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A Chronology of
European Security and
Defence 1945–2006

JULIAN LINDLEY-FRENCH

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1945–2007

To Pia and Virginia who believed everything possible . . .

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Preface

The purpose of this book is to demonstrate continuity in European security and defence by establishing the link between the events that dominate today's headlines and their origins. Indeed, almost all contemporary events have their origins in history, in particular recent history. Understand these origins and you will understand why the challenges of the present age are both enduring and complex.

The concept for *A Chronology of European Security & Defence 1945–2006* emerged from my time at the EU Institute for Security Studies in Paris and the Geneva Centre for Security Policy. Countless conversations with policy-makers, practitioners, academics, commentators, and students led me to the conclusion that such was the complexity of Europe's post-war security and defence story that only a detailed annotated chronology would suffice to close the very evident gap in the literature.

I had developed an initial chronology while studying at the European University Institute in Florence in the 1990s, but it was apparent even then that a mere list of dates would not capture the richness of the story. A thorough extension and update of this initial chronology followed during the last year, and the result is a very personal interpretation of European security and defence and the many events that have formed and shaped it. There are, no doubt, some omissions, for which I apologize. Developing such a chronology is inevitably like cleaning large windows—one always misses something. If the reader can forgive the occasional lapse, however, I am convinced that the Chronology will help plot a way through the jungle of European security and defence that is both informative and enjoyable.

This edition has been produced by Oxford University Press. As an alumnus of Oxford University I am deeply honoured to be able to publish a work that I firmly believe will be of great utility to anyone with an interest in how we got here, from where we were then. Indeed, as an Oxford historian it is impossible for me to believe that one can adequately explain the present without a grasp of the past.

Dominic Byatt at Oxford University Press has been unstinting in his help and encouragement for which I am most grateful. I am also grateful to Katja Flückiger for her sterling work on the first edition. Above all, I would like to thank my wife Corine Schouten for her work and support in the preparation of this book. She has proved invaluable...as ever! My thanks are sincere and heartfelt.

J. L-F.

Lage Zwaluwe, Netherlands

July 2007

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About the Author

Julian Lindley-French was born in Sheffield, Yorkshire in 1958. He is currently Professor of Military Operational Science, the Defence Academy of the Netherlands, Senior Associate Fellow of the Defence Academy of the United Kingdom, and Senior Scholar with the Centre for Applied Policy at the University of Munich. He is a former Director of the International Security Policy Training Course at the Geneva Centre for Security Policy. A historian by training, he is an Oxford Blue who graduated from Oxford University in 1980. He received a Masters Degree in International Relations (with distinction) from UEA in 1992 and a doctorate in political science from the European University Institute in Florence in 1996. He has lectured in European Security at the Department of War Studies, Kings College London, and therein was Deputy Director of the International Centre for Security Analysis (ICSA). He was also Senior Research Fellow at the EU Institute for Security Studies in Paris and has acted as a consultant to NATO in Brussels where in 1999 he was recognized for outstanding service.

He is a regular contributor to the *International Herald Tribune* and *Wall Street Journal*. His recent works include *A European Defence Strategy* (Gutersloh: Bertelsmann 2004), and *Why Europe Must Be Strong... and the World Needs a Strong Europe* (Gutersloh: Bertelsmann 2005). In June 2005 he published 'Power and Bleakness' in *International Spectator* and in January 2006, 'Big NATO, Big World, Big Future', in *NATO Review* which helped set the debate on NATO's Global Partnerships. In January 2007 he published *NATO: The Enduring Alliance* for Routledge in the US and Europe. In October 2007 he also published 'Beyond 2010: European Grand Strategy in a Global Age' For the Bertelsmann Foundation. He is currently working on a book on British National Strategy. In January 2007 he published 'The Capability–Capacity Crunch: NATO's New Capacities for Military Intervention' in *European Security*.

