

**Evolution of Participation in International Organizations:
The United States Experience**

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The misapprehension that, because of its isolationist tradition and rejection of the League of Nations, the United States eschewed the joining of multipartite public international organizations prior to World War II is controverted by historical evidence. Except for noninvolvement in Europe's alliances prior to the 1940s, in fact, the United States has participated enthusiastically in multilateral as well as bilateral international agencies in which it has a vital interest or which it regards as beneficial in implementing its foreign relations.

Conventional thinking holds that until World War II, with the exceptions of World War I and Woodrow Wilson's promotion of the League of Nations, the United States generally eschewed involvement in the multilateral diplomacy of the European powers and the establishment of multipartite international organizations. Such thinking gives rise to the hypothesis that our extensive post-World War II involvement had no significant basis in past practice. However, this fails to account for a substantial body of evidence which indicates that active participation by the United States after World War II was founded on steady involvement in international affairs predating that war, and indeed beginning in the eighteenth century.² Throughout its independent history the United States has participated in scores of multipartite public international organizations of a "permanent" or continuing nature.³ It also has been a member of dozens of additional bipartite and temporary multipartite organizations.⁴

**Genesis of U.S. Participation in International Organization:
The Record Through World War II**

While the United States refrained from major involvement in European political affairs to the time of World War I and again from 1919 to World War II, it did not isolate itself completely from world affairs.⁵ Affiliation with international organizations is one relevant measure here: of the nearly 150 organizations in which it has participated since 1945, eight were launched in the nineteenth century,

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33 more antedated World War II, and 18 were established during the war years 1942-1945. Thus, nearly 30 percent of these were joined prior to the post-World War II era (see Appendix).⁶

During the period prior to World War I, the United States handled most of its international affairs by means of bilateral negotiations, treaties, and arbitrations. Thus, it signed 18 bipartite treaties with Great Britain and Mexico,⁷ and nearly 70 such treaties and agreements with the Barbary states and 23 other countries to provide for claims settlements by ad hoc joint or mixed arbitral commissions. Beginning with those with Great Britain (1794 and 1802) and France (1803), these arbitration agencies were established primarily with European and Latin American nations, but also came to include the Fiji Islands as well as Iran and Japan.⁸

The United States also was party to the Hague Peace Conferences of 1899 and 1907 which provided for the establishment of the Permanent Court of Arbitration (the Hague Tribunal) and other institutionalized processes for the peaceful settlement of international disputes.⁹ To implement the Hague system, the United States sought to standardize advance pacific settlement arrangements through a comprehensive network of twentieth century bilateral pacts with individual countries.¹⁰ In the Western Hemisphere, paralleling the Hague system, the United States also joined Latin American nations in signing general multilateral treaties committing them to peaceful settlement by bipartite Commissions of Inquiry (1925), Conciliation Commissions (1929), and Arbitration Tribunals (1935). Some 35 such bipartite "cooling off" and more than two dozen arbitration pacts were still in effect at the time of Pearl Harbor. Almost all of the territorial, boundary, claims, arbitration, and conciliation arrangements were embodied in formal treaties, requiring Senate approval.

Prior to World War I, the United States also joined some 15 of 45 multipartite functional and administrative agencies created between 1804 and 1914 (Department of State, 1946 and 1950).¹¹ While the United States never joined either the League of Nations or the Permanent Court of International Justice,¹² it did affiliate with two dozen multipartite organizations; roughly half were League-related and possessed global stature and half were devoted to inter-American affairs.¹³

During World War II and the immediate post-surrender period, the United States joined with its Allies in a battery of mostly temporary bipartite, tripartite, and multipartite policy planning, military occupation, and post-hostilities agencies. Aside from those at the highest level, such as the Council of Foreign Ministers, the Combined Chiefs of Staff, and International Military Tribunals (to try major war criminals), and their affiliates, the Department of State identifies approximately 40 such agencies (Department of State, 1950, pp. 148-179, 311-326).¹⁴

Overall, as of the end of 1945, in addition to the United Nations and the

Pan American Union, the United States had been a member of some 216 multipartite organizations, of which approximately 140 were "more or less active," 20 were still in the formative state, and 52 were then defunct or ceased to exist. (Department of State, 1946, pp. 304-312). By 1945 this country also had been a party to 105 bilateral agencies (Department of State, 1946, pp. 312-314).

