CAMBRIDGE
UNIVERSITY PRESS

RESEARCH ARTICLE

# The Untold History of the United Nations, the US State Department, and Organized Interests in the Postwar Era

A. Lanethea Mathews-Schultz

Muhlenberg College
Email: mathews@muhlenberg.edu

**ABSTRACT**

In 1945, a vast range of US civic organizations and other groups were mobilized into a state-sanctioned campaign on behalf of a new international governance structure: the United Nations. This was a novel collaboration, one that demonstrated the State Department's acknowledgment of the value of civic activity and organized interests to securing foreign policy goals and that positioned US groups to assert an independent role in shaping the formal institutions of the United Nations. While scholars of American political development (APD) have tentatively embraced the notion that international institutions matter to American politics, past research on mid-twentieth century interests, conventionally focused on domestic business and trade associations, has underappreciated how and why the United Nations marked an important movement for interest development. Of particular significance, US voluntary and civic organizations were instrumental in securing a role for nongovernmental organizations in the UN Economic and Security Council, thereby further linking American and international politics and reshaping state-society relationships. In brief, this article argues that the State Department's campaign to mobilize public support around the United Nations, as well as the creation of the United Nations, generated new incentives for the maintenance and mobilization of existing groups and subsidized the formation of new groups.

In 1945, civic organizations and other group interests in the United States were mobilized into a state-sanctioned campaign on behalf of a new international governance structure that would become the United Nations. The American Legion distributed a three-page letter and summary of the UN proposal to 12,000 Legion posts, explaining members' responsibility to mobilize on its behalf; the American Association of University Women sent a "Dumbarton Oaks kit" to 1,200 of its local branches (Newcomer 1944); and the Women's Division of Christian Service (predecessor to today's United Methodist Women) distributed "UN! We Believe!" bumper stickers—declaring that "our domestic problems are international too" and collecting more than one million signatures in support of

the United Nations (Stevens et al. 1948).[1] Others joined in: the American Farm Bureau Federation endorsed the United Nations, taking a self-described "plunge into international affairs" (Kile 1948: 303); the International Ladies Garment Workers Unions mailed filmstrips about Bretton Woods to its officers; the National Educational Association "wrote thirty thousand superintendents urging them to study the proposal" (Abraham 1945); the Commission to Study the Organization of Peace aired a 13-week radio series advocating entry into the United Nations reportedly reaching 4 million listeners (Divine 1967); and the Woodrow Wilson Foundation had to rescind its offer to send interested groups a copy of the Dumbarton Oaks proposal after receiving more than 1,000 requests a day, declaring "the Foundation is going bankrupt!" (in Robins 1971 and Schlesinger 2003).

The bustle of civic activity was encouraged by an interesting moment of state-led public opinion formation, one that was built around the lessons of Wilson's failure to cultivate adequate support for the League of Nations (Borgwardt 2005; Hoopes and Brinkley 1997; Leigh 1976) and that drew strength from collaborative relationships between the federal government and business, philanthropic, charity, and relief organizations during and immediately after the war (Zunz 2012). This carefully orchestrated campaign was coordinated by the State Department's Public Liaison Department, through which it filtered 2.5 million educational papers— "factual information for American groups interested in studying and discussing these vital public policies in their own way"—to more than 400 organizations (State Department 1945a). The department also sent representatives to public meetings and conferences of voluntary and business associations and produced an NBC radio series on public opinion and foreign policy (Haynes and Ignatieff 2003; Leigh 1976).

These developments were significant, in part, because they were successful; they signaled the growing centrality of the United States in world affairs, helped secure the UN charter, and marked the development of a foreign policy bureaucratic machinery for formulating and transmitting public opinion (Leigh 1976). In addition, but less well understood, the State Department's efforts were both rooted in and foretold of changing institutional opportunities for organized interests. One result: the number of US groups seeking to influence "world affairs" grew exponentially after 1945, in some cases outpacing the trade, business, and professional associations long thought to dominate the interest group system in the mid-twentieth century, while long-standing civic associations blended an emergent internationalism into organizational identities and strategies. Having recognized the value of civic activity in securing foreign policy goals, the State Department was persuaded to invite organizational representatives to attend the UN conference in San Francisco in 1945, positioning them to assert a formative role. Ultimately, the novel collaboration between the federal government and US organizations led to the institutionalization of the concept of "nongovernmental organizations" (NGOs): for the first time in international history, an international intergovernmental organization formally

---

[1]Women's Division of Christian Service of the Board of Missions and Church Extension of the Methodist Church, *Sixth Annual Report*, 1946–1947, 172; "UN We Believe" [booklet], United Nations CCUN-Folder One, Women's Division, Records of the Women's Division, United Methodist Archives, General Commission on Archives & History, Madison, NJ.

recognized the rights of citizen groups, creating new international networks and opportunities for political change and subsequent interest development.

## Interests in APD after 1945: Where Is the United Nations or the "International"?

Despite Gourevitch's observation in 1978 in "The Second Image Reversed" that the "traditional distinction between international relations and domestic politics" is "dead," scholars of American political development (APD) have been slow to consider how international developments shape US politics. Katznelson and Shefter's (2002) *Shaped by War and by Trade* is an exception; their goal is to examine "how the international situation of the United States has molded the character of the American state" with focus on international influences as systemic causes of change (6, 15–16). The United Nations receives only one mention in this volume, however, in Zolberg's (2002) chapter on the rise of the imperial presidency and US hegemony. Chapters by Skocpol et al. and Shefter consider the impact of war mobilization on civic engagement and international-domestic linkages on party development, respectively, but these chapters are limited in scope. Gourevitch's suggestion that political development is not *only* shaped by war and by trade but also by the impact the international system has on the distribution of power among groups and coalitions remains largely unexplored. Elizabeth Borgwardt's (2005) *A New Deal for the World*, in the subfield of "new international history," is a notable examination of the intersections of international, cultural, and economic change in which the United Nations is prominently featured. Her focus centers on the global expansion of the New Deal and transformations in American national identity and conceptions of national interest (also Sparrow 2011). Although poised to analyze how these transformations mattered to groups of citizens, Borgwardt's focus is on ideas, political elites, and institutions—interests receive only passing comment.

The dearth of attention to the United Nations in APD might be explained by realist presumptions that it has been little more than a nuisance in a story of American state building, a story most often told as one of exceptionally *domestic* institutions, ideas, and interests. Of course, the story of the formation of the United Nations as an elite-led, US-driven World War II event has been well told, but this literature tends to focus on issues involving war, trade, relations between the Big Four, and the origins of the Cold War, omitting attention to the ways these developments restructured state-society relationships in the United States (or elsewhere) (Hoopes and Brinkley 1997; Schlesinger 2003). Johnstone (2011) notes, for example, that APD tends to view foreign policy through the lens of elite action, only glancing at nonstate actors or private organizations.

There is no shortage of scholarship on domestic and international interactions outside APD. The significance of the United Nations for interest mobilization has been well noted in comparative and international relations fields in a burgeoning literature on the role of nonstate actors in international and nation-state development, world culture, and political change (e.g. Lipschultz 1992; Putnam 1988; Rosenau 1990, 1995). Keck and Sikkink's (1998) *Activists beyond Borders* examining transnational advocacy networks is among the best-known examples (others include Ahmed and Potter, 2006; Boli and Thomas 1997, 1999; Ghils 1992; Khagram et al. 2002;

Martens 2003; Owen 2010; Tarrow 2005; Turner and Killian 1987; Weiss and Gordenker 1996).

It is especially surprising that APD scholars have conceded little attention to the United Nations and its relationships to group interests because the mid-twentieth century is frequently pinpointed as the period in which the discipline became self-conscious about the need for empirical research about group processes, and the time when the modern interest group system was born. Civil society scholars have noted dramatic shifts in citizen involvement from an impressive increase after World War II to precipitous decline by the early 1960s but, despite the fact that state-led war mobilization is a conventional focus, these accounts have paid little attention to the United Nations or to the internationalization of civic engagement that was a result (Pierson and Skocpol 2007; Putnam 2001; Skocpol 2003; Skocpol and Fiorina 1999; Skocpol et al. 2002; Walker 1991). Scholars of interest groups typically take the 1960s as a point of departure, implicitly (or explicitly) assuming that the forces that shape and respond to interest groups are limited to factors endemic to the federal government: campaign finance, political parties, congressional lobbies, the development of the American news media, the rise of executive power, and so on (Baumgartner and Leech 1998; Berry 1999; Cigler and Loomis 2007; Schlozman and Tierney 1986; Walker 1991). Industrialization, increasing societal complexity, technological developments, war, and the unique features of the American political system—these variables loom large in conventional views US interest development over the second half of the twentieth century (Hansen 1988; Tichenor and Harris 2005; Truman 1951; Walker 1991).