How the Chronology Works

A Chronology of European Security & Defence 1945–2006 is divided into seven parts.

Each part is introduced by a short essay that tells the story of the period covered. Each year is then treated as a distinct chronological entity. There is an overview of major events and themes that enables the reader to get a flavour of any particular year. Individual events are then organized chronologically, with specific dates given where possible together with an explanatory passage or statement. Each event is then given a subheading to put it into historical context so that readers can follow particular thematic developments if they so wish.

The Chronology considers institutional and policy developments and actions taken within and between international bodies such as the European Economic Community/European Community/European Union (EEC/EC/EU), the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe/Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (CSCE/OSCE), the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) and the Western European Union (WEU). Equally, the Chronology also covers developments in specific countries and major world events in order to place European security and defence in context and explain the drivers of change to which Europe is subject. In addition, those social and economic events that have had a considerable impact upon, and are influenced by, security and defence, are included.

However, a chronology is not, and can never be, a historical analysis. Through the commentaries and explanations it provides, however, the work aims to give the reader more than just a list of events. Rather, it offers perspectives and insights that place European security and defence in their historical context.

List of Abbreviations and Acronyms

ABM	Anti-Ballistic Missile
ACE	Allied Command Europe
ACLANT	Allied Command Atlantic
ACO	Allied Command Operations
ACT	Allied Command Transformation
AFSOUTH	Allied Forces Southern Europe (NATO)
AGS	A Ground Surveillance
AKP	Adalet ve Kalkinma Partisi (Justice and Development Party, Turkey)
ARRC	Allied Command Europe Rapid Reaction Corps
ASEAN	Association of South-East Asian Nations
AWACS	Airborne Warning and Control System (aircraft)
BAOR	British Army of the Rhine
Benelux	Belgium, the Netherlands and Luxembourg
BiH	Bosnia-Herzegovina
BWC	Biological Weapons Convention
CEDP	Common European Defence Policy
CENTO	Central Treaty Organization
CESDP	Common European Security and Defence Policy
CFE	Conventional Armed Forces in Europe Treaty
CFSP	Common Foreign and Security Policy
CINCHAN	Commander-in-Chief Channel
CJTF	Combined Joint Task Force
CoE	Council of Europe
Comecon	Council for Mutual Economic Assistance
COMINFORM	Communist Information Bureau
COMUSFOREUR	Commander, US Forces Europe
CPA	Coalition Provisional Authority (Iraq)
CPSU	Communist Party of the Soviet Union
CRRM	Civilian Rapid Reaction Mechanism (EU)
CSBM	Confidence and Security Building Measures
CSCF	Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe
CSU	Christlich-Soziale Union
CTBT	Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty
CWC	Chemical Weapons Convention
DCI	Defence Capabilities Initiative

DPC	Defence Planning Committee (NATO)
DPP	Defence Planning Process
DPQ	Defence Planning Questionnaire
DRC	Democratic Republic of the Congo
EADS	European Aeronautics, Defence and Space Company
EAEC	European Atomic Energy Community
EAG	European Air Group
EAPC	Euro-Atlantic Partnership Council
EC	European Communities (EEC, ECSC and Euratom), or: European Community, the new name for the EEC in the TEU
ECAP	European Capabilities Action Plan
ECSC	European Coal and Steel Community
ECU	European Currency Unit, an accounting unit based on a basket of national currencies
EDA	European Defence Agency
EDC	European Defence Community
EDIS	European Defence Industry Study
EEA	European Economic Area
EEC	European Economic Community
EFA	European Fighter Aircraft
EFTA	European Free Trade Area
ELDO	European Space Vehicle Launcher Development Organization
EP	European Parliament
EPC (1952)	European Political Community
EPC	European Political Co-operation (1970–93)
ERM	European Exchange Rate Mechanism
ERP	European Recovery Program
ERRF	European Rapid Reaction Force
ERRM	European Rapid Reaction Mechanism
ESA	European Space Agency
ESDI	European Security and Defence Identity (NATO)
ESDP	European Security and Defence Policy (EU)
ESDU	European Security and Defence Union (EU)
ESRO	European Space Research Organization
ETA	Euskadi Ta Askatasuna (Basque Homeland and Freedom)
EU	European Union
EUCLID	European Co-operation for the Long Term in Defence
EUFOR	EU Force in Bosnia-Herzegovina
EUPM	EU Police Mission (Bosnia-Herzegovina)
EUPOL	PROXIMA EU Police Mission in the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia
Euratom	European Atomic Energy Community
EUROFOR	European Force
EUROMARFOR	European Maritime Force

