

# AMBASSADOR JOHN BOLTON: A RECORD OF REFORM

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## AMBASSADOR BOLTON AND UNITED NATIONS REFORM

### Bolton Has Argued For Greater U.N. Accountability And Fiscal Responsibility:

**“The U.S. Ambassador To The United Nations, John Bolton, Has Made No Secret Over The Years Of His View That The World Body Must Cut Back On What He Considers A Bloated Bureaucracy.”** (Joe Lauria, “UN Looks At Ways To Reduce Its Staff,” *The Boston Globe*, 2/10/06)

- **“In The Reform Debate, Bolton Has Repeatedly Stressed That The United States Pays About 22 Percent Of The Regular U.N. Budget And 27 Percent Of The U.N. Peacekeeping Budget, And He Has A Responsibility To U.S. Taxpayers To Ensure That Their Money Is Spent Wisely.”** (Edith M. Lederer, “U.N. Power Struggle Reignited Over Peacekeeping Corruption And Abuse Allegations,” *The Associated Press*, 2/22/06)

**“The New American Envoy, John Bolton, Has Startled Diplomats Here By Suggesting, Just As The Security Council Was Called On To Save Peacekeeping Troops In East Africa Threatened By Actions Of The Eritrean Government, That The World Body Rethink The Broader Purpose Of Such Missions.”** (Benny Avni, “Bolton Asks U.N. To Rethink Peacekeeping,” *The New York Sun*, 10/6/05)

- **“Rather Than Rubber-Stamp The Renewal Of Peacekeeping Mandates, He Said, In The Future The Council Must Evaluate Each Mission. He Said Costs Associated With Peacekeeping Are Among The Most Expensive Items In The Organization’s Budget.”** (Benny Avni, “Bolton Asks U.N. To Rethink Peacekeeping,” *The New York Sun*, 10/6/05)

### Bolton Has Worked To Reform U.N. Bureaucracy:

**“U.S. Ambassador John Bolton Presided Over The U.N. Security Council For The First Time On Thursday But Failed To Get The 14 Members To Show Up On Time Or Back His Request For Daily Briefings On U.N. Peacekeeping Operations And Global Hotspots ... Bolton Said He Banged The Gavel At 10 A.M. When Members Were Supposed To Begin Meeting.”** (Edith M. Lederer, “Bolton Leads First Security Council Meet,” *The Associated Press*, 2/3/06)

- **Bolton:** “I was the only one in the room though ... We started just before 10:15 a.m. ... I think daily briefings constitute a form of intellectual discipline. Starting on time is a form of discipline. ... The council is responsible for peacekeeping activities, and I think we need to do a better job of collective decision-making ...” (Edith M. Lederer, “Bolton Leads First Security Council Meet,” *The Associated Press*, 2/3/06)
  - **Greece’s U.N. Ambassador Adamantios Vassilakis On Bolton:** “It’s not a bad idea ... Maybe not on a daily basis, but it’s not a bad idea. We have to do something to improve things.” (Edith M. Lederer, “Bolton Leads First Security Council Meet,” *The Associated Press*, 2/3/06)
  - **Japan’s U.N. Ambassador Kenzo Oshima:** “[T]he idea of having some regular briefing, and some discipline in these matters is what everybody, I think, welcomes.” (Edith M. Lederer, “Bolton Leads First Security Council Meet,” *The Associated Press*, 2/3/06)

**Bolton Has Argued Secretary-General Should Be Selected Based On Merit.** “Under an informal rotation system, it is Asia’s turn to lead the world body. But U.S. Ambassador John R. Bolton has said the next secretary-general should be chosen for his or her administrative skills, not the location of his or her home country.” (Sharon Behn, “Candidate Promises To Reform The U.N.,” *The Washington Times*, 4/5/06)

## **Bolton Upheld Human Rights Principles In Voting Against Flawed Human Rights Panel:**

**“The U.N. General Assembly Voted ... To Create A Human Rights Agency To Monitor And Expose Abuses By Governments, Replacing A Discredited Body Despite Objections By The United States That Nations With A History Of Human Rights Violations Could Still Join The New Panel.”** (Colum Lynch, “U.N. Votes To Replace Rights Panel,” *The Washington Post*, 3/16/06)

- **Bolton:** “We remain committed to support the U.N.’s historic mission to promote and protect the basic human rights of all the world’s citizens ... The real test will be the quality of membership that emerges on this council and whether it takes effective action to address serious human rights abuse cases like Sudan, Cuba, Iran, Zimbabwe, Belarus and Burma.” (Colum Lynch, “U.N. Votes To Replace Rights Panel,” *The Washington Post*, 3/16/06)

**Bolton Pushed To Keep Human Rights Council Free Of Human Rights Abusers.** “The Americans want members of the council to be elected by a two-thirds vote, not the simple majority now called for, to keep rights abusers out. They also want the text to explicitly bar any nation from joining the council if it is under sanction by the United Nations. The current draft says only that such measures would be taken into account when deciding membership.” (Nick Wadhams, “General Assembly President Says Council Must Be Approved Or Killed Next Week,” *The Associated Press*, 3/11/06)

- **“The United States Had Lobbied For A Permanent Human Rights Council Of 30 Countries Chosen Primarily For Their Commitment To Human Rights By A Two-Thirds Vote Of The General Assembly, To Try To Keep Rights Abusers Off.”** (Edith M. Lederer, “U.S. Opposes U.N. Human Rights Council,” *The Associated Press*, 3/3/06)