Important exceptions are found in budding scholarship that considers the role of emergent globalism on social movement development, particularly in the context of the US civil rights movement. Skrentny's (2004) *Minority Rights Revolution*, for example, shows that the expansion of civil rights in the United States was connected to the expansion of these rights in other parts of the world (also Borgwardt 2005). Layton (2000) examines the intersections of US foreign policy and domestic race policies, suggesting that "international context did far more to command specific components of the federal government's attention to civil rights than would have come from the government's own inclinations" (8; also Dudziak 2000; Kryder 2000; McAdam 1982; Plummer 1996, 2003). In *Eyes Off the Prize*, Andersen (2003) notes that the formation of the United Nations led key African American leaders in the NAACP to reshape their institutional structure, priorities, partnerships, and ideological vision, expanding their platform to include international human rights. Ritter (2008) offers a similar account about the intersection of women's rights discourses and emergent international understandings of human rights (also Laville 2006, 2008; Mathews-Gardner 2011). Zunz (2012) is more interested in international humanitarianism than social movements per se, but his work on the postwar relationships between private and religious charities and the United Nations nonetheless points to similar linkages (also Curti 1963). These scholars have crafted rich narratives about transformations in organizational identities, strategies, and memberships within and among organized interests that hinge on the intersections of national and international politics in the postwar era. Of particular importance, they collectively suggest that interest mobilization and development, and the networks between the state and private associations, were influenced in distinctive ways by mid-twentieth-century international political dynamics, in general, and by the United Nations, specifically.

This article suggests a more robust theoretical framework that may link these otherwise disparate narratives of postwar interest development. Constructs similar to those found in the social movement literature—resources, issue framing, political opportunity structures—have been applied to broader notions of "interests" by a few, notably Skocpol (2003), Clemens (1997), Young (2010), and in the context of women's and racial organizations, Minkoff (1995). This literature highlights the relational nature of interest development, a significant conclusion of which is that institutions shape the way and extent to which organized interests participate in the public realm. Young (2010), for example, shows that organized interests undergo adaptive change within broader historical patterns in which political institutions are arbiters of access to political and policy-making processes. Skocpol's *Diminished Democracy* (2003) is notable for its focus on the post–World War II era; she argues that a "great civic transformation" took place after World War II as a result of political and institutional change, including a burst of federal legislation bolstering liberal activism and the emergence of the "rights revolutions" of the 1960s and 1970s. Like much of this literature on US organized interests, this work is insulated from international developments, but nonetheless offers a theoretical starting place to begin thinking about how the formation of the United Nations and the US government's particular role in its institutionalization were consequential for interest development.

A subset of postwar political scientists writing about interests of their time lend support for this conceptual framework. In 1958, Donald Blaisdell observed the growing significance of "pressure groups" in international politics. Noting that pressure groups "exert pressure simultaneously on national governments and international agencies," Blaisdell wrote, "intergovernmental organizations attract the attention of pressure groups just as national governments do, and for the same reasons—to be present where action is taken and decisions are made and to attempt to influence or determine the action" (319; see also Almond 1950; Beer 1958; Masland 1942; Sprout 1935; and White 1951). A previous employee of the State Department, Blaisdell suggested that mid-twentieth-century innovations in "organizational and propaganda techniques have enabled groups to claim an enlarged role in the decisions of both foreign offices and intergovernmental organizations" (1958: 319).

Blaisdell's observations invite reconsideration of the postwar landscape of organized interests. In 1949, the US Department of Commerce's *National Associations of the United States* reported that there were 4,000 active national organizations in the United States, including 1,800 business and trade organizations, 500 professional groups, 200 labor unions, 100 women's organizations, and 25 fraternal associations (Judkins 1949). It was this Commerce Department directory that provided empirical support for Truman's 1951 *Governmental Process* and to which contemporary scholars refer when articulating an axiomatic claim about the dominance of business, trade, and professional associations in the mid-twentieth century (e.g., Baumgartner and Leech 1998; Schattschneider 1975; Schlozman and Tierney 1986; Walker 1991). Seeking to explain the rapid mobilization of economic interests in the first part of the twentieth century, Truman focused on total numbers of organizations—noting, for instance, that there were more than 800 manufacturers' organizations in 1949— but, surprisingly, did little to map the growth of organizations over time. Figure 1 provides a new look at this data, arranging organizations by founding date. These data support Truman's "disturbance theory"; the spike in trade and industry associations
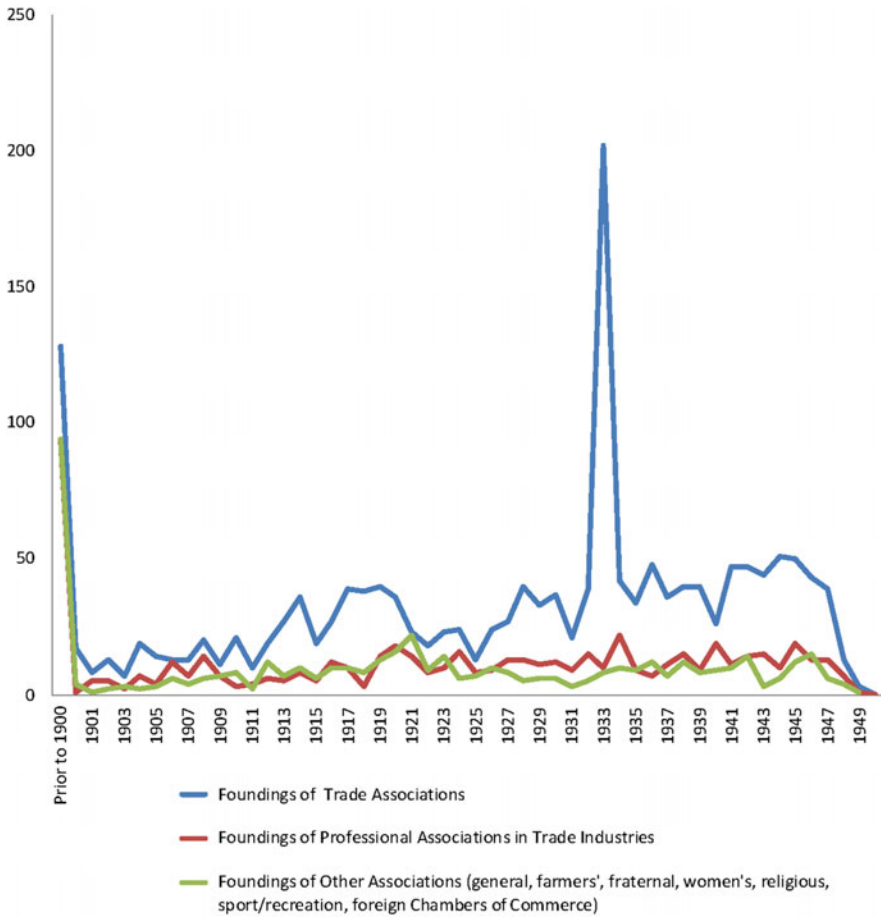
**Figure 1.** *Development of US organizations listed in Commerce Department's* National Associations of the United States, *by founding date.*
*Source:* Jay Judkins, *National Associations of the United States, US Department of Commerce (1949).*

between 1913 and 1919, for example, and again in 1933, may be linked to government war mobilization and economic planning during World War I and National Recovery Administration efforts following World War II, respectively. More than 200 trade or industry related associations were formed in 1933 alone, the same year that Congress passed the National Industrial Recovery Act. Although trade associations continued to grow after 1933—often at a rate of 40 to 50 new groups per year—well more than one-half were formed prior to 1934 and the formation of new groups began to decline by the end of the 1940s.[2]

---

[2]Schattschneider's examination of the *Lobby Index, 1946–1949*, seemingly confirmed Truman's claims; Schattschneider's study, however, was limited by design, focusing only on groups registered as legislative lobbies following the Federal Lobbying Act of 1946. Nonetheless, his claims have been generalized to broad characterizations of the entire interest group system (e.g., Baumgartner and Leech 1998; Berry 1999; Schlozman and Tierney 1986; Walker 1991).
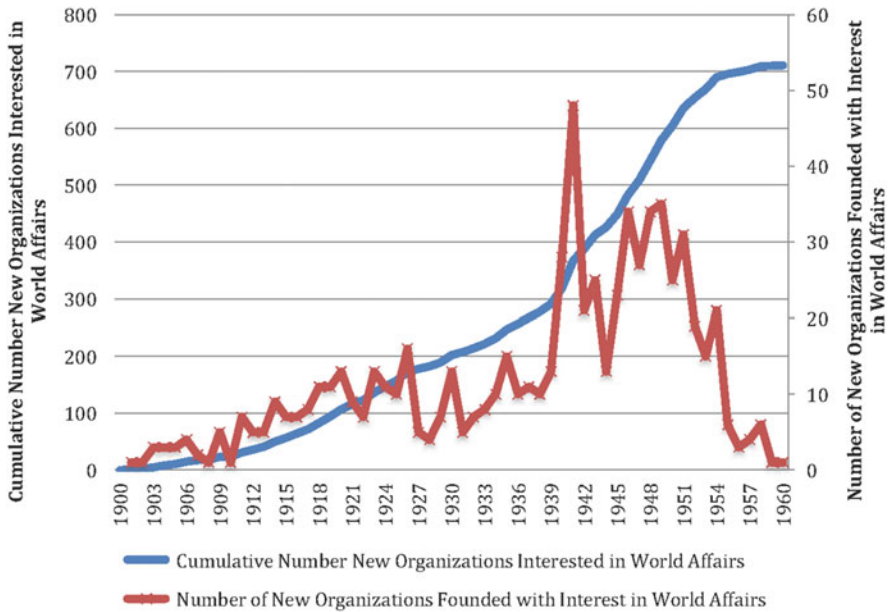
**Figure 2.** New foundings of US organizations interested in world affairs, 1900–60.