FAWEU	Forces Answerable to the Western European Union (WEU)
FBEAG	Franco-British European Air Group
FBS	Forward Base System
FRG	Federal Republic of Germany
FRY	Federal Republic of Yugoslavia
FYROM	Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia
GAC	General Affairs Council (EU Council of Ministers/Council of the European Union meeting in foreign and defence minister composition)
GAERC	General Affairs and External Relations Council (EU)
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GDR	German Democratic Republic
GLCM	Ground-Launched Cruise Missile
GPALS	Global Protection against Limited Strikes
GRU	Glavnoe razvedyvatelnoe upravlenie (Main Intelligence Directorate, or Soviet military intelligence)
G7/G8	Group of Seven/Group of Eight
HLG	High-Level Group
HQ	Headquarters
HR	High Representative
IAEA	International Atomic Energy Agency
ICBM	Intercontinental Ballistic Missile
ICC	International Criminal Court
ICTY	International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia
IEPG	Independent European Programme Group
IFOR	Implementation Force (Bosnia-Herzegovina)
IGC	Intergovernmental Conference
IMS	Integrated Military Structure
INF	Intermediate Nuclear Forces
IPTF	International Police Task Force (Bosnia-Herzegovina)
IRBM	Intermediate-Range Ballistic Missile
ISAF	International Security Assistance Force (Afghanistan)
ISG	Iraq Study Group
JFC	Joint Force Command
JFC Naples	Joint Force Command Naples, Italy (NATO)
JNA	Yugoslav National Army
KFOR	Kosovo Force (NATO)
LANDJUT	NATO's HQ Allied Land Forces, Schleswig-Holstein and Jutland
LTDP	Long-Term Defence Programme
LRTNF	Long-Range Theatre Nuclear Forces
MAD	Mutually Assured Destruction
MAPE	Multinational Advisory Police Element
MARAIMED	Allied Maritime Air Forces Mediterranean
MBFR	Mutually Balanced Force Reductions
MEP	Member of the European Parliament

MIRV	Multiple Independent Re-Entry Vehicle
MIT	Military Implications Team
MLF	Multilateral Force
MLRS	Multi-Launch Rocket System
MONUC	Mission des Nations Unies en République démocratique du Congo
Congo/United	Nations Organization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo
MRCA	Multi-Role Combat Aircraft
MTA	Military Technical Agreement
NAC	North Atlantic Council
NACC	North Atlantic Co-operation Council
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NAVOCFORMED	Naval Officer Commanding Forces in the Mediterranean
NLA	National Liberation Army
NPG	Nuclear Planning Group
NPT	Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons/Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty
NRF	NATO Response Force
NSC	National Security Council (US)
NSDD	National Security Decision Directive
NSDM	National Security Decision Memorandum
NST	Nuclear and Space Talks
NTBT	Nuclear Test Ban Treaty
OAS	Organisation de l'Armée Secrète
OCCAR	Organisation Conjointe de Coopération en Matière d'Armement
OEEC	Organisation for European Economic Co-operation
OPEC	Organization of the Petroleum Exporting Countries
OSCE	Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe
PA	Palestinian Authority
PCC	Prague Capabilities Commitment
PD	Presidential Directive
PFLP	Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine
PfP	Partnership for Peace
PIC	Peace Implementation Conference (Bosnia-Herzegovina)
PIT	Political Implications Team
PLO	Palestinian Liberation Organization
PM	Prime Minister
POCO	Political Committee (EU)
PRC	People's Republic of China
PROXIMA	EU Police Mission in FYROM (EUPOL PROXIMA)
PSC	Political and Security Committee (EU). Also known by its French acronym COPS
QMV	Qualified Majority Voting
RAF	Royal Air Force (UK)

