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11. Logit Models of Voting on the Lodge Reservations to the Versailles Treaty

**1. Votes on the Lodge Reservations to the Versailles Treaty, 1919**

There were more than 100 roll-call votes on the Versailles Treaty in 1919 and 1920. Those on the Lodge reservations are especially important because they were crafted as a way to unify Republican opposition to the Treaty, by an architect of the Republican Party's foreign policy before 1914. While Lodge maintained that he was willing to accept the Treaty with reservations, there is ample reason to suspect that he actually hoped to defeat it.

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| **Summary of Reservation** | **Decision** | **Reference** |
| Make the acceptance of U.S. reservations by at least three of the four major allies (Great Britain, France, Italy, and Japan) a condition of ratification | Adopted, 48-40 | 7 November 1919, p. 8057 |
| U.S. can withdraw from League through concurrent resolution of Congress not requiring presidential approval | Adopted 50-35 | 7 November 1919, p. 8074 |
| U.S. not compelled to take any military action on behalf of the League without a Congressional declaration of war | Adopted 46-33 | 10 November 1919, p. 8193 |
| U.S. will not accept any territorial mandates from the League without Congressional authorization | Adopted without roll-call | 15 November 1919, p. 8556 |
| U.S. domestic matters, including immigration and the tariff, are not subject to the jurisdiction of the League | Adopted 55-34 | 15 November 1919, p. 8556 |
| League cannot question U.S. action pursuant to the Monroe Doctrine, or U.S. interpretation of the Monroe Doctrine | Adopted 59-36 | 15 November 1919, p. 8560 |
| U.S. withholds assent to the transfer of German concessions in China to Japan, and asserts its freedom of action in any disputes arising from this issue | Adopted 53-41 | 15 November 1919, p. 8561 |
| Congress alone shall approve the United States' delegates to the League and no other person is authorized to deal with the League | Adopted, 53-40 | 15 November 1919, p. 8564 |
| Trade between Germany and the United States can only be restricted with approval from Congress, and not by any League reparations commission | Adopted 54-40 | 15 November 1919, p. 8566 |
| U.S. is not obligated to make any financial contribution to the League unless authorized by Congress | Adopted 56-39 | 15 November 1919, p. 8566 |
| U.S. authorized to reverse any arms reductions undertaken through the League if it is threatened at any time | Adopted, 56-39 | 15 November 1919, p. 8567 |
| U.S. reserves right to allow citizens of states that violate League rules to continue to live and do business in the United States if they already reside in the U.S. | Adopted 53-41 | 15 November 1919, pp. 8567-8 |
| Nothing in the Treaty shall be taken to confirm or approve of any act otherwise illegal or in contravention of the rights of citizens of the United States | Adopted 52-41 | 15 November 1919, p. 8570 |
| U.S. withholds its approval for the redistribution of German colonies under the terms of the Treaty | Rejected, 29-64 | 17 November 1919, p. 8617 |
| U.S. reserves right to decide what questions affect its honor or its vital interests and declares that such questions are not arbitration or consideration by the League | Rejected, 36-56 | 17 November 1919, p. 8634 |

Note: References to the full text of each reservation are to the bound edition of the *Congressional Record* for the indicated date.

**2. Adherence to international court jurisdiction, 1923-2003**

**A. 1923**

There was a single roll-call on a motion to consider S. Res. 454, a resolution stating Senate approval for adherence to the jurisdiction of the Permanent Court of International Justice. The measure failed, 24-49 (*CR* 3 March 1923, 5272-3). Henry Cabot Lodge's argument that the measure should not be considered until the next congress had convened apparently won the day (Dunne 1988, 93-4). A vote opposing consideration of the resolution were treated as opposition to court jurisdiction.

**B. 1926-27**

The debate was prompted by the possibility that the Senate might agree to accept the PCIJ's jurisdiction with reservations after some prominent Court opponents softened their position. This led Court advocates in the Coolidge administration to push for Senate consideration of adherence to the PCIJ with sufficient reservations to obtain the necessary two-thirds vote (Dunne 1988, 122-9). The January 1926 debate considered these reservations as well as a measure accepting the Court's jurisdiction once they had been adopted. Other states that had accepted the PCIJ refused to agree to the Senate's reservations, so the agreement was not accepted. A final vote in February 1927 removed the PCIJ from further consideration by the Foreign Relations Committee for the remainder of the lame duck session of the 69th Congress, then underway.

The table below summarizes the substance of the roll-calls conducted during the debate and whether each one supported or opposed acceptance of the PCIJ's jurisdiction.

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| **Summary of Roll-Call and Coding** | **Decision** | **Reference** |
| Motion to to proceed with the debate. A "no" vote is coded as opposition to the Court's jurisdiction. | Agreed to, 68-26 | 25 January 1926, 2678-9 |
| Reid (D-MO) motion to adjourn. A "yes" vote indicates opposition to the Court's jurisdiction. | Rejected, 9-72 | 25 January 1926, 2680 |
| Lenroot (R-WI) motion to lay on the table Reed's appeal of decision of the chair to set aside his motion to adjourn. A "no" vote indicates opposition to the Court's jurisdiction. | Agreed to, 69-13 | 25 January 1926, 2681-2 |
| Agreement to reservation 1, providing that the U.S. can withdraw from the World Court's jurisdiction if it chooses to. The lone "no" vote, Frazier (R-ND), a consistent opponent of the Court, later explained that he had a substitute for the first four amendments, so "no" is treated as opposition to the Court's jurisdiction. | Agreed to, 90-1 | 26 January 1926, 2756 |
| Agreement to reservation 2, providing that the US should have equal rights and representation on the Court with members of the League of Nations. Borah (R-ID) had a more demanding reservation pending, so a "no" vote is treated as opposition to the Court's jurisdiction. | Agreed to, 83-8 | 26 January 1926, 2757 |
| Agreement to reservation 3, that the US should pay its fair share of the Court's expenses as determined and appropriated by Congress. A "no" vote is treated as opposition to the Court's jurisdiction. Frazier (R-ND) explained that he had a more demanding substitute in mind for the first four reservations (2757). | Agreed to, 89-3 | 26 January 1926, 2757 |
| Agreement to reservation 4, providing that the United States can withdraw from the Court at any time. A "no" vote is treated as opposition to the Court's jurisdiction. A more stringent substitute prohibiting any amendments to the statute establishing the Court had just been rejected by voice vote. | Agreed to, 91-1 | 26 January 1926, 2757-8 |
| Agreeing to one section of reservation 5, concerning the exemption of the United States from advisory opinions that it is not a party to requesting. A "no" vote is treated as opposition to the Court's jurisdiction. | Agreed to, 91-1 | 26 January 1926, 2759 |
| Agreement to a substitute amendment by Reed (D-MO) inserting an exemption for matters involving the Monroe Doctrine into the Court's jurisdiction into reservation 5. The original text had related language but did not explicitly mention the Monroe Doctrine. A "yes" vote is treated as opposition to the Court's jurisdiction. | Rejected, 6-82 | 26 January 1926, 2762 |
| Agreement to Moses (R-NH) amendment to reservation 5 adding that the decisions of the Court will not be enforced by war. A "yes" vote is treated as opposition to the Court's jurisdiction. | Rejected, 22-69 | 27 January 1926, 2816 |
| Agreement to Reed (D-MO) amendment to reservation 5 providing that the states of the British Empire should get only one vote on the Court. A "yes" vote is treated as opposition to the Court's jurisdiction. | Rejected, 20-73 | 27 January 1926, 2820 |
| Agreement to Shipstead (Farmer-Labor-MN) amendment to reservation 5 forbidding the Court from ruling on the status of debts owed to the United States. A "yes" vote is treated as opposition to the Court's jurisdiction. | Rejected, 16-74 | 27 January 1926, 2820 |
| Agreement to Shipstead (Farmer-Labor-MN) amendment to reservation 5 ruling out advisory opinions. A "yes" vote is treated as opposition to the Court's jurisdiction. | Rejected, 17-74 | 27 January 1926, 2821 |
| Agreement to Moses (R-NH) substitute amendment to reservation 5 using alternative language previously voted down in the Foreign Relations Committee. A "yes" vote is treated as opposition to the Court's jurisdiction. | Rejected, 21-72 | 27 January 1926, 2821-2 |
| Agreement to Reed (D-MO) amendment to resolution of adhering to the Court's jurisdiction striking out Senate "consent" unless and until other states accept the reservations. The resolution would merely "advise" ratification in the meantime. A "yes" vote is treated as opposition to the Court's jurisdiction. | Rejected, 16-74 | 27 January 1926, 2823 |
| Final approval of resolution adhering to the Court's jurisdiction. A "no" vote is treated as opposition to the Court's jurisdiction. | Passed, 76-17 | 27 January 1926, 2825 |
| Robinson (D-AR) motion to lay on the table the Trammell (D-FL) motion to discharge from Foreign Relations Committee S. Res. 282, a bill rescinding the earlier measure consenting to PCIJ jurisdiction. A "no" vote is treated as opposition to the Court's jurisdiction. | Agreed to, 59-10 | 9 February 1927, 3328 |

Note: References to the full text of each reservation are to the bound edition of the *Congressional Record* for the indicated date.