Post-World War II Participation

The most expansive burgeoning of multipartite international organizations in the international community has occurred since World War II. These may be grouped in three categories: the United Nations system, the Inter-American system and other regional alliances and financial institutions, and unaffiliated or ad hoc agencies. Some organizations--such as the Food and Agriculture Organization, International Labor Organization, International Telecommunication Union, United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration, and Universal Postal Union--antedated the creation of the United Nations, and were later absorbed by it as affiliated specialized agencies. As a consequence of a major revolution in American foreign policy, accentuated by involvement in World War II and plans for maintaining world peace (Carleton, 1957, chaps. 1, 3, and 6; Perkins, 1948, chaps. IX and X), the United States played a leading role in establishing and joining not only the United Nations and its International Court of Justice, but also all of its 20 specialized agencies.¹⁵

In the Western Hemisphere, the nascent inter-American system--the core of which consisted of periodic inter-American conferences, occasional Foreign Ministers' Meetings, and the Pan American Union--was formalized as the Organization of American States in 1951. In addition to its 11 primary organs, it currently is supported by six specialized organizations.¹⁶ The United States affiliated with all of these, as well as a number of other multipartite Western Hemisphere agencies.

Since 1945 this country also joined a number of regional alliance/security organizations, including the North Atlantic Alliance (NATO), the ANZUS (Australia, New Zealand, and United States), Rio Pact, and Southeast Asia collective security organizations, and the Central Treaty Organization. It also became a member of key regional banks and development funds (for Africa, Asia, and the Western Hemisphere).¹⁷ Finally, the United States has affiliated with an array of ad hoc multipartite organizations.¹⁸

Conclusion

To summarize, the United States plays and has played an active role in the global community. Not only has it joined many agencies, but where it has been excluded for geographic reasons, it has cooperated informally, often by means of

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observership representation, as in the case of the European Communities and the Bank of International Settlements, or by "unofficial" coordination.

Thus, contrary to the conventional view cited at the outset, the United States has been an active, if uneven, participant in a vast array of international organizations and relationships since our earliest years as a nation. The conventional hypothesis concerning our pre-World War II posture is not supported by documented evidence.

Another, related issue concerning United States participation in international organizations concerns what may be called the "League of Nations syndrome," which involves the process of affiliation. This issue pertains to the application and effect of executive-legislative relations in the constitutionally-prescribed American treaty process, which was embodied in our separation of powers system and which governs the joining of international agencies but has been tailored to facilitate the process. Treatment of this crucial issue is provided in a parallel study to be published in a subsequent article.

APPENDIX

U.S. MEMBERSHIP IN MULTIPARTITE INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS SINCE WORLD WAR II *

NATURE OF COMMITMENT	TITLE OF ORGANIZATION	TITLE OF CONSTITUTIVE ACT	DATE EFFECTIVE FOR U.S.
A	African Development Bank	Agreement	1983
A	African Development Fund	Agreement	1976
A	Agricultural Development Fund (IFAD)	Articles of Agreement	1977
A	American Institute for the Protection of Childhood	Conference Resolution	1927
T	ANZUS Collective Security Organization	Treaty	1952
A	Asian Development Bank	Articles of Agreement	1966
	Baghdad Collective Security Alliance (see Central Treaty Organization)		
T	Bureau of International Expositions	Convention	1968
A	Caribbean Commission	Agreement	1948
A	Caribbean Organization	Agreement	1961
A	Central American Tribunal	Protocol	1923
A	Central Bureau of the International Map of the World on the Millionth Scale	Conference Resolution	1921
A	Central Commission for Navigation of the Rhine	Exchange of Notes	1945