## **Editorials Agree Ambassador Bolton Was Right In Opposing Flawed Human Rights Council:**

**The Dallas Morning News:** “Three cheers for America’s U.N. ambassador John Bolton, who this week proved himself a staunch defender of human rights. He all but shipwrecked the proposed U.N. human rights council as a phony attempt to reform the hopeless U.N. commission on human rights, which is charged with monitoring and condemning human rights violations around the world.” (Editorial, “A Stand On Human Rights Bolton Right To Insist On Real Reform,” *The Dallas Morning News*, 3/3/06)

**New York Post:** “Good news: Under prodding by Secretary-General Kofi Annan, the world body is set to finally abolish its sorry excuse for a human-rights body — whose members have included such paragons of political virtue as Cuba, Libya and Sudan. Bad news: The replacement — a ‘Human Rights Council’ — is no improvement. In fact, it’s worse.” (Editorial, “Human-Rights Botch,” *New York Post*, 3/13/06)

- **New York Post:** “America’s outspoken U.N. ambassador, John Bolton, makes no bones about Washington’s position on this absurd notion of reform: ‘We’re not going to put lipstick on a caterpillar and call it a butterfly.’” (Editorial, “Human-Rights Botch,” *New York Post*, 3/13/06)

**Chicago Tribune:** “U.S. Ambassador John Bolton and many others had hoped to create a more muscular and honest organization to replace the sclerotic commission before it could embarrass the UN again.” (Editorial, “A Human Rights Sham,” *Chicago Tribune*, 3/8/06)

- **Chicago Tribune:** “They hoped to create a new Human Rights Council that would put the squeeze on oppressors ... Annan offered an excellent proposal last spring to achieve that. But that proposal has been greatly diluted, and Bolton has declared the U.S. will vote against it. Sadly, that’s the right decision.” (Editorial, “A Human Rights Sham,” *Chicago Tribune*, 3/8/06)

**The San Diego Union-Tribune:** “Reform of the United Nations’ laughably dysfunctional Human Rights Commission is desperately needed and long overdue.” (Editorial, “A U.N. Fraud,” *The San Diego Union-Tribune*, 3/6/06)

**The San Diego Union-Tribune:** “The obvious remedy for this would start with a screening process that would disqualify gross violators of fundamental human rights from membership on the commission. To this end, the Bush administration’s U.N. ambassador, John Bolton, pushed for requiring a two-thirds vote of the General Assembly to approve prospective members. Bolton also wanted the commission’s unwieldy total of 53 members reduced to a manageable number of 30 countries, all with decent human rights records.” (Editorial, “A U.N. Fraud,” *The San Diego Union-Tribune*, 3/6/06)

**The San Diego Union-Tribune:** “What the United States and other human rights advocates got, instead, were cosmetics ... Bolton leaves no doubt, however, that the United States would vote no, as it certainly should. A supposed reform this feeble is hardly better than no reform at all.” (Editorial, “A U.N. Fraud,” *The San Diego Union-Tribune*, 3/6/06)

**The New York Times:** “When it comes to reforming the disgraceful United Nations Human Rights Commission, America’s ambassador, John Bolton, is right; Secretary General Kofi Annan is wrong ...” (Editorial, “The Shame Of The United Nations,” *The New York Times*, 2/26/06)

**The New York Times:** “[Bolton] also represents the United States, with its long and proud human rights tradition. We hope that his refusal to go along with this shameful charade can produce something better.” (Editorial, “The Shame Of The United Nations,” *The New York Times*, 2/26/06)

### **Bolton Has Defended U.S. Against Attacks From U.N. Officials:**

**“Mr. Malloch Brown, The Senior Deputy To U.N. Secretary-General Kofi Annan, Set Off A Firestorm Of Criticism ... When He Said That ‘Middle America’ Doesn’t Know About The Good Work The United Nations Does Because Washington Rarely Defends The World Body Against Its Critics.”** (Betsy Pisik, “Senator Scolds U.N.’S No. 2 For Snub,” *The Washington Times*, 6/13/06)

- **“He Also Said That U.N. Successes Are Better Reported In The Middle East Than In Middle America Because ‘Much Of The Public Discourse That Reaches The U.S. Heartland Has Been Largely Abandoned To Its Loudest Detractors Such As Rush Limbaugh And Fox News.’”** (Betsy Pisik, “Senator Scolds U.N.’S No. 2 For Snub,” *The Washington Times*, 6/13/06)
- ***The Wall Street Journal:*** “U.S. Ambassador John Bolton described Mr. Malloch Brown’s speech as ‘the worst mistake by a senior U.N. official that I have seen,’ adding that ‘even though the target of the speech was the United States, the victim, I fear, will be the United Nations.’ He’s right. If Mr. Malloch Brown’s speech serves any purpose, it is to remind American taxpayers of everything they don’t like about the U.N.” (Editorial, “Tocqueville At Turtle Bay,” *The Wall Street Journal*, 6/9/06)

**“[Bolton] Sharply Criticized The U.N.’s Human Rights Chief, Louise Arbour, For Her Statement That The U.S.-Declared ‘War On Terrorism’ Was Undermining The Global Treaty Against Torture And Losing The U.S. Its Moral High Ground. He Called Her Comments ‘Illegitimate And Irresponsible.’”** (Maggie Farley, “U.N. Hit By A Bolt From The Right,” *Los Angeles Times*, 12/23/05)