**C. 1935**

Democratic control of the White House and the Senate after the 1932 election increased the chances that the United States would adhere to the jurisdiction of the PCIJ under conditions that other adherents to the Court might accept. Continuing Democratic successes in the 1934 election led Court proponents in the Senate to raise the issue at the beginning of the 74th Congress in January 1935 (Dunne 1988, 218-25). The ensuing debate included 8 roll-call votes, and ended with the defeat of the resolution of adherence (Dunne 1988, 231-60).

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| **Summary of Roll-Call and Coding** | **Decision** | **Reference** |
| Agreement to the Norris (R-NE) reservation to require a two-thirds vote of the Senate before submitting anything to the PCIJ. A "yes" vote is treated as opposition to the Court's jurisdiction. | Rejected, 37-47 | 25 January 1935, 977 |
| Agreement to the Long (D-LA) reservation that matters arising from the Monroe Doctrine should not be subject to the jurisdiction of the Court A "yes" vote is treated as opposition to the Court's jurisdiction. | Rejected, 35-46 | 28 January 1935, 1055 |
| Agreement to the Davis (R-PA) amendment clarifying that lack of Senate action could not be interpreted as consent to the jurisdiction of the Court in a particular case. A "yes" vote is treated as opposition to the Court's jurisdiction. | Rejected, 27-54 | 28 January 1935, 1056 |
| Agreement to the Borah (R-ID) amendment requiring a special agreement among the parties to a case before the PCIJ before its jurisdiction would apply. A "yes" vote is treated as opposition to the Court's jurisdiction. | Rejected, 40-44 | 29 January 1935, 1127 |
| Agreement to the Norris (R-NE) amendment requiring special treaties between states taking cases to the PCIJ in order to give it jurisdiction. A "yes" vote is treated as opposition to the Court's jurisdiction. | Rejected, 39-48 | 29 January 1935, 1131 |
| Agreement to Steiwer (R-OR) reservation withholding adherence to the PCIJ until the other parties to the statute indicate by exchange of notes that they accept US reservations. A "yes" vote is treated as opposition to the Court's jurisdiction. | Rejected, 34-49 | 29 January 1935, 1134 |
| Agreement to Gore (D-OK) amendment making adherence to the Court conditional on whether other adherents are not in arrears on their war debts to the United States. A "yes" vote is treated as opposition to the Court's jurisdiction. | Rejected, 26-57 | 29 January 1935, 1140 |
| Final approval of resolution adhering to the PCIJ, with a two-thirds majority required. A "no" vote is treated as opposition to the Court's jurisdiction. | Rejected, 52-36 | 29 January 1935, 1147 |

Note: References to the full text of each reservation are to the bound edition of the *Congressional Record* for the indicated date.

**D. 1946**

The Senate debate over S. Res. 196, which proposed adherence to the compulsory jurisdiction of the International Court of Justice, took place on 2 August 1946. (It is worth noting that the year is recorded incorrectly as 1945 in many sources.) It entailed three roll-call votes.

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| **Summary of Roll-Call and Coding** | **Decision** | **Reference** |
| Agreement to the Connally (D-TX) amendment stating that the US will not accept ICJ jurisdiction over matters it considers purely domestic. A "yes" vote limits the jurisdiction of the Court. Speeches by those voting against it indicate that opposition to such a restriction was why they did so. | Agreed to, 51-12 | 2 August 1946, 10697 |
| Agreement to the Millikin (R-CO) amendment providing the ICJ jurisdiction shall not extend to matters where the relevant law is found in treaties that the US has not accepted. A "yes" vote limits the jurisdiction of the Court. | Rejected 11-49 | 2 August 1946, 10705 |
| Final passage of resolution adhering to the jurisdiction of the ICJ. A "no" vote rejects the jurisdiction of the Court. | Passed, 60-2 | 2 August 1946, 10705-6 |

Note: References to the full text of each reservation are to the bound edition of the *Congressional Record* for the indicated date.

**E. 1985**

In 1985, the Reagan administration withdrew the United States from the compulsory jurisdiction of the ICJ following an unfavorable ruling on the American covert war against Nicaragua. In response, Mark Hatfield (R-OR) introduced an amendment to withhold funding from international organizations as long as the United States does not accept the jurisdiction of the World Court. The amendment was intended to force the administration to return to the compulsory jurisdiction of the ICJ. During the floor debate on the measure three Senators--John Chafee (R-RI), George Mitchell (D-ME), and Specter (R-PA) stated that they supported the goal of restoring the ICJ's jurisdiction, but did not want to cut off contributions to international organizations as a way to force the administration's hand. (Their statements can be found in the *Congressional Record* for October 24, 1985, on pages 28906, 28907, and 28907 respectively.) The debate produced on roll-call vote on which amendment was rejected, 21-74 (*CR*, 28908).

**F. 1994**

In 1994, Senate conservatives sought to prevent the Clinton administration from participating in deliberations leads to the Rome Statute that would eventually establish the International Criminal Court. While an amendment to prohibit U.S. participation in the negotiations was tabled, an alternative that would prohibit U.S. participation in any international court that failed to protect the Fourth Amendment rights of Americans passed. Two other amendments Helms proposed, concerning Americans' First Amendment rights and prohibiting judges who are "citizens or nationals of terrorist groups or terrorist countries." There were two roll-call votes.

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| **Summary of Roll-Call and Coding** | **Decision** | **Reference** |
| Motion to table the Helms (R-NC) amendment (S.Amdt. 1254) to Foreign Relations Authorization Act (S. 1281) which would delete funding for the international criminal court. A "yes" vote would reject future adherence to the ICC. | Agreed to, 55-45 | 26 January 1994, S186 |
| Acceptance of Helms (R-NC) amendment (S.Amdt. 1278) prohibiting the United States from joining any international court that fails to protect the Fourth Amendment rights of American citizens. A "yes" vote would potentially limit future adherence to the ICC. | Agreed to, 91-3 | 27 January 1994, S294 |

Note: References to the full text of each reservation are to the bound edition of the *Congressional Record* for the indicated date.

**G. 2001-2**

Republican members of Congress, led by Jesse Helms (R-NC), successfully sought to limit the jurisdiction of the International Criminal Court over Americans, even though the United States was not a party to it, and to punish states that were parties to the Rome Statute unless they agreed not to hand over Americans to the ICC. Their efforts resulted in four roll-call votes during the 107th Congress.

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| **Summary of Roll-Call and Coding** | **Decision** | **Reference** |
| Agreement to Dodd substitute amendment (S.Amdt. 2337) to Helms amendment (S.Amdt. 2336) encouraging the President to protect Americans against unjust prosecution and urging that Slobodan Milosevic and others be tried by the ICC. A "no" vote would limit the ICC's jurisdiction by supporting the Helms amendment. | Rejected, 48-51 | 7 December 2001, S12628 |
| Agreement to Helms (R-NC) amendment (S.Amdt. 2336) to supplemental appropriations bill (H.R. 3338) protect American military personnel and other officials against criminal prosecution by the ICC. A "yes" vote limits the jurisdiction of the ICC. | Agreed to, 78-21 | 7 December 2001, S12628 |
| Motion to table Dodd (D-CT) amendment (S.Amdt. 3787) to Warner amendment (S.Amdt. 3597) Dodd amendment would allow the United States to assist in handing over foreign individuals accused of war crimes to the ICC. A "yes" vote would limit the ICC's jurisdiction by preserving the Warner amendment. | Agreed to, 55-40 | 6 June 2002, S5144 |
| Agreement to Warner amendment (S.Amdt. 3597) to supplemental appropriations bill (H.R. 4775) authorizing President to take action to free American officials held by the ICC and prohibiting aid to countries that are parties to the ICC. | Agreed to, 75-19 | 6 June 2002, S5147 |

Note: References to the full text of each reservation are to the bound edition of the *Congressional Record* for the indicated date.

**3. Votes on the Bricker Amendment, February 1954**

The proposed constitutional amendment has four key elements, only three of which were in the final measure voted upon in 1954. It was reintroduced repeatedly after its defeat. Even when not explicitly designated as a reintroduction of the Bricker amendment, subsequent versions often included some of the same characteristic phrases to suggest its lineage. For instance, the title of the amendment nearly always contains the phrase "amendment to the Constitution of the United States relative to the making of treaties and executive agreements."

1. Treaty provisions that conflict with the Constitution "shall not be of any force or effect." Sometimes this is formulated as "a provision of a treaty," and at other times as "a provision of a treaty which denies or abridges any right enumerated in this Constitution."

2. No treaty can allow a foreign power or organization to "supervise, control, or adjudicate rights of citizens" or anything else in the domestic jurisdiction of the United States. This part was omitted from the Bricker amendment when reported out of committee in 1954, but was part of Bricker's original proposal and was reintroduced by Ashbrook in the 1960s and 1970s.