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T	Central International Office for the Control of Liquor Traffic in Africa	Convention	1929
A	Central Treaty Organization (CENTO/METO)	Declaration	1958
A	Colombo Plan Council	Constitution	1951
T	Commission for the Conservation of Antarctic Marine Living Resources	Convention	1982
T	Committee of Control of the International Zone of Tangier	General Act Protocol	1906 1945
A	Council of Foreign Ministers (CFM)	Protocol	1945
T	Customs Cooperation Council (see also International Union for the Publication of Customs Tariffs)	Convention	1970
A	Emergency Advisory Committee for Political Defense (American)	Conference Resolution	1942
A	Emergency Economic Committee for Europe	Conference Decision	1945
A	European Coal Organization	Agreement	1946
A	European Coordination Group for Energy (see also International Energy Agency)	Conference Communique	1974
A	European Space Research Organization (see also INMARSAT and INTELSAT)	Exchange of Notes	1966
A	Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) (see also Food Policy Research Institute and International Food Aid Committee)	Constitution	1945
A	General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (system) Hague Tribunal (see Permanent Court of Arbitration)	Agreement	1948
A	Indo-Pacific Fisheries Council	Agreement	1948
A	Indus Basin Development Fund	Agreement	1960
A	Inter-Allied Reparation Agency	Agreement	1946
T	Inter-American Arbitration Tribunals	Treaty	1935
A	Inter-American Children's Institute	Statutes	1928
T	Inter-American Collective Defense Arrangement (Rio Pact)	Treaty	1948
A	Inter-American Commercial Arbitration Commission	Arbitration Rules	1975
T	Inter-American Commission of Jurists (see also Inter-American Juridical Committee)	Convention	1908

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A	Inter-American Commission of Women	Conference Resolution	1930
A	Inter-American Commission of Human Rights	Conference Resolution	1960
T	Inter-American Commissions of Inquiry	Convention	1925
A	Inter-American Committee on the Alliance for Progress	Charter	1961
T	Inter-American Conciliation Commissions	Convention	1929
A	Inter-American Cultural and Trade Center	U.S. Statute	1966
A	Inter-American Defense Board (IDB)	Conference Resolution	1942
A	Inter-American Development Bank	Agreement	1959
A	Inter-American Development Commission	Conference Resolution	1940
T	Inter-American Indian Institute	Convention	1941
T	Inter-American Institute for Cooperation on Agriculture (see also Inter-American Institute of Agricultural Sciences)	Convention	1980
T	Inter-American Institute of Agricultural Sciences	Convention	1944
A	Inter-American Investment Corporation	Agreement	1983
A	Inter-American Juridical Committee (see also Inter-American Commission of Jurists)	Conference Resolution	1942
T	Inter-American Radio Office (see also International Telecommunication Union)	Convention Protocol	1938 1942
A	Inter-American Statistical Institute (see also International Statistical Institute)	Agreement Statutes	1952 1942
T	Inter-American Trade Mark Bureau (originally Inter-American Bureau for the Protection of Trade Marks; see also International Union for the Protection of Industrial Property)	Convention	1912 1926 1931
T	Inter-American Tropical Tuna Commission	Convention	1950
A	Intergovernmental Committee for European Migration (succeeded by International Organization for Migration)	Constitution	1954
A	Intergovernmental Committee on Refugees (see also International Refugee Organization)	Regulations	1938
T	Intergovernmental Maritime Consultative Organization (IMCO) (succeeded Maritime Consultative Council; succeeded by International	Convention	1958