**“[T]he World Organization’s Second-Ranking Official [Mr. Malloch Brown] Ended His June 6 Speech In New York With This Rhetorical Question: ‘Who Will Campaign In 2008 For A New Multilateral National Security?’ Unbelievably But Unmistakably, U.N. Deputy Secretary-General Mark Malloch Brown Was Injecting Himself Into The Next American Presidential Election.”** (Robert Novak, Op-Ed, “U.N. Injects Itself Into U.S. Politics,” *Chicago Sun-Times*, 6/15/06)

- **“John Bolton, U.S. Ambassador To The United Nations, Called On Secretary General Kofi Annan To ‘Repudiate’ His Deputy And Expressed Hope Privately That This Rejection Really Would Take Place.”** (Robert Novak, Op-Ed, “U.N. Injects Itself Into U.S. Politics,” *Chicago Sun-Times*, 6/15/06)

### **In Dec. 2005, Bolton Successfully Pushed For U.N. Reform Incentives:**

**“U.N. Members Agreed ... On A Two-Year Budget That ... Seriously Restricts Spending And Applies Pressure For Management Reform, A Top Priority For The United States ...”** (Edith M. Lederer, “U.N. Members Reach Budget Deal With \$950 Million Spending Cap Next Year,” *The Associated Press*, 12/23/05)

- **“[Bolton’s] Aim Is To Put Pressure On All U.N. Members To Agree On Management Reforms By June [2006], So That When The General Assembly Is Asked To Approve Another \$950 Million To Cover U.N. Operations For The Rest Of 2006 There Will Be Sufficient Progress For A ‘Yes’ Vote.”** (Edith M. Lederer, “U.N. Members Reach Budget Deal With \$950 Million Spending Cap Next Year,” *The Associated Press*, 12/23/05)

- **Bolton:** “This evening the United States obtained something it had been striving for the last three months, which is a clear linkage between management reform and the budget process of the United Nations.” (Edith M. Lederer, “U.N. Members Reach Budget Deal With \$950 Million Spending Cap Next Year,” *The Associated Press*, 12/23/05)

**Romanian Ambassador Mihnea Motoc:** “[Bolton] is having a definite impact ... Others wish they could do things the same way.” (Maggie Farley, “U.N. Hit By A Bolt From The Right,” *Los Angeles Times*, 12/23/05)

**Algerian Ambassador Abdallah Baali:** “[Bolton] has an agenda, and he’s pursuing it with a conviction that is uncommon here ...” (Maggie Farley, “U.N. Hit By A Bolt From The Right,” *Los Angeles Times*, 12/23/05)

**However, In 2006 Some Member States Obstructed Bold Reform Proposal:**

**“The General Assembly Budget Committee Lifted A Cap On United Nations Spending ... Thus Averting A Showdown That Once Threatened To Shut Down The Organization’s Activities By The End Of June.”** (Warren Hoge, “General Assembly Committee Lifts A Cap On U.N. Spending,” *The New York Times*, 6/29/06)

- **“[T]hree Countries [Including The U.S.], Which Together Account For 43 Percent Of The Assessed Budget Of The United Nations, Said That Not Enough Reform Measures Had Been Put Into Place To Justify Removing The Restriction.”** (Warren Hoge, “General Assembly Committee Lifts A Cap On U.N. Spending,” *The New York Times*, 6/29/06)

**“U.N. Member States Approved An 18-Month Budget ... Despite Objections From The United States, Which Had Tried To Hold Up The Package While It Pressed For Administrative Reforms Proposed By Secretary-General Kofi Annan.”** (Betsy Pisik, “18-Month U.N. Budget Approved,” *The Washington Times*, 6/29/06)

- **Bolton:** “[I] think that’s unfortunate, since with [an expenditure] cap in place we haven’t achieved substantial reform and now the question is, with the cap gone will we achieve substantial reform?” (Betsy Pisik, “18-Month U.N. Budget Approved,” *The Washington Times*, 6/29/06)

**Bolton Has Faced Stiff U.N. Opposition To Reform:**

**“Secretary General Kofi Annan’s U.S.-Backed Effort To Streamline The U.N. Bureaucracy Was Derailed ... By A Bloc Of Developing Nations That Charged The Overhaul Would Sharply Curtail Their Influence And Give Wealthier Countries Too Much Control Over The Organization.”** (Colum Lynch, “Developing Nations Thwart Annan’s Plan For Reform At U.N.,” *The Washington Post*, 4/29/06)

- **“U.N. Officials Interpreted The Request As A Delaying Tactic That Would Ensure That Annan Could Not Push Through His Reform Proposals During His Final Year In Office.”** (Colum Lynch, “Developing Nations Thwart Annan’s Plan For Reform At U.N.,” *The Washington Post*, 4/29/06)

**“The Same Group Has Derailed Progress On A Comprehensive Review Of U.N. Mandates, Some Of Which Go Back To The Organization’s Earliest Days And Are Of Dubious Value In The 21st Century.”** (Betsy Pisik, “18-Month U.N. Budget approved,” *The Washington Times*, 6/29/06)