3. A treaty shall become effective "as internal law in the United States" only through "enactment of appropriate legislation by the Congress" or "only through legislation which would be valid in the absence of a treaty." The latter formulation is the one voted on in 1954. The former is the original language.

4. Congress will have the power to regulate "all executive or other agreements" with any foreign power or international organization. "Such agreements shall be subject to the limitations imposed on treaties." (This phrase was included in both formulations.)

The original measure was proposed by Senator John W. Bricker in the 82nd Congress as S.J. Res. 102 on 14 September 1951. A slightly modified version was introduced as S.J. Res. 130 on 7 February 1952 with 59 co-sponsors. There was a floor debate at the time the measure was introduced, but no vote. Bricker reintroduced the measure in the 83rd Congress as S.J. Res. 1 on 7 January 1953, with 60 co-sponsors. After consideration and modification by the Judiciary Committee, the measure was debated on the floor from 20 June 1953 until 26 February 1954. After being further modified by an amendment from Walter George (D-GA), it was voted down, 60-31, failing to get the necessary two thirds vote by one vote. There were a total of 7 roll-call votes on the measure. In the analysis, we considered agreement with Senator Bricker on each measure.

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| **Summary of Roll-Call and Coding** | **Decision** | **Reference** |
| Ferguson (R-MI) amendment to the resolution adding extending the statement that treaties in conflict with the Constitution would have no force or effect to include "other agreements." Bricker supported the amendment. | Agreed to, 62-20 | 15 February 1954, 1740 |
| Agreement to Knowland (R-CA) amendment to the resolution requiring that Senate consent on treaties be roll-call votes. Bricker supported the amendment. | Agreed to, 72-16 | 16 February 1954, 1782 |
| Agreement to Ferguson (R-MI) amendment providing that the Constitution will always take precedence over the legal effects of treaties. Bricker supported the amendment. | Agreed to, 44-43 | 17 February 1954, 1916 |
| Agreement to Bricker (R-OH) amendment to the committee version which would have changed it language back to that preferred by Bricker himself. Bricker (of course) supported the amendment. | Rejected, 42-50 | 25 February 1954, 2262 |
| Agreement to Morse (R-OR) motion to recommit the resolution to the Foreign Relations Committee. Bricker opposed the amendment. | Rejected, 18-74 | 25 February 1954, 2267 |
| Agreement to George (D-GA) substitute amendment. Bricker and others who had favored his amendment supported this because it was closer to Bricker's language than the committee version it replaced, and his original language had been voted down the day before. | Agreed to, 61-30 | 26 February 1954, 2358 |
| Final passage of modified amendment, which was supported by Bricker and others even though it was not what they had originally preferred. It required a two-third vote. | Rejected, 60-31 | 26 February 1954, 2374-5 |

**4. List of Anti-UN Bills, 1973-2018**

Using the congress.gov database provided by the Library of Congress, we gathered data on 291 bills in three categories:

(1) withdraw the United States from the United Nations

(2) reduce or eliminate American financial support for the organization

(3) limit the authority of the UN in other ways

We searched for all legislation with the phrase "United Nations" in the title or summary. Because the members who introduced these measures intended to make a political statement, they were usually quite clear about their purpose. We excluded omnibus measures in which actions against the United Nations were only one of many provisions, as well as measures that criticized UN actions without proposing to undermine the organization itself. We then identified the sponsors and co-sponsors of each measure through the 114th Congress using the data gathered by James Fowler and his colleagues (Fowler 2006a; Fowler 2006b; Fowler, Waugh, and Sohn 2019). We coded sponsorships for the 115th Congress (2017-18) ourselves from the information provided on each bill by congress.gov. Most of the 3,402 sponsorships in the House and 578 sponsorships in the Senate proposed cutting funds to the UN, but 131 of the House sponsorships were to measures that would have entirely withdrawn the United States from the organization.