	Maritime Organization)		
A	International Agency for Cancer Research	Statute	1965
T	International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA)	Statute	1957
A	International Association of Navigation Congresses	Regulations	1902
A	International Authority for the Ruhr	Agreement	1951
A	International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IB) (World Bank)	Articles of Agreement	1945
A	International Bureau of Education	Statutes	1958
T	International Bureau of Weights and Measures	Convention	1878
T	International Center for the Exchange of Publications	Convention Convention	1889 1968
T	International Center for the Settlement of Investment Disputes	Convention	1966
A	International Center for the Study of the Preservation and Restoration of Cultural Property	Statutes	1971
T	International Civil Aviation Organization (ICAO)	Convention	1947
T	International Commission for the Conservation of Atlantic Tunas	Convention	1969
T	International Commission for the Northwest Atlantic Fisheries	Convention	1950
T	International Commission of the Cape Spartel Light	Convention	1867
A	International Criminal Police Commission (INTERPOL)	Statute	1938
T	International Council for the Exploration of the Sea	Convention	1973
A	International Council of Scientific Unions	Conference Resolution	1919
T	International Court of Justice (ICJ) (see also Permanent Court of Arbitration)	Statute	1945
A	International Development Association (IDA)	Articles of Agreement	1960
A	International Energy Agency (see also International Atomic Energy Agency)	Agreement	1974
A	International Finance Corporation (IFC)	Articles of Agreement	1956
T	International Food Aid Committee (see also Food and Agriculture Organization)	Convention	1980
A	International Food Policy Research Institute (see also Food and Agriculture Organization)	Agreement	1981
A	International Fund for Agricultural Development (IFAD) (see also International Institute of Agri- culture and International Seed Testing Association)	Agreement	1977
A	International Hydrographic Bureau (succeeded by International Hydrographic Organization)	Regulations or Statutes	1921
T	International Hydrographic Organization	Convention	1970
A	International Institute for the Unification of Private Law (UNIDROIT)	Statute	1964
A	International Institute of Agriculture (succeeded by	Convention	1906

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	Food and Agriculture Organization; see also International Fund for Agricultural Development, and International Seed Testing Association)		
A	International Labor Organization (ILO)	Constitution Amendment	1934 1948
T	International Maritime Organization (IMO) (succeeded Intergovernmental Maritime Consultative Organization)	Convention	1982
A	International Maritime Satellite Organization (INMARSAT)	Convention	1979
A	International Monetary Fund (IMF)	Articles of Agreement	1945
A	International Meteorological Organization (succeeded by World Meteorological Organization)	Statutes	1930
A	International Military Tribunal (Europe)	Charter	1945
A	International Military Tribunal (Far East)	Charter	1946
T	International North Pacific Fisheries Commission	Convention	1953
T	International Office of Epizootics	Agreement	1975
T	International Office of Public Health (succeeded by World Health Organization, 1948)	Agreement	1908
A	International Organization for Migration (see Intergovernmental Committee for European Migration)	Constitution	1989
T	International Organization of Legal Metrology	Convention	1972
A	International Penal and Penitentiary Commission	Diplomatic Notes	1896
A	International Refugee Organization (IRO) (see also Intergovernmental Committee for European Migration)	Constitution	1948
A	International Seed Testing Association (see also Food and Agriculture Organization and International Institute of Agriculture)	Conference Resolution	1925
A	International Statistical Institute (see also Inter-American Statistical Institute)	Regulations	1924
A	International Technical Committee of Aerial Legal Experts (CITEJA) (see also International Civil Aviation Organization)	Conference Resolution	1931
T	International Telecommunication Union (ITU)	Convention	1906
A	International Telecommunications Satellite Organization (INTELSAT)	Agreement	1973
A	International Trade in Textiles Committee	Arrangement	1974
T	International Union for the Protection of Industrial Property (see also Inter-American Trade Mark Bureau)	Convention	1884
T	International Union for the Publication	Convention	1891

