations and for an international court. While the names of the courts that work out of the Peace Palace has changed, the focus on international diplomacy and international justice has remained the same throughout its tenure. By necessity, the Peace Palace and the International Court of Justice were connected to the United Nations, but they were outside of immediate UN control through a major office. Since the ICJ is a judicial body, the United Nations cannot be seen as having too large of an influence on it, but the location was still chosen for specific historical reasons and holds weight on the international scale. While the United Nations is connected to the International Court of Justice the General Assembly did not want the ICJ to be located within an existing United Nations office to help give the ICJ a degree of impartiality and neutrality.

The Hague Peace Palace met the conditions set up by Committee 10 for housing part of the United Nations even if the International Court of Justice was only nominally connected to the UN.[176] While the main language in the Netherlands was Dutch, as with elsewhere throughout Europe, English was a prominent secondary language. There was also the infrastructure of the Hague Peace Palace to support the ICJ, and it was located in an easily accessible location for most of Western Europe. It has easy communication with the rest of the world and there was already a parameter in place to work out the official usage of the Hague Peace Palace with the Carnegie foundation and the government of the Netherlands thanks to the previous agreement in place for the League of Nations.

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[176] Preparatory Commission of the United Nations, *Committee 10: Memorandum on the Headquarters of the United Nations Organization*, (6-9) (United Nations, 1945), https://documents-dds-ny.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/NL3/573/93/pdf/NL357393.pdf?OpenElement

Even though the establishment of the Hague Peace Palace had its foundations in the League of Nations, it still continued the pro-European bias that the United Nations seemed to have. The Netherlands is also a western liberal democracy with a capitalist form of government. While it makes sense to take advantage of the existing infrastructure that was created for the Permanent Court of International Justice, it kept consolidating the power of the United Nations in Europe which implied to countries around the rest of the world that Europe was the most important part of the United Nations.

IV. The Only Non-Western Headquarters

Secondary Headquarters: Nairobi

The United Nations Office at Nairobi was set up to contain the United Nations Environmental Program and then latter expanded to also include the United Nations Centre for Human Settlement.

> The United Nations Office at Nairobi serves as the representative office of the Secretary-General in Nairobi and performs representation and liaison functions with permanent missions, the host Government and other Governments and intergovernmental and non-governmental organizations in Nairobi; manages and implements the programmes on administration and conference services; provides administrative and other support services to the United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP) and the United Nations Centre for Human Settlements (Habitat); administers joint and common services for other offices of the United Nations system located in Nairobi; and manages the United Nations facilities in Nairobi.[177]

Nairobi does not have the same extensive pedigree as an international city as New York, Geneva, or Vienna. However, the government of Kenya made an offer when discussions were occurring in the United Nations about hosting the headquarters of the United Nations Environmental program in 1972.

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[177] United Nations Secretariat, *Secretary-General's bulletin: Organization of the United Nations Office at Nairobi,* (1). (United Nations, 2000), https://documents-dds-ny.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/N00/655/95/pdf/N0065595.pdf?OpenElement

Illustration 22 United Nations Environment Programme, Nairobi[178]

Back when the Committee 10 of the Executive Committee decided on housing the United

Nations permanent headquarters in the United States, they put in a proviso that in the future

it might make more sense to house a specific part of the United Nations housed outside of

the main headquarters. When the United Nations decided that it needed a headquarters for

the United Nations Environmental Program, the General Assembly decided that it made

the most sense to house the new program in a developing country. The previous three main

offices of the United Nations were all in Western Europe or America. This is an example

of how Eurocentric the United Nations was even as it claimed to be an international

organization. While it worked on an international level, all of its seats of power were still

connected to Europe. The idea that the United Nations was divided into countries that were

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[178] "Headquarters of the UN Environment Programme (UNEP)." UN Photo, UN7757142, January 1, 1978.

either developed or developing also goes against the idea that all the nations of the organization had equal standing. While the General Assembly had realized that the developing nations needed to have more of an impact in the United Nations which led to Kenya being chosen, it took until the 1960's and 1970's for a major headquarters of the United Nations to be placed outside of the Western World. The decision to house the newest office of the United Nations in Kenya was not a unanimous vote. Many of the traditionally powerful countries of the United Nations such as the United States and Great Britain believed that it would be better to use an established office for the Developmental Program instead of building a new one. Those members were defeated in a vote in the General Assembly which had many of the countries of Africa, Asia, and Latin America voting for a developing country instead.[179] China voted with the bloc of countries from Africa, Asia, and Latin America, while the Soviet Union abstained from voting.[180] Kenya was put forth as the option that the developing countries favored to house the newest United Nations headquarters.[181] After that parameter was set for housing the Environmental Program, Nairobi winning the bid for establishing a United Nations Office makes more sense than it might appear at first glance.