| **Bill Number** | **Type** | **Description** |
| --- | --- | --- |
| hr1615-93 | 3 | Require approval by the Congress of orders, rules and regulations issued by the President to implement decisions of the Security Council of the United Nations, under the United Nations Participation Act. |
| hr1414-93 | 1 | United Nations Revocation Act - Repeals the United Nations Participation Act of 1945 |
| hr956-93 | 3 | Provides criminal penalties for deprivation of any rights, privileges, or immunities secured or protected by the Constitution or laws of the United States resulting from treaties or UN action |
| hr5684-93 | 2 | A bill to limit U.S. contributions to the United Nations |
| hr5403-93 | 2 | A bill to limit U.S. contributions to the United Nations |
| hr3244-93 | 2 | A bill to limit U.S. contributions to the United Nations |
| hr1942-93 | 2 | A bill to limit U.S. contributions to the United Nations |
| hr1733-93 | 2 | A bill to limit U.S. contributions to the United Nations |
| hr3514-93 | 2 | A bill to limit U.S. contributions to the United Nations |
| hconres489-93 | 3 | Concurrent resolution expressing the sense of Congress to amend the Charter of the United Nations to provide for weighted voting |
| hconres148-93 | 2 | A bill to limit U.S. contributions to the United Nations |
| hconres154-93 | 2 | A bill to limit U.S. contributions to the United Nations |
| hr11093-94 | 2 | A bill to suspend payments by the United States to the United Nations until the rescission by the United Nations of its resolution equating Zionism with racism |
| hr10739-94 | 3 | A bill to amend the United Nations Participation Act of 1945 to suspend U.S. participation in the activities of the United Nations General Assembly until the Congress approves renewal of such participation |
| hr10662-94 | 3 | A bill to amend the United Nations Participation Act of 1945 to suspend U.S. participation in the activities of the United Nations General Assembly until the Congress approves renewal of such participation |
| hr12431-94 | 2 | A bill to reduce the payments by the United States to the United Nations |
| hr11224-94 | 2 | A bill to reduce the payments by the United States to the United Nations |
| hr10809-94 | 2 | A bill to reduce the payments by the United States to the United Nations |
| s2262-94 | 3 | A bill to establish a temporary Commission on United States Participation in the United Nations; speech in CR indicates limits on UN authority favored |
| sres254-94 | 3 | A resolution calling for a Senate investigation of the role of the United States in the United Nations |
| s3032-94 | 2 | Directs the gradual reduction to 15 percent by fiscal year 1981 of the United States contribution to the total assessment of the United Nations. |
| hr12686-94 | 2 | A bill to limit U.S. contributions to the United Nations |
| hr14788-94 | 2 | A bill to limit U.S. contributions to the United Nations |
| sconres73-94 | 3 | Resolution relating to the United Nations and Zionism; calls for review of participation in UN General Assembly |
| hr10893-94 | 2 | A bill to limit U.S. contributions to the United Nations |
| hr10846-94 | 2 | A bill to limit U.S. contributions to the United Nations |
| hr10738-94 | 2 | A bill to limit U.S. contributions to the United Nations |
| hr4676-94 | 2 | A bill to limit U.S. contributions to the United Nations |
| hr4181-94 | 2 | A bill to limit U.S. contributions to the United Nations |
| hr3094-94 | 2 | A bill to limit U.S. contributions to the United Nations |
| hr1204-94 | 2 | A bill to limit U.S. contributions to the United Nations |
| hr356-94 | 2 | A bill to limit U.S. contributions to the United Nations |
| hr2527-94 | 2 | A bill to limit U.S. contributions to the United Nations |
| hconres477-94 | 3 | Resolution relating to the United Nations and Zionism; calls for review of participation in UN General Assembly |
| hconres475-94 | 3 | Resolution relating to the United Nations and Zionism; calls for review of participation in UN General Assembly |
| hr2671-94 | 2 | A bill to limit U.S. contributions to the United Nations |
| hr11771-94 | 2 | A bill to limit U.S. contributions to the United Nations |
| hr10719-94 | 2 | A bill to limit U.S. contributions to the United Nations |
| hres893-94 | 3 | Resolution to direct the Committees on Appropriations and International Relations to begin immediate study of the present relationship of the United States to the United Nations |
| hr10847-94 | 2 | A bill to reduce payments to the United Nations and its affiliated agencies |
| hr10761-94 | 2 | A bill to reduce payments to the United Nations and its affiliated agencies |
| hr10667-94 | 2 | A bill to reduce payments to the United Nations and its affiliated agencies |
| hres872-94 | 3 | Directs the House of Representatives Committee on International Relations to begin an immediate study of the relationship of the United States with the United Nations |
| hres1112-94 | 3 | Directs the Committee on Appropriations and the Committee on International Relations to begin immediate studies of the relationship of the United States with the United Nations |
| hres952-94 | 3 | Directs the Committee on Appropriations and the Committee on International Relations to begin immediate studies of the relationship of the United States with the United Nations |
| hres888-94 | 3 | Directs the Committee on Appropriations and the Committee on International Relations to begin immediate studies of the relationship of the United States with the United Nations |
| hres889-94 | 3 | Directs the Committee on Appropriations and the Committee on International Relations to begin immediate studies of the relationship of the United States with the United Nations |
| hres862-94 | 3 | Directs the Committee on Appropriations and the Committee on International Relations to begin immediate studies of the relationship of the United States with the United Nations |
| s2643-94 | 2 | A bill to provide for the gradual reduction of the U.S. contribution to the United Nations |
| hres1031-94 | 3 | Directs the Committee on Appropriations and the Committee on International Relations to begin immediate studies of the relationship of the United States with the United Nations |
| hjres457-94 | 2 | Joint resolution relating to obtaining a full and accurate accounting for members of the U.S. Armed Forces missing in action in Southeast Asia and U.S. contribution to the United Nations |
| hres284-94 | 2 | Resolution expressing the sense of the House of Representatives with respect to limiting U.S. contributions to the United Nations |
| sjres69-94 | 2 | Joint resolution relating to obtaining a full and accurate accounting for members of the U.S. Armed Forces missing in action in Southeast Asia and U.S. contribution to the United Nations |
| hr12401-94 | 2 | A bill to suspend U.S. participation in the activities of the United Nations General Assembly until the Congress approves renewal of such participation and to cut off all U.S. payments in support of the General Assembly |
| hr10885-94 | 2 | A bill to suspend U.S. participation in the activities of the United Nations General Assembly until the Congress approves renewal of such participation and to cut off all U.S. payments in support of the General Assembly |
| hr10723-94 | 2 | A bill to suspend U.S. participation in the activities of the United Nations General Assembly until the Congress approves renewal of such participation and to cut off all U.S. payments in support of the General Assembly |
| hr7075-94 | 2 | A bill to direct the deduction of amounts appropriated pursuant to the Indochina Migration and Refugee Assistance Act of 1975, from the U.S. annual assessed share of the budget of the United Nations |
| s2247-94 | 2 | A bill to authorize the President to suspend participation and to withhold payment of expenses with respect to any organ, commission, or other body of the United Nations which discriminatorily applies to any procedural rule or discriminatorily imposes any sanction |
| hr1211-95 | 2 | A bill to reduce the payments by the United States to the United Nations |
| hr11747-95 | 2 | A bill to amend the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 to provide for a reduction of the United States contribution to the United Nations; reduction tied to budgets of committees promoting Palestinian rights |
| hr11748-95 | 2 | A bill to amend the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 to provide for a reduction of the United States contribution to the United Nations; reduction tied to budgets of committees promoting Palestinian rights |
| hr11190-95 | 2 | A bill to amend the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 to provide for a reduction of the United States contribution to the United Nations; reduction tied to budgets of committees promoting Palestinian rights |
| hr10842-95 | 2 | A bill to amend the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 to provide for a reduction of the United States contribution to the United Nations; reduction tied to budgets of committees promoting Palestinian rights |
| s2430-95 | 2 | A bill to amend the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 to provide for a reduction of the United States contribution to the United Nations; reduction tied to budgets of committees promoting Palestinian rights |
| hr8512-95 | 2 | A bill to limit U.S. contributions to the United Nations |
| hr6553-95 | 2 | A bill to limit U.S. contributions to the United Nations |
| hr5337-95 | 2 | A bill to limit U.S. contributions to the United Nations |
| hr4689-95 | 2 | A bill to limit U.S. contributions to the United Nations |
| hr2064-95 | 2 | A bill to limit U.S. contributions to the United Nations |
| hr1910-95 | 2 | A bill to limit U.S. contributions to the United Nations |
| hr371-95 | 2 | A bill to limit U.S. contributions to the United Nations |
| hr973-95 | 2 | A bill to limit U.S. contributions to the United Nations |
| hr634-95 | 2 | A bill to limit U.S. contributions to the United Nations |
| hr506-95 | 2 | A bill to limit U.S. contributions to the United Nations |
| hr3644-95 | 2 | A bill to limit U.S. contributions to the United Nations |
| hr147-95 | 2 | A bill to reduce payments to the United Nations and its affiliated agencies |
| hr891-95 | 2 | A bill to reduce payments to the United Nations and its affiliated agencies |
| s1507-95 | 2 | A bill to provide for the gradual reduction of the U.S. contribution to the United Nations |
| hr667-96 | 2 | A bill to limit United States contributions to the United Nations |
| hr6358-96 | 2 | A bill to limit United States contributions to the United Nations |
| hjres279-96 | 2 | A joint resolution providing for a reduction in the amount paid each year by the United States; amount tied to budget for Palestinian rights committees |
| hr1171-96 | 2 | A bill to reduce payments to the United Nations and its affiliated agencies |
| hr3715-96 | 3 | Amends the United Nations Participation Act of 1945 to make any Executive Order imposing sanctions against Rhodesia unenforceable after the government elected April, 1979, is installed. |
| s996-96 | 3 | Amends the United Nations Participation Act of 1945 to make any Executive Order imposing sanctions against Rhodesia unenforceable after the government elected April, 1979, is installed. |
| hr448-97 | 2 | A bill to limit United States contributions to the United Nations |
| hr864-97 | 2 | A bill to limit United States contributions to the United Nations |
| hr3861-97 | 1 | United Nations Termination Act |
| hr2057-97 | 2 | A bill providing for a reduction in the amount paid each year by the United States as its contribution toward the assessed budget of the United Nations; amount tied to budgets of committees promoting Palestinian rights |
| sconres68-97 | 3 | Bill to suspend US participation in and support for the UN General Assembly if Israel or any other democratic state is suspended |
| hconres322-97 | 3 | Bill to suspend US participation in and support for the UN General Assembly if Israel or any other democratic state is suspended |
| hconres289-97 | 3 | Bill to suspend US participation in and support for the UN General Assembly if Israel or any other democratic state is suspended |
| hr57-97 | 2 | A bill to reduce payments to the United Nations and its affiliated agencies |
| hconres284-97 | 3 | Bill to suspend US participation in and support for the UN General Assembly if Israel or any other democratic state is suspended |
| sres322-97 | 3 | Bill to suspend US participation in and support for the UN General Assembly if Israel or any other democratic state is suspended |
| hconres138-98 | 2 | Bill to reduce payments to UN proportional to cost of international conference to be held in Vienna, Austria |
| sconres50-98 | 2 | Bill to reduce payments to UN proportional to cost of international conference to be held in Vienna, Austria |
| hr3890-98 | 2 | A bill to limit United States contributions to the United Nations |
| hr516-98 | 2 | A bill to limit United States contributions to the United Nations |
| hr855-98 | 1 | United Nations Termination Act |
| hr3891-98 | 1 | United Nations Termination Act |
| sres214-99 | 2 | A resolution urging restriction of financial contributions to the United Nations until it reduces the Soviet Union's number of votes from three to one |
| hr1908-99 | 2 | A bill to limit United States contributions to the United Nations |
| s2858-99 | 2 | A bill to limit United States contributions to the United Nations unless it makes records available to US law enforcement |
| s2943-99 | 2 | A bill to restrict certain U.S. contributions to international organizations until certain actions to investigate abuses of the United Nations system are undertaken by the United Nations Secretary General |
| hr76-99 | 2 | A bill to limit United States contributions to the United Nations |
| hr2922-99 | 1 | United Nations Termination Act |
| hr3043-99 | 3 | A bill relating to restrictions on activities of United Nations employees |
| hres486-99 | 2 | A resolution calling for the elimination of funding of former Secretary General Kurt Waldheim's retirement allowance from the United Nations budget |
| s1095-99 | 3 | Directs the Secretary of State to apply specified travel and other restrictions to all employees who are on assignment to the United Nations Secretariat |
| s1334-100 | 2 | A bill to restrict certain U.S. contributions to international organizations until certain actions to eliminate abuses of the United Nations system are undertaken by the United Nations Secretary General |