	of Customs Tariffs		
A	International Union of Official Travel Organizations (succeeded by World Tourism Organization, 1975)	Conference Resolution	1949
T	International Whaling Commission	Convention	1948
A	Interparliamentary Union	Conference Resolution	1935
	INTERPOL (<i>see International Criminal Police Commission</i>)		
T	Maintenance of Certain Lights in the Red Sea ("Arrangement for")	Agreement	1966
A	Maritime Consultative Council (succeeded United Maritime Consultative Council; succeeded by Intergovernmental Maritime Consultative Organization)	Agreement	1947
A	Multilateral Investment Guarantee Agency	Convention	1987
A	North Atlantic Ice Patrol	Agreement	1956
T	North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)	Treaty	1949
T	North Pacific Fur Seal Commission	Convention	1957
A	Onchocerciasis Fund	Agreement	1975
T	Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD)	Convention	1961
T	Organization of American States (OAS) (see also Pan American Union)	Charter	1951
T	Pan American Health Organization (succeeded by World Health Organization 1951)	Convention Convention Protocol	1906 1925 1928
A	Pan American Institute of Geography and History	Statutes	1929
A	Pan American Railway Congress Association	Charter	1948
A	Pan American Union (incorporated into the Organization of American States, 1951)	Conference Resolution	1890
T	Permanent Court of Arbitration (see also International Court of Justice)	Convention Convention	1900 1910
T	Postal Union of the Americas and Spain (see also Universal Postal Union)	Convention	1922
A	South Pacific Commission	Agreement	1948
T	Southeast Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO)	Treaty	1955
A	Terbella Development Fund	Agreement	1968
A	United Maritime Authority (succeeded by United Maritime Consultative Council; see also International Maritime Organization)	Agreement	1945
A	United Maritime Consultative Council (succeeded United Maritime Authority, and succeeded by Maritime Consultative Council)	Agreement	1946
T	United Nations (UN)	Charter	1945
A	United Nations Educational, Scientific	Constitution	1946

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	and Cultural Organization (UNESCO)		
A	United Nations Industrial Development Organization (UNIDO)	Charter	1966
A	United Nations Institute for Training and Research (UNITAR)	UN Resolution	1963
A	United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund (UNICEF)	UN Resolution	1946
A	United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration (UNRRA)	Agreement	1943
A	United Nations Trade and Development Board (UNCTAD)	Conference Resolution	1964
A	United Nations War Crimes Commission (see also International Military Tribunals)	Exchange of Notes	1943
T	Universal Postal Union (UPU)	Convention	1874
	World Court (see International Court of Justice)		
A	World Health Organization (WHO) (see also International Office of Public Health and Pan American Health Organization)	Constitution	1948
T	World Intellectual Property Organization (WIPO)	Convention	1970
T	World Meteorological Organization (WMO) (succeeded International Meteorological Organization)	Convention	1950
T	World Tourism Organization (succeeded International Union of Official Travel Organizations)	Statutes	1975

NOTES

* This list is arranged alphabetically by titles of international organizations. United States commitments are designated as "T" (treaties) and "A" (agreements). The treaties are approved by the Senate in accordance with the constitutionally prescribed formal treaty process. Many of the agreements are formal executive agreements approved by both houses of Congress by normal legislative process. Some agreements, primarily embodied in conference resolutions (rather than formal agreements), are confirmed by legislation authorizing participation or providing for representation in the organization and/or financial support. The dates represent not the date of consummation or signature of a treaty or agreement, but the date of effectiveness for the United States.

1. This conventional attitude was founded, to a large extent, on the experience with the Franco-American Alliance of 1778; George Washington's admonition contained in his historic Farewell Address in 1796; such precepts of the Monroe Doctrine as nonintervention, noninterference, and noninterposition; neutrality during Europe's wars until 1917; and espe-

cially the rejection of the Covenant of the League of Nations. For general commentary, see Lerche, 1958, pp. 394-395; Plischke, 1967, pp. 530-534; and Schmeckebier, 1935, pp. 1-12; and see note 5, par. 2. This perception supposedly flowed naturally as a consequence of several critical factors. These include geographic distance and slow transportation; concentration for decades on continental expansion, internal development, and stabilization; a deliberate policy of non-involvement epitomized by isolationism (and neutrality in time of foreign wars); and the nature and functioning of the American political system. The latter hinged on the constitutionally mandated separation of powers and the resultant conflict between the Executive and Congress over the conduct of foreign affairs (more specifically the unique American treaty-making process), and the division of powers between the federal government and the constituent states.