Since all of the other major United Nations locations are in the Western World, it seems odd that Nairobi, Kenya was chosen as the newest site. The United Nations and its locations up to this point were very Eurocentric and US centric. All of the other main

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[179] John G. Stoessinger, *The United Nations; The Superpowers: China, Russia, &; America*, 4th ed. (New York, NY: Random House, 1977),
https://archive.org/details/unitednationssup0000stoe/page/204/mode/2up?q=Headquarters.
[180] John G. Stoessinger, *The United Nations; The Superpowers: China, Russia, &; America*, 4th ed. (New York, NY: Random House, 1977),
https://archive.org/details/unitednationssup0000stoe/page/204/mode/2up?q=Headquarters.
[181] John G. Stoessinger, *The United Nations; The Superpowers: China, Russia, &; America*, 4th ed. (New York, NY: Random House, 1977),
https://archive.org/details/unitednationssup0000stoe/page/204/mode/2up?q=Headquarters.

offices and bodies were located in Western Europe or the United States. Liberal democracy, specifically capitalist liberal democracy was the main form of government of the majority of United Nations member states, and they wanted to keep the power associated with United Nations headquarters in the same form of government. Some of the most powerful members of the United Nations, such as the United States and the United Kingdom, were very anti-communist. The United States government in particular, was very rabid in its defense of capitalism and would not have accepted a communist government or even a left leaning government to hold a United Nations Office. Nairobi as the last location did not make sense if it is not considered in this context. When you include the request from the United Nations General Assembly that the UNEP be located in a developing country, Kenya stands out as a strong candidate. In the early 1970's decolonization was still underway in Africa. Kenya was one of the governments that was able to transition from colonization to post-colonization well. Jomo Kenyatta's government accomplished that by using coercive political linkage. Coercive politics is when a government uses coercion to achieve a specific political outcome. Political linkage occurs during a transition period of government by linking the newer form of government to the older form. Kenyatta combined the two and was able to coerce the Kenyan people and link the newer government to the older colonial government. According to Nic Cheeseman, this allowed Kenyatta and his government to, "Replicate the broad pattern of colonial rule. Consequently, linkage in the independence era tended to replicate the predominantly coercive structures of the colonial period."[182]

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[182] Nic Cheeseman, "Introduction: Political Linkage and Political Space in the Era of Decolonization", *Africa Today*. 2006: 10.

This allowed a smoother transition of power to the post-colonial government by keeping the existing form of government that the citizens used but still allowing the citizens of Kenya to feel like they were forming their own government separate from British colonial rule. Other countries went for more radical changes in government during decolonization and thus were not able to stabilize as quickly.

A concern that the United Nations had when they decided to establish the newest headquarters in the Third World was political leanings of the government. The United Nations were very Western oriented. They favored liberal democracies. The attitude towards communism from over half of the security council members of the United Nations at the time is well documented. While the Soviet Union was representing the communist ideology on the security council they were not joined by a representative from the People's Republic of China until 1971. In the late 1960's when Kenya's selection process began, the Republic of China (the nationalist government in Taiwan) was still the representative of China both on the Security Council and in the General Assembly. So, while the Soviet Union was communist, they were vastly outnumbered. The United States especially was very anti-communist and had been since the end of the Second World War. This anti-communist mentality is shown through the election and re-election of men like Senator Joseph McCarthy.[183] While Joseph McCarthy is one of the most rabid anti-communist members of the United States government and took the opinion further than many of his colleagues. He was not alone in his hatred of communism and suspicion towards communist governments.