| hr117-100 | 2 | A bill to limit United States contributions to the United Nations |
| s949-100 | 2 | A bill to prohibit the availability of funds for the United States' proportionate share of the United Nations' Office of Research and Information Collection |
| hr2681-100 | 1 | United Nations Termination Act |
| hjres657-100 | 3 | A joint resolution to ensure financial and management reform in the United Nations |
| sjres380-100 | 3 | A joint resolution to ensure financial and management reform in the United Nations |
| hr1148-101 | 2 | To limit United States contributions to the United Nations |
| hr2415-101 | 2 | Prohibit contributions to the United Nations or any of its affiliated organizations if full membership granted to any non-state organization; specifically directed at PLO membership |
| s875-101 | 2 | Prohibit contributions to the United Nations or any of its affiliated organizations if full membership granted to any non-state organization; specifically directed at PLO membership |
| hr1799-101 | 3 | Concerning reform in budget decision-making procedures of the United Nations and its specialized agencies |
| hr301-102 | 2 | To limit United States contributions to the United Nations |
| hr5421-102 | 2 | To limit United States contributions to the United Nations Development Program |
| hconres311-103 | 3 | To limit participation of US troops in peacekeeping operation in Haiti; tie share of US troops to US contribution to UN budget |
| s1017-103 | 2 | A bill to withhold all United States funds from the United Nations unless the United Nations carries out certain administrative and budgetary reforms |
| hr3317-103 | 3 | To prohibit US representative to the United Nations from voting to approve, expand, or extend any United Nations peacekeeping operation unless the President notifies the Congress first |
| hr3319-103 | 3 | To impose limitations on the placing of United States Armed Forces under the operational control of a foreign national acting on behalf of the United Nations |
| hr3334-103 | 3 | To impose limitations on the placing of United States Armed Forces under the operational control of a foreign national acting on behalf of the United Nations |
| hr662-103 | 2 | To limit United States contributions to the United Nations |
| s1516-103 | 2 | A bill to limit the use of funds for deployment of the Armed Forces of the United States outside the United States under United Nations command |
| s1019-103 | 2 | A bill to require prior notification of the Congress of anticipated commitments of United States funds to United Nations peacekeeping activities in excess of available appropriations |
| hr3744-103 | 3 | Peace Powers Act of 1994; imposes conditions on US participation in UN peacekeeping operations |
| s1803-103 | 3 | Peace Powers Act of 1994; imposes conditions on US participation in UN peacekeeping operations |
| hr3503-103 | 3 | International Peacekeeping Policy Act of 1993; imposes conditions on US participation in UN peacekeeping operations |
| s2106-104 | 3 | A bill to amend the United Nations Participation Act of 1945 to prohibit the placement of members of the United States Armed Forces under the command, direction, or control of the United Nations, and for other purposes |
| hr631-104 | 3 | To impose limitations on the placing of United States Armed Forces under the operational control of a foreign national acting on behalf of the United Nations |
| hr211-104 | 2 | To limit United States contributions to the United Nations |
| hres517-104 | 3 | Providing for consideration of the bill (H.R. 3308) to limit the placement of United States forces under United Nations operational or tactical control, and for other purposes |
| s1370-104 | 3 | A bill to prohibit the imposition of any requirement for a member of the Armed Forces of the United States to wear indicia or insignia of the United Nations as part of the military uniform of the member |
| hr2535-104 | 1 | United Nations Withdrawal Act of 1995 |
| s858-104 | 3 | A bill to restrict intelligence sharing with the United Nations. |
| hr2540-104 | 3 | A bill to prohibit the imposition of any requirement for a member of the Armed Forces of the United States to wear indicia or insignia of the United Nations as part of the military uniform of the member |
| s1519-104 | 2 | Prohibition on United Nations Taxation Act of 1996; prohibits funds for UN if it attempts to tax Americans or borrow from banks or international financial organizations |
| hr2867-104 | 2 | Prohibition on United Nations Taxation Act of 1996; prohibits funds for UN if it attempts to tax Americans or borrow from banks or international financial organizations |
| hconres134-104 | 3 | Condemning the court-martial of Specialist Michael New of the United States Army in response to his refusal to wear on his military uniform the insignia of the United Nations |
| hr3308-104 | 3 | United States Armed Forces Protection Act of 1996; imposes conditions and limits on US participation in UN peacekeeping forces |
| s420-104 | 3 | International Peacekeeping Policy Act of 1995; imposes conditions on US participation in UN peacekeeping operations |
| s5-104 | 3 | Peace Powers Act of 1995; imposes conditions on US participation in UN peacekeeping operations |
| hconres158-105 | 3 | Condemning the deployment of United States military personnel in the service of the United Nations in the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia |
| hr934-105 | 2 | United Nations Erroneous Debt Act of 1997; imposes conditions on payments to United Nations and cancels past US arrears in payments |
| hres21-105 | 2 | Expressing the sense of the House of Representatives with respect to withholding United States financial support from the United Nations unless that organization adopts certain reforms |
| s695-105 | 3 | A bill to restrict intelligence sharing with the United Nations |
| hr312-105 | 2 | Prohibition on United Nations Taxation Act of 1997; prohibits funds for UN if it attempts to tax Americans or borrow from banks or international financial organizations |
| hr1588-105 | 2 | United Nations Accountability Act of 1997; imposes conditions on payment of arrears on US contribution to UN |
| hr1146-105 | 1 | American Sovereignty Restoration Act of 1997; mandates withdrawal from United Nations |
| s694-105 | 2 | United Nations Reform Act of 1997; sets out conditions for payment of US arrears in UN contribution |
| s696-105 | 3 | International Peacekeeping Reform Act of 1997; imposes conditions on US participation in UN peacekeeping operations |
| hr901-105 | 3 | American Land Sovereignty Protection Act; prohibits inclusion of American sites in UNESCO world heritage list |
| s2098-105 | 3 | American Land Sovereignty Protection Act; prohibits inclusion of American sites in UNESCO world heritage list |
| s91-106 | 3 | A bill to restrict intelligence sharing with the United Nations |
| hr280-106 | 2 | Prohibition on United Nations Taxation Act of 1999; prohibits funds for UN if it attempts to tax Americans or borrow from banks or international financial organizations |
| s90-106 | 2 | United Nations Reform Act of 1999; sets out conditions for payment of US arrears in UN contribution |
| hr1146-106 | 1 | American Sovereignty Restoration Act of 1999; mandates withdrawal from United Nations |
| hr346-106 | 2 | United Nations Erroneous Debt Act of 1999; imposes conditions on payments to United Nations and cancels past US arrears in payments |
| s1607-106 | 3 | Preservation of the United States Military Chain of Command Act of 1999; prohibits U.S. armed forces from being placed under foreign command for participation in a United Nations operation |
| hr2381-106 | 3 | Protection of United States Troops From Foreign Prosecution Act of 1999; prohibits any action to implement Rome Statute, requires veto of all referrals to ICC in UNSC |
| s2726-106 | 3 | American Servicemembers' Protection Act of 2000; prohibits U.S. cooperation with the International Criminal Court and includes restrictions on participation in UN peacekeeping operations |
| hr4669-106 | 3 | Citizen Soldier Protection Act of 2000 - Prohibits any member of the armed forces from being required to wear UN insignia or serve under foreign command as part of a UN peacekeeping force |
| hr883-106 | 3 | American Land Sovereignty Protection Act; prohibit the Secretary of the Interior from nominating any federal lands for inclusion on the UNESCO World Heritage List |
| s510-106 | 3 | American Land Sovereignty Protection Act; prohibit the Secretary of the Interior from nominating any federal lands for inclusion on the UNESCO World Heritage List |
| hconres489-107 | 3 | Expressing the sense of the Congress that the United States should not rejoin UNESCO |
| hr198-107 | 2 | Prohibition on United Nations Taxation Act of 2001; prohibits funds for UN if it attempts to tax Americans or borrow from banks or international financial organizations |
| hr1146-107 | 1 | American Sovereignty Restoration Act of 2001; mandates withdrawal from United Nations |
| s857-107 | 3 | American Servicemembers' Protection Act of 2001; prohibits U.S. cooperation with the International Criminal Court and incluces restrictions on participation in UN peacekeeping operations |
| hr1794-107 | 3 | American Servicemembers' Protection Act of 2001; prohibits U.S. cooperation with the International Criminal Court and incluces restrictions on participation in UN peacekeeping operations |
| s1610-107 | 3 | American Servicemembers' Protection Act of 2001; prohibits U.S. cooperation with the International Criminal Court and incluces restrictions on participation in UN peacekeeping operations |
| hconres116-108 | 2 | Expressing the sense of the Congress that the United States should withhold its contributions to the United Nations until the Charter of the United Nations is amended so that no non-democratic state can be on the Security Council or other bodies |
| hres347-108 | 2 | Concerning United States assessed contributions to the United Nations; proposes that regular US contribution be reduced |
| hr2303-108 | 2 | To limit the United States share of assessments for the United Nations regular budget |
| hconres4-108 | 3 | Expressing the sense of the Congress that the United States should not rejoin UNESCO |
| hconres443-108 | 3 | Expressing the sense of the Congress that the United States should formally withdraw its membership from UNESCO |
| hr4284-108 | 2 | United Nations Oil-for-Food Accountability Act of 2004; requires the withholding of certain U.S. contributions to UN unless the UN cooperates in the investigation of the UN Oil-for-Food Program |
| hr5375-108 | 3 | United Nations Accountability Act of 2004; requires that UN administrative records be furnished to member states |
| s2389-108 | 3 | United Nations Oil-for-Food Accountability Act of 2004; requires the withholding of certain U.S. contributions to UN unless the UN cooperates in the investigation of the UN Oil-for-Food Program |
| hr204-108 | 2 | Prohibition on United Nations Taxation Act of 2001 (sic); prohibits funds for UN if it attempts to tax Americans or borrow from banks or international financial organizations |
| hr800-108 | 2 | To provide for the withholding of United States contributions to any UN agency chaired by a country that has repeatedly provided support for acts of international terrorism |
| hr1206-108 | 2 | Prohibition on United Nations Taxation Act of 2003; prohibits funds for UN if it attempts to tax Americans or borrow from banks or international financial organizations |
| hr1146-108 | 1 | American Sovereignty Restoration Act of 2003; mandates withdrawal from United Nations |
| hr6092-109 | 2 | Imposes conditions on US support for renovation of UN headquarters building |
| hr5476-109 | 2 | To withhold United States funding from the United Nations Human Rights Council |
| hr14-109 | 2 | To limit the United States share of assessments for the United Nations regular budget |
| hconres132-109 | 3 | Expressing the sense of the Congress that the United States should formally withdraw its membership from UNESCO |
| hr1092-109 | 2 | United Nations Oil-for-Food Accountability Act of 2005; requires the withholding of certain U.S. contributions to UN unless the UN cooperates in the investigation of the UN Oil-for-Food Program |
| s291-109 | 2 | United Nations Oil-for-Food Accountability Act of 2005; requires the withholding of certain U.S. contributions to UN unless the UN cooperates in the investigation of the UN Oil-for-Food Program |
| hr5713-109 | 2 | United Nations Budget Reform Act of 2006; imposes various administrative conditions on US contribution to UN budget |
| hr1017-109 | 2 | Prohibition on United Nations Taxation Act of 2005; prohibits funds for UN if it attempts to tax Americans or borrow from banks or international financial organizations |
| s3633-109 | 2 | Prohibition on United Nations Taxation Act of 2005; prohibits funds for UN if it attempts to tax Americans or borrow from banks or international financial organizations |
| s1383-109 | 2 | United Nations Management, Personnel, and Policy Reform Act of 2005; imposes various conditions on US contribution to UN budget |
| s1394-109 | 2 | United Nations Reform Act of 2006; imposes various administrative conditions on US contribution to UN budget |
| hr4369-109 | 2 | To withhold US contribution to the United Nations unless complete archive of files of the Independent Inquiry Committee into the Oil-for-Food Program released |
| hr1146-109 | 1 | American Sovereignty Restoration Act of 2005; mandates withdrawal from United Nations |
| hr4797-109 | 3 | Citizen Soldier Protection Act of 2006 - Prohibits any member of the armed forces from being required to wear UN insignia or serve under foreign command as part of a UN peacekeeping force |
| hr224-110 | 2 | Imposes conditions on US support for renovation of UN headquarters building |
| hr4224-110 | 2 | To prohibit the Secretary of State from making a contribution to the United Nations until such time as the United Nations is in compliance with fire, building, and safety codes |
| hr225-110 | 2 | To withhold United States funding from the United Nations Human Rights Council |
| hr937-110 | 2 | To withhold United States contributions to the United Nations Development Program |
| hr7027-110 | 3 | United Nations Eviction Act - Seizes UN headquarters building, requires organization to relocate outside the United States |