Truman's conclusions are complicated by figure 2, which includes data compiled from a series of directories published by the Foreign Policy Association in 1942, 1948, 1953, 1955, and 1964. The Foreign Policy Association collected data on hundreds of "private organizations which conduct serious programs of research in international affairs, or which maintain meetings and information programs on a continuing basis" (Wasson and Savord 1964: vii). These directories (which excluded government sanctioned organizations, social and cultural groups [e.g., women's clubs of Skocpol's interest], local branches of national groups, relief organizations, and, after 1947, organizations included on the Attorney General's List of Subversive Organizations) show that more than 765 new groups were established in two decades. When it first published the 1942 directory, the council identified 43 organizations, still active, formed prior to 1900, including long-standing organizations with international chapters, including the Salvation Army (1865), American Red Cross (1881), American Association of University Women (1882), and National Association of Manufacturers (1895). An additional 83 active organizations had formed by 1918, the year that Woodrow Wilson gave his first speech in support of the League of Nations. By 1920, more than 150 organizations in total had formed, including the American Jewish Congress (1918), American Farm Bureau Federation (1919), and National Bureau of Economic Research (1920). The start of World War II brought the sharpest increase in new US organizations active in world affairs; 90 new organizations were formed between 1939 and 1941 alone. Between 1940 and 1960, the cumulative incidence of new organizations exceeded 420—an impressive figure when placed next to Truman's *Governmental Process* data in figure 1. Tellingly, the vast majority of these

organizations, close to 60 percent, were headquartered in New York City in close proximity to the United Nations (less than 1 percent headquartered in Washington, DC).

These data suggest the mid-twentieth century was a period of impressive growth and change among organized interests in ways that previous studies have overlooked. The remainder of this article suggests that the internationalization of US interests in the mid-twentieth century was a part of a broader transformation in state-society relationships, one that centered in important ways on the development of the United Nations.

## Mobilizing US Interests around the United Nations

The mobilization of US public opinion in support of the United Nations began no later than the country's rejection of the League of Nations.[3] These efforts were led by a group of US intellectual internationalists responding to the isolationism that defeated the League and continued to undermine Roosevelt's interventionist strategies in the late 1930s (Divine 1967; Hoopes and Brinkley 1997; Johnstone 2009; see also Borgwardt 2005). In 1940, the newly formed Commission to Study the Organization of Peace, which included Max Lerner, Virginia Gildersleeve (who would become the only female delegate to the 1945 United Nations Conference), William Allen White, and John Foster Dulles aired weekly radio broadcasts on a program called "Which Way to Lasting Peace?" Soon after, Dulles formed the Commission to Study the Bases of a Just and Durable Peace, an arm of the National Council of Churches. These efforts acknowledged the need to "educate and crystalize public opinion," around some kind of world order, as Dulles put it (also Hoopes and Brinkley 1997; Leigh 1976; Robins 1971; Zunz 2012). Clark Eichelberger—former director of the League of Nations Association and member of the Council on Foreign Relations—and James Shotwell—Columbia University history professor—were among the most influential in promoting internationalism and, through close relationships with the Roosevelt administration and the State Department, the role of citizen groups in helping to achieve it (Johnstone 2009).

In January 1944, the second anniversary of signing the UN Declaration, the president released a statement declaring that "the concept of United Nations," implied an international commitment of its signatories not just to the war, but to the global "struggle against disease, malnutrition, unemployment, and many other forms of economic and social distress" (Roosevelt 1944). Three months later, the State Department announced the creation of an "international program for the rebuilding of essential educational and cultural facilities of the war-torn countries," noting that this would be "an important service in the national interest and in the interest of international security." Pointedly, the statement included an invitation for "the advice and cooperation of other agencies and organizations, both governmental and private" (State Department 1944a).

---

[3]If there is a conventional argument about the failure of the League of Nations in contrast to the success of the United Nations it is that offered by Divine (1967). Borgwardt (2005) argues a more complete explanation includes attention to broader transformations experienced during the Great Depression and World War II, including interactions with New Deal policies, programs, and administrative offices and cultural shifts that encouraged Americans to experiment with internationalism.

The creation in the State Department of a Division of Public Liaison in 1944 (with the Office of Public Information, renamed the Office of Public Affairs) marked the administration's desire "to make the Department an instrument of the people." As Haynes and Ignatieff (2003) note, this was a "revolutionary new goal for an agency that had never concerned itself with public opinion" (also Johnstone 2009). Staffed by public relations consultant, John Dickey, the centerpiece of its campaign involved cultivating relationships with private associations that comprised "a major force in the field of public opinion," in combination with a series of public outreach efforts, including speeches, radio interviews, public appearances, press releases, and at least two documentaries. Dickey urged the State Department to support citizen organizations most supportive of the United Nations in their "public educational work," building a groundswell of support well before any definitive treaty negotiations were to commence. Secretary of State Stettinius referred to the program as "an aggressive policy for public relations" (in Leigh 1976: 123).

Collaborative relationships between the federal government and private organizations had begun to take new shape during and after World War II, fueled by what Borgwardt (2005) describes as Americans' growing cosmopolitanism and openness to large-scale multilateral institutions (also Sparrow 2011). The bureaucratic machinery of the federal government was regeared after the war to help build support for government efforts. The reorganized private nonprofit Advertising Council (previously the War Advertising Council) linked the White House, businesses, news and entertainment industries, and a wide range of citizen organizations in a carefully orchestrated effort to shape probusiness (and progovernment) public attitudes (Wall 2008). Philanthropic organizations and religious charities provided relief and humanitarian aid, helping the United States achieve its policy goals abroad (Curti 1963; Ringland 1954; Zunz 2012). Assistant Secretary of State Dean Acheson was instrumental in drafting a plan for the first international relief organization in 1943, the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration, which created symbiotic relationships with private charities like the Red Cross, the YMCA, and Friends' Relief.

In similar ways, the State Department sought to develop relationships with private groups to further foreign policy objectives and to strategically respond to demands from groups seeking a more prominent role in international affairs. In 1941, the National Peace Conference announced plans to enlist organizations in studying the principles of international organization and peace. These efforts were complemented by ripples of activity among church organizations—the Federal Council of Churches and the Catholic Association for International Peace among them—as well as civic associations including the American Association of University Women, the National Council of Jewish women, the PTA, and the National Grange. The activities of organized groups were not irrelevant if for no other reason than the State Department's own admission that "their total membership runs into the millions and their influence reaches the general public and has a definite effect on general public opinion" (quoted in Johnstone 2011: 485). The National Peace Conference and 16 citizen groups—including the national board of the YWCA, the National Council of Jewish Women, the American Unitarian Association, and the United Council of Church Women—officially endorsed the Fulbright and Connally Resolutions in 1944 supporting the nation's membership

in a postwar security organization (Rogow 1993). Other groups, including the National Peace Conference, the Church Peace Union, and the American Association of University Women offered their own programs for world order—they published pamphlets, held conferences, and sponsored institutes in more than 35 cities across the nation to discuss organizing the peace (Newcomer 1944; Robins 1971). In June 1944, the group Americans United for World Organization—an umbrella organization representing 24 national organizations—announced a political action program to "bring about greater Congressional support for effective world organization" (Haynes and Ignatieff, 2003: 57–59; also, Divine 1967).

Recognizing the "very valuable two-way contacts" the State Department had with citizen organizations, the Office of Public Liaison worked to "establish and maintain additional close personal contacts with additional secretaries, directors and other offices of outstanding national organizations and groups" (in Robins 1971). Plans included developing programs that local chapters of national groups could use to "promote a better understanding of the functions and problems of the state department," and developing press materials for group leaders to use when speaking about US foreign policy. At times, the State Department's strategies for mobilizing public support evidenced anxiety on the part of officials, who were concerned that organizational aspirations to mold public policy "needed education" lest their efforts to secure postwar stability pull the nation in contradictory directions. Many citizen groups, Dickey noted, were "experienced in and geared to this sort of public educational work," but required further "encouragement" and "background guidance," from the State Department (ibid.: 38; see also Leigh 1976). Dickey's staff carefully culled 300 daily newspapers, national magazines, public opinion polls, and the *Congressional Record* to track public opinion. Responding to what one reporter described as "a minor public-relations crisis at the State Department," officials conceded that the success of postwar US foreign policy "will rise or fall on the extent to which the American people understand and support it" (Reston 1947).