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[183] Joseph McCarthy, *Major Speeches and Debates of Senator Joe McCarthy, Delivered in the United States Senate, 1950-1951,* (Washington, U.S. G.P.O)

The United States had not changed that mentality by the 1970s. In 1971 the government of the United States was still campaigning to keep the People's Republic of China, communist China, out of the United Nations in favor of supporting the Nationalist government of Taiwan.[184] The United States Representative to the United Nations, George H.W. Bush, campaigned throughout 1971 to try and keep as much of the power with the Nationalist Taiwanese government instead of the People's Republic of China. While that effort ultimately failed, the energy that he applied trying to keep communist China out of the United Nations shows how the United States attitude towards communism had not changed between Senator Knowland giving his speech and when the United Nations accepted the bid from Kenya to house the newest headquarters of the United Nations. The United States was not alone in its effort to keep the United Nations a majority liberal democracy international organization. The type of government that a country had could even affect whether they would be accredited by the United Nations Credentials Committee. If there was a contested seat, such as with China or Cambodia during differing parts of the Cold War, then it came down to politics to decide who got the seat.[185] Even though the civil war in China was over by 1949 the People's Republic of China was not able to get enough support to gain the Chinese seat in the United Nations until 1971 and that decision was fought by nations like the United States the entire time.[186] Liberal capitalist governments, often from the West, would campaign to give the more Western style government the seat, and the more leftist Eastern governments would do the opposite.

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[184] *Foreign Relations of the United States*, 1969-1976, Volume V, United Nations, 1969-1972. Ed. Evan M. Duncan, (Washington: Government Printing Office, 2004), Document 321.

[185] Matthew Griffin, "Accrediting Democracies: Does the Credentials Committee of the United Nations Promote Democracy through Its Accreditation Process, and Should It," *New York University Journal of International Law and Politics* 32, no. 3 (Spring 2000): 725-786

[186] *Foreign Relations of the United States*, 1969-1976, Volume V, United Nations, 1969-1972. Ed. Evan M. Duncan, (Washington: Government Printing Office, 2004), Document 321.

In an article discussing democracy at the United Nations, Daniele Archibugi wrote about four hypocrisies that surrounded the United Nations and the practice of democracy. Two of those hypocrisies dealt specifically with Western governments and their efforts:

> The first is the hypocrisy of western democracies. The U.S., Great Britain and France, the inspiring forces behind the U.N., founded the organization to extend their own "democratic" values to the international sphere. Yet they had no scruples about appropriating the power to block any security-related decision and about helping themselves to the "imperial" privilege of being permanent members of the Security Council, with broad veto powers…
>
> The fourth hypocrisy returns us to the Western nations. While acting as democracy's most vociferous champions, they have nevertheless often undermined legitimate governments in the Third World, replacing them with authoritarian puppet regimes. Far from applying democratic values beyond their own national boundaries, they have manipulated foreign and international policy to serve only a narrow concept of their own national interest.[187]

The middle two points do not deal with the Western nations but rather with the hypocrisy involved in the communist nations and in the Third World itself. In those two points Archibugi highlighted the importance that liberal Western style democracies hold to the United Nations. Western nations such as Great Britain and the United States used their veto power in the UN Security Council to help promote the ideals of liberal democracies and try and combat the spread of communism. The Soviet Union did the same thing

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[187] Daniele Archibugi, "Democracy at the United Nations." *Peace Review* (Palo Alto, Calif.) 8, no. 3 (1996): 431-37.

regarding efforts that could hurt their nation but since at this point in time they are the only communist nation with a Security Council seat and because communist governments are so outnumbered in the General Assembly it did not have the same impact. The second hypocrisy concerning Western nations that Archibugi mentioned emphasized the lengths that nations such as the United States would go to in order to ensure that the liberal Western world order does not change. If a government was democratically elected but appeared to be too leftist or socialist, then it could be overthrown for an authoritarian government that is more in line with liberal democracies with support from United Nations countries. This happened multiple times in Latin America during the Cold War. Kenya provided a safer option for the capitalist countries of the United Nations to have the newest United Nations Office then the countries in Africa, Asia, and Latin America that seemed to be too accepting of communist help. Governments like the United States were worried that accepting help from communist countries implied that the nations were open to a communist form of government.

