

# **JOHN R. BOLTON**

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## **EDUCATION**

### **B.A., Yale College, 1970**

Phi Beta Kappa  
Summa Cum Laude  
High Honors in Political Science  
James Gordon Bennett Prize - best Senior Essay in International Relations  
Pi Sigma Alpha (National Political Science Honor Society)

### **J.D., Yale Law School, 1974**

Editor, Yale Law Journal

## **PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE**

### **Department of State**

#### **U.S. Permanent Representative to the United Nations    August 2005 - December 2006**

Served as U.S. Ambassador the United Nations, managing the U.S. Mission and spearheading efforts to reform the UN; lead negotiator for the U.S. in the UN Security Council on critical resolutions dealing with North Korea, Iran, Lebanon, Syria, Sudan, and other subjects; successful in getting Burma put onto the agenda of the Security Council; pioneered new initiatives such as holding open briefings on procurement fraud within the UN Department of Peacekeeping Operations as well as sexual exploitation and abuse of women and children at the hands of UN peacekeepers; highlighted and exposed deficiencies of the Human Rights Council, notably it's anti-Semitism; worked to expose corruption in a number of UN agencies; successfully resisted efforts by the UN to restrict gun rights and impose global taxes on U.S. citizens.

**Under Secretary for Arms Control and International Security    May 2001 – May 2005**

Served as the top strategist and negotiator to the President and the Secretary of State on non-proliferation and arms control-related issues; lead negotiator on U.S. withdrawal from the Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty of 1972 and agreement on the Treaty of Moscow, reducing operationally deployed strategic nuclear weapons; helped to restrict flow of weapons of mass-destruction (WMD) to rogue states by launching the Proliferation Security Initiative; effectively used mix of sanctions and diplomacy to help countries strengthen their export control laws to restrict the flow of WMD or related-materials; implemented agreement with Libya to abandon their WMD programs; worked to prevent the U.S. from signing the Rome Charter recognizing the International Criminal Court (ICC) and negotiated over 100 bilateral Article 98 Agreements exempting U.S. soldiers from ICC proceedings in respective countries;

### **American Enterprise Institute**

**Senior Vice President**

January 1997 - May 2001

Managed, for one of the original Washington "think tanks," program oversight in all areas of AEI activities, involving foreign policy and national security (including the New Atlantic Initiative and the Asia Studies Program); fiscal and monetary policy, economic regulatory policy in such areas as health, the environment, financial markets, and telecommunications; and legal and social policy matters. Provided financial oversight and fundraising guidance throughout all AEI activities. Directed the dissemination of AEI research and publications, the associated program of research conferences and seminars, and general public and government affairs.

Conducted personal program of scholarly research, writing, testifying before Congress and speaking on foreign policy and national security matters, and on Constitutional law and related topics.

### **Kutak Rock, LLP**

**Of Counsel**

November 1999 - May 2001

Represented, in an international legal and consulting practice, domestic and foreign businesses in Washington on legislative, trade, investment and government contract matters.

### **Lerner, Reed, Bolton & McManus, LLP**

**Partner**

July 1993 - October 1999

Represented, in an international legal and consulting practice, domestic and foreign businesses in Washington, and American corporations abroad on trade, investment and government contract matters (and through predecessor firms).

### **National Policy Forum**

**President**

January 1995 - December 1996

Directed a think tank organized as a tax-exempt organization under Section 501(c)(4) of the Internal Revenue Code. Responsible for policy formulation and direction, and implementation of the Forum's programs, including the writing and publication of Agenda for America, an unprecedented, book-length statement of Republican principles and policies; managing a wide range of conference and seminar activities; editing Common Sense, the Forum's quarterly journal, and its other publications; directing policy-oriented public polling activities; fund raising; and supervising the work of approximately 1,500 volunteer members of the Forum's thirteen Policy Councils and a full-time staff of twenty-five; member of the Forum's Board of Directors.