| hr2712-110 | 2 | United Nations Transparency, Accountability, and Reform Act of 2007 - Sets out conditions and limits on US contribution to the UN budget |
| hr3348-110 | 2 | United Nations Economic and Social Council Accountability Act of 2007 - withholds contribution to budget until all organizations supporting terrorism removed as observers |
| hr5847-110 | 2 | United Nations Durban Review Conference (Durban II) Funding Prohibition Act of 2008 - Pertains to United Nations World Conference Against Racism, Racial Discrimination, Xenophobia and Related Intolerance |
| hr3898-110 | 3 | To impose travel and other related restrictions on heads of state of countries that are state sponsors of terrorism who are attending events at the United Nations in New York City |
| s1623-110 | 2 | Protection against United Nations Taxation Act of 2007, PUNT Act of 2007, or Helms-Biden Reauthorization Act of 2007 - requires withholding 20% of US contribution |
| hr1146-110 | 1 | American Sovereignty Restoration Act of 2007; mandates withdrawal from United Nations |
| s1698-110 | 2 | Human Rights Council Funding Reform Act of 2007 - withholds part of US contribution to UN until certain conditions met |
| hr1072-111 | 2 | To prohibit United States contributions to the United Nations for the purpose of paying or reimbursing the legal expenses of United Nations officers or employees charged with malfeasance, and for other purposes |
| hr196-111 | 2 | Imposes conditions on US support for renovation of UN headquarters building |
| hr2376-111 | 2 | To withhold United States funding from the United Nations Human Rights Council |
| hconres29-111 | 2 | Urges the Secretary of State to take measures to certify that United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestinian Refugees (UNRWA) operates in full compliance with the Foreign Assistance Act and that no American taxpayer dollars are being directed to terrorists or to further terrorist propaganda |
| hr557-111 | 2 | United Nations Transparency, Accountability, and Reform Act of 2009 - Sets out conditions and limits on US contribution to the UN budget |
| hr1920-111 | 2 | United Nations Durban Review Conference (Durban II) Funding Prohibition Act of 2009 - Pertains to United Nations World Conference Against Racism, Racial Discrimination, Xenophobia and Related Intolerance |
| hr5501-111 | 2 | America Stands with Israel Act - includes limits on US contribution to UN and US participation in UN Human Rights Council |
| hr1146-111 | 1 | American Sovereignty Restoration Act of 2009; mandates withdrawal from United Nations |
| hr3231-111 | 2 | Durban Taxpayer Refund Act of 2009 - withholds part of US contribution related to Durban conference |
| hres42-111 | 2 | Calling on the President and the Secretary of State to withhold United States funding for and participation in the Durban Review Conference and its preparatory activities, and for other purposes |
| hr5065-111 | 2 | UNRWA Humanitarian Accountability Act - Amends the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 to withhold U.S. contributions to the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East (UNRWA) |
| hr1501-112 | 2 | To withhold United States contributions to the United Nations until the United Nations formally retracts the final report of the "United Nations Fact Finding Mission on the Gaza Conflict" |
| s293-112 | 2 | To withhold United States contributions to the United Nations until the United Nations formally retracts the final report of the "United Nations Fact Finding Mission on the Gaza Conflict" |
| hr2261-112 | 2 | To withhold United States contributions to the United Nations or a United Nations agency if the United Nations or such agency supports the recognition of an independent Palestinian state |
| hr167-112 | 2 | Imposes conditions on US support for renovation of UN headquarters building |
| hres297-112 | 2 | The Secretary of State should withhold UN contribution for the General Assembly of the United Nations if the General Assembly adopts a resolution in favor of recognizing a Palestinian state |
| hr2059-112 | 2 | To prohibit funding to the United Nations Population Fund |
| hr519-112 | 2 | United Nations Tax Equalization Refund Act of 2011 - directs the UN to return to the United States a specified amount overpaid into the United Nations Tax Equalization Fund (TEF) as of December 31, 2009 |
| hr2829-112 | 2 | United Nations Transparency, Accountability, and Reform Act of 2011 - Sets out conditions and limits on US contribution to the UN budget |
| s1848-112 | 2 | United Nations Transparency, Accountability, and Reform Act of 2011 - Sets out conditions and limits on US contribution to the UN budget |
| s1860-112 | 2 | A bill to clarify prohibitions for any United Nations entity that admits Palestine as a member state |
| hr1146-112 | 1 | American Sovereignty Restoration Act of 2009 (sic); mandates withdrawal from United Nations |
| hr3594-112 | 2 | Second Amendment Protection Act of 2011 - prohibits UN funding unless president certifies that it is doing nothing to interfere with American gun rights |
| hr5846-112 | 2 | Second Amendment Sovereignty Act of 2012 - prohibits use of funds for any effort to restrict American gun rights in United Nations Arms Trade Treaty |
| s2205-112 | 2 | Second Amendment Sovereignty Act of 2012 - prohibits use of funds for any effort to restrict American gun rights in United Nations Arms Trade Treaty |
| s1595-112 | 2 | Solidarity with Israel Act - Prohibits UN funding if organization allows a change in status from permanent observer for the PLO or other Palestinian entity |
| hr2457-112 | 2 | Palestinian Accountability Act - prohibits contribution to the United Nations if it recognizes Palestinian statehood |
| s95-113 | 2 | A bill to withhold United States contributions to the United Nations until the United Nations formally retracts the final report of the "United Nations Fact Finding Mission on the Gaza Conflict" |
| hr4357-113 | 3 | To deny admission to the United States to any representative to the United Nations who has engaged in espionage activities against the United States, poses a threat to United States national security interests, or has engaged in a terrorist activity against the United States. |
| s2195-113 | 3 | To deny admission to the United States to any representative to the United Nations who has engaged in espionage activities against the United States, poses a threat to United States national security interests, or has engaged in a terrorist activity against the United States |
| hr3277-113 | 2 | To prohibit United States voluntary contributions to the regular budget of the United Nations or any United Nations agency. |
| hr4362-113 | 2 | To prohibit United States contributions to the United Nations Population Fund |
| hr5008-113 | 2 | To prohibit United States voluntary contributions to the United Nations Democracy Fund |
| hr662-113 | 2 | To prohibit United States contributions to the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change and the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change |
| hr5649-113 | 2 | United Nations Human Rights Council Accountability Act - withholds funding unless certain conditions are met |
| s1313-113 | 2 | United Nations Transparency, Accountability, and Reform Act of 2013 - Sets out conditions and limits on US contribution to the UN budget |
| hr2496-113 | 3 | To prohibit the deployment of United States Armed Forces in support of a United Nations or mutual security treaty military operation absent express prior statutory authorization from Congress for such deployment, and for other purposes |
| s2766-113 | 2 | Palestinian and United Nations Anti-Terrorism Act of 2014 - cuts off funding for several UN entities |
| hr3155-113 | 2 | United Nations Transparency, Accountability, and Reform Act of 2013 - Sets out conditions and limits on US contribution to the UN budget |
| hr75-113 | 1 | American Sovereignty Restoration Act of 2013; mandates withdrawal from United Nations |
| hr575-113 | 2 | Second Amendment Protection Act of 2013 - prohibits UN funding unless president certifies that it is doing nothing to interfere with American gun rights |
| hr5647-113 | 2 | UNRWA Anti-Terrorism Act - cuts off US funds to UNRWA unless certain conditions are met |
| hr5825-113 | 3 | No Healthcare Subsidies for Foreign Diplomats Act of 2014 - prohibits extension of Affordable Care Act subsidies to non-immigrant diplomats, including those at UN |
| hr5734-113 | 2 | Right of Return Act - transfers US funding from UNRWA to assist those exercising right of return |
| hr1337-113 | 2 | Palestinian Accountability Act - prohibits contribution to the United Nations if it recognizes Palestinian statehood |
| s93-114 | 2 | A bill to withhold United States contributions to the United Nations until the United Nations formally retracts the final report of the "United Nations Fact Finding Mission on the Gaza Conflict" |
| hr2757-114 | 2 | To prohibit United States voluntary contributions to the regular budget of the United Nations or any United Nations agency. |
| sres290-114 | 3 | Expresses the sense of the Senate that any protocol to, or other agreement regarding, the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change of 1992, negotiated at the 2015 United Nations Climate Change Conference in Paris, shall be considered a treaty requiring the advice and consent of the Senate |
| hr2678-114 | 2 | To prohibit United States contributions to the United Nations Population Fund |
| hr3210-114 | 2 | To prohibit United States voluntary contributions to the United Nations Democracy Fund |
| hr383-114 | 2 | No Tax Dollars for the United Nations' Climate Agenda Act |
| hr3667-114 | 2 | United Nations Transparency, Accountability, and Reform Act of 2015 - Sets out conditions and limits on US contribution to the UN budget |
| s2930-114 | 2 | Limiting Contributions to the United Nations and Affiliated Organizations that Accord the Palestine Liberation Organization the Same Standing as Member States Act |
| sres329-114 | 2 | Expresses the sense of the Senate that agreements relating to the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change shall have no force or effect in the United States and no funds shall be authorized in its support, including for the Green Climate Fund, until it has been submitted to Senate for advice and consent |
| s3355-114 | 2 | To prohibit funding for the Preparatory Commission for the Comprehensive Nuclear-Test-Ban Treaty Organization in the event the United Nations Security Council adopts a resolution prohibiting activities counter to the object and purpose of the Treaty |
| hconres97-114 | 3 | Expressing the sense of Congress that the President should submit to the Senate for advice and consent the climate change agreement proposed for adoption at the twenty-first session of the Conference of the Parties to the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change, to be held in Paris, France from November 30 to December 11, 2015 |
| hr6068-114 | 2 | To prohibit funding for the Preparatory Commission for the Comprehensive Nuclear-Test-Ban Treaty Organization in the event the United Nations Security Council adopts a resolution prohibiting activities counter to the object and purpose of the Treaty |
| hr1205-114 | 1 | American Sovereignty Restoration Act of 2015; mandates withdrawal from United Nations |
| hr4123-114 | 2 | Define It to Fight It Act - Directs the Department of State to withhold 10% of U.S. contributions to the UN until it adopts a definition of international terrorism concurrent with U.S. laws |
| s1853-114 | 2 | Block Arms to Iran Act of 2015 - Cuts part of US contribution to UN if organization weakens arms embargo on Iran |
| hr3829-114 | 2 | UNRWA Anti-Incitement and Anti-Terrorism Act - cuts off US funds to UNRWA unless certain conditions are met |
| hr1368-114 | 3 | No Healthcare Subsidies for Foreign Diplomats Act of 2015 - prohibits extension of Affordable Care Act subsidies to non-immigrant diplomats, including those at UN |
| sconres25-114 | 3 | A concurrent resolution expressing the sense of Congress that the President should submit the Paris climate change agreement to the Senate for its advice and consent |
| hr249-115 | 2 | Defunding United Nations Act of 2017 |
| hr1835-115 | 2 | Prohibition of United Nations Taxation Act - prohibits funds for UN if it attempts to tax Americans or borrow from banks or international financial organizations |
| hr373-115 | 2 | Refusing to Assist Paying for United Nations Actions Against Israel Act |
| hr311-115 | 2 | Refusing to Assist Paying for United Nations Actions Against Israel Act |
| hr2232-115 | 2 | Promoting Equality and Accountability at the United Nations Act of 2017 - imposes conditions for US funding of UNRWA |
| hr673-115 | 2 | No Tax Dollars for the United Nations' Climate Agenda Act |
| s169-115 | 2 | Countering Anti-Semitism and Anti-Israel Activities at the United Nations Act of 2017 - withholds funds for certain UN agencies unless certain conditions are met |
| hr2496-115 | 2 | Defunding the Corrupt and Incompetent United Nations Act |
| hr264-115 | 2 | United Nations Review and Accounting Act - conditions US support for UN on submission of various reports |
| hr193-115 | 2 | American Sovereignty Restoration Act of 2017; mandates withdrawal from United Nations |
| hr769-115 | 2 | Safeguard Israel Act of 2017 - withholds funds for United Nations until Security Council Resolution 2334 has been repealed |
| s107-115 | 2 | Safeguard Israel Act of 2017 - withholds funds for United Nations until Security Council Resolution 2334 has been repealed |
| hr3797-115 | 2 | Define It to Fight It Act - Directs the Department of State to withhold 10% of U.S. contributions to the UN until it adopts a definition of international terrorism concurrent with U.S. laws |
| hr263-115 | 3 | United States Sovereignty and Commercial Freedom Act - declares that U.N. Security Council Resolution 2334 shall have no force or effect under U.S. law, and the United States shall not be bound by any provision of such resolution. |
| hr6451-115 | 2 | UNRWA Reform and Refugee Support Act of 2018 - cuts off US funds to UNRWA unless certain conditions are met |
| s332-115 | 3 | A bill to restrict funding for the Preparatory Commission for the Comprehensive Nuclear-Test-Ban Treaty Organization, and for other purposes |
| hr903-115 | 3 | A bill to restrict funding for the Preparatory Commission for the Comprehensive Nuclear-Test-Ban Treaty Organization, and for other purposes |