2. For example, the American colonies established an international confederation of sovereign states in 1777, joined in an alliance with France in 1778, and sought, albeit unsuccessfully, to affiliate with Catherine the Great's "Armed Neutrality," a "league" or alliance against the belligerents during war between France and Great Britain.
3. The term *public international organization* generally denotes those that foster intergovernmental cooperation and action, in which governments are represented by accredited and officially instructed delegates or agents, and which are financed primarily by government contributions. They are distinguished from quasi-governmental, non-governmental (NGOs), and private international organizations. The permanent or continuing organizations are distinguished from ad hoc arrangements established to deal with a single or limited problem or function for a relatively short period of time.
4. The exact number varies depending on the criteria applied. Aside from distinguishing multipartite from bipartite, variations arise from considerations of differences between preparatory and regularized, major and minor, temporary and permanent, and public and nongovernmental agencies.
5. For example, it joined other nations in developing trade relations and dissolving the mercantilist system; promoting the doctrine of freedom of the seas and defining the laws of war and neutrality; espousing the principles of self-determination and the rights of emigration, immigration, and expatriation; subscribing to arrangements for the peaceful settlement of international controversies by means of mediation, conciliation, arbitration, and adjudication; and cooperating with other nations to deal either jointly or collectively with a host of other non-political endeavors. These matters--as well as isolationism, non-interventionism, the Monroe Doctrine,

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alliance politics, and balance of power (which affected the joining of international organizations)--are treated in a variety of volumes, such as those concerned with conventional American foreign policies (including Borchard, 1946, Carleton, 1957 and 1963, Morley, 1951, and Perkins, 1966); general volumes on American foreign policy, relations, and diplomacy (such as those of Barber, 1953, Gordon and Vines, 1955, Leonard, 1953, Lerche, 1958, and Paterson, 1988); and basic American diplomatic histories (such as those of Adams, 1933, Bailey, 1980, Bemis, 1955, Cole, 1974, Ferrel, 1975, Leopold, 1962, Pratt, 1955, and Van Alstine, 1947).

6. Organizations with which the United States was previously affiliated include a few which were preparatory bodies that functioned pending the launching of more permanent agencies, such as the United Nations Preparatory Commission and the interim or provisional commissions for several United Nations specialized agencies; some 15 were converted into new organizations; nearly 50 were temporary World Wars I and II wartime organizations; and approximately two dozen were post-hostilities transitional agencies--including military government and occupation administrations that have ceased to exist. In addition, more than 65 other pre-1945 organizations became dormant or were discontinued. Not included in the Appendix along with these preparatory, provisional and transitional bodies are such quasi-public agencies as the International Red Cross, bipartite claims commissions and peaceful settlement arrangements, a good many administrative subsidiary and sub-agencies (such as commissions, committees, and councils of the United Nations and the Organization of American States, their specialized agencies, and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization), and a dozen multipartite commodity agencies concerned with specific foods and other commodities. For lists of such agencies, see Department of State, 1946, pp. 314-317, and Department of State, 1950, pp. 311-326.
7. These provided for ad hoc arbitration mechanisms that dealt with 14 territorial disputes pertaining to our northeast territory, the St. Croix River, the Great Lakes, the Lake of the Woods, Oregon, the Gadsden territory, Texas, and the Rio Grande River.
8. A total of some 300 bilateral arbitration treaties were negotiated during the nineteenth century, all providing for some form of international machinery. Well over 200 formal arbitrations were decided, of which the United States was party to 69.
9. In addition to formal arbitration, these embraced good offices and mediation, conciliation, and commissions of inquiry. Significantly, at the 1907 Hague Conference, the United States also proposed the creation of an international permanent Court of Arbitral Justice, but this was not