Between September and December 1944, the State Department held at least five meetings with leaders of national organizations to coordinate widespread public education. The largest of these, at Dickey's urging, followed the request of Ernest Hopkins, chairman of the Americans United for World Organization. More than 100 organizations attended (ranging from the Brookings Institution to the American Academy of Political and Social Science to the US Chamber of Commerce to the NAACP); much of their agenda focused on generating additional public support for a postwar international organization (State Department 1944b). "Only as there develops in this country a substantial and informed body of public opinion," then Under Secretary of State Stettinius noted at, "can the Government go forward successfully in the task of participation in the further steps needed for the establishment of an international organization" (State Department 1944a, 1944c). State Department meetings were complimented by gatherings held in New York City under the auspices of the American Association for the United Nations and the Commission to Study the Organization of Peace; the PTA, National Federation of Business and Professional Women's Clubs, *New York Times*, and *Readers' Digest* were among those who discussed the preparation of materials—leaflets, radio broadcasts, comics, motion pictures, organizational charts—that could best facilitate a public education campaign.

In the months leading up to the San Francisco Conference of the United Nations, the State Department received more than 20,000 pieces of mail per week—at times 7,000 letters per day (State Department 1945b). The *Times* ("State Department Heeds Public," 1944) noted, that "in the between-war years only a few women's organizations, a few international organizations, and the so-called 'peace-groups' of this country bestirred themselves on the subject of international affairs"; now, however, "foreign relations are of such immediate and intense interest to the public" that the State Department received thousands of "voluntary expressions of opinion" daily. The department endorsed more than 500 speaking engagements, aired a weekly radio program featuring topics like "It's Your State Department," and distributed 2.2 million publications to Americans nationwide (State Department 1945a). One *State Department Bulletin* noted that, "demand for copies of the Proposals, pamphlets . . . qualified speakers, and radio discussion programs," on the part of civic organizations, "exceeded everyone's expectations" (State Department 1945c). Estimates suggest that the combined effect of these and independent efforts undertaken by groups such as the League of Women Voters and Federal Council of Churches was to provide more than 20 million people with UN literature in less than one year (Haynes and Ignatieff 2003). Stettinius noted his satisfaction with "the vigor with which the proposals have been discussed":

> Much of that discussion has been fostered by organized groups of citizens conscious of their responsibility to promote public understanding of great national and international issues which confront us. Not only organizations specialized in the study of international relations, but business, labor, and farm groups, service clubs and associations of ex-servicemen, women's organizations and religious societies, professional associations and groups of educators are spreading an understanding of the Dumbarton Oaks proposals (State Department 1944d: 741)

The scope of the US State Department campaign is a significant instance of executive leadership in building not just public support, but ultimately, congressional support for American foreign policy and US leadership in the United Nations (Haynes and Ignatieff 2003). In 1937, American public opinion had been decidedly against US involvement in the League of Nations—only 26 percent of Americans supported the League. In the months leading up to the founding conference of the United Nations, 94 percent of Americans could identify "Dumbarton Oaks" and support for US membership in the United Nations hovered around 70 percent (Lentz 1960; Robins 1971; Scott and Withey 1958; see also Divine 1967). It is likely, as Johnstone (2011) notes, that much of this activity served another goal: improving the public's view of the State Department, one of Stettinius's key goals (whose background working for General Motors and US Steel taught him the value of public relations).

Their success with citizen groups made it difficult for the State Department to deny organizational leaders some kind of access to San Francisco; their unprecedented concessions signaled a new role for organized interests in both domestic and foreign affairs. Prior to the 1945 meeting, officials from the US congressional delegation took up the issue that "a great number of private organizations and groups want to be represented in San Francisco," and that to accommodate them

all would lead the US delegation to "reach tremendous proportions." They decided to invite select organizations to send one representative "to be there for consultation as this might prove desirable." These leaders, Stettinius explained, "would not be official members of the American Delegation, but a full system of liaison would be set up to keep them closely in touch with the progress of the work." Not all members of the US delegation shared Stettinius's and Dickey's enthusiasm for this "experiment in democracy." Senator Arthur Vandenberg (a recent convert from isolationism) suggested it be made clear that the conference "was to be a 'peace-keeping' show and not a 'peace-making' show," hoping one consequence would be "a large number of organizations seeking representation would not be interested." Several members of the congressional delegation expressed reservations—Senator Connally worried about "the impracticality of [US] delegates conferring with large numbers of representatives due to their heavy duties and schedules"—but ultimately capitulated to what Stettinius explained was President Roosevelt's belief that "it would do considerable harm if no recognition was given to the leading national organizations," and that "it was best in the end to invite representatives from certain groups and establish a liaison office for them."[4] These decisions were not universally popular. *New York Times* Washington correspondent, Arthur Krock, described the announcement to bring a "long list" of consultants to the meeting as evidence that "the State Department is fighting a losing battle" to prevent the descent of thousands of individuals and groups "with detailed specifications" from "going to San Francisco," likely resulting in "days of wasted time, needless expense, the numerous discomforts of overcrowding, confusions in the news, and the mischief sure to be made by agitators and publicity hunters who will find no other way to register their presences" (1945).

Twenty-eight organizations sent word that they were going to send representatives to San Francisco. Shortly thereafter, and despite the lingering ambiguity about just what role private citizen groups might play, the State Department invited 42 national organizations, representing what they described as "a fair cross-section of citizen groups," to serve as consultants to its official delegation (see table 1) (State Department 1945d). Recognizing that it had "not been practical to extend consultant invitations" beyond these 42 groups, the department took an additional step to "provide liaison facilities at the conference for *all* civic organizations" (ibid.: 671–72, author's emphasis). Some estimates suggest that in addition to the 42 recognized representatives an additional 200 organizations sent their own unofficial observers (Seary 1996).

The State Department held 25 meetings with organizational leaders, approximately once every other day. Described as "an experiment in applying the democratic process," this arrangement was strategically designed to maintain high levels

---

[4]Minutes of the Second Meeting (Executive Session) of the US Delegation, held in Washington, DC, Friday, March 23, 1943; Minutes of the Fourth Meeting of the United States Delegation, held in Washington, DC, Tuesday, April 3, 1945, 10 a.m.; Memorandum by Mr. Charles E. Bohlen, Assistant to the Secretary of State for the White House Liaison, of a Meeting at the White House, Thursday, March 29, 1945, 11:45 a.m.; Minutes of the Third Meeting of the United States Delegation, held in Washington, DC, Friday, March 30, 1945, 11 a.m. 3 in *Foreign Relations of the United States: Diplomatic Papers, 1945, General: The United Nations*, Volume I, Velma Hastings Cassidy, Ralph R. Goodwin, and George H. Dengler (eds.) (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1967).

**Table 1.** Organizations included as "consultants" to US delegation to the UN Conference, 1945

| | |
|---|---|
| American Section of the International Chamber of Commerce** (1947) | American Jewish Conference |
| Chamber of Commerce of the United States** (1954) | American Jewish Committee |
| National Association of Manufacturers** (1948) | Catholic Association for International Peace |
| National Foreign Trade Council | Church Peace Union |
| American Bar Association** (1955) | Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America |
| National Lawyers Guild | National Catholic Welfare Conference |
| American Federation of Labor*, ** (1947) | American Association for the United Nations (Commission to Study the Organization of Peace) |
| Congress of Industrial Organizations* | Americans United for World Organization, Inc. |
| Railway Labor Executives' Association | Carnegie Endowment for International Peace** (1948) |
| American Legion* | Council on Foreign Relations |
| Disabled American Veterans of the World War | Foreign Policy Association |
| Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States* | National Peace Conference |
| American Farm Bureau Association* | Kiwanis International |
| Farmers Union | Lions International** (1950) |
| National Council of Farmer Cooperatives | National Association for the Advancement of Colored People |
| National Grange* | National Exchange Club |
| American Association of University Women** (1947) | Rotary International** (1950) |
| General Federation of Women's Clubs* | American Council on Education |
| National Federation of Business and Professional Women's Clubs** (1947) | National Congress of Parents and Teachers* |
| National League of Women Voters | National Education Association* |
| Women's Action Committee for Victory and Lasting Peace | |

*Indicates groups classified by Skocpol (1999) as large membership associations that at one point in US history enrolled 1 percent of men, women, or both.
**Indicates group gained consultative status with the United Nations prior to 1960, either directly or indirectly through international chapters. For example, the American Association of University Women was represented in the United Nations by the International Federation of University Women. Year consultative status was granted is indicated in parentheses.
Source: *Department of State Bulletin* XII, No. 3030 (April 14, 1945). Dates of consultative status are derived from UN Yearbooks.

of public support (State Department 1945c). Officials went to some length to explain to consultative groups that their role would not be that of "a pressure group." "You are not here to advocate a position on particular subject matter," explained one department official (quoted in Robins 1971: 108). If the consultative organizations remained within confines set by the State Department, the same could not be said

for the 200-plus leaders of groups merely observing the conference from unofficial positions. "We have had a very difficult time with this whole experiment," noted an exasperated Dickey, "and I have no reason to believe that it is not going to continue to be difficult for quite some time." Dickey implored consultative groups to help manage the unofficial organizations. Stettinius remarked about his "great personal frustration" in meeting "the public demand" (Leigh 1976). Accusations that the State Department was using citizen groups as pawns only further complicated the matter. Johnstone shows that despite the State Department's best efforts to appear "neutral" in sharing "facts" with citizen groups, it was difficult to avoid "crossing the line from information to propaganda"; Robert Taft was among the most vocal critics in accusing the State Department of a nationwide propaganda campaign.