Since the United Nations wanted to place the headquarters of the Environmental Programme in a Third World Country that limited its location to Africa, Asia, and Latin America. The biggest country in Asia in the 1970s was a proud communist nation. China was not very happy with the United Nations for getting involved in other Asian countries that tried to become communist like Korea or Vietnam either. The People's Republic of China was not content to only be one of the biggest communist countries around the world at the time. It wanted to spread communism and challenged the United States capitalist form of government. In his book, *Winning the Third World: Sino-American Rivalry During*

the Cold War, Gregg Brazinsky wrote about the Cold War competition between the United

States and China:

> This competition spread across diverse regions of the globe and
> encompassed the diplomatic, political, and economic realms. It shaped the
> destinies of some Asian and African countries and helped to define the
> global agendas of both the People's Republic of China and the United
> States.[188]

 While the People's Republic of China was not a member of the United Nations at this

point in time, the United Nations was worried about the influence that they had on the

developing Third World. Between the People's Republic of China being more active in

Asia, as well as the Vietnam and Korea communist factions, the capitalist members of the

United Nations were not about to put a headquarters in such a vulnerable position

surrounded by communist influence. Latin America also had multiple countries that were

flirting with the idea of communism around the same time. Communism was rampant in

Cuba and was enough of a potential problem throughout Latin America, that it was

discussed in multiple United States National Security Councils in the late 1960's-1970's.

In one such meeting on July 3, 1969, Henry Kissinger stated,

> "…change did not promote liberal democratic regimes; it was not relevant
> to what they wanted…but that many believed that we [the United States]
> have a moral mission to promote liberal democracy."[189]

[188] Gregg A. Brazinsky, *Winning the Third World: Sino-American Rivalry During the Cold War. The New Cold War History*, (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2017), https://libcatalog.atu.edu:2104/login.aspx?direct=true&db=e000xna&AN=1484098&site=ehost-live&scope=site.

[189] *Foreign Relations of the United States*, 1969-1976, Volume E-10, Documents on American Republics, 1969-1972. Eds. Douglas Kraft and James Siekmeier, (Washington: Office of the Historian, 2009), Document 3.

Henry Kissinger, who held the position of National Security Advisor to President Nixon, was worried about Latin America because he believed that it was becoming less democratic, not more. The United States was a major player in the United Nations and the global war on communism. If the United States was worried about Latin America, then it was not a viable location for a headquarters even if it did meet the requirement of being a Third World country. Especially during the presidency of Richard Nixon, the United States was extremely vigilant concerning the threat that it believed communism gave to the world.

Illustration 23 President Richard Nixon with National Security Advisor Henry Kissinger[190]

Latin America was also in a less accessible location than Kenya. This goes back to the idea that the United Nations was Eurocentric. Kenya was closer to Europe than the countries of Latin America which made it a more attractive option.

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[190] "President Richard Nixon and National Security Advisor Dr. Henry Kissinger" *Nixon White House Photographs, 1/20/1969-9/9/1974*, February 8, 1972, https://catalog.archives.gov/id/66394260

In the 1970s, most of Africa was still in the process of undergoing decolonization and stabilizing the country afterwards. As they were going through the process of decolonization, the countries of Africa had to decide what type of government to form. According to Cheikh Anta Babou, the countries had two main choices. In his article titled, "Decolonization or National Liberation: Debating the End of British Colonial Rule in Africa" in *The Annales of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* he wrote,

> "The emergence of the United States and the Soviet Union as dominant post-war powers presented another major obstacle to colonialism and an opportunity for Africans to achieve self-rule. Both of these countries, for different reasons, appeared at least initially as natural allies of the people in Africa and Asia struggling to overthrow the yoke of European imperialism."[191]

Babou's view that an African nation could either ally with the United States and form a liberal western-style democracy or with the Soviet Union and form a communist form of government was a worry shared by many in the United Nations. Babou goes on to say that the threat of a communist government in Africa only appears, "in the 1960s and 1970s in the heat of the cold war and the wars of liberation in Portuguese colonies," which further highlights the worry that members of the United Nations like the United States would have in the 1960s and 1970s when it was deciding where to place the United Nations Environmental Programme.[192]

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[191] Cheikh Anta Babou, "Decolonization or National Liberation: Debating the End of British Colonial Rule in Africa." *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 632 (2010): 41–54. http://www.jstor.org/stable/27895947.
[192] Cheikh Anta Babou, "Decolonization or National Liberation: Debating the End of British Colonial Rule in Africa." *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 632 (2010): 41–54. http://www.jstor.org/stable/27895947.