- approved.
10. Under the Hague system, Secretary of State Elihu Root negotiated bilateral treaties with 25 nations in 1908-1909. Five years later Secretary William Jennings Bryan consummated 21 bilateral "cooling off pacts," providing for conciliation of disputes by standing commissions to investigate and report on crises, designed to defer or resolve them. And in 1928-1929 Secretary Frank B. Kellogg negotiated 19 conciliation pacts, primarily with European powers, to replace and supplement the Bryan treaties, and he negotiated 27 arbitration pacts to supersede the Root treaties. Each of these arrangements provided for standby mechanisms for resolving international disputes.
 11. The earliest of these included the International Commission of the Cape Spartel Light (1867, to aid navigation in the Straits of Gibraltar), the Universal Postal Union (1874), and the International Bureau of Weights and Measures (1878). They were followed by the International Union for the Protection of Industrial Property (1884, protecting patents and trademarks), the International Center for the Exchange of Publications (1889 and 1968), the International Penal and Penitentiary Commission (1896), and the International Union for the Publication of Customs Tariffs (1896). In the early twentieth century, the International Association of Navigation Congresses (1902), the International Institute of Agriculture (1906), the International Telecommunication Union (1906) and the International Office of Public Health (1908) were added. See Department of State, 1950, pp. 95-103, 116-122, 236-239, 277-286, 302-307, 320, and 321. Within the Western Hemisphere the United States affiliated with the Pan American Union (1890), the Pan American Sanitary/Health Organization (1906), the Inter-American Commission of Jurists (1908), and the Inter-American Trade Mark Bureau (1912). All but four of these were based on formal treaties (see Appendix).
 12. The Senate rejected the Versailles Treaty, including the Covenant of the League of Nations and the Statute of the Permanent Court of International Justice. In 1935 this country negotiated a special protocol for affiliation with the Court, but the Senate failed to approve it by a vote of 52 to 36, only seven votes short of the two-thirds majority required.
 13. The global included such agencies as the International Criminal Police Commission (INTERPOL, 1938), the International Labor Organization (ILO, 1920), the International Meteorological Organization (IMO, 1930), the International Statistical Institute (1924), and the Interparliamentary Union (1935). Among those established in the Western Hemisphere were the Inter-American Children's Institute (1928), Inter-American Commission of Women (1930), Inter-American Radio Office (1938), Pan American Institute of Geography and History (1929), and Postal Union

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of the Americans and Spain (1922).

14. These range from the Allied Control Commissions and Councils for individual liberated and occupied Axis powers, the United Nations War Crimes Commission, and inter-allied reparations agencies, to the Emergency Committee for the Provisional Administration of European Colonies and Possessions in the Americas, Inter-American Neutrality Committee, Pacific War Council, and Tripartite Merchant Marine Commission on Disposal of the German Merchant Fleet. Bilaterally the United States also joined various resource, commodity, and war production committees, and joint defense boards or commissions with Brazil, Canada, and Mexico. Most of these were temporary agencies, whereas some, such as the Council of Foreign Ministers, continued into the postwar years and a few, including the Inter-American Defense Board and the Permanent Joint Board on Defense with Canada, remain in existence.
15. Of these twenty UN specialized agencies the current list includes the Food and Agriculture Organization, International Atomic Energy Agency, International Bank, International Civil Aviation Organization, International Development Association, International Fund for Agricultural Development, International Finance Corporation, International Labor Organization, International Monetary Fund, International Maritime Organization, International Telecommunication Union, United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, United Nations Industrial Development Organization, Universal Postal Union, World Health Organization, World Intellectual Property Organization, World Meteorological Organization, and in a sense the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) arrangement. The International Refugee Organization and the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration have become defunct. In addition, the United Nations system is comprised of 5 regional economic commissions, 6 functional commissions, two dozen subsidiary affiliates, and a variety of sessional, standing, and ad hoc committees. The United States withdrew from the International Labor Organization in November 1977 but returned in February 1980, and withdrew from the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization in 1984. See Appendix.
16. These specialized organizations include the Inter-American Children's Institute, Commission of Women, Indian Institute, Institute of Agricultural Sciences, Pan American Health Organization, and Pan American Institute of Geography and History. Other multipartite Western Hemisphere organizations that the United States joined since World War II include the Inter-American Commission of Human Rights, Committee on the Alliance for Progress, Development Bank, Pan American Railway Congress Association, and others. See Appendix.