Whatever State Department or other US officials hoped for NGOs in San Francisco, their presence was consequential. The State Department had to negotiate protests from those that were not included as consultants including most prominently the World Federation of Trade Unions (WFTU) that, with encouragement from the Soviet Union, sent a formal letter to Stettinius decrying the lack of trade-union representatives among consultative groups and seeking permanent representation in the UN Security Council and Economic and Social Council—a request that was turned down but that was nonetheless replicated by others, including the AFL and ILO, the National Association of Manufacturers, and the International Cooperative Alliance (Chiang 1981; Goodrich et al. 1969; "Labor Men Demand World Parley Role" 1945). Members of US consultative groups were not averse to meeting with members of other state delegations, at times inviting confusing origins in proposals to revise the charter—this was particularly concerning to the US delegation, which believed it would "be better for public relations" if proposals to amend the charter clearly came from the United States.[5]

Consultant organizations expected to play a formative role in the conference and they brought along proposals, amendments, and revisions to the charter. Joseph Proskauer and Jacob Blaustein of the American Jewish Committee, James Shotwell of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Frederick Nolde of the Federal Council of Churches of Christ, and Clark Eichelberger of the American Association for the United Nation were among the most passionate initiates lobbying for inclusion of human rights language in the charter, an endeavor in which they were victorious and marked the most substantive change to the charter (American Jewish Committee 1945; Borgwardt 2005; Gaer 1996; Korey 1998; Porter 1945a).[6] A second triumph, led by US delegate Virginia Gildersleeve and leaders from the NEA, AAUW, BPW, American Council on Education, and National Congress of Parents and Teachers, secured the reluctant agreement of the US delegation to the addition of "education" in the purposes of the Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) (Rawalt 1969; Robins 1971). US consultants found allies in conference delegations from smaller, developing countries who were more enthusiastic

---

[5]Minutes of the 26th Meeting of the US Delegation.

[6]An alternative telling, Sellers (2002) suggests the US delegation's willingness to include human rights language was part of the State Department's larger scheme to secure total commitment from NGOs in the lead up to Congress's ratification of the charter.

then the big three—Great Britain, the Soviet Union, and the United States—about giving the United Nations a greater role in economic and social affairs.

Most significantly and with lasting consequence for interest development, a coalition of agricultural, business, labor, and education groups—referred to as "ABLE"—lobbied to strengthen and formalize UN cooperation with private bodies, leading to the adoption of Article 71, which provides for consultative arrangements between NGOs and ECOSOC (Chiang 1981; Gaer 1996; Johnstone 2011; Robins 1971; Willets 1996). Following Shotwell's leadership and further inspired by the WFTU's demand for inclusion, leaders from the International Chamber of Commerce, CIO, AFL, American Council on Education, American Farm Bureau Federation, National Grange, National Association of Manufacturers, AAUW, and Council on Foreign Relations, proposed that ECOSOC "arrange conferences with and receive recommendations from major non-governmental organizations" (in Robins 1971: 123). On May 17, after receiving push back from organizational consultants concerned about being brushed aside,[7] Secretary Stettinius welcomed the ABLE coalition to a meeting with the US delegation that was opposed to any official role for NGOs in ECOSOC. A *Times* journalist noted Stettinius's decision "represents a complete change of the original concept of the San Francisco conference"; while consultants had been originally instructed that "their function was to understand the security plans made in San Francisco and 'sell them' to the various influential sections of American public opinion," the consultants "took a different view" (Porter 1945b). Ultimately, compromise working that provided for "consultation" rather than to "participation without vote," compelled the US delegation to give in to pressure from the US organizational consultants and their allies (Willets 1996).

In his report to the president, Secretary Stettinius noted that US groups played "a direct and material role in drafting the constitution of the United Nations" (State Department 1945e). This was, he noted, an "unprecedented example of cooperation," that persuaded the conference that "there be added to the Charter a paragraph providing for consultation and cooperation between non-governmental organizations, national and international, and the Economic and Social Council" (ibid.: 120–21). That US organizations helped to legitimate the role of NGOs in the United Nations was not only a consequence of a unique collaboration, as Stettinius noted; it was also an unprecedented development in international affairs, one that signaled something new in state-society relationships—inside and outside of the United Nations—and further catalyzed a period of change in the landscape of organized interests.

## 1945–65: The Internationalization of US Interests

"NGOs" have existed since the mid-nineteenth century (the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society was established in 1823, the World Alliance of YMCAs in 1855, the International Committee of the Red Cross in 1863), and the United Nations was not the first nor only forum through which Americans mobilized members, formed international connections, and developed interests. In 1910, 132 international groups

---

[7]Minutes of the Twenty-Eighth Meeting of the US Delegation, held in San Francisco, CA, Thursday, May 3, 2945, 6:20 p.m.

formed the Union of International Associations to facilitate communication and cooperation on matters of common interest. Groups like the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, the Federal Council of Churches, International Association of Rotary Clubs, the National Education Association, and the General Federation of Women's Clubs were active in peace movements earlier in the twentieth century, joining the League to Enforce Peace in 1920. The National Council of Jewish Women, in cooperation with the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom and the Women's Joint Congressional Committee lobbied US lawmakers to endorse the World Court and League of Nations in the 1930s (Rogow 1993).

Governments and international and national voluntary organizations had long worked closely, if not directly, together, particularly in foreign relief efforts during and between the two world wars. The roots of ECOSOC can be traced to these efforts and to the success, however imperfect, of the League of Nations, which contained modest provisions for dealing with economic and social matters and which encouraged international cooperation in areas such as health and welfare, rights of workers, nutrition and agriculture, education and children's welfare, communication, and transportation (Riefler 1947; Rosenthal 2005). Earlier cooperative models linking international governance structures and organized interests—including Shotwell's personal experience with the ILO—helped to catalyze developments in the United Nations. What was new was that Article 71 established formal relationships—recognized in international law—between organized interests and an international intergovernmental body, crystallizing the term "nongovernmental organization" and differentiating roles and participation rights of private organizations (UN Charter Art. 71).

Debates in San Francisco foreshadowed lingering questions about how NGOs would consult with the United Nations. For example, delegates from the Soviet Union objected to US proposals because they put "so much emphasis on national non-governmental organizations," out of concern that this would create a vehicle for the United Nations to meddle in domestic affairs of member nations. A US delegate proposed a more targeted proposal that permitted consultation with national organizations "where appropriate." Conversely, others in the US delegation worried that "there might be some reaction if we opposed the [US] consultants on this matter."[8]

The purposes of consultation as ultimately specified in Article 71 are "on the one hand, to secure expert information or advice and, on the other hand, to enable organizations which represented important elements of public opinion to express their views" (United Nations 1947: 551). The first Committee on Arrangements for Consultation with NGOs in 1946 suggested that an NGO seeking consultative status should meet several criteria: "it should be concerned with matters falling within the competence of [ECOSOC], its aims and purposes should be in conformity with the Charter, it should represent a substantial proportion of the organized persons with the particular field of interest in which it operated and it should have authority to speak for its members through its authorized representatives" (ibid.).

---

[8]Minutes of the Forty-Ninth Meeting of the US Delegation, held in San Francisco, CA, Monday, May 21, 1945, 9 a.m. *Foreign Relations of The United States: Diplomatic Papers, 1945, General: The United Nations*, Volume I, Velma Hastings Cassidy, Ralph R. Goodwin, and George H. Dengler (eds.) (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1967).

This statement continues to guide NGO relationships with the United Nations, but it took several years to settle on the principles and procedures for admitting consultative groups and defining their rights and privileges. The committee set out three categories of consultation: (a) organizations "closely linked with the economic or social life of the areas they represented"; (b) groups with "special competence," but concerned only with "a few of the fields of activity covered by the Council"; and (c) groups primarily concerned with the development of public opinion and with disseminating information (ibid.: 552). Ambiguities quickly emerged and were discussed a great length at the first UN General Assembly (Goodrich et al. 1969), and as Willets (1996) shows, questions centered on the changing status of the WFTU, the largest and most prestigious NGO. The Soviet delegation advanced a proposal in the General Assembly to grant the WFTU formal right to submit items for inclusion on the ECOSOC's agenda; the United States responded by asserting that all organizations in category (a) should receive equal treatment. In 1947, ECOSOC determined that all category (a) groups could introduce agenda items (this was, it turned out, a temporary measure). Groups in each category were given permission to send observers to council meetings; groups in (a) and (b) were invited to submit written statements to the council and to make oral statements to the NGO Committee; category (a) groups had additional access privileges, including making oral statements to the council.[9]

Matters concerning the WFTU and AFL generated special controversy because the AFL was "a national, not an international, trade union organization which had refused to join the WFTU" (UN 1947). While supporters of the WFTU—the Soviet Union, France, and Belgium—favored denying AFL consultative status, delegates from Great Britain and the United States argued that granting the only the WFTU participation advantaged WFTU member governments. Ultimately, the General Assembly adopted a resolution granting consultative status to both groups, recommending that ECOSOC "as soon as possible" clarify the process for granting consultation to others (Goodrich et al. 1969; UN 1947). If a seemingly innocuous compromise at the time—US delegates sought to traverse the split between the AFL and CIO (which unlike the AFL had joined the WFTU) in fear that a "major domestic lobby might turn against the UN" (Willets 1996: 27) while UN officials assumed that, normally, national organizations should "present their views through their respective governments or through international nongovernmental organizations to which they belonged" (UN 1947: 551)—it left open the possibility that other national organizations might gain consultative status, a powerful incentive that would shape subsequent interest formation.