ROC	Republic of China
RPF	Rwandan Patriotic Front
RSFSR	Russian Soviet Federal Socialist Republic
SACEUR	Supreme Allied Commander, Europe
SACLANT	Supreme Allied Commander, Atlantic
SALT	Strategic Arms Limitation Talks
SAMs	Surface-to-Air Missiles
SDI	Strategic Defense Initiative
SEATO	South-East Asia Treaty Organization
SED	Sozialistische Einheitspartei Deutschlands (Socialist Unionist Party; the GDR communist party)
SFOR	Stabilization Force (Bosnia-Herzegovina)
SFRY	Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia
SHAPE	Supreme Headquarters Allied Powers Europe
SIOP	Single Integrated Operation Plan
SOFA	Status of Forces Agreement
SPD	Social Democratic Party (Germany)
SRF	Strategic Rocket Force
SSBN	Nuclear Ballistic Missile Submarine
SSM	Surface-to-Surface Missile
STANAVFORLANT	Standing Naval Force Atlantic
STANAVFORMED	Standing Naval Force Mediterranean
START	Strategic Arms Reduction Talks
TEC	Treaty establishing the European Communities
TEU	Treaty on European Union
TNF	Theatre Nuclear Forces
TNW	Theatre Nuclear Weapons
UK	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland
UN	United Nations
UNFICYP	United Nations Force in Cyprus
UNHCR	(Office of the) United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
UNMIBH	United Nations Mission in Bosnia-Herzegovina
UNMIK	United Nations Interim Administration Mission in Kosovo
UNO	United Nations Organization
UNPA	United Nations Protected Area
UNPROFOR	United Nations Protection Force
UNSC	United Nations Security Council
US	United States
USSR	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
WEAG	Western European Armaments Group
WEU	Western European Union
WEUDAM	De-mining Assistance Mission to Croatia (WEU)
Weucom	WEU Telecommunications Network

PART ONE

The Formative Years

1945–1949

INTRODUCTION

The Formative Years 1945–1949: The Cold War begins with the end of a World War. On 6 August 1945 an American atomic bomb explodes over the Japanese city of Hiroshima, reducing it and much of its population to ashes in the splitting of an atom. Europe is in pieces, Asia is mauled, America is supreme, and Russia is resurgent. Europe, consumed by its own conflagration, is divided along the lines agreed at two so-called Big Three conferences in 1945 between the US, Soviet Union, and Britain at Yalta in the Crimea and Potsdam a short distance from Berlin, which has rapidly become a shrine to the defeat of German expansionism. In reality, the Big Three are the Big Two plus One because, broken by two successive wars in defence of liberty and democracy, Britain is but a shadow of its former self and neither the Soviets nor the Americans are in any mood to humour a fading power. In an atmosphere redolent of a chess tournament the Soviets and the Americans set about creating their spheres of influence. However, whilst the Americans cannot bring themselves to play *machtropolitik* without at least the patina of ideological overlay, the hard-bitten Russians have no such qualms. And, whilst they smile politely at first Roosevelt's and then Truman's hope for a new world order, behind the scenes the Soviets busily go about the business of imposing an empire, albeit masked by the empty rhetoric of the communist brotherhood.