### **Manhattan Institute**

**Senior Fellow**

January 1993 - July 1993

Directed and conceptualized the Institute's program of scholarship, research and publications on critical issues of American corporate governance; arranged and participated in seminars and lectures; handled liaison with top corporate management, traders, major institutional investors, and shareholder interests.

### **Department of State**

**Assistant Secretary for International Organization Affairs** May 1989 - January 1993

Managed the formulation, articulation and implementation of United States policy and diplomacy within the United Nations system (such as the Security Council, General Assembly, ECOSOC, and the U.N. specialized agencies and organs such as the U.N. Development Program, the U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees, the World Health Organization, the Food and Agricultural Organization, the U.N. Human Rights Commission, UNICEF, and many more), and developed policy, management and budget positions in many other international organizations; bilateral diplomatic responsibilities for all other member governments in the U.N. system, especially the other Permanent Members of the Security Council.

Directed American U.N. policy during the 1990-1991 Gulf Crisis; successfully orchestrated the repeal of the General Assembly's 1975 resolution equating

"Zionism" with "racism"; consulted with Foreign Ministers, Ambassadors, and other high foreign officials to lobby for American policy objectives; principal witness in numerous policy hearings and in appropriations hearings concerning U.S. assessed and voluntary contributions in the U.N. system.

Reported directly to the Secretary of State; supervised approximately 450 employees in Washington and in U.S. missions to U.N. organizations in New York, Geneva, Vienna, Rome, Paris, Montreal and Nairobi.

## **Department of Justice**

### **Assistant Attorney General, Civil Division**

March 1988 - May 1989

Led the formulation and implementation of U.S. Government litigation policy in civil matters, covering 20,000 pending pieces of litigation handled directly by the Division each year, including constitutional law, government contracts and civil procurement fraud, administrative law, torts, immigration, aviation law, civil rights suits against the Federal government, foreign civil matters, and other areas.

Supervised the largest litigating division of the Department of Justice, including approximately 400 attorneys in Washington plus several hundred additional support personnel and contractors; provided overall policy direction and litigation guidance to civil lawyers in 93 U.S. Attorney offices in every judicial district in the United States handling thousands of other civil cases.

Successfully argued five constitutional-law appellate cases personally; testified before Congressional committees on pending legislation; reported directly to the Attorney General.

### **Assistant Attorney General, Office of Legislative Affairs**

December 1985 - March 1988

Directed all aspects of the Department's relations with Congress, such as successfully overseeing the Senate confirmation proceedings of over one hundred Federal judges (including three Supreme Court Justices -- Rehnquist, Scalia and Kennedy), Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, Assistant Attorneys General, U.S. Attorneys, U.S. Marshals and all other Department of Justice Presidential appointees requiring Senate confirmation.

Successfully supervised Administration efforts for passage of major legislation, such as the Immigration Reform and Control Act of 1986; the Omnibus Drug Enforcement, Education, and Claims Act of 1986; the Electronic Communications Privacy Act of 1986; the False Claims Act Amendments of 1986; and Public Law 100-71, which provided for drug-testing of Federal

employees.

Testified frequently before Congressional committees, including the assertion of Executive Privilege, at the direction of the President, during the confirmation hearings of Justice Rehnquist to be Chief Justice of the United States; reported directly to the Attorney General.

### **Covington & Burling**

**Partner**  
**Associate**

October 1983 - December 1985  
August 1974 - February 1981

Conducted diverse litigation matters, including constitutional law (principal brief writer for the appellants in *Buckley v. Valeo*, 424 U.S. 1 (1976) and *Penn Central Transportation Co. v. New York*, 438 U.S. 104 (1978), among others), antitrust, securities, government contracts, Federal election law, libel and general corporate litigation; represented major American and foreign corporations such as Westinghouse (securities law and government contracts), Anheuser-Busch (securities law and BATF matters), General Dynamics (securities law), Scott Paper (civil rights law), Kerr-McGee Corporation (and several of its subsidiaries) (commercial, environmental, and antitrust matters), Hospital Corporation of America (antitrust and takeover issues), Hiram Walker (antitrust and takeover issues, foreign and domestic, defensive and hostile), Stauffer Chemical Company (antitrust and takeover issues), Business Men's Assurance Corporation (insurance regulation and takeover issues), Bodcaw Company (friendly acquisition), and Ludlow Corporation (defense against a hostile takeover attempt).

