

Appendix

Contents

1. Votes on the Lodge Reservations to the Versailles Treaty, 1919
2. Votes on adherence to international court jurisdiction, 1923-2003
 - A. 1923
 - B. 1926-27
 - C. 1935
 - D. 1946
 - E. 1985
 - F. 1994
 - G. 2001-02
3. Votes on the Bricker Amendment, February 1954
4. List of Anti-UN Bills, 1973-2018
5. Logit model results used to produce Figures 1-3
6. Negative binomial model results used to produce Figure 4
7. Logit model results used to produce Figure 5
8. Negative binomial models used to produce Figure 7
9. Logit Models used to produce Figure 8
10. Negative binomial models used to produce Figure 9
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.

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.

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	Agreed to, 91-1	26 January 1926, 2757-8

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.		
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).

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.

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	Agreed to, 51-12	2 August 1946, 10697

Court. Speeches by those voting against it indicate that opposition to such a restriction was why they did so.		
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.

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.

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.

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

Bill Number	Type	Description
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

Bill Number	Type	Description
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

Bill Number	Type	Description
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

Bill Number	Type	Description
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

Bill Number	Type	Description
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

Bill Number	Type	Description
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

Bill Number	Type	Description
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 includes 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 includes 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 includes 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

Bill Number	Type	Description
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

Bill Number	Type	Description
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

Bill Number	Type	Description
		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

Bill Number	Type	Description
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

Bill Number	Type	Description
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)
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.