The political tussle between the WFTU and the AFL and similar demands by other groups, including the International Federation of Christian Trade Unions, the World Federation of United Nations Associations, and the International Cooperative Alliance led UN officials to voice concern about "too many requests

---

[9]Over several sessions from February–December 1947, the council voted to place the World Federation of Trade Unions, the International Cooperative Alliance, and the American Federation of Labor in category (a); after brief disagreement a proposal to admit the International Chamber of Commerce (which had a Spanish branch) was also approved, along with a second proposal prohibiting NGOs controlled by the Franco government from becoming UN NGOs moving forward (UN 1947).

for consultative status." They additionally worried that "too many national organizations" admitted to consultation "would lead to duplication of work and would complicate unduly the work of the Council" (UN 1950: 708). By 1950, NGO abuse of the right to submit items for the council's agenda was another concern—the WFTU's and AFL's strategies of submitting multiple proposals was viewed as thinly veiled mutual recrimination (Chiang 1981), while others voiced concern that NGO reports of human rights abuses threatened to undermine governments' autonomy— leading the NGO Committee to recommend that such rights be withdrawn. Representatives from the United States favored retaining rights for NGOs to submit items for consideration, but "shifting to the NGO Committee responsibility for first screening NGO proposals." Ultimately, the NGO Committee revised rules governing NGOs such that proposals from NGOs "should reach the Council only after careful preliminary consideration in a commission" (UN 1951: 657–59).

ECOSOC adopted Resolution 288B in 1950 which set the terms for NGOs for the next several years. Organizations were "international" if it they had affiliates in at least three countries; "national" organizations were those determined to have "the national character of a member state," and were only eligible for consultative status with their state government's "consent" (Goodrich 1969). Resolution 288B retained the categories of consultative status, slight revised, giving category (a) organizations limited rights to participate in meetings and to propose agenda items and restricting (b) groups to submitting written statements (Korey 1998).[10] Distinctions been groups were inherently ambiguous and, in differentiating a hierarchy of status and rights, incentivized groups to seek higher levels of consultative status (ironically potentially undermining the goal of international cooperation) and invited political logrolling (Chiang 1981). Rules governing NGOs were progressively tightened further in 1968, when a resolution called for suspending groups "if the organization clearly abuses its consultative status by systematically engaging in unsubstantiated or politically motivated acts against States Members" (UN 1968).

From 1945 until 1960, the number of organizations admitted to category (a) grew from 4 to 10. This stands in contrast to steeper growth of category (b) NGOs (such as the All India Women's Conference, Boy Scouts International, International Committee of the Red Cross), which increased by 103 percent and the remarkable growth of category (c), which increased by 167 percent (and included groups like Rotary International and the International Association of Lions Clubs) (White 1947). Notably, it was category (c) groups that created a space in the UN for "pressure groups" (Willets 1996).

There is strikingly little research on what these developments meant for US interests. Among the more than 360 organizations granted consultative status between 1945 and 1960, several were US-headquartered or US national organizations, including the AFL, the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, the Chamber of Commerce, and Rotary International. Ten of the original 42 groups invited by the State Department to San Francisco in 1945 gained access to the United Nations as "NGOs," either directly, as was the case for the AFL, or indirectly through international parent organizations, as was the case for National Federation of Business and Professional Women's Clubs through its International Federation,

---

[10]Revisions to Resolution 288B in the late 1960s changed these categories to I, II, and Roster, respectively.

which became a "Level B" NGO in 1947 (Rawalt 1969) (see table 1). Additional US groups that obtained NGO status included the Committee for Economic Development, the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee, and the National Association of Manufacturers. Based on the *Yearbook of the United Nations*, among the 154 organizations receiving category (a) or (b) (later I or II) consultative status with the United Nations between 1946 and 1960, at least 18 were US-originated groups (comparatively, 17 originated in Switzerland, 11 in France, and 10 in the United Kingdom).

Internationalism seeped into the identities and strategies of US groups, who developed globally oriented programs, sent observers to UN meetings, bolstered international partnerships, and increasingly formulated arguments by appealing to UN principles. The US Chamber of Commerce (1955) conducted studies on the United Nations and its agencies throughout the 1950s, testifying before Congress with suggestions for improving relationships with the United Nations, communicating a "business viewpoint" on UN matters, and encouraging greater "business" participation in foreign policy. The General Federation of Women's Clubs, AAUW, and the American Farm Bureau Federation formed new committees on international relations (AAUW 1955; GFWC 1947; Kile 1948); others, like the BPW and National Council of Jewish Women (NCJW) assigned permanent observers to the United Nations in New York. The NCJW "took its status as an official observer seriously," one historian notes, "developing institutes and UN kits to help … educate members on international issues" (Rogow 1993: 182). The BPW responded to "a heightened sense of responsibility toward world problems," by adding "support and strengthening of the UN," to its national platform in 1949, voting to increase membership dues by 10 percent for the sole purpose of sending additional funds to the International Federation (Rawalt 1969: 57–58). Women's organizations were especially enthusiastic about the United Nations because it was the first international institution to formally recognize legal equality for women and, in the International Declaration of Human Rights, created space to ground national claims in international benchmarks (see Chen 1995; Paxton et al. 2006; Rupp 1994). Principles embodied in the UN charter similarly inspired the National Negro Congress to file a petition with ECOSOC—introducing the NAACP's petition to the United Nations in 1947, W. E. B. DuBois asserted that racial disenfranchisement of African Americans in the South was an international, not merely a domestic, issue that infringed on the "ideals and work of the United Nations" (Hughes 1962: 108).

None of this is meant to suggest that organized interests in the postwar era were unapologetic supporters of the United Nations or that the United Nations was an effective international governance structure or even that NGOs successfully shaped the UN or US foreign policy agenda (however much they may have tried). Shortly after the UN founding, the Chamber of Congress noted "three years of disillusionment and disappointment" with the failure of the United Nations to achieve peace, viewing this as consequence of both a lack of internal "authority to prescribe the formulae of peace" (and feebleness in the face of the veto power in the Security Council) and "concert of opinion" among member nations (Policy Declarations of the Chamber of Commerce of the United States 1946: 83). The official platform of the National Grange noted similarly in 1954, that "progress by the UN in preventing aggression and peaceful settlement of disputes has been limited" (nonetheless

vowing to continue to support the United Nations). Some organizations, such as Amnesty International, sought routes of influence outside of the United Nations, believing that its effectiveness was undermined by the Cold War (Irwin 2015). The dominance of US and Western groups among consultative NGOs was significantly curtailed in the late 1960s, first by an exposé revealing that NGOs including the National Student Association, the International Commission of Jurists, Pax Romano, and the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions were being partially funded by the CIA and, second, by the growth in African and Asian membership in the United Nations, which led to additional modifications in the system of admitting NGOs to the UN system (Ryan and Wiseberg 1997). Political scientists in the mid-twentieth century noted that states frequently used "supposedly private international pressure groups in the economic and social skirmishes of the cold war [sic]." For example, the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU) was established by the labor movement in the West as a counter to the communist-controlled WFTU; the freedom to participate in ECOSOC debates increased the importance of the WFTU and ICFTU (Blaisdell 1958: 156).[11]

The more important point is that the United Nations extended institutional opportunities for NGOs and other organized interests to share expertise with governments, to blend national with international interests, to use the United Nations to legitimize organizational claims and mobilize members, and to redefine their own strategies and policy goals. In short, the United States became a prime center of interest engagement after World War II, offering groups what Skocpol (2003) might call "new levers to pull." The cursory view provided here, one that takes seriously the Council of Foreign Relations' claim that "interest in world affairs" was a mobilizing principle of the mid-twentieth century (a claim at least partially supported by data in figure 2), suggests that these were enduring changes for vast array of organized interests. The role that US groups played in helping to establish the United Nations ushered in a new model of governance that elicited greater international involvement by existing groups and encouraged new group formation.

## Conclusion: Interests Do Not Stop at the Water's Edge

Commenting on the role of interest groups in 1958, Blaisdell warned that the scholarly focus on "pressure groups" in American politics "does not mean that politics does or should stop at the water's edge." In particular, he noted, the United Nations "went further in extending to nongovernmental organizations opportunities for the presentation of their views than have ever been granted to such groups by any national government" (150, 155). Governments and intergovernmental organizations alike, he noted, rarely act without some kind of pressure. A similar sentiment was echoed by the American diplomatic historian, Akira Iriye, in 1999 when he argued more directly that the growth of NGOs and the networks among them is what made the twentieth-century, the American Century" (422, 424).