Led the firm's legislative liaison work for clients such as the National Football League (antitrust exemption), Morgan Stanley, Inc. (antitrust and takeover issues), and the Lutheran Brotherhood (tax exempt status during 1986 tax-reform legislative efforts).

### **Agency for International Development**

**Assistant Administrator**  
**for Program and Policy Coordination**

February 1982 - July 1983

Directed the formulation of economic development policy and supervised the budgetary allocations for the expenditure of approximately \$5.5 billion in foreign economic assistance per year.

Managed the first comprehensive review of economic development policy since the creation of AID in 1961, including the complete rewriting of all Agency policy documents.

Supervised AID relations with international financial institutions such as the IBRD and the regional development banks, and with other bilateral donors;

directed AID efforts in the Caribbean Basin Initiative; generated new human rights policies for the AID portfolio; supervised approximately 160 employees in Washington, New York, Paris, Geneva and Rome; reported directly to the Administrator of AID.

**General Counsel**

February 1981 - February 1982

Supervised and directed the legal and policy advice to the Administrator of AID and all AID components and foreign missions on questions arising under the Foreign Assistance Act, government contracts law, civil-service statutes, Freedom of Information Act, and other applicable Federal statutes; managed approximately 60 attorneys and additional support personnel in Washington and fifteen foreign capitals; reported directly to the Administrator of AID.

**GOVERNMENT COMMISSIONS**

**Member, United States Commission on  
International Religious Freedom**

January 1999 - May 2001

Serve as one of ten members of a presidentially and legislatively appointed commission, created by the International Religious Freedom Act of 1998, to advise the President and the Secretary of State on the foreign policy issues relating to religious freedom abroad.

## **PUBLICATIONS**

### **1. JOURNAL ARTICLES AND MONOGRAPHS**

Note, "Legal Services and Landlord-Tenant Litigation: A Critical Analysis," 82 Yale Law Journal 1495 (1973).

(In association with Ralph K. Winter, Jr.) Campaign Financing and Political Freedom, American Enterprise Institute (1973).

The Hatch Act: A Civil Libertarian Defense, American Enterprise Institute (1976).

"Buckley v. Valeo, Its Aftermath, and Its Prospects: The Constitutionality of Government Restraints on Political Campaign Financing," 29 Vanderbilt Law Review 1327 (1976) (With Brice M. Clagett).

The Legislative Veto: Unseparating the Powers, American Enterprise Institute (1977).

"The Federal Election Commission: Government Astride the Political Process," 2 Regulation Number 4, at 46 (July/August, 1978).

"A Reply," 2 Regulation Number 5, at 48 (September/October, 1978).

"The Legislator's Shield: Speech or Debate Clause Protection Against State Interrogation," 62 Marquette Law Review 373 (1980) (With John Vanderstar and Gordon B. Baldwin).

"Constitutional Limitations on Restricting Corporate and Union Political Speech," 22 Arizona Law Review 373 (1980).

"The Judicial and Congressional Response to the Invalidation of the Legislative Veto," 1 The Journal of Law & Politics 299 (1984) (With Kevin Abrams).

"Use of the Grand Jury: the Beech-Nut Case," 4 The Investigator's Journal, Fall, 1988, Page 8 (With John R. Fleder).

"Wrong Turn in Somalia," 73 Foreign Affairs 56, January-February, 1994, Number 1.