Most countries in the Third World, Africa, Asia, and Latin America were officially part of the non-aligned movement. The non-aligned movement was a group of former colonial countries that decided not to become aligned with either the United States and its allies or the Soviet Union, China, or its allies during the Cold War. The non-aligned movement had specific policies,

> "These policies included the following: no member state would make a military alliance with major Cold World powers, member states would strive to peacefully coexist with other nations, and member states would actively oppose colonialism."[193]

While the non-aligned movement stopped many African countries from forming military alliances with either of the Cold War blocs, it did not stop monetary aid or keep them from establishing a form of government that would make a country closer to one side or the other. The non-aligned movement thus helped make it palpable for a Third World country to be chosen without worrying by either side about a military confrontation. It did not keep either the Western countries or the Soviet Union from being able to influence politics however, which is why the United Nations views on communism still influenced the overall decision to choose Kenya.

The People's Republic of China did not have a specific reason to oppose Kenya as the newest United Nations Office. In 1971 when the People's Republic of China gained its seat back in the General Assembly and the Security Council, Kenya was one of the

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[193] Marta Schaff, "Non-Aligned Movement." *Non-Aligned Movement*, August 2017, 1–2. https://libcatalog.atu.edu:2104/login.aspx?direct=true&db=f5h&AN=18001075&site=ehost-live&scope=site.

countries that voted to give them the seat and their representation. Beyond that, the communist government of China viewed,

> The UN as an arena was a place where opinions from different states could be exchanged. At this point, the UN was instrumentally neutral in nature. As an actor, the UN could be a friend or a foe depending on who wielded the overwhelming power.[194]

Of the countries that had stabilized, Kenya had the closest ties to a Western democracy and the infrastructure to support an international organization. Kenya maintained a closer tie to England than many of the other African countries did during their decolonization processes. Daniel Branch in his analysis on African electoral politics argues that colonial rule in Kenya allowed for elections that, "ensured the promotion of an African elite sympathetic to British interests. Through an analysis of these elections, he demonstrates how Kenya's founding fathers learned the lesson of the 'triumph of the system'."[195] Nic Cheeseman claims that, "the real value of his [Daniel Branch] work is that it illuminates how an African elite that would bend Kenya's inherited political institutions to its own needs was produced."[196] By using the same system that the colonial rule set up to promote British interests, the new government of Kenya continued to pursue goals that were similar in nature to the British. Additionally, by using the inherited system of government, the United Nations could be sure that the Kenyan government was not following a communist form of government, but a liberal Western democratic form. Kenya

[194] Wei Liu, *China In The United Nations*, (Hackensack, NJ: World Century Publishing Corporation, 2014), https://libcatalog.atu.edu:2104/login.aspx?direct=true&db=e000xna&AN=779668&site=ehost-live&scope=site.

[195] Daniel Branch and Nic Cheeseman, "The Politics of Control in Kenya: Understanding the Bureaucratic-Executive State, 1954-73." *Review of African Political Economy* 107 (2006):11-31.

[196] Nic Cheeseman, "Introduction: Political Linkage and Political Space in the Era of Decolonization", *Africa Today*. 2006: 7.

was one of the only African governments that the United Nations was sure would not be influenced by communist governments such as the Soviet Union or the People's Republic of China. African governments did try and stay out of the political debate of the cold war. Most African states were members of the Non-Aligned Movement which tried to stay neutral in the ideological and political conflict of the Cold War. Unfortunately, as pointed out by Dauda Abubakar in his essay, "Africa in World Politics and the Political Economy of Postcoloniality" it was not as simple as trying to not pick a side ideologically. Abubakar points out that,

> "…the internal institutional weaknesses of African post-colonial states, their dependence for economic survival on the hegemonic colonial powers, increasing indebtedness, coupled with the entrenchment of authoritarian regimes and the privatization of state power by the ruling elites all contributed significantly to the gradual erosion of the legitimacy of African states."[197]

Since the newly independent states of Africa were dependent on the hegemonic states for their economic survival, they were not able to stay out of the conflict entirely. They had to decide if they would rather depend on the same states and form of government that had kept them in subjugation for so long or if they should take a chance on the newer communist form of government.