This article has shown that the US State Department mobilized interests around the formation of the United Nations in ways that reconstituted state-society

---

[11]The AFL was a key leading organization of the ICFTU, and therefore, lost its category (a) status when it was granted to the ICFTU.

relationships and encouraged organized interests to imagine enlarged roles on an increasingly internationalized stage. The United Nations and its agencies, by formalizing roles for NGOs, further modified political opportunity structures, creating new avenues for interorganizational cooperation and subsidizing the formation of new organizations within and outside of US borders. Opportunities for interest mobilization in the mid-twentieth century were complimented by renewed focus on international relations and consideration of foreign policy among the American public. The United Nations provided opportunities for US groups to advance goals for international peace and cooperation that many had sought since the failure of the League of Nations, and helped to encourage new groups with an internationalist perspective to emerge, lending new shape, and a new "fit" to American interest group politics. These were enduring changes to the extent that they were built on, and further reconstituted, new relationships between the government institutions— both national and international—and private organizations.

## Archives

### *United Nations*

**United Nations Department of Public Information** (1947) Yearbook of the United Nations, 1946–47. Lake Success, NY: United Nations.

—— (1950) Yearbook of the United Nations, 1948–49. Lake Success, NY: United Nations.

—— (1951) Yearbook of the United Nations, 1950. New York: Columbia University Press.

**United Nations Economic and Social Council** (1968) 1296 XIV Arrangements for Consultation with Non-Governmental Organization. 23 May. E/RES/1968/1296.

### *US Department of State*

**US Department of State** (1944a) "Participation of the United States in emergency educational and cultural rebuilding of the war-torn United Nations." US State Department Bulletin X (249): 299–300. April 1. Publication 2094.

—— (1944b) "Informal discussions on peace organization." US State Department Bulletin XI (278): 450–51. October 22.

—— (1944c) "Remarks by the Under Secretary of State." US State Department Bulletin XI (278): 452–53. October 22.

—— (1944d) "Dumbarton Oaks proposals, statement by the Secretary of State." US State Department Bulletin XI (286): 741. December 17.

—— (1945a) "Basic data on the Dumbarton Oaks proposals." US State Department Bulletin XVII (301): 555–57. Publication 2312. Previously published in Bulletin October 8, 1944 (pg. 368) and March 11, 1945 (pg. 394).

—— (1945b) "Public interest in proposed international organizations: Statement by Acting Secretary Grew." US State Department Bbulletin XII (305): 806. Publication 2325.

—— (1945c) "Democratic process at San Francisco, address by Chester Williams." US State Department Bulletin XII (301): 1163–64. June 24.

—— (1945d) "United Nations Conference on International Organization." US State Department Bulletin XII (303): 671–72.

—— (1945e) Charter of the United Nations: Report to the President on the Results of the San Francisco Conference by the Chairman of the United States Delegation, The Secretary of State. Department of State. Publication 2349. Conference Series 71. June 16.

## The New York Times

Krock, Arther (1945) "Groups besiege parley: State Department is losing its fight to bar special interests at San Francisco." The New York Times (1923–Current File), April 11.

The New York Times (1944) "State department heeds public, studies world affairs letters." The New York Times (1923–Current File), October 19.

—— (1945) "Labor men demand world parley role." The New York Times (1923–Current File), May 3.

Porter, Russell (1945a) "Jewish groups ask for hearing at parley." The New York Times (1923–Current File), April 30.

—— (1945b) "US groups map economic set up." The New York Times (1923–Current File), May 17.

Reston, James (1947) "Inadequate public relations hamper state department." The New York Times (1923–Current File), October 28.

## Miscellaneous

General Federation of Women's Clubs (1947) "Proceedings of the fifty-sixth annual meeting of the general federation of women's clubs," June 23–27. New York: GFWC Archives, Convention Records.

National Grange (1954) Summary of Legislative Policies and Programs of the National Grange for 1954, pamphlet.

## References

Abraham, Herbert J. (1945) "Studying the Dumbarton Oaks proposals." National Association of Secondary School Principals 29 (128): 27–32.

Ahmed, Shamima, and David Potter (2006) NGOs in International Politics. Bloomfield, CT: Kumarian Press.

Almond, Gabriel A. (1950) The American People and Foreign Policy. New York: Harcourt, Brace, and Company.

American Association of University Women, Vermont State Division (1955) Report of Forum on United Nations Charter Review. In Cooperation with the Vermont Council on World Affairs. Montpelier, VT, April 26.

American Jewish Committee (1945) A World Charter for Human Rights: The Story of the Consultants to the American Delegation to the United Nations Conference on International Organization and Their Historic Achievement—the Inclusion of Human Rights Provisions in the Charter of the New Organization. New York: American Jewish Committee.

Andersen, Carol (2003) Eyes Off the Prize: The United Nations and the Struggle for Human Rights, 1944–1955. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Baumgartner, Frank R., and Beth L. Leech (1998) Basic Interests: The Importance of Groups in Politics and in Political Science. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Beer, Samuel H. (1958) "Group representation in Britain and the United States." Annuals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science (319): 130–40.

Berry, Jeffrey M. (1999) The New Liberalism: The Rising Power of Citizen Groups. Washington, DC: Brookings Institution Press.

Blaisdell, Donald C. (1958) "Pressure groups, foreign policies, and international politics." Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science (319): 149–57.

Boli, John, and George M. Thomas (1997) "World culture in world polity: A century of international non-governmental organization." American Sociological Review 92 (April): 171–90.

—— (1999) Constructing World Culture: International Nongovernmental Organizations Since 1875. Redwood City, CA: Stanford University Press.

Borgwardt, Elizabeth (2005) A New Deal for the World: American's Vision for Human Rights. Cambridge, MA: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press.

Chen, Martha Alter (1995) "Engendering world conferences: The international women's movement and the United Nations." Third World Quarterly 16 (September): 477–93.

Chiang, Pei-heng (1981) Non-Governmental Organizations at the United Nations: Identity, Role, and Function. New York: Praegar.

**Chamber of Commerce of the United States of America** (1955) For the Greater Good of All: The National Chamber Reports on Its Recent Progress and Outlines Its Plans for the Year Ahead. Washington, DC: Chamber of Commerce of the USA.

**Cigler, Allan J., and Burdett A. Loomis** (2007) Interest Group Politics. Washington, DC: CQ Press.

**Clemens, Elisabeth S.** (1997) The People's Lobby: Organizational Innovation and the Rise of Interest Group Politics in the United States, 1890–1925. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

**Curti, Merle** (1963) American Philanthropy Abroad: A History. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press.

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

**Divine, Robert A.** (1967) Second Chance: The Triumph of Internationalism in American During World War II. New York: Atheneum.

**Dudziak, Mary** (2000) Cold War Civil Rights: Race and the Image of American Democracy. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

**Gaer, Felice D.** (1996) "Reality check: Human rights NGOs confront governments at the UN," in Thomas G. Weiss, and Leon Gordenker (eds.) NGOS, the UN, and Global Governance. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers.

**Ghils, Paul** (1992) "International Civil Society: International non-governmental organizations in the international system." International Social Science Journal (3): 417–31.

**Goodrich, Leland, Edvard Hambro, and Anne Patricia Simons** (1969) Charter of the United Nations: Commentary and Documents, 3rd and rev. ed. New York and London: Columbia University Press.

**Gourevitch, Peter** (1978) "The second image reversed: The international sources of domestic politics." International Organization (32): 881–912.

**Hansen, John Mark** (1988) "The political economy of group membership." The American Political Science Review **79** (1): 79–96.

**Haynes, Lukas, and Michael Ignatieff** (2003) "Mobilizing public support for the United Nations: A case study of state department leadership in building public and congressional support for a leading U.S. role in international organization, 1944–1945." Working Papers, Center for Public Leadership.

**Hoopes, Townsend, and Douglas Brinkley** (1997) FDR and the Creation of the UN. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.

**Hughes, Langston** (1962) Fight for Freedom: The Story of the NAACP. New York: W. W. Norton & Company.

**Iriye, Akira** (1999) "A century of NGOs." Diplomatic History **23** (3): 421–35.

**Irwin, Ryan** (2015) "Non-governmental organizations." History Faculty Scholarship 19. State University of New York: Scholars Archive, University at Albany. scholarsarchive.library.albany.edu/history_fac_scholar/19.

**Johnstone, Andrew** (2009) Dilemmas of Internationalism: The American Association for the United Nations and US Foreign Policy, 1941–1948. Burlington, VT: Ashgate.

—— (2011) "Creating a 'democratic foreign policy': The State Department's Division of Public Liaison and Public Opinion, 1944–1954." Diplomatic History **35** (June): 483–503.

**Judkins, Jay** (1949) National Associations of the United States, US Department of Commerce. Washington, DC: US Government Printing Office.

**Katznelson, Ira, and Martin Shefter**, eds. (2002) Shaped by War and by Trade: International Influences on American Political Development. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

**Keck, Margaret, and Kathryn Sikkink** (1998) Activists beyond Borders: Advocacy Networks in International Politics. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.

**Khagram, Sanjeev, James Riker, and Kathryn Sikkink** (2002) Restructuring World Politics: Transnational Social Movements, Networks, and Norms. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

**Kile, Orville M.** (1948) The Farm Bureau Movement. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

**Korey, William** (1998) NGOs and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights: A Curious Grapevine. New York: Palgrave.