"Can the United Nations Cope in the Post-Cold War Era?" 1 Commonsense, Summer, 1994, Number 3, Page 73.

"United Nations Peacekeeping and American Interests," in The United Nations, Peacekeeping, and U.S. Policy in the Post-Cold War World, Aspen Institute (1994).

"The Mission of the National Policy Forum in 1995," 2 Commonsense, Winter, 1995,

Number 1, Page 1.

"The European Union, the United States and Former Yugoslavia," The European Journal, September-October, 1995, Page 8.

"Intrastate Conflicts and American Interests," 2 Human Rights Brief, Spring, 1995, Number 3, Page 11.

"Toward a Unitary U.N.: Creating Political Order Out of Agency Chaos," Commonsense, Issue 11, Summer, 1996, Page 97.

Republican Isolationism: Myth or Reality?, Potomac Foundation, February, 1997 (With Christopher Cox and Robert Kagan).

"Great Powers or Large Counties?," The European Journal, February, 1997, Page 3.

"The Making of Foreign Policy in the Bush Administration," in Kenneth W. Thompson, ed., The Bush Presidency, Miller Center, University of Virginia, 1997.

"The Creation, Fall, Rise, and Fall of the United Nations," in Ted Galen Carpenter, ed., Delusions of Grandeur: The United Nations and Global Intervention, The Cato Institute, 1997.

"Terrorism: Law, Rhetoric and Reality," Justice, June, 1997, Page 27.

"The Prudent Irishman: Edmund Burke's Realism," The National Interest, Number 50, Winter, 1997/98, Page 67.

"Welcome Back, Taiwan," XXI Legal Times, Number 6, June 22, 1998, Page 25, Column 1.

"Somalia and the Problems of Doing Good: A Perspective From the State Department," in Elliott Abrams, ed., Close Calls: Intervention, Terrorism, Missile Defense, and 'Just War' Today, Ethics and Public Policy Center, 1998.

"American Attitudes Toward 'Europe': What Next for the Atlantic Alliance?," The European Journal, Summer, 1998, Page 9.

"Courting Danger: What's Wrong With the International Criminal Court," The National Interest, Number 54, Winter, 1998/99, Page 60.

"The Global Prosecutors: Hunting War Criminals in the Name of Utopia," 78 Foreign Affairs 157, January-February 1999, Number 1.

"1999: A Look at the Policy Issues of the New Year," The Earth Times, Year 8, Number

1, January 1-15, 1999, Number 1, Page 14, Column 1.

"Judge of the Seven Seas?," XXI Legal Times, Number 33, January 11, 1999, Page 21, Column 1.

"The United Nations and Ethnic Conflicts," 27 Global Economic Review 82 Number 4, Winter, 1998.

"What Price Human Rights? An Exchange" (with William F. Schulz), The National Interest, Number 56, Summer, 1999, Page 112.

"Reject and Oppose the International Criminal Court," in Alton Frye, Project Director, Toward an International Criminal Court? Three Options Presented as Presidential Speeches, Council on Foreign Relations, 1999.

"Speaking for Herself," XXII Legal Times, Number 24, November 1, 1999, Page 60, Column 1.

"Thanksgiving European Style," The European Journal, Volume 7, Number 3, December, 1999, Page 10.

"2000: A Look at the Policy Issues of the New Year," The Earth Times, Year 9, Number 1, January 1-31, 2000, Page 15, Column 1.

"Unilateralism Is Not Isolationism," in Gwyn Prins, ed., Understanding Unilateralism in American Foreign Relations, Royal Institute of International Affairs (Chatham House), London, 2000.

"New Directions for the Chen Administration on Taiwanese Representation in the United Nations," China Affairs Quarterly, Number 1, July, 2000, Page 29.

"Bring Back the Laxalt Doctrine," Policy Review, August-September, 2000, Number 102, Page 3.

"Toward an International Criminal Court? A Debate," 14 Emory International Law Review 159 (2000).

"International Organizations and Global Governance," in W. Bruce Weinrod and Paula J. Dobriansky, eds., U.S. International Leadership in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century, The Potomac Foundation, McLean, Virginia, 2000.

"Should We Take Global Governance Seriously?" 1 Chicago Journal of International Law 205 (2000).

"Preventive Diplomacy and the Role of the United Nations," in Center for the Study of the Presidency, Report to the President-Elect 2000: In Harm's Way: Intervention and

Prevention, Fall, 2000.

“The Risks and Weaknesses of the International Criminal Court from America’s Perspective,” 41 Virginia Journal of International Law 186 (2000).

“Is There Really ‘Law’ in International Affairs?,” 10 Journal of Transnational Law & Contemporary Problems 1 (2000).

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“The Risks and Weaknesses of the International Criminal Court from America’s Perspective,” 64 Journal of Law and Contemporary Problems 167 (2001).

“United Nations,” entry in Joel Krieger, ed., The Oxford Companion to Politics of the World (Second Edition), Oxford University Press, 2001.

## **EDITORIAL OPINION ARTICLES**

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"Should the Independent Counsel Law Live On?," The Washington Times, Thursday, July 2, 1987, Page D3, Column 1.

"Independent Prosecutors: Fatally Flawed," 73 ABA Journal, October 1, 1987, Page 47.

"Feeding Iraq with Care," The Washington Times, Tuesday, September 17, 1991, Page F3, Column 2.

"Zionism Is Not Racism," The New York Times, Monday, December 16, 1991, Page A19, Column 4.

"No Expansion for U.N. Security Council," The Wall Street Journal, Tuesday, January 26, 1993, Page A14, Column 3.

"A Second Look at Boardroom Reform," The Wall Street Journal, Wednesday, June 2, 1993, Page A14, Column 3.

"A U.N. Vote That Never Should Have Happened," The Wall Street Journal, Tuesday, July 13, 1993, Page A16, Column 3.

"No U.N. Legion," The Washington Post, Monday, July 19, 1993, Page A14, Column 2.

"Musical Chairs at the U.N.," The Washington Times, Monday, October 11, 1993, Page A21, Column 1.

"Clinton's Policy Invites Quagmires," LIII Human Events, No. 42, October 16, 1993, Page 14, Column 1.

"No Good Arguments Against U.N. Membership for Taiwan," LIII Human Events, No. 52, December 24, 1993, Page 16, Column 1.

"A Good Year at the U.N.?", The Washington Post, Monday, January 17, 1994, Page A23, Column 1.

"Dropping the Ball at the United Nations," The Washington Times, Tuesday, May 17, 1994, Page A17, Column 1.

"The Case For Not Invading Haiti," The Washington Post, Tuesday, May 17, 1994, Page A17, Column 5.

"Haiti: Nightmare of U.S. Occupation Looms. . .," Wall Street Journal, Thursday,

September 15, 1994, Page A14, Column 3.

"Dulles Would Disagree," The Washington Post, Monday, March 6, 1995, Page A17, Column 1.

"Does the CIA Answer to the Press Office," The Washington Times, Sunday, March 19, 1995, Page B4, Column 2.

"Politics and Priorities," 10 The World and I, June, 1995, Number 6, Page 86.

"Quest for a Stronger Foreign Policy Hand," The Washington Times, Sunday, June 25, 1995, Page B3, Column 1.

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"Taking a Misguided Turn in Bosnia?," The Washington Times, Sunday, June 16, 1996, Page B3, Column 2.

"Flaws Built into the Dayton Accords," The Washington Times, Monday, July 15, 1996, Page A17, Column 1.

"Appeasement as a Way of Life," The New York Times, Sunday, July 28, 1996, Page 13, Column 2.

"Clinton's U. N. Visit and Confrontation," The Washington Times, Tuesday, September 24, 1996, Page A13, Column 1.

"Virtues of the Buckley Ruling," The Washington Times, Tuesday, March 25, 1997, Page A15, Column 4.

"The U.N. Crisis Is About More Than Money," The Los Angeles Times, Sunday, April 13, 1997, Page M5, Column 5.

"America's Skepticism About the United Nations," U.S. Foreign Policy Agenda, Volume 2, Number 2, May, 1997, Page 25.

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"Don't Let Campaign Finance 'Reformers' Limit Free Speech," 53 Human Events Number 29, August 1, 1997, Page 19, Column 1.

"Arms Sales . . . and Human Rights," The Washington Times, Sunday, September 21, 1997, Page B3, Column 1.

Book Review of The Enduring Edmund Burke, edited by Ian Crowe, The Washington Times, Wednesday, October 1, 1997, Page A17, Column 1.

"Cambodia Will Test ASEAN's Maturity," The Los Angeles Times, Monday, October 13, 1997, Page B5, Column 1.

"U.S. Isn't Legally Obligated to Pay the U.N.," Wall Street Journal, Monday, November 17, 1997, Page A27, Column 3.

"The U.N. Rewards Saddam," 3 The Weekly Standard, Number 14, December 15, 1997, Page 14, Column 1.

"Congress Versus Iraq," 3 The Weekly Standard, Number 18, January 19, 1998, Page 16, Column 1.

"A Mindless Trade War," The Australian Financial Review, Thursday, February 12, 1998, Page 17, Column 1.

"To Strike Iraq . . . Authority Is in Hand," The Washington Times, Sunday, February 15, 1998, Page B3, Column 1.

"Kofi Hour," 3 The Weekly Standard, Number 25, March 9, 1998, Page 12, Column 1.

"Adrift in the Gulf," 3 The Weekly Standard, Number 27, March 23, 1998, Page 10, Column 1.

"Why an International Criminal Court Won't Work," Wall Street Journal, Monday, March 30, 1998, Page A19, Column 3.

"We Gave Angel Breard Justice," XX Legal Times, Number 49, May 4, 1998, Page 27, Column 1.

"Limits of Enforcing Reforms," The Australian Financial Review, Wednesday, May 27, 1998, Page 20, Column 3.

"The U.N. Steps Out of Line," The Washington Times, Sunday, May 31, 1998, Page B1, Column 5.

"Policy by Nostalgia, a Recipe for Chaos," The Los Angeles Times, Monday, June 15, 1998, Page B5, Column 1.

Book Review of Conquests and Cultures: An International History, by Thomas Sowell, The Washington Times, Sunday, June 28, 1998, Page B8, Column 5.

"No, No, No to International Criminal Court," 54 Human Events Number 32, August 21, 1998, Page 1, Column 2.

"Saddam Wins," 3 The Weekly Standard, Number 47, August 24, 1998, Page 13, Column 1.

"Surrendering to Saddam," 3 The Weekly Standard, Number 49, September 7, 1998, Page 17, Column 1.

"Jury Still Out on Clinton's Resolve To Battle Terrorism," Plano Star Courier, Sunday, September 13, 1998, Page 6A, Column 3 [also appeared in The Colony Leader, The Mesquite News, and McKinney Message].

"Independent Political Spending Still Under Assault," 54 Human Events Number 35, September 18, 1998, Page 22, Column 1.

"US Foreign Policy a Casualty," The Australian Financial Review, Wednesday, September 23, 1998, Page 16, Column 2.

"Qaddafi's Victory," 4 The Weekly Standard, Number 3, September 28, 1998, Page 18, Column 1.

"U.S. Money and a U.N. Vote," The Washington Times, Friday, October 16, 1998, Page A18, Column 1.

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"Unequal Treatment for Taiwan," The Washington Times, Friday, November 13, 1998, Page A17, Column 1.

"Shabby Treatment for Washington at the UN," XI The Earth Times, Number 21, November 16-30, 1998, Page 30, Column 1.

"Hot Air Balloon Over Palestine," The Washington Times, Friday, December 11, 1998,

Page A21, Column 1.

"Our Pitiful Iraq Policy," 4 The Weekly Standard, Number 14, December 21, 1998, Page 25, Column 1.

"Bombing Before Ramadan," 4 The Weekly Standard, Number 15, December 28, 1998, Page 18, Column 1.

"A Slippery Slope to Lockerbie," XI The Earth Times, Number 23, December 16-31, 1998, Page 30, Column 1.

"The Butler Didn't Do It -- Blame Clinton," The Australian Financial Review, Monday, January 4, 1999, Page 17, Column 1.

"A Not-So 'Civil' Society," The Earth Times, Year 8, Number 2, January 16-31, 1999, Page 27, Column 1.

"General Pinochet's Political Persecution," The Australian Financial Review, Monday, January 25, 1999, Page 13, Column 1.

"Death of a Weapons Control Strategy," The Washington Times, Monday, February 1, 1999, Page A17, Column 2.

"The UN Secretary General Versus the United States," 55 Human Events, Number 5, February 5, 1999, Page 26, Column 1.

"War Crimes Court Has Too Much Power -- and Too Little," National Post (Canada), Saturday, February 20, 1999, Page B7, Column 1.

"Adult Supervision Needed on Stage," The Washington Times, Tuesday, February 23, 1999, Page A14, Column 4.

"'Perm Five' Solidarity," The Earth Times, Year Eight, Number 4, February 16-28, 1999, Page 27, Column 1.

Book Review of Oil, God, and Gold: The Story of Aramco and the Saudi Kings, by Anthony Cave Brown, The Washington Times, Wednesday, March 3, 1999, Page A19, Column 1.

"Clinton's Bluster," 4 The Weekly Standard, Number 24, March 8, 1999, Page 14, Column 1.

"Rumbles from the Middle East," The Earth Times, Year Eight, Number 6, March 16-31, 1999, Page 30, Column 1.

"Indonesia: Asia's Yugoslavia?" Far Eastern Economic Review, Volume 162, Number

13, April 1, 1999, Page 31, Column 1.

"Clinton Meets 'International Law' in Kosovo," Wall Street Journal, Monday, April 5, 1999, Page A23, Column 3.

"Taiwan Deserves Accession to WTO," The Los Angeles Times, Monday, April 5, 1999, Page A15, Column 1.

"The Pan Am 103 Trial: Trimming Justice to Qaddafi's Liking," XXI Legal Times, Number 46, April 12, 1999, Page 19, Column 1.

"NATO and the UN," The Earth Times, Year Eight, Number 8, April 16-30, 1999, Page 33, Column 1.

"Kosovo: Clinton's Mistakes and What To Do Now," 55 Human Events, Number 17, May 7, 1999, Page 16, Column 1.

Book Review of Betrayal: How the Clinton Administration Undermined American Security, by Bill Gertz, The Washington Times, Wednesday, May 12, 1999, Page A19, Column 1.

"Clinton Errs in Waging 'Human Rights' War," The Australian Financial Review, Friday, May 14, 1999, Page 39, Column 1.

"Clinton's Intelligence Failures," The Washington Times, Sunday, May 16, 1999, Page B3, Column 1.

Book Review of The Lexus and the Olive Tree: Understanding Globalization, by Thomas Friedman, The Washington Times, Sunday, May 16, 1999, Page B7, Column 1.

"Learning the Lessons of War," The Earth Times, Year Eight, Number 10, May 16-31, 1999, Page 27, Column 1.

"No Smooth Way Out," National Post (Canada), Saturday, June 12, 1999, Page B7, Column 3.

"U.N. Officials Step Out of Normally Circumscribed Arenas," The Changing United Nations, May-June, 1999, Volume 1, Number 4, Page 2, Column 1.

"The Innocents Fighting a War," The Earth Times, Year Eight, Number 12, July 1-15, 1999, Page 26, Column 1.

"Taiwan Confronts Its Chinese Dragon," The Australian Financial Review, Monday, July 19, 1999, Page 19, Column 1.

"A Declaration of Independence for Taiwan," The Taipei Times (Taiwan), Monday, July

19, 1999, Page 9, Column 1 [also appeared in Liberty Times (Taiwan, in Chinese), Wednesday, July 21, 1999, Page 15, Column 2].

"Israel's Isolation: UN Rhetoric or Politics?," The Earth Times, Year Eight, Number 13, July 16-31, 1999, Page 28, Column 1.

"Taiwan's Declaration of Independence," National Post (Canada), Tuesday, July 20, 1999, Page A18, Column 3.

"The Next President and NATO," The Washington Times, Wednesday, July 21, 1999, Page A17, Column 4.

"American Interests in the Taiwan Straits," The Taipei Times (Taiwan), Sunday, July 25, 1999, Page 7, Column 1 [also appeared in Liberty Times (Taiwan, in Chinese), Tuesday, July 27, 1999, Page 4, Column 1].

"Lee Teng-Hui: The One Who Leads," The Apple Daily (Hong Kong, in Chinese), Thursday, July 29, 1999, Page D1, Column 1.

"Injustice at Geneva," Forward, Number 31,247, Friday, July 30, 1999, Page 9, Column 4.

"Time for a Two-China Policy," 4 The Weekly Standard, Number 44, August 9, 1999, Page 20, Column 1.

"An Island Unto Itself, and Glad of It," National Post (Canada), Monday, August 9, 1999, Page A14, Column 1.

"False Promises of 'Political Autonomy,'" The Earth Times, Year 8, Number 15, August 16-31, 1999, Page 30, Column 1.

"The Role of Asia in US Politics," The Taipei Times (Taiwan), Monday, August 23, 1999, Page 8, Column 2.

"The Next US President and NATO," The European Journal, Midsummer, 1999, Page 9.

"Don't Look for the US To Rejoin UNESCO," The Earth Times, Year 8, Number 16, September 1-15, 1999, Page 22, Column 1.

"Against International Presence in Timor," The Australian Financial Review, Thursday, September 9, 1999, Page 19, Column 1.

"Pan Am 103 Policy Rift?," The Washington Times, Friday, September 10, 1999, Page A19, Column 1.

"Don't Send in the Blue Helmets," National Post (Canada), Friday, September 10, 1999, Page A14, Column 5.

"Why US Takes a Different View of Global Agencies," The Earth Times, Year 8, Number 17, September 16-30, Page 29, Column 1.

"U.S. Taking Limp-Wristed Approach to N. Korea," The Taipei Times (Taiwan), Wednesday, September 22, 1999, Page 8, Column 1.

"U. S. Must Stand Up to North Korea," The Los Angeles Times, Wednesday, September 22, 1999, Page A15, Column 1.

"Should U. S. Troops Die in East Timor?," 55 Human Events, Number 35, September 24, 1999, Page 28, Column 1.

"Leading by Example," The Times Literary Supplement (London), September 24, 1999, Page 8, Column 1.

"The U. S. Needs To Rethink Its Role," The Taipei Times (Taiwan), Sunday, October 3, 1999, Page 6, Column 2.

"Kofi Annan's U. N. Power Grab," 5 The Weekly Standard, Number 3, October 4, 1999, Page 13, Column 2.

"Carlos Menem's Legacy for Argentina," The Earth Times, Year 8, Number 19. October 16-31, 1999, Page 26, Column 1.

"CTBT: Clear Thinking," The Jerusalem Post (Israel), Monday, October 18, 1999, Page 8, Column 3.

"Test Ban Defeat Marks New Realism," The Taipei Times (Taiwan), Wednesday, October 20, 1999, Page 8, Column 2.

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