Kenya decided to keep the same form of government that they held when they were a British Colony. Not only did that allow them a smoother transition through the process of decolonization, but it also gave them an advantage over other African nations because

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[197] Kenneth C. Omeje and Dauda Abubakar, "Africa in World Politics and the Political Economy of Postcoloniality." *The Crises of Postcoloniality in Africa,* CODESRIA Book Series, (2018.)

Western democracies like the United States and Great Britain were more likely to trust the Kenyan government. That is not to say that the transition was without conflict. There was a revolt from British rule that lasted over 4 years and the main reason that Kenya was able to recover so well was that Jomo Kenyatta was released from the jail sentence given to him by Great Britain and was able to become the President of Kenya and help them through the decolonization process.[198] While Kenya did gain their independence from Great Britain, they did not go as far as other African nations when cutting ties with their former colonizers and did not dismiss the type of government that the British had set up in the colony out of hand.

By 1972, the Kenyatta Conference Centre was close to being fully built and established.

Illustration 24 Kenyatta Conference Centre[199]

[198] Nic Cheeseman, "Introduction: Political Linkage and Political Space in the Era of Decolonization", *Africa Today*. 2006: 7.
[199] Wing, CC BY-SA 3.0 <https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/3.0>, via Wikimedia Commons.

The Kenyatta Conference Centre was the first international conference center to be established in Africa. It held its first international conference in 1973 before the United Nations Office in Nairobi had been completed and was commissioned in the 1960's by Kenya's first president, Jomo Kenyatta. Kenyatta had been a part of the government of Kenya in one form or another since it began the decolonization process and he wanted to help Kenya to gain international recognition. By establishing the first international conference centre in Africa, Kenyatta helped Kenya to gain influence on an international scale. Not only was the Kenyatta Conference Centre the first international conference center in Africa, but it was also on par with European conference centers. In his article in *The London Times*, Michael Toynbee compares the Kenyatta Conference Centre with other convention centers being built around Europe and especially those in England.[200] He believed that the KCC could hold its own on the international stage after it was completed. The design and implementation of the Conference Centre was done by both native Kenyan's and international artists and architects.[201] As well as local Kenyan input, one of the main architects was Norwegian Karl Nostvik who was chosen by Jomo Kenyatta's government after he submitted sketches to them in 1966.[202] The contractors of the project were Italian which helped designate the conference center as a truly international endeavor.[203] Not only was the Kenyatta Conference Centre formed with international

[200] Michael Toynbee, "New Generation of Custom-Built Venues." *The Times*, January 13, 1975.

[201] "Nordic Architecture in Africa - Pavilion at Venice Architecture Biennale", *ArchiPanic*, 10 June 2014.

[202] Patrick Off, "Long-Term Aim Is Conference City." *The Times*, September 21, 1973, 58, 893 edition. https://www.thetimes.co.uk/tto/archive/article/1973-09-21/40/4.html#start%3D1785-01-01%26end%3D1985-12-31%26terms%3DNostvik%26back%3D/tto/archive/find/Nostvik/w:1785-01-01%7E1985-12-31/1.

[203] Patrick Off, "Long-Term Aim Is Conference City." *The Times*, September 21, 1973, 58, 893 edition. https://www.thetimes.co.uk/tto/archive/article/1973-09-21/40/4.html#start%3D1785-01-01%26end%3D1985-12-31%26terms%3DNostvik%26back%3D/tto/archive/find/Nostvik/w:1785-01-01%7E1985-12-31/1.

relations in mind but the project itself was an international endeavor. Jomo Kenyatta commissioned it in order to raise Kenya's status internationally, and his later bid to have Kenya hold the United Nations Environmental Programme had the same goal.