17. These include the African Development Bank, African Development Fund, Asian Development Bank, Indus Basin Development Fund, Inter-American Development Bank, Inter-American Investment Corporation, Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, and Tarbella Development Fund. See Appendix.
18. Aside from those concerned with specific commodities, examples include the Bureau of International Expositions, General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade system (GATT), Indo-Pacific Fisheries Council, Inter-American Tropical Tuna Commission, International Bureau of Education, International Center for the Study of the Preservation and Restoration of Cultural Property, International Commission for the Conservation of Atlantic Tunas, International Commission for the Northwest Atlantic Fisheries, International Council for the Exploration of the Sea, International Energy Agency, International Hydrographic Organization, International Maritime Satellite Organization, International North Pacific Fisheries Commission, International Organization for Migration, International Refugee Organization, International Telecommunications Satellite Organization, International Whaling Commission, North Atlantic Ice Patrol, North Atlantic Fur Seal Commission, and World Tourism Organization, as well as such regional agencies as the Caribbean Organization in the Western Hemisphere, the Colombo Plan Council in the Pacific area, and the South Pacific Commission. See Appendix.
19. The United States is naturally excluded from a variety of international organizations, primarily those of a restricted regional, ethnic, or religious nature. Thus, it has not been affiliated with such basic agencies as the Concert of Europe, the Holy Alliance, and, more recently the Council of Europe, the League of Arab States, and the Organization of African Unity, or with such major economic agencies as the European Economic Community, the European Payments Union, the Association of Southeast Asian Nations, the Soviet-led Council for Mutual Economic Assistance, and the Organization of Arab Petroleum Exporting Countries. To illustrate the massive global corpus of contemporary international organizations, the *Yearbook of International Organizations (Annual)* lists more than 1,700 such agencies, some of which are nongovernmental, many of which are constituent or subagencies of more basic institutions, and most of which are geographically or otherwise delimited. For example, it includes at least 725 African, Asian, British Commonwealth, European, Western Hemisphere, and similar agencies, such as those of non-aligned states. The Department of State lists 89 international organizations of which the United States was not a member as of 1945, in which this country apparently had no compelling interest at the time (Department of State, 1946, pp. 314-317). For background studies on the development of

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international organization, see Armstrong, 1982; Ball, 1944; Cheever and Haviland, 1954; Claude, 1971; Eagleton, 1948; Hill, 1931, 1932, and 1952; Lawson, 1962; League of Nations, 1938; Masters, 1945; Pan American Union, 1944; Piquet, 1945; Potter, 1948; Reinsch, 1916; Sayre, 1919; and Schiavone, 1987. For studies on the United States and international organizations, see Corwin, 1944; Karns and Mingst, 1990, and Reiff, 1937. For relevant treaties and the constitutive acts of international organizations, see Habicht, 1931, and Peaslee, 1974-1979. For bibliographical guidance on international organizations, see Aufrecht, 1942; Haas, 1971; Hicks, 1919; Rudzinski, 1953; Speckart, 1965; and Zagayko, 1962

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