**However, Bolton Remains Committed To Comprehensive U.N. Reform Despite:**

**“Bolton ... Has Been Leading U.S. Efforts To Reform The United Nations After The Oil-For-Food Scandal And Sex Scandals Involving U.N. Peacekeepers.”** (Paul Burkhardt, “U.S. Ambassador Says U.N. Is Riddled With Bad Management, Scandals,” *The Associated Press*, 2/26/06)

- **Bolton On Commitment To Fundamental U.N. Reform.** Bolton: “The United States is committed to pursuing necessary management reform to ensure that the U.N. remains an effective, efficient, transparent and accountable organization.” (Colum Lynch, “Developing Nations Thwart Annan’s Plan For Reform At U.N.,” *The Washington Post*, 4/29/06)
- **Bolton Has Fought Against Obstruction Of U.N. Reforms.** Bolton: “What we have encountered is outright intransigence and a large bloc of member states making it clear that they are prepared to fight tooth and nail to block the reform agenda we and many others feel is so important.” (Betsy Pisik, “Bolton Urges Reform Before Sanctions,” *The Washington Times*, 5/3/06)

**Bolton Highlights Importance Of An Effective U.N.** Bolton: “We need an effectively functioning U.N. We need a U.N. that can handle major sanctions programs. We need a U.N. that can carry out relief and development. That’s why the president has laid the emphasis that he has on reforms ...” (Betsy Pisiik, “Bolton Urges Reform Before Sanctions,” *The Washington Times*, 5/3/06)

- **Bolton:** “On a day-to-day basis, the U.N. also quietly does a great deal to improve the welfare of poverty-stricken women, children, the sick, and refugees throughout the world. These efforts deserve the fullest possible extent of support from us and other nations.” (Emily Pierce, “Three In GOP Wary Of Bolton Pick,” *Roll Call*, 3/9/05)

**The New York Times:** “Management and budget reform surely lacks the sizzle of other subjects typically debated at the United Nations – like war, peace and genocide. But it is vitally important because the current procedures date to the early days of the United Nations and simply no longer work.” (Editorial, “Making The U.N. Work,” *The New York Times*, 4/25/06)

- **The New York Times:** “Mr. Bolton has strongly supported reform at the United Nations. He has rightly insisted that crucial reforms should not be picked apart or watered down into meaninglessness. And he is right now to insist that there can be no yielding on the core point of shifting basic management authority from the General Assembly to the secretary general.” (Editorial, “Making The U.N. Work,” *The New York Times*, 4/25/06)

**Sen. Richard Lugar (R-IN):** “Ambassador John Bolton’s ... been working hard to advance reform that will improve the transparency and the efficiency of the United Nations and safeguard against all types of ethical and financial abuses that have occurred in the recent past.” (Foreign Relations Committee, U.S. Senate, Hearing, 5/26/06)

### **Bolton Has Longstanding Commitment To Reform:**

**Bolton Outlined Reform Package While Assistant Secretary For International Organizations.** “While serving as the Assistant Secretary for International Organizations, [Bolton] detailed his concept of a ‘Unitary U.N.’ that sought to ensure management and budget reforms across the U.N. system, not just the U.N. Secretariat.” (U.S. Senate Republican Policy Committee, “John Bolton – Bringing A Reform Agenda To The U.N.,” 4/5/05)

**Anne Applebaum, The Washington Post’s:** “In defense of John Bolton: He may, if he can get confirmed, be one of the few U.N. ambassadors who has thought a good deal about how to set such limits and make such reforms. And if he isn’t invited to a few cocktail parties along the way, at least he won’t mind.” (Anne Applebaum, Op-Ed, “Defending Bolton,” *The Washington Post*, 3/9/05)

## **AMBASSADOR BOLTON AND NORTH KOREA**

### **Bolton Led U.N. In Condemning North Korean Missile Launches:**

**Bolton Successful Attained Unanimous U.N. Security Council Resolution Following North Korean Missile Launches.** “The U.N. Security Council voted unanimously ... to approve a resolution demanding that North Korea cease its ballistic missile program and requiring states to help prevent Pyongyang’s import or export of ballistic missiles.” (Colum Lynch, “Security Council Rebukes N. Korea,” *The Washington Post*, 7/16/06)

**“U.S. Ambassador John R. Bolton Looked Directly At [North Korean U.N. Ambassador] Pak [Gil Yon] When He Stood To Speak, And Matched North Korea’s Pledge To Continue Missile Launches With A Pledge To Bring The Country Back To The Security Council.”** (Maggie Farley, “Security Council Votes To Sanction North Korea,” *Los Angeles Times*, 7/16/06)

- **Bolton:** “We hope that North Korea makes the strategic decision that the pursuit of WMD programs and threatening acts like these missile launches make it less, not more, secure.” (Maggie Farley, “Security Council Votes To Sanction North Korea,” *Los Angeles Times*, 7/16/06)
- **Bolton:** “We need to be prepared, though, that North Korea might choose a different path. This is why it is important that if the DPRK does not comply with the requirements of this resolution, the United States and other member states have the opportunity at any point to return to the council for further action.” (Maggie Farley, “Security Council Votes To Sanction North Korea,” *Los Angeles Times*, 7/16/06)

### **Editorials Agree Bolton Correct In Pushing For Security Council Resolution:**

**The [Charleston, SC] Post And Courier:** “The resolution urges North Korea to return to six-party talks, involving the three contiguous neighbors plus the United States and Japan, to implement its promises made under the six-party talks in September 2005 for de-nuclearizing the Korean peninsula, and to rejoin the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty. North Korea has economic incentives to return.” (Editorial, “Unanimity On North Korea,” *The [Charleston, SC] Post And Courier*, 7/18/06)

- **The [Charleston, SC] Post And Courier:** “But if Pyongyang remains recalcitrant, the Security Council has positioned itself to come back with a resolution for broad, mandatory sanctions that could effectively impose pariah status on the nation (and its bizarre leader) and paralyze its economic existence.” (Editorial, “Unanimity On North Korea,” *The [Charleston, SC] Post And Courier*, 7/18/06)

**[Salt Lake City, UT] Deseret Morning News:** “Bolton is correct in that the test firing of these missiles – three short range, three medium range and a long-range missile called Taepodong-2, which failed – requires a united, global message that such activities are unacceptable. As North Korea threatens future missile tests, it can count on continued isolation.” (Editorial, “A Tale Of 2 Rocket Launches,” *[Salt Lake City, UT] Deseret Morning News*, 7/7/06)

**The Columbus Dispatch:** “[T]he U.N. Security Council should heed U.S. envoy John Bolton’s call for a ‘strong and unanimous signal’ – sanctions – that such aggressive missile testing will not be tolerated, especially considering Pyongyang’s simultaneous development of nuclear weapons, and that North Korea will incur only setbacks on the global stage if it continues.” (Editorial, “Outrage Deserved,” *The Columbus Dispatch*, 7/7/06)

## AMBASSADOR BOLTON AND IRAN

### Bolton Is Working With U.N. Colleagues To Develop Iran Resolution:

**“The Five Permanent Members Of The Council Met ... To Trade Ideas About The Language Of A New Resolution. The Dynamic Appeared To Be The Same As It Was When The Council Haggled Over A Statement Confronting Iran’s Nuclear Ambitions In March ...”** (Nick Wadhams, “Russia Says No Rush On Iran Security Council Resolution,” *The Associated Press*, 7/20/06)

**“While An Outline For A Draft Exists, The Negotiations Are Now Focused On The Complex Diplomatic Language Of Security Council Resolutions ... Bolton Said The Council Diplomats Agreed That The Resolution Must Be Legally Binding ... But Beyond That, They Were Still Working.”** (Nick Wadhams, “Russia Says No Rush On Iran Security Council Resolution,” *The Associated Press*, 7/20/06)

- **Bolton:** “What we have not reached agreement on is the precise formulation of the words that will do that ...” (Nick Wadhams, “Russia Says No Rush On Iran Security Council Resolution,” *The Associated Press*, 7/20/06)

**Bolton Has Stated He Will Work To Ensure That Iran Does Not Acquire A Nuclear Bomb.** Bolton: “But I can assure you we’re not going to allow ... a group of fanatic mullahs [to seek] nuclear weapons.” (NBC’s “Nightly News,” 9/21/04)

### Bolton Already Achieved Unanimous Agreement On Iran Statement:

**“The U.N. Security Council Made Its First Move ... To Deal With Iran’s Nuclear Ambitions, Warning It To Suspend Its Uranium Enrichment Activities And To Cooperate With The U.N.’s Nuclear Agency. The Council Called For The International Atomic Energy Agency, Or IAEA, To Report Within 30 Days On Iran’s Compliance, After Which It Would Consider The Matter Again.”** (Maggie Farley, “U.N. Warns Iran To End Nuclear Work,” *Los Angeles Times*, 3/30/06)

- **“The Statement, Which Was Approved By All 15 Security Council Members, Is Not Legally Binding And Makes No Reference To Potential Consequences If Iran Fails To Meet Its Terms.”** (Maggie Farley, “U.N. Warns Iran To End Nuclear Work,” *Los Angeles Times*, 3/30/06)
- **“But U.S. Ambassador John R. Bolton Called It ‘The First Major Step In The Security Council To Deal With Iran’s Nearly 20-Year-Old Clandestine Nuclear Weapons Program.’”** (Maggie Farley, “U.N. Warns Iran To End Nuclear Work,” *Los Angeles Times*, 3/30/06)

**Former Swedish Deputy Prime Minister Per Ahlmark:** “John Bolton ... has with unusual energy tried to find ways to counter this threat. Friends and foes agree – he never gives up. He has repeatedly underlined the threat of Iran pursuing two paths to nuclear weapons ...” (Per Ahlmark, “Let the Nobel Go Nuclear,” *The Wall Street Journal*, 2/7/06)

## AMBASSADOR BOLTON AND IRAQ

### Bolton's First Action As U.N. Ambassador Was To Cast Vote Against Terror In Iraq:

**“Casting His First Vote As U.N. Ambassador, John Bolton Joined The Rest Of The Security Council Thursday In Condemning Terrorism In Iraq. He Then Set His Sights On Syria And Iran – Accusing Them Of Not Doing Enough To Stop Foreigners From Joining The Insurgency.”** (Edith M. Lederer, “Bolton Casts First Vote As U.N. Envoy Against Iraqi Terror,” *The Associated Press*, 8/4/05)

- **“The Resolution Adopted By The Council Strongly Urged A Halt To The Movement, Financing And Arming Of International Terrorists Emphasized The Importance Of Cooperation Particularly From Iraq’s Neighbors, But No Countries Were Singled Out.”** (Edith M. Lederer, “Bolton Casts First Vote As U.N. Envoy Against Iraqi Terror,” *The Associated Press*, 8/4/05)

### Bolton Has Taken Strong Approach To Oil-For-Food Scandal:

**“U.S. Ambassador John Bolton Asked Secretary-General Kofi Annan To Direct The Independent Inquiry Committee, Which Just Completed Its Yearlong Probe Of The \$64 Billion Program, ‘To Preserve The Integrity Of The Files’ So Law Enforcement Officials Can Pursue Criminal Cases Against Companies And Individuals Named In The Report.”** (Edith M. Lederer, “U.S. Seeks To Preserve Oil-For-Food Documents From Going Into Shredders,” *The Associated Press*, 11/16/05)

### Bolton Argued For Iraqi Prosecution Of Saddam Hussein:

**“John Bolton, The U.S. Ambassador To The United Nations, Said Abandoning The Iraqi High Tribunal Would Undermine Iraq’s Government.”** (Chris Tomlinson, “Saddam Trial Will Go On In Iraq, Despite Protests Demanding To Move It Or Delay It,” *The Associated Press*, 11/13/05)

- **Bolton:** “They want to conduct this trial under their own national authorities, and I think the people who have undertaken these terrorist assassinations obviously are trying to undercut the Iraqi judicial institutions ...” (Chris Tomlinson, “Saddam Trial Will Go On In Iraq, Despite Protests Demanding To Move It Or Delay It,” *The Associated Press*, 11/13/05)

### Bolton Secured Extension Of Multinational Force Mandate:

**“The U.N. Security Council Voted Unanimously ... To Extend The Mandate Of The Nearly 180,000-Strong Multinational Force In Iraq For A Year, A Decision The United States Called A Strong Sign Of The International Commitment To Iraq’s Political Transition.”** (Edith M. Lederer, “Security Council Extends Mandate For Multinational Force In Iraq For Another Year,” *The Associated Press*, 11/8/05)

- **“U.S. Ambassador John Bolton Called The Unanimous Vote ‘A Significant Signal That The International Community’s Committed To Making The Process In Iraq – As They Attempt To Create Institutions Of Representative Government – Succeed.’”** (Edith M. Lederer, “Security Council Extends Mandate For Multinational Force In Iraq For Another Year,” *The Associated Press*, 11/8/05)

## AMBASSADOR BOLTON AND ISRAEL

### Bolton Has Been Unwavering In His Defense Of Israel:

**Bolton Led Veto Of Most Recent Resolution Condemning Israeli Actions Following Hezbollah Attacks.** Bolton: “In light of the fluid and volatile nature of the events on the ground. The United States believes that this draft resolution was not only untimely but already outmoded. We have just recently witnessed a major escalation by Hezbollah.” (John Bolton, Remarks At The U.N. Security Council On The Middle East, New York, NY, 7/13/06)

- **Bolton:** “The draft resolution before the council was unbalanced. It placed demands on one side in the Middle East conflict but not the other. This draft resolution would have exacerbated tensions in the region and would have undermined our vision of two Democratic states, Israel and Palestine, living side by side in peace and security.” (John Bolton, Remarks At The U.N. Security Council On The Middle East, New York, NY, 7/13/06)

- **Bolton:** “[S]yria doesn’t need dialogue to know what they need to do. They need to lean on Hezbollah to get them to release the two captured Israeli soldiers and stop the launch of rockets against innocent Israeli civilians.” (Fox News’ “Fox News Sunday,” 7/23/06)

**“As Assistant Secretary For International Organizations, [Bolton] Led The Effort To Repeal The Odious UN Resolution Equating Zionism With Racism [And] Served As A Member Of The Commission On Religious Freedom.”** (U.S. Senate Republican Policy Committee, “John Bolton – Bringing A Reform Agenda To The U.N.,” 4/5/05)

**Bolton Called The Repeal Of The General Assembly’s 1975 Resolution Equating Zionism With Racism A “Highlight Of My Professional Career.”** Bolton: “Indeed, one highlight of my professional career was the 1991 successful effort to repeal the General Assembly’s 1975 resolution equating Zionism with racism, thus removing the greatest stain on the UN’s reputation.” (John Bolton, Press Conference, Washington, D.C., 3/7/05)

**Bolton Referred To The “Zionism Is Racism” Resolution As “Outrageous And Unacceptable.”** Bolton: “[I] felt that it was important to repeal ‘Zionism is racism’, not only because it was an outrageous and unacceptable resolution in itself, but because I was very aware that many Americans considered the ‘Zionism is racism’ resolution a stain on the United Nations such that they would never have faith in it.” (John Bolton, Foreign Relations Committee, U.S. Senate, Hearing, 3/29/01)

**Bolton Describes The “Level of Venom” That Keeps Israel Out Of The UN.** Bolton: “[I] would say, from that, that it is the very triviality of Israel’s continued exclusion [from the U.N.] – the level to which governments have to work themselves up to find ways to keep Israel out – that really shows the level of venom that – that we’re still talking about, unfortunately. (John Bolton, Committee On International Relations, U.S. House Of Representatives, Testimony, 7/14/99)

**Anti-Defamation League:** “We will long remember him as a man of principle and integrity who, as assistant secretary of state for international organizations, played a leading role in the successful U.S. effort to repeal the infamous ‘Zionism is racism’ resolution.” (Deborah Orin, “Ignoring Bolton’s ‘Zion’ Win,” *The New York Post*, 6/23/05)