The KCC when it was finished in 1973, held its first international conferences. The Kenyatta Conference Centre held a conference for the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund in September of 1973.[204] This conference had nothing to do with the United Nations and helps show that the KCC and Kenya did not rely solely on the United Nations to establish its presence on the international stage. The World Bank and the International Monetary Fund have their own international presence and with them choosing the Kenyatta Conference Centre sends a message that the KCC and Kenya are building a presence of their own on the international stage.[205]

The Kenyatta Conference Centre also helped Kenya to establish a reputation about caring about the environment. The KCC held the United Nations Environmental Program starting in 1973 before the United Nations Office at Nairobi was finished being built. Since Kenya had the facilities to hold it, the program was allowed to get up and running even though its permanent location was not finished.

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[204]Melvyn Westtile, "World Bank Reform and a Balance of Power." *The Times*, September 26, 1973.
[205] "The Government of Kenya Welcomes the Governors of the World Bank Group and the IMF and Other Delegates to the Annual Meetings in Nairobi in September 1973." *The Times*, September 21, 1973.

Kenya was also acceptable for those in the United Nations who did not have a liberal Western democracy. While those countries were in the minority of the United Nations, they still had some power. The Soviet Union was one of those countries, while it was a communist country, it was still a permanent member of the Security Council. Those countries who had a different style of government were just happy that Kenya was not another Western country. All of the other headquarters of the United Nations were stationed in countries that are heavily identified with Western ideals, either in Western Europe or the United States. The fact that the United Nations chose Kenya to house the latest headquarters helped to show not only nations like the Soviet Union, but also nations that came from around the world, such as Asia, Africa, and Latin America, that the United Nations was willing to branch out and not be as Western and Eurocentric. Especially because while Kenyatta's government did come out of its colonial ancestry, and thus was a liberal Western democracy, it was not perfect.

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[206] "Secretary-General Kurt Waldheim Meets with President Jomo Kenyatta", UN Photo, UN7458718, January 31, 1972.

The United Nations Office in Kenya also met the requirements that Committee 10 decided upon to house a headquarters of the United Nations.[207] English is one of the official languages, a throwback to colonial rule, Kenya has just built the Kenyatta Conference Centre which showed that it met the accommodation requests. While it is further away from most of the main players of the United Nations, with the requirement that the UNEP be set up in a Third World country, Kenya had some of the most advanced infrastructure and communication because of its relatively easy transition from colonial rule to independence.

What About Asia and South America?

Neither Asia nor South America hold a headquarters for the United Nations. This can be explained by the European bias that the United Nations holds. First, as pointed out earlier, the United Nations, while claiming to be a truly international organization, is still very Euro-centric. Having a headquarters in a country in Asia or South America would not meet all of the rather European biased qualifications that were set up by Committee 10. The main language in most countries in Asia and South America does not meet the language requirements and those countries are not as accessible to the European representatives. They are not as close to Europe and would thus add onto travel time and inconvenience the European representatives.

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[207] Preparatory Commission of the United Nations, *Committee 10: Memorandum on the Headquarters of the United Nations Organization*, (6-9) (United Nations, 1945), https://documents-dds-ny.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/NL3/573/93/pdf/NL357393.pdf?OpenElement

V. Conclusions

The headquarters and main offices of the United Nations were not chosen at random, and while money might have been a factor in some of the decisions, it was not the main criteria. The process to choose a United Nations headquarters location, beginning in 1946, was complex. Committee 10 decided on a specific list of criteria that had to be met to house the United Nations permanent headquarters with requirements involving language, culture, geography, accommodation and infrastructure, communication, and diplomatic freedoms for the United Nations within the host country.[208] In addition to those criteria there were more subtle politics at work when choosing the various offices of the United Nations. Because of the politics surrounding the Cold War which was ongoing throughout the entire process of picking United Nations Offices in New York, Geneva, Vienna, and Nairobi, all of the locations ended up requiring a liberal Western-style democracy. All of the cities chosen to house the United Nations offices had an existing presence on the international stage. There was such a prejudice surrounding any type of leftist government parts of the United Nations, including major players such as the United States, that while it might not have been an official listed requirement, it was an important factor all the same. The only non-capitalist permanent member of the Security Council during most of the time period where the locations of United Nations Offices were chosen was the Soviet Union and their representative was outnumbered both in the Security Council and in the General Assembly. Likewise, The Hague Peace Palace in the Netherlands was chosen to hold the International Court of Justice because it had an existing

