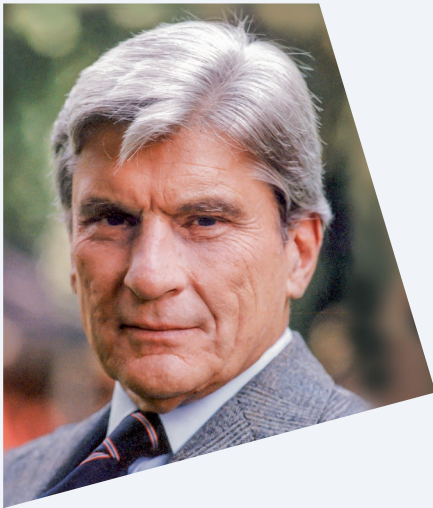




# Building global bridges

**Senator  
John Warner**  
current Senior Advisor  
Washington, D.C.



**Our firm derives its strength from its people. They make us who we are. They shape the way we are perceived.**

And, by finding common ground where others see difference, our people often help shape the world.

Take Senator John W. Warner KBE. His contribution to the firm stretches back six decades, but he's best known for his influence on the wider world in that period. After striking deals in the corridors of power in the Executive Branch and Congress for 40 years, he returned to the Hogan Lovells fold in 2010 as a senior advisor in Washington, D.C.

Spared deployment in the Pacific as a U.S. Navy enlisted sailor when the Hiroshima bomb dropped, John was never again far from the action. Acting as one of the top strategists on Nixon's '68 campaign team and laying the foundations of détente. Petitioning the Queen to lend the United States her copy of the Magna Carta for the bicentennial of America's Independence. And eventually becoming Virginia's second longest-serving Senator. John even found time to marry the British-American actress Elizabeth Taylor.

With experience working with a string of presidents and a knack for pulling the right levers, there are few better placed to cast an eye over the tumult of 2016 and the uncertainty lying ahead.

Eager to share his thoughts with alumni, John assessed both the domestic and global challenges facing President Donald Trump.

His surprise election win was first up.

## The key to Trump's victory

"Although I'm a Republican, it's no secret Hillary Clinton had my support, as she served ably with me on the Senate Armed Services Committee when I was Chairman. I've never met Trump, but I've studied him hard. I see him as a strong family man with unique capabilities as a powerful communicator. While the tide of social media has swept over many of us, Trump has mastered it. Some of his rhetoric is raw around the edges, but a very sizeable segment of the American public enthusiastically responded.

"Probably the biggest drivers in this election were the diversity of economic standing in America and a strong desire for a change in direction. Trump tapped into those disparities, locked in that base, and won decisively. The great puzzle to me, though, is how we failed to detect and explore the depths of economic frustration among the many who voted for Trump. So, here we are. Unto the victor go the spoils. But, all across America, we wish our nation to remain strong and at the forefront of world leadership. We will do our best to support Trump in fulfilling those goals.

"Fortunately, Trump is now reaching out to those who have proven expertise and is shaping a tough, capable cabinet. Hopefully, recognizing the need for experience will spread down through the tentacles of his administration as a vital criterion for lower, but important, positions of responsibility.

"Now, an important question is about Trump himself – the man. What is his vision of himself and what legacy does he want to leave? His family are, to use an old Navy phrase, his anchor to windward and he'll want to make a record they, and his descendants, can point at with pride."

## Cutting his teeth

After World War II, John was a beneficiary of the GI Bill for veterans, graduating with a bachelor's degree from Washington & Lee University in 1949. A second tour of active military service during the Korean War only redoubled his determination to complete his studies at The University of Virginia School of Law.

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Upon graduation, he spent a year as a law clerk to a judge on the Federal Circuit Court of Appeals, and then four more as a prosecutor in the U.S. Attorney's Office. By 1960, he'd caught the eye of one Nelson Hartson. John was soon a close assistant of our forebear Hogan & Hartson's Senior Partner, but the political bug had already bitten.

Turning heads in the Washington, D.C. law community is one thing. Gaining the Vice President's trust was his next challenge. Richard Nixon's first shot at the presidency came in 1960. With John as one of four traveling assistants to candidate Nixon, they crisscrossed America but, ultimately, lost to John F. Kennedy, albeit narrowly, in the popular vote. But the relationship persisted. Eight years on, he became one of the senior managers in Nixon's

campaign office, helping the Republican ticket to an emphatic victory.

## Cutting deals

From the new administration's first breath, John impressed the new Secretary of Defense, Melvin Laird, who selected him as Under Secretary of the Department of the Navy in February 1969. One of Warner's most challenging assignments was to travel in and out of the USSR with CIA assistance, working with Soviet Naval and defense counterparts to reduce the chance of an unintended collision between warships resulting in actual combat.

Succeeding John H. Chafee as Secretary in 1972, he and Soviet Navy Commander-in-Chief Fleet Admiral Sergey Gorshkov soon completed negotiations. The final executive agreement, known as the U.S.-Soviet Incidents at Sea Agreement, was executed on 25 May 1972 as one of the protocols signed at the Presidential Moscow Summit. John's warmth may have been vital to a thaw that delivered further agreements on strategic arms and missile defense.

But, as we see today, tensions can resurface. Looking at a resurgent Russia, John is keen to add a little historical perspective to a situation that could develop into a second Cold War period.

## Re-engaging with Russia

“When they threw off the shackles of communism and embraