

September 6, 2006

The Honorable Richard Lugar  
Chair, Senate Foreign Relations Committee  
United States Senate  
Washington, DC 20510

Dear Senator Lugar,

In the spring of 2005, the signers of this message sent members of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee a letter warning that the egotistical intolerance, past activities and statements of Under Secretary of State John Bolton showed conclusively that he was an unsuitable candidate for confirmation as permanent representative of the United States at the United Nations. We were concerned it would be impossible for him to elicit the willing cooperation of representatives of other UN member states in support of projects of interest to the United States. The Senate failed to confirm Mr. Bolton, but in spite of this warning, the administration gave him a recess appointment and is now again nominating Mr. Bolton for the same position of U.S. Permanent Representative to the UN.

Unfortunately, Mr. Bolton's conduct at the UN in the year since he took up his position as Permanent Representative of the US has confirmed our misgivings about his probable ineffectiveness and his tendency to alienate others. On many occasions, Mr. Bolton's hard core, go-it-alone posture prevented an outcome at the UN that would have better served U.S. interests. We urge you to reject his nomination.

Some of Mr. Bolton's arrogant actions which deprived the U.S. of the votes and support of other countries, have been:

In September 2005, as a major two-year reform effort at the United Nations was nearing a final vote, Mr. Bolton suddenly introduced 705 individual U.S. amendments. This action encouraged other countries to introduce spoiling amendments of their own. In the resulting melee, several points proposed by the U.S. were eliminated from the draft. President Bush and Secretary of State Rice had to intervene to restore to the draft references to Millennium Development goals, the focus of the hopes of all developing member states to raise the standard of living of the poorest countries. When the President and Secretary of State have to be drawn away from other business to correct errors of a headstrong employee determined to teach his diplomatic colleagues a lesson, U.S. interests are damaged.

For several years, a primary U.S. objective has been to eliminate the UN Human Rights Commission, where regular regional rotation had brought rights violators like Sudan and Libya into commission membership. General Assembly president Jan Eliasson of Sweden made changing this situation a personal objective. Against considerable opposition from defenders of the old system, he finally cobbled together a workable compromise for a new Human Rights Council. Given the importance of this issue, Mr. Bolton should have worked closely with General Assembly President Eliasson and South Africa's Ambassador Dumisano Kumaro to ensure a positive outcome. Instead, he absented himself from the General Assembly working group working on the details of the new Human Rights Council, attending only one of 35

working sessions. Later, in a crucial negotiating session with General Assembly president Eliasson, Mr. Bolton did not mention the main U.S. requirement for the new Human Rights Council, that its individual members be elected by a two-thirds supermajority vote of the General Assembly. Subsequently, the draft text came out without the requirement for a two-thirds vote. Following Mr. Bolton's recommendation, the United States, together with four other countries then voted against the resolution establishing the new Human Rights Council against the other 186 member states who approved the new Council. Led by Mr. Bolton, the U.S. refused to become a member of the new council in its initial period of office. The Swiss ambassador described Mr. Bolton's behavior on this entire issue as "intransigent and maximalist." John Bolton's unilateralist approach has alienated the bulk of the diplomatic community and cost the United States its leadership role with the UN on this important issue.

On June 6, 2006 neither Mr. Bolton nor his deputy participated in what was intended to be a visit by the entire membership of the Security Council to Darfur, Sudan to emphasize the Security Council's interest in effective humanitarian assistance to the Darfur victims. Instead of participating, Mr. Bolton gave a speech in London complaining about the United Nations. An effective United States Permanent Representative at the UN should get his priorities right.

Issues like the fighting in Lebanon, the standoff in Palestine between Hamas and the Israeli government, moves by Iran toward nuclear weapons capability and the onset of civil war in Iraq mean that the future of the entire Mideast will be in the balance in coming months, with the United States and the UN in the center of the action. With so much at stake, our country cannot afford to permit John Bolton to continue his destructive course during the next two years. Please vote against his confirmation.

Sincerely,

**The Hon. Terrell E. Arnold**

*Former Deputy Director, Office of Counterterrorism, U.S. Department of State (Reagan)  
Former U.S. Consul General, Sao Paulo, Brazil (Carter)*

**Ambassador (ret.) Robert L. Barry**

*Former U.S. ambassador to Bulgaria and Indonesia (Reagan, Clinton)  
Former Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for International Organization Affairs (Carter)  
Former Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for European Affairs (Carter)*

**Ambassador (ret.) Harry G. Barnes, Jr.**

*Former U.S. ambassador to Romania, Chile, and India (Nixon, Ford, Reagan)*

**Ambassador (ret.) Jack R. Binns**

*Former U.S. ambassador to Honduras (Carter, Reagan)*

**Ambassador (ret.) Richard J. Bloomfield**

*Former U.S. ambassador to Ecuador and Portugal (Ford, Carter, Reagan)*

**Ambassador George Bruno**

*Former U.S. ambassador to Belize (Clinton)*

**Ambassador (ret.) Edward Brynn**

*Former U.S. ambassador to Burkina Faso and Ghana (G.H.W. Bush, Clinton)*

*Former Principal Deputy Assistant Secretary of State, Bureau of African Affairs (Clinton)*

**Ambassador George Bunn**

*Former member of U.S. delegation to the Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) negotiations (Johnson)*

*Former U.S. ambassador to the Geneva Disarmament Conference (UN) (Johnson)*

**Ambassador (ret.) A. Peter Burleigh**

*Former Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for the Near East and South Asia (Reagan)*

*Former Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Intelligence and Research (G.H.W. Bush)*

*Former Ambassador and Coordinator for Counter-Terrorism, Department of State (G.H.W. Bush)*

*Former Ambassador to Sri Lanka and the Maldives (Clinton)*

*Former Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Personnel (Clinton)*

*Former U.S. Deputy Permanent Representative to the UN and Acting Permanent Representative to the UN (Clinton)*

**Ambassador (ret.) James Cheek**

*Former U.S. ambassador to Sudan and Argentina (G.H.W. Bush, Clinton)*

**Ambassador (ret.) Carleton S. Coon**

*Former U.S. ambassador to Nepal (Reagan)*

**Ambassador (ret.) T. Frank Crigler**

*Former U.S. ambassador to Rwanda and Somalia (Ford, Reagan)*

**Ambassador (ret.) John H. Crimmins**

*Former U.S. ambassador to the Dominican Republic and Brazil (Johnson, Nixon, Ford)*

**Ambassador (ret.) John Gunther Dean**

*Former Deputy for CORDS, Military Region I, Vietnam (Nixon)*

*Former U.S. ambassador to Cambodia, Denmark, Lebanon, Thailand, India (Nixon, Ford, Carter, Reagan)*

**Ambassador (ret.) Jonathan Dean**

*Former U.S. representative to the Mutual and Balanced Force Reduction Talks, Vienna (Carter)*

**Ambassador (ret.) Willard A. DePree**

*Former U.S. ambassador to Mozambique and Bangladesh (Ford, Reagan, G.H.W. Bush)*

**Ambassador (ret.) Robert S. Dillon**

*Former U.S. ambassador to Lebanon (Reagan)*

*Former Deputy Commissioner General of the UN Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees (UNRWA) (Reagan)*

**Ambassador (ret.) Nancy H. Ely-Raphel**  
*Former U.S. ambassador to Slovenia (Clinton)*

**Ambassador (ret.) James Bruce Engle**  
*Former U.S. ambassador to Dahomey (Nixon, Ford)*

**Ambassador (ret.) Robert Grey, Jr.**  
*Former U.S. representative to the Conference on Disarmament, Geneva (Clinton)*

**Ambassador (ret.) Holsey Gates Handyside**  
*Former U.S. ambassador to Mauritania (Ford, Carter)*

**Ambassador (ret.) William C. Harrop**  
*Former ambassador to Israel, Kenya, and Zaire (Reagan, G.H.W. Bush, Clinton)*  
*Former Inspector General, U.S. Department of State (Nixon)*

**Ambassador (ret.) Samuel F. Hart**  
*Former U.S. ambassador to Ecuador (Reagan)*

**Ambassador (ret.) Arthur A. Hartman**  
*Former U.S. ambassador to France and the Soviet Union (Carter, Reagan)*  
*Former Assistant Secretary of State for European Affairs (Nixon)*

**Ambassador Ulric Haynes, Jr.**  
*Former U.S. ambassador to Algeria (Carter)*

**Ambassador Gerald B. Helman**  
*Former U.S. ambassador to the United Nations, Geneva (Carter)*

**Ambassador (ret.) Robert T. Hennemeyer**  
*Former U.S. ambassador to Gambia (Reagan)*

**Ambassador (ret.) H. Kenneth Hill**  
*Former U.S. ambassador to Bulgaria (G.H.W. Bush)*

**The Hon. Thomas L. Hughes**  
*Former Director, Bureau of Intelligence and Research (INR), Department of State (Kennedy, Johnson)*

**Ambassador (ret.) Dennis Jett**  
*Former U.S. ambassador to Mozambique and Peru (Clinton)*

**Ambassador (ret.) Robert V. Keeley**  
*Former U.S. Ambassador to Mauritius, Zimbabwe, and Greece (Ford, Carter, Reagan)*  
*Former Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs (Carter)*

**The Hon. Spurgeon M. Keeny, Jr.**

*Former Deputy Director, U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency (ACDA) (Carter)*

**Ambassador Henry L. Kimelman**

*Former U.S. ambassador to Haiti (Carter)*

**Ambassador (ret.) Roger Kirk**

*Former U.S. ambassador to Somalia and Romania (Nixon, Ford, Reagan)*

**Ambassador (ret.) James F. Leonard**

*Former Deputy U.S. Permanent Representative to the United Nations (Ford, Carter)*

**Ambassador (ret.) Samuel W. Lewis**

*Former Assistant Secretary of State for International Organization Affairs (Ford)*

*Former Director of Policy Planning, State Department (Clinton)*

*Former ambassador to Israel (Carter, Reagan)*

**Ambassador (ret.) Charles E. Marthinsen**

*Former U.S. ambassador to Qatar (Carter, Reagan)*

**Ambassador (ret.) Richard Cavins Matheron**

*Former U.S. ambassador to Swaziland (Carter, Reagan)*

**Jack Mendelsohn**

*Deputy Assistant Director of the Strategic Programs Bureau, Arms Control and Disarmament Agency (ACDA) (Reagan)*

*Senior ACDA representative on U.S. START delegation (Reagan)*

**Ambassador Carol Moseley-Braun**

*Former U.S. ambassador to New Zealand and Samoa (Clinton)*

**Ambassador (ret.) Ambler H. Moss Jr.**

*Former U.S. ambassador to Panama (Carter, Reagan)*

*Former Member, U.S.-Panama Consultative Committee (Carter, Reagan, Clinton)*

**Ambassador (ret.) Nancy Ostrander**

*Former U.S. ambassador to Suriname (Carter)*

**Ambassador (ret.) Edward L. Peck**

*Former U.S. ambassador to Iraq and Mauritania (Carter, Reagan)*

**Ambassador (ret.) Jack R. Perry**

*Former U.S. ambassador to Bulgaria (Carter)*

**Ambassador (ret.) Sol Polansky**

*Former U.S. ambassador to Bulgaria (Reagan, G.H.W. Bush)*

Ambassador Stanley R. Resor  
*Former Secretary of the Army (Johnson, Nixon)*  
*Former U.S. representative to the Mutual and Balanced Force Reduction Talks, Vienna (Nixon, Ford, Carter)*

**Ambassador Nicholas A. Rey**  
*Former U.S. ambassador to Poland (Clinton)*

**Ambassador (ret.) Stuart W. Rockwell**  
*Former U.S. ambassador to Morocco (Nixon)*

**Ambassador James R. Sasser**  
*Former U.S. ambassador to the People's Republic of China (Clinton)*

**The Hon. John Shattuck**  
*Former Assistant Secretary of State for Democracy, Human Rights and Labor (Clinton)*  
*Former Chairman, Secretary of State's Advisory Committee on Religious Freedom Abroad (Clinton)*  
*Former U.S. ambassador to the Czech Republic (Clinton)*

**Ambassador (ret.) Carl Spielvogel**  
*Former U.S. ambassador to the Slovak Republic (Clinton)*

**Ambassador (ret.) Monteagle Stearns**  
*Former U.S. ambassador to Greece and Ivory Coast (Ford, Carter, Reagan)*  
*Former Vice President, National Defense University (Carter)*

**Ambassador (ret.) Andrew L. Steigman**  
*Former Ambassador to Gabon, Sao Tome and Principe (Ford)*

**Ambassador (ret.) Richard W. Teare**  
*Former U.S. ambassador to Papua New Guinea, Solomon Islands and Vanuatu (Clinton)*

**The Hon. Hans N. Tuch**  
*Career Minister, U.S. Foreign Service, USIA*

**Ambassador (ret.) Theresa A. Tull**  
*Former U.S. ambassador to Guyana and Brunei (Reagan, G.H.W. Bush, Clinton)*

**Ambassador William J. vanden Heuvel**  
*Former Deputy U.S. Permanent Representative to the United Nations (Carter)*  
*Former U.S. representative to the United Nations, Geneva (Carter)*

**Ambassador (ret.) Christopher van Hollen**  
*Former Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Near Eastern and South Asian Affairs (Nixon)*  
*Former U.S. ambassador to Sri Lanka (Nixon, Ford)*

**Ambassador (ret.) Frederick Vreeland**

*Former U.S. ambassador to Morocco (G.H.W. Bush)*

*Former Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for the Near East (G.H.W. Bush)*

**Ambassador (ret.) Lannon Walker**

*Former Principal Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs (Carter, Reagan)*

*Former U.S. ambassador to Senegal, Nigeria, and Ivory Coast (Reagan, G.H.W. Bush, Clinton)*

**Ambassador (ret.) Thomas G. Weston**

*Former Special Coordinator for Cyprus (Clinton, G.W. Bush)*

*Former Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for European and Canadian Affairs (Clinton)*

**Ambassador (ret.) Robert E. White**

*Former U.S. ambassador to Paraguay and El Salvador (Carter)*

*Former Deputy U.S. Permanent Representative to the Organization of American States (Ford)*

**Ambassador (ret.) James M. Wilson, Jr.**

*Former Deputy Assistant Secretary of State, East Asia and Pacific Affairs (Nixon)*

*Coordinator for Human Rights and Humanitarian Affairs, Department of State (Ford)*

**Ambassador (ret.) Kenneth S. Yalowitz**

*Former U.S. ambassador to Belarus and Georgia (Clinton)*