**5. Logit model results used to produce Figures 1-3**

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | Year of Debate: | | | | | | | | |
|  | 1919 | 1923 | 1926-27 | 1935 | 1946 | 1954 | 1985 | 1994 | 2001-02 |
| DW-NOMINATE, first dimension | 9.53\*  (2.54) | 7.85\*  (2.92) | -1.18  (2.42) | 6.75\*  (1.74) | 7.13\*  (2.25) | 9.45\*  (1.34) | 9.48\*  (4.60) | 8.81\*  (3.35) | 15.02\*  (2.59) |
| Republican | 0.62  (1.77) | 1.34  (1.90) | 1.58  (1.73) | -0.14  (0.77) | -1.79  (1.30) | -2.29\*  (0.63) | -3.79  (2.27) | -0.42  (1.54) | -3.92\*  (1.60) |
| Constant | 0.05  (0.99) | -1.80  (0.83) | -1.80\*  (0.29) | 0.26  (0.41) | 3.13\*  (0.77) | 2.82\*  (0.39) | 3.50\*  (1.57) | 0.21  (0.86) | 1.93\*  (0.81) |
| Roll-call votes | 14 | 1 | 17 | 8 | 3 | 7 | 1 | 2 | 4 |
| n | 1,295 | 74 | 1,536 | 698 | 203 | 662 | 95 | 194 | 387 |

Note: \* p < 0.05. Standard errors clustered on the member reported in parentheses beneath the coefficient. The 1919 debate concerned the Lodge reservations to the League of Nations. The 1954 debate concerned the Bricker amendment. All the others concerned adherence to international courts: the PCIJ (1923, 1926-27, and 1935), the ICJ (1945, 1985) and the ICC (1994, 2001-02). Models with more than one roll-call include a dummy variable for each roll-call during the debate.

In the 1985 debate, three Senators--John Chafee, George Mitchell, and Arlen Specter--stated that they supported the goal of restoring the ICJ's jurisdiction but did not support cutting off U.S. contributions to international organizations, which was intended to force the administration's hand. They were coded as supportive of the World Court's jurisdiction in the analysis.