**Jewish Institute For National Security Affairs:** “It isn’t clear that the UN can be ‘fixed,’ but it is clear that the path to ‘effective progress’ lies in a U.S. Ambassador to the UN with the ability to define discrete problems, an ability to form coalitions to resolve those problems, and most important, a clear moral compass defining democracy as a higher order of government. John Bolton does and he can and it will be fun to watch him take those skills to Turtle Bay on behalf of American interests and American allies, including Israel.” (The Jewish Institute For National Security Affairs, “The Hon. John Bolton,” <http://www.jinsa.org/>, Accessed 7/24/06)

## AMBASSADOR BOLTON AND SUDAN

### Bolton Successfully Achieved Unanimous U.N. Resolution On Sudan:

**“The U.N. Security Council Passed A Resolution Tuesday Pressing Sudan To Cooperate With The United Nations As It Prepares Take Over Peacekeeping In Darfur From An Underfunded African Union Force.”** (Nick Wadhams, “Security Council Passes Sudan Resolution,” *The Associated Press*, 5/16/06)

**“The Resolution, Passed Unanimously, Also Threatens ‘Strong And Effective Measures’ Diplomatic Language For Sanctions Against Anyone Who Stands In The Way Of A May 5 [2006] Peace Agreement Signed By The Sudanese Government And Darfur’s Main Rebel Group.”** (Nick Wadhams, “Security Council Passes Sudan Resolution,” *The Associated Press*, 5/16/06)

- **Bolton:** “I think the government of Sudan would find itself in a very difficult position if it didn’t cooperate with this transition.” (Nick Wadhams, “Security Council Passes Sudan Resolution,” *The Associated Press*, 5/16/06)

**The New Republic:** “It is commendable, then, that the Bush Administration is starting to get serious about Darfur. At the United Nations, John Bolton is pushing for authorization of a more muscular U.N. force to take over for the African Union (AU), while the State Department is trying to get NATO to increase its logistical support. Both efforts are worthy.” (“The Opportunity,” *The New Republic*, 3/13/06)

## AMBASSADOR BOLTON’S CAREER HIGHLIGHTS

### Bolton’s Possesses Impeccable Diplomatic Credentials:

**Sen. Joe Biden (D-DE):** “There is no question you [Bolton] have extensive experience in U.N. affairs.” (U.S. Senate, Committee On Foreign relations, Hearing, 4/7/05)

**Bolton Has Long History Of Working With The United Nations.** “John Bolton has done pro-bono work for the United Nations in Africa and worked closely and effectively with the United Nations as assistant secretary of state for international organizations from 1989 to 1992.” (U.S. Senate Republican Policy Committee, “John Bolton – Bringing A Reform Agenda To The U.N.,” 4/5/05)

### **Bolton Worked Pro-Bono In African Crisis Mediation Alongside Former Secretary James Baker:**

**Secretary Rice:** “[J]ohn worked between 1997 and 2000 as an assistant to former Secretary James Baker in his capacity as the Secretary General’s personal envoy to the Western Sahara. John did this work pro bono. If few Americans have direct experience working for the United Nations, I’m confident that fewer still have gained that experience on their own nickel.” (Secretary Condoleezza Rice, “Announcement Of Nomination Of John Bolton As U.S. Ambassador To The UN,” Washington, D.C., 5/7/05)

- **In 2004, U.N. Security Council “Reaffirmed” Its Support For Baker’s Western Sahara Plan.** “A cease-fire was agreed upon in 1991, and in 2001 former secretary of state James Baker brokered a U.N. plan to resolve the dispute [between Morocco and Algerian-based insurgents] through a referendum ... In 2004, the security council reaffirmed its support for the plan ...” (U.S. Department Of State, “U.S. Senator In Algeria Secures Release Of Moroccan Prisoners,” Press Release, 8/14/05)

### **Bolton Has Been Central Figure In Key Arms Control Agreements:**

**“Since 2001, Bolton Has Been Washington’s Senior Arms Control Official. In That Post, He Helped Negotiate Libya’s Decision To Give Up Weapons Of Mass Destruction. He Was Also The Primary Negotiator Of The Moscow Treaty, Under Which The United States And Russia Agreed To Sharply Scale Back their Nuclear Warheads.”** (Robert Timberg, “Bush Picks U.N. Critic As Envoy To World Body,” *The [Baltimore] Sun*, 3/8/05)

**“On December 19, 2003, Libya Pledged To:**

- **Eliminate All Elements Of Its Chemical And Nuclear Weapons Programs;**
- **Declare All Nuclear Activities To The IAEA;**
- **Eliminate Ballistic Missiles With More Than 300 Km Range When Carrying A Payload Of 500 Kg;**
- **Accept International Inspections To Ensure Libya’s Complete Adherence To The Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty And Sign The IAEA Additional Protocol;**
- **Eliminate All Chemical Weapons Stocks And Munitions, And Accede To The Chemical Weapons Convention.”**  
(The White House, “Fact Sheet: Strengthening International Efforts Against WMD Proliferation,” <http://www.whitehouse.gov/>, Accessed 7/23/06)