BATTLE LINES ARE DRAWN

Thus, the US search falters for a new world order in the immediate aftermath of World War Two inclusive of Soviet Russia. Indeed, Washington's initial enthusiasm for a strategic partnership with Moscow begins to fade even before the

ink is dry on the founding document of the United Nations, the United Nations Charter, after its signing in June 1945. As a result, and much to their regret, the Americans find themselves engaged progressively in the very balance of power politics that they believed responsible for the two world wars that have so obscenely recast the European landscape. Moreover, even as battle lines are drawn across Europe it is evident that America's European allies see things differently to the US. Whereas for Americans liberal-democratic capitalism confronts Soviet communism, for most Europeans they are simply preparing to confront Russians...and Germans (again). Indeed, in the mind of most Europeans, while the threat posed by 175 Red Army Divisions is very real, there is another spectre that haunts them; a *révanchist* Germany. Indeed, even as a lonely American diplomat in Moscow, George Kennan, begins to peer through the propaganda of the people, the British and French are busily going about preparing a new anti-German treaty, the 1947 Treaty of Dunkirk. However, it is the crafting by Kennan of the so-called Long Telegram in February 1946, and the subsequent visit to Moscow by new US Secretary of State George Marshall, that lead to the siren call to arms for a Washington that hitherto had wanted simply to 'bring the boys home'.

THE IRON CURTAIN

Whilst determined to prevent Germany from ever again disfiguring the Old Continent, it is the British (not for the first time) who are most fully seized of the new danger. Long an anti-communist crusader, Winston Churchill, the old British warhorse, who had rallied the free world during the dark days of victorious Nazism, again calls the free world to stand firm. In a speech to 'real' Americans in a school hall in Fulton, Missouri he warns in a way that only this master of grandiloquence can of an Iron Curtain descending upon Europe from Stettin in the Baltic to Trieste in the Adriatic. Indeed, such is the power of the message and the strength of his standing that the phrase 'Iron Curtain' would come to define the age that Churchill heralds.

Taken together, Kennan's seminal telegram, Marshall's realist awakening, and Churchill's vision of an Iron Curtain penetrate the post-war politics of Washington with the politics of a new war—the Cold War. As Moscow rejects the Marshall Plan and the offer of aid for the rebuilding of the war-torn economies of Europe, the Old Continent once again finds itself carved into spheres of influence. The political temperature plunges as tensions mount over the status of Berlin deep in Soviet-held eastern Germany, the political destiny of Turkey, Greece, and Yugoslavia, and the destruction twice in one decade of a renascent, democratic Czechoslovakia as the Soviets endeavour to bring them

within their sphere. These are the new politics of the new nuclear ideology as the liberal West under American leadership seeks to contain Soviet expansionism. Although not at all apparent at the time, either for the Soviets or their adversaries, it is for Moscow a race against time as the Russians must somehow eclipse American economic might before it defeats them.

THE EURO-WORLD

For Europeans the world has become a much smaller place. Both France and Britain begin their long and painful retreats westwards forcing the US to fill the vacuum left by their failing imperial power. For a brief moment Britain holds onto the fantasy that it can play Athens to America's Rome at the centre of three concentric circles of Europe, British Empire/Commonwealth, and Europe. To that end, in September 1946, Winston Churchill in a speech to the University of Zurich calls for the United States of Europe, only for Britain to then stand aside. In 1948 the Brussels Treaty of Economic, Social, and Cultural Collaboration is signed by Belgium, France, the Netherlands, Luxembourg, and Britain. Essentially an anti-German pact, it is the first European organization to suggest European integration. It is also Britain's golden moment, for it represents the high-water mark of Britain's influence in Europe. The chance missed, France fills the vacuum of British ambivalence and begins its own journey to the leadership of a Europe increasingly shaped in its image, albeit founded on a Germany shackled and emaciated.

Indeed, locked within the Brussels Treaty is a spirit of reconciliation and renewal that will eventually lead to European defence and European union as Europe re-emerges to challenge the Soviet writ and American leadership. However, in the dark, cold winter of 1947 for Europeans struggling with rationing and weakness such a dream must be dismissed in an instant. There are more immediate concerns at hand.