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[208] Preparatory Commission of the United Nations, *Committee 10: Memorandum on the Headquarters of the United Nations Organization*, (6-9) (United Nations, 1945), https://documents-dds-ny.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/NL3/573/93/pdf/NL357393.pdf?OpenElement

presence on the international stage, specifically it had held the Hague Peace Conferences which first established the need for an international court.[209]

Existing alliances and loyalties were also a factor in deciding where to place the United Nations headquarters. New York was chosen in order to tie the United States more closely to the UN in the hopes that it would succeed where the League of Nations did not. By making the United States the headquarters of the United Nations, the US took a leading role in the organization. Switzerland has a policy of neutrality that goes back to their constitution of 1848.[210] That neutrality policy is why, even though the "Spirit of Geneva" holds negative connotations to many non-European countries such as China, Geneva was the location of the second United Nations office. However, since Geneva met all of the requirements of Committee 10, the assets of the League of Nations, including the Palais des Nations were transferred to the United Nations before Geneva became the second United Nations headquarters. Vienna had its own form of neutrality due to its physical location between Western Europe and Eastern Europe. Austria had also established a state treaty in 1955 which promised that it would practice active neutrality and avoid alliances such as the ones that contributed to the World Wars.[211] So even though Switzerland and Austria were both Western democracies and thus might identify more with one side of the Cold War conflict, they officially held policies of neutrality which helped to reassure the Soviet Union and other communist governments that they could be neutral enough to house United Nations Offices in conjecture with the fact that both Vienna and Geneva already

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[209] James Scott Brown and Martin Niihoff, *The Proceedings of the Hague Peace Conference: Translations of the Official Texts,* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1920).
[210] Switzerland, "The Federal Constitution of the Swiss Confederation: September 12, 1848, with Art. XLI and XLVIII as Amended January 14, 1866." 2nd ed. (Berne, 1867).
[211] Sue Masterman, "Historic Role as East-West Pivot: An Active Neutral," *The Times*, May 29, 1980.

had existing infrastructure to support the United Nations Offices and both of them already held some of the United Nations programmes. Nairobi helped to establish a United Nations presence outside of the Western democracies. It gave the United Nations a tie to the Third World and its [officially] non-aligned states. Since most of the Third World joined into a group of non-aligned states and would not formally join either side of the Cold War conflict, housing a United Nations Office there was acceptable to both the East and the West. However, even within this structure of non-aligned states, the United Nations chose one of the nations that was most connected with its previous colonized government. While carrying over the same form of government throughout the process of decolonization helped Kenya to stabilize as a nation quicker than many of its neighbors, it also allowed Kenya to keep a connection to its colonizers: Great Britain.[212] This meant that it stayed a liberal Western-style democracy, even if its elections were more authoritarian than those that usually occurred in Western Europe. Nairobi is the only United Nations Office that meets less of the qualifications set out by Committee 10, but with the requirement of the United Nations that they wanted to house the United Nations Environmental Programme in a Third World country, Kenya meets more of Committee 10's qualifications than most.

Overall, the decisions to house the permanent locations of the United Nations in New York, Geneva, Vienna, the Hague Peace Palace, and Nairobi emphasize how euro-centric the United Nations truly is. Out of the five locations, four of them are in Western Europe, five of the countries have Western liberal democracies, and the outlier of Nairobi fashioned its government after its colonial government that Great Britain created and thus has western democratic influences in its governance as well. None of the five locations are

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[212] Daniel Branch and Nic Cheeseman. "The Politics of Control in Kenya: Understanding the Bureaucratic-Executive State, 1954-73." *Review of African Political Economy* 107 (2006):11-31.

in any form communist or leftist governments even though by the time that Nairobi was established, the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China were both permanent members of the Security Council. Though it is not explicitly stated that the United Nations has a pro-European bias or is anti-communist in any of the official documents. By analyzing the documents and the final locations of headquarters and major United Nations locations in the context of the Cold War and changing international relations, it becomes clear that while the United Nations claims to be a truly international organization, it is very Euro-centric.

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