**Moscow Treaty Called For Nearly Two-Thirds Reduction Of U.S. And Russian Strategic Nuclear Warheads.** “On May 24 [2001], President George W. Bush and President Vladimir Putin signed the Moscow Treaty on Strategic Offensive Reductions. Under this Treaty, the United States and Russia will reduce their strategic nuclear warheads to a level of 1700-2200 by December 31, 2012, a level nearly two-thirds below current levels.” (U.S. Department Of State, “Fact Sheet On The Moscow Treaty on Strategic Offensive Reductions,” <http://www.state.gov/>, Accessed 7/23/06)

**Former Secretary Of State Colin Powell:** “I particularly want to single out Under Secretary John Bolton ... who was a principal negotiator on the Moscow Treaty, and through this means, to thank John and the members of his staff ... for the fine work that they did in bringing this Treaty into being.” (Secretary Colin Powell, U.S. Senate, Committee On Foreign Relations, Testimony, 7/9/02)

### **Bolton Is Instrumental In Stemming Proliferation Of WMD’s:**

**[Bolton] Was Instrumental In The Passage Of U.N. Resolution 1540, Urging Countries To Crack Down On WMD Proliferation ... He Was The Lead U.S. Negotiator In The Creation Of The G-8 Global Partnership Against The Proliferation Of WMD, An Attempt To Secure Russian WMD Materials.”** (Rich Lowry, Op-Ed, “John Bolton, Multilateralist,” *National Review*, 4/12/05)

**“The Global Partnership Against The Spread Of Weapons And Materials Of Mass Destruction, Proposed By President Bush, Was Launched By G-8 Leaders At The June 2002 Kananaskis Summit.”** (U.S. Department Of State, “U.S. Initiatives To Prevent Proliferation,” <http://usinfo.state.gov/>, Accessed 7/23/06)

- **“The Goal Of This Partnership Is To Prevent Terrorists Or States That Support Them From Acquiring Or Developing Weapons Of Mass Destruction. To Support Global Partnership Projects, The G-8 Leaders Committed To Raise Up To \$20 Billion Over 10 Years.”** (U.S. Department Of State, “U.S. Initiatives To Prevent Proliferation,” <http://usinfo.state.gov/>, Accessed 7/23/06)
- **“In Response To The U.S. Pledge To Contribute Half Of The \$20-Billion Target, The Other G-7 Countries And The European Union (EU) Have Pledged About \$7 Billion To Date, And Russia Pledged To Contribute \$2 Billion. The United States Is On Track To Meet This Commitment, With Contributions Of About \$1 Billion Annually Since Kananaskis.”** (U.S. Department Of State, “U.S. Initiatives To Prevent Proliferation,” <http://usinfo.state.gov/>, Accessed 7/23/06)

**“U.N. Security Council Resolution 1540, Approved In April, Is The Latest In A Series Of Internationally Directed Measures Designed To Keep Weapons Of Mass Destruction (WMD) From The Hands Of Terrorists ...”** (U.S. Department Of State, “U.N. Resolution Expands WMD Nonproliferation Efforts,” <http://usinfo.state.gov/>, Accessed 7/23/06)

**“Resolution 1540 ... Requires Nations To Criminalize The Proliferation Of WMD And Related Materials, To Enact And Enforce Strict Export Controls, And To Secure Sensitive Materials Within Their Borders.”** (U.S. Department Of State, “U.N. Resolution Expands WMD Nonproliferation Efforts,” <http://usinfo.state.gov/>, Accessed 7/23/06)

### **Bolton Was Point Person In Designing The Highly Successful Proliferation Security Initiative:**

**“John Bolton Was The President’s Point Person In Designing The Proliferation Security Initiative (PSI).”** “Over 60 nations are now working together to share intelligence and are taking action to stop the transfer of dangerous weapons. The PSI was instrumental in getting Libya to make the strategic decision to abandon its WMD programs.” (U.S. Senate Republican Policy Committee, “John Bolton – Bringing A Reform Agenda To The U.N.,” 4/5/05)

**“[P]SI Participants Have Built A Foundation For Cooperative Action That Is Increasing The Difficulty And Cost Of Engaging In Proliferation. More Than 60 Countries Have Indicated Their Support For The PSI. Over 40 Countries Have Participated In 14 Training Exercises Involving Military, Law Enforcement, Policy, Intelligence And Legal Experts.”** (U.S. Department Of State, “The Proliferation Security Initiative (PSI): Second Anniversary,” <http://www.state.gov/>, 5/26/05)

**“PSI Participants Are Building A Quiet Record Of Success In Halting Shipments And Disrupting Trafficking In WMD. The *BBC China* Interdiction In October 2003 That Halted A Shipment Destined For Libya’s Nuclear Weapons Program Is An Example Of What PSI Participants Can Achieve Together.”** (U.S. Department Of State, The Proliferation Security Initiative (PSI): Second Anniversary,” <http://www.state.gov/>, 5/26/05)

***Investor’s Business Daily*:** “War And Peace: The Nobel Peace Prize has often been awarded out of naivete, or even outright hypocrisy. Now someone is being nominated who may actually have prevented nuclear war: John Bolton.” (Editorial, “Nobel Cause,” *Investor’s Business Daily*, 2/9/06)

***Investor’s Business Daily*:** “Former deputy prime minister of Sweden Per Ahlmark formally put forward the name of our ambassador to the United Nations because of Bolton’s work on the Proliferation Security Initiative, which helped break up Pakistan scientist A.Q. Khan’s nuclear network.” (Editorial, “Nobel Cause,” *Investor’s Business Daily*, 2/9/06)