BERLIN AND THE FOUNDING OF NATO

And then begins the Berlin blockade. In June 1948 tensions mount along with the number of Soviet divisions beyond the River Elbe in the eastern occupied *Länder* of Germany. Stalin's intent becomes clear. He aims to force the West out and to force Berlin into the Soviet bloc. America's immediate post-war aspiration for a world in which governance reflects the will of the United Nations under Washington's benign leadership finally evaporates. The boys are not going to come home. Rather, Washington finds itself embroiled in a very entangling alliance with Europeans of the kind that so vexed that great founding father Alexander Hamilton. Although the Berlin blockade is broken by the

British–American airlift the first Berlin Crisis brings hopes for a new world order to a definitive conclusion. However, the Berlin airlift not only ensures the survival of the Western enclave in Berlin, it also ensures that the German soul will be Western. It is a soul that will have to wait forty years until 1989 to be freed. However, it is also a soul that will be fought over for much of the Cold War as an answer is sought for the third time in eighty years to the German Question—its place within Europe and its influence over others.

Something else happens in 1948. The State of Israel is founded and with it a struggle between Israelis and Palestinians that will consume many lives and the political energy of much of the rest of the world to this day.

On 4 April 1949 the North Atlantic Treaty is signed in Washington by Belgium, Canada, Denmark, France, Iceland, Italy, Luxembourg, Norway, Portugal, the UK, and the US. NATO is born and with it the true end of America's historic isolationism.

On 29 August 1949 the Soviet Union explodes its first atomic device. America's nuclear monopoly ends. Exploding with the strength of ten suns it is not without irony that its heat of one million degrees will keep war cold.

1945

AT A GLANCE—MAJOR EVENTS AND THEMES

- Big-Three Conferences at Yalta and Potsdam divide post-war Europe into spheres of influence.
- Germany and Japan surrender; World War Two ends.
- The United Nations is created in San Francisco.
- Atomic bombs are dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki.
- There is a growing perception in the West of a Soviet threat to Western Europe.

February 4–11	<i>The Origins of the Cold War:</i> At the Conference of the Crimea in Yalta, Russia, post-war Europe is divided among the victors. US and Soviet hegemony is effectively established in their respective spheres of influence. Zones of occupation are established to avoid any incidents when the forces of the Western Allies meet those of the Soviet Union. This is the last summit for President Franklin D. Roosevelt.
April 12	<i>The Origins of the Cold War:</i> US President Theodore Roosevelt dies. Vice President Harry S. Truman succeeds him.
May 8	<i>The End of World War Two:</i> War in Europe ends as Germany surrenders unconditionally. Germany is divided into four zones of occupation controlled respectively by Britain, France, the US, and the Soviet Union. It is the question of the final shape of the future Germany that will give the Cold War much of its political energy.
May 12	<i>The Origins of the Cold War:</i> British Prime Minister Winston Churchill warns new US President Truman for the first time of a possible Soviet threat. He suggests that Soviet leader Josef Stalin is not interested in partnership, merely domination.
June 26	<i>United Nations:</i> The signing takes place of the UN Charter in San Francisco, the founding document of the United Nations. Unlike its forebear the League of Nations, the US is a full and active member and one of the five permanent members of the UN Security Council (UNSC), the others being Britain, France, the Soviet Union and the Republic of China (ROC).
July 17 –August 26	<i>The Origins of the Cold War:</i> Britain's Winston Churchill and Clement Attlee, Soviet leader Josef Stalin, and US President Harry S. Truman meet at the Conference of Berlin (Potsdam) to confirm the Yalta Agreement. President Truman, however, is less well disposed towards Stalin and the Soviet Union than his predecessor. The conference takes place in the shadow of the first atomic bomb missions over Japan.