**6. Negative binomial model results used to produce Figure 4**

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
|  | House of Representatives | Senate |
| Republican | -0.26  (0.17) | 0.15  (0.27) |
| DW-NOMINATE, first dimension | 3.33\*  (0.20) | 2.11\*  (0.34) |
| Constant | -1.62\*  (0.09) | -1.81\*  (0.14) |
| n | 10,231 | 2,350 |

Note: \* p < 0.05. Standard errors clustered on the member reported in parentheses beneath the coefficient. Dependent variable is number of anti-UN bills sponsored or co-sponsored by individual legislators in each Congress, 93rd-115th (1973-2018).

**7. Logit model results used to produce Figure 5**

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | NAFTA vote | | GATT/WTO vote | |
| Republican | 0.17  (0.51) | -0.18  (0.54) | 0.17  (0.51) | -0.48  (0.58) |
| Ideology | -2.51\*  (0.69) | -6.69\*  (2.04) | -0.47  (0.66) | -8.22\*  (1.91) |
| Ideology squared |  | 2.31\*  (1.03) |  | 4.25\*  (0.98) |
| Constant | 2.12\*  (0.48) | 3.84\*  (0.94) | -0.30  (0.46) | 2.83\*  (0.86) |
| BIC | 546.71 | 547.90 | 569.17 | 555.54 |
| Observations | 434 | 434 | 433 | 433 |

Note: \* p < 0.05. Standard errors clustered on the member reported in parentheses beneath the coefficient. Dependent variable is opposition to the indicated trade agreement. "Ideology" is the first dimension of the DW-NOMINATE score, transformed by adding 1 so that all values are positive.

**8. Negative binomial model results used to produce Figure 5**

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | Model 1 | Model 2 | Model 3 | Model 4 |
| Republican | -0.22 (0.17) | 0.39 (0.32) | 0.14 (0.25) | 0.14 (0.15) |
| DW-NOMINATE, first dimension | 3.17 (0.19)\* | 3.44 (0.27)\* | 3.28 (0.24)\* | 3.28 (0.17)\* |
| Cold War | -0.33 (0.07)\* | 0.54 (0.23)\* |  |  |
| Cold War \* DW-NOMINATE, first dimension |  | -1.78 (0.39)\* |  |  |
| Cold War \* Republican |  | -0.60 (0.38) |  |  |
| Republican President |  |  | -0.001 (0.17) |  |
| Republican President \* Republican |  |  | -0.61 (0.29)\* |  |
| Republican President \* DW-NOMINATE |  |  | -0.27 (0.30) |  |
| Multilateralist Republican President |  |  |  | 0.003 (0.17) |
| Multilateralist Republican President \* Republican |  |  |  | -1.27 (0.32)\* |
| Multilateralist Republican President \* DW-NOMINATE |  |  |  | -0.07 (0.42) |
| Other Republican President |  |  |  | -0.21 (0.14) |
| Other Republican President \* Republican |  |  |  | -0.23 (0.23) |
| Other Republican President \* DW-NOMINATE |  |  |  | -0.44 (0.27) |
| Constant | -1.51 (0.09)\* | -2.17 (0.21)\* | -1.67\*  (0.15) | -1.71\*  (0.09) |
| Observations | 10,231 | 10,231 | 10,231 | 10,231 |

Note: \* p < 0.05. The dependent variable is the number of anti-UN bills a member co-sponsored in each 2-year Congress, 1973-2018. Standard errors adjusted for clustering on the individual member in parentheses.

**9. Logit Models used to produce Figure 8**

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | Year of Debate: | | | | | | | | |
|  | 1919 | 1923 | 1926-27 | 1935 | 1946 | 1954 | 1985 | 1994 | 2001-02 |
| DW-NOMINATE, first dimension | 9.78\*  (2.89) | 7.68\*  (3.66) | -0.91  (2.59) | 6.83\*  (1.78) | 2.42\*  (0.65) | 8.14\*  (1.15) | 9.59\*  (4.73) | 4.29\*  (1.36) | 12.02\*  (2.11) |
| Republican | 0.95  (1.84) | -1.49  (2.69) | 2.20  (1.98) | 0.76  (0.92) | 0.35  (0.71) | -1.22  (0.82) | -1.76\*  (3.79) | 2.71\*  (1.32) | 1.50  (2.55) |
| Proportion of workforce in manufacturing sector: |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Among Republicans | -6.77  (9.76) | 145.66\*  (50.97) | -9.02  (7.28) | -14.71\*  (5.34) | -9.67\*  (4.07) | -13.39\*  (4.33) | 6.56  (23.30) | -10.69\*  (5.08) | -30.51\*  (13.96) |
| Among Democrats | -4.77  (7.16) | 4.98  (8.87) | -13.85  (10.23) | -2.55  (6.32) | -2.80  (2.78) | -8.20  (5.85) | 22.20  (19.10) | 3.68\*  (1.61) | -1.11  (3.52) |
| Constant | -0.02  (1.23) | -0.98  (1.31) | -1.95  (1.08) | 0.16  (0.52) | -0.30  (0.24) | 2.31\*  (0.44) | 1.37  (2.21) | 0.73  (0.47) | 2.47\*  (0.81) |
| Roll-call votes | 14 | 1 | 17 | 8 | 3 | 7 | 1 | 2 | 4 |
| n | 1,295 | 74 | 1,536 | 698 | 203 | 662 | 95 | 194 | 387 |

Note: \* p < 0.05. Standard errors adjusted for clustering on the individual member reported in parentheses beneath the coefficient. For ease of comparison, conditional coefficients for each party are reported instead of the components of the interaction. The 1919 debate concerned the Lodge reservations to the League of Nations. The 1954 debate concerned the Bricker amendment. All the others concerned adherence to the PCIJ (1923, 1926-27, and 1935), the ICJ (1945, 1985) and the ICC (1994, 2001-02). All models include a dummy variable for each roll-call vote during the debate.

**10. Negative binomial models used to produce Figure 9**

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | Model 1 | Model 2 | Model 3 | Model 4 | Model 5 | Model 6 |
| DW-NOMINATE, first dimension | 3.11 (0.20)\* | 3.19 (0.21)\* | 3.10 (0.20)\* | 3.18 (0.20)\* | 3.07 (0.20)\* | 3.15 (0.20)\* |
| Republican | 0.68 (0.24)\* | 0.63 (0.24)\* | -0.91 (0.22)\* | -0.99 (0.22)\* | -1.49 (0.27)\* | -1.63 (0.27)\* |
| Proportion of workforce in manufacturing sector: |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Among Republicans | -2.00 (0.50)\* | -2.03 (0.51)\* |  |  |  |  |
| Among Democrats | 2.87 (0.73)\* | 2.88 (0.74)\* |  |  |  |  |
| Proportion of district with 4 years of college: |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Among Republicans |  |  | 0.48 (0.36) | 0.42 (0.59) |  |  |
| Among Democrats |  |  | -3.32 (0.92)\* | -3.53 (0.75)\* |  |  |
| Proportion of district in white-collar occupations: |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Among Republicans |  |  |  |  | 1.33 (0.50)\* | 2.61 (0.79)\* |
| Among Democrats |  |  |  |  | -3.62 (0.98)\* | -2.68 (1.10)\* |
| Non-Hispanic white proportion of population |  | 0.57 (0.27)\* |  | 0.54 (0.26)\* |  | 0.57 (0.26)\* |
| Median household income ($1000s of 2016 dollars) |  | -0.003 (0.002) |  | -0.003 (0.004) |  | -0.01 (0.004)\* |
| Foreign-born proportion of population |  | 1.49 (0.65)\* |  | 1.65 (0.67)\* |  | 1.62 (0.66)\* |
| Constant | -3.96 (0.29)\* | -4.29 (0.44)\* | -2.88 (0.37)\* | -3.95 (0.92)\* | -2.54 (0.40)\* | -2.73 (0.44)\* |
| Observations | 10,230 | 10,212 | 10,231 | 10,213 | 10,231 | 10,213 |

Note: \* p < 0.05; For ease of comparison, conditional coefficients for each party are reported instead of components of interaction term. All models include fixed effects for each congress.

**11. Logit Models of Voting on the Lodge Reservations to the Versailles Treaty**

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
|  | Model 1 | Model 2 |
| Regular Republican | 6.03 (0.37)\* | -2.60 (0.86)\* |
| Progressive Republican | 6.02 (0.48)\* | 0.54 (0.72) |
| Ideology (DW-NOMINATE, first dimension) |  | 13.58 (1.44)\* |
| Constant | -2.26 (0.47)\* | 0.87 (0.57) |
| Votes | 15 | 15 |
| n | 1,295 | 1,295 |
|  |  |  |
| **Predicted probability of supporting a reservation:** |  |  |
| Progressive Republican | 0.98 | 0.99 |
| Regular Republican | 0.98 | 0.99 |
| Democrat | 0.09 | 0.05 |

Note: \* p < 0.05. Standard errors in parentheses. The reservations and the outcome of each vote are listed in Table 1. The model includes a dummy variable for each roll-call, to account for the different baseline probability of supporting the various reservations. Predicted probabilities are computed assuming the closest vote taken during the debate. Those from the second model assume the average DW-NOMINATE score for each type of partisan.