**Kryder, Daniel** (2000) Divided Arsenal: Race and the American State During World War II. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

**Layton, Azza Salama** (2000) International Politics and Civil Rights Policies in the United States, 1941–1960. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Laville, Helen (2006) "The importance of being (in)earnest: Voluntary associations and the irony of the state-private network during the early cold war," in Helen Laville and Hugh Wilford (eds.) The US Government, Citizen Groups, and the Cold War: The State-Private Network. London: Routledge.

—— (2008) "A new era in international women's rights? American women's associations and the establishment of the UN commission on the status of women." Journal of Women's History 20 (4): 34–56.

Leigh, Michael (1976) Mobilizing Consent: Public Opinion and American Foreign Policy, 1937–1947. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press.

Lentz, Theodore F. (1960) "Public opinion research for peace: A review and discussion: The United States and the United Nations: A public view, 1945–1955." The Journal of Conflict Resolution 4 (2): 234–32.

Lipschutz, Ronnie (1992) "Reconstructing world politics: The emergence of global civil society." Millennium 21 (3): 389–420.

Martens, Kerstin (2003) "Examining the non-status of NGOs in international law." Indiana Journal of Global Legal Studies (2): 1–24.

Masland, John H. (1942) "Pressure groups and American foreign policy." The Public Opinion Quarterly 6 (1): 115–22.

Mathews-Gardner, A. Lanethea (2011) "From ladies aid to NGO: Transformations in Methodist women's organizing in postwar America," in Kathleen Laughlin and Jacqueline Casteldine (eds.) Breaking the Wave: Women, Their Organizations, and Feminism, 1945–1985. London: Routledge.

McAdam, Doug (1982) Political Process and the Development of Black Insurgency, 1930–1970. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Minkoff, Deborah (1995) Organizing for Equality: The Evolution of Women's and Racial-Ethnic Organizations in America, 1955–1985. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press.

Newcomer, Mabel (1944) Monetary Plans for the United Nations: A Layman's Guide to Proposals of the Bretton Woods Conference. Washington, DC: American Association of University Women.

Owen, John M. (2010) The Clash of Ideas in World Politics: Transnational Networks, States, and Regime Change, 1510–2010. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Paxton, Pamela, Melanie H. Hughes, and Jennifer L. Green (2006) "The international women's movement and women's political representation, 1893–2003." American Sociological Review 71 (6): 898–920.

Pierson, Paul, and Theda Skocpol, eds. (2007) The Transformation of American Politics: Activist Government and the Rise of Conservatism. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Plummer, Brenda Gayle (1996) Rising Wind: Black Americans and US Foreign Affairs, 1935–1960. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.

—— (2003) Window on Freedom: Race, Civil Rights, and Foreign Affairs, 1945–1998. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.

Policy Declarations of the Chamber of Commerce of the United States (1946) United States: 83.

Putnam, Robert (1988) "Diplomacy and domestic politics: The logic of two-level games." International Organization 42 (3): 427–60.

—— (2001) Bowling Alone: The Collapse and Revival of American Community. New York: Simon & Schuster.

Rawalt, Marguerite (1969) A History of the National Federation of Business and Professional Women's Clubs, Inc. Volume II, 1946–1960. Washington, DC: National Federation of Business and Professional Women's Clubs.

Riefler, Winfield W. (1947) "The work of the economic and social council of the United Nations." Proceedings of the Academy of Political Science 22 (2): 74–83.

Ringland, Arthur (1954) "The organization of voluntary aid: 1939–1953," Washington, DC: US Department of State Bulletin, March 15: 383–93.

Ritter, Gretchen (2008) "Gender as a category of analysis in American political development," in Christina Wolbrecht, Karen Beckwith, and Lisa Baldez (eds.) Political Women and American Democracy. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Robins, Dorothy B. (1971) Experiment in Democracy: The Story of US Citizen Organizations in Forging the Charter of the United Nations. New York: Parkside Press.

Rogow, F. (1993) Gone to Another Meeting: The National Council of Jewish Women, 1893–1993. Tuscaloosa: University Alabama Press.

**Roosevelt, Franklin D.** (1944) Statement by the President on the Anniversary of the Signing of the Declaration of United Nations. US State Department Bulletin Vol. X No. 236—Publication 2043. January 1.

**Rosenau, James** (1990) Turbulence in World Politics. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

—— (1995) "Governance in the twenty-first century." Global Governance (1): 13–43.

**Rosenthal, Gert** (2005) The Economic and Social Council of the United Nations: An Issues Paper. Dialogue on Globalization Occasional Papers. New York: Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung. http://library.fes.de/pdf-files/iez/global/50091.pdf.

**Rupp, Lelia J.** (1994) "Constructing internationalism: The case of transnational women's organizations, 1888–1945." The American Historical Review **99** (December): 1571–1600.

**Ryan, Karen, and Laurie Wisberg** (1997) "ECOSOC Resolution 1996/31: The End Result of the ECOSCO Review Process of Rules Governing Relations with the United Nations." The Carter Center, Human Rights, The United Nations, and Nongovernmental Organizations. Atlanta, GA: The Carter Center.

**Schattschneider, E. E.** (1975) The Semisovereign People: A Realist's View of Democracy in America. San Diego, CA: Harcourt Brace.

**Schlesinger, Stephen** (2003) Act of Creation: The Founding of the United Nations: A Story of Superpowers, Secret Agents, Wartime Allies and Enemies, and Their Quest for a Peaceful World. Boulder, CO: Westview Press.

**Schlozman, Kay Lehman, and John T. Tierney** (1986) Organized Interests and American Democracy. New York: Harper and Row.

**Scott, William A., and Stephen B. Withey** (1958) The United States and the United Nations: The Public View, 1945–1955. New York: Manhattan Publishing Company.

**Seary, Bill** (1996) "The early history: From the Congress of Vienna to the San Francisco conference," in Peter Willets (ed.) The Conscience of the World: The Influence of Non-Governmental Organisations in the UN System. Washington, DC: Brookings Institution Press.

**Sellers, Kirsten** (2002) The Rise and Rise of Human Rights. Gloucestershire, UK: Sutton Publishing.

**Shefter, Martin** (2002) "War, trade, and US party politics," in Ira Katznelson and Martin Shefter (eds.) Shaped by War and by Trade. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press: 113–33.

**Skocpol, Theda** (2003) Diminished Democracy: From Membership to Management in American Civic Life. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.

**Skocpol, Theda, and Morris Fiorina** (1999) "Advocates without members: The recent transformation of American civic life," in Theda Skocpol and Morris P. Fiorina (eds.) Civic Engagement in American Democracy. Washington, DC: Brookings Institution Press: 461–509.

**Skocpol, Theda, Ziad Munson, Andrew Karch, and Bayliss Camp** (2002) "Patriotic partnerships: Why great wars nourished American civic voluntarism," in Ira Katznelson and Martin Shefter (eds.) Shaped by War and by Trade: International Influences on American Political Development. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press: 134–80.

**Skrentny, John D.** (2004) The Minority Rights Revolution. New York: Belknap Press.

**Sparrow, James** (2011) Warfare State: World War II Americans and the Age of Big Government. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

**Sprout, Harold H.** (1935) "Pressure groups and foreign policies." Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science **179** (May): 114–23.

**Stevens, Thelma, Eleanor Neff, and Dorothy Weber** (1948) "Advance in the new quadrennium [sic]." The Methodist Woman (8): 29.

**Tarrow, Sydney** (2005) The New Transnational Activism. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

**Tichenor, Daniel J., and Richard A. Harris** (2005) "The development of interest group politics in America: Beyond the conceits of modern times." Annual Review of Political Science (8): 251–70.

**Truman, David B.** (1951) The Governmental Process: Political Interests and Public Opinion. New York: Alfred A. Knopf.

**Turner, Ralph, and Lewis Killian** (1987) Collective Behavior. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall.

**Walker, Jack L.** (1991) Mobilizing Interest Groups in America: Patrons, Professions, and Social Movements. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

**Wall, Wendy** (2008) Inventing the "American Way": The Politics of Consensus from the New Deal to the Civil Rights Movement. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

**Wasson, Donald, and Ruth Savord** (1964) American Agencies Interested in International Affairs. Washington, DC: Council on Foreign Relations.

**Weiss, Thomas G., and Leon Gordenker**, eds. (1996) NGOS, The UN, and Global Governance. Boulder, CO: Lynne Reinner Publishers.

**White, Lyman Cromwell** (1947) "Consultation with non-governmental organizations." World Affairs **110** (Winter): 257–67.

—— (1951) International Non-Governmental Organizations, Their Purposes, Methods, and Accomplishments. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press.

**Willets, Peter**, ed. (1996) "The Conscience of the World": The Influence of Non-Governmental Organizations in the UN System. Washington, DC: Brookings Institution Press.

**Young, McGee** (2010) Developing Interests: Organizational Change and the Politics of Advocacy. Lawrence: University of Kansas Press.

**Zolberg, Aristide R.** (2002) "International engagement and American democracy: A comparative perspective," in Ira Katznelson and Martin Shefter (eds.) Shaped by War and by Trade: International Influences on American Political Development. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press: 24–54.

**Zunz, Oliver** (2012) Philanthropy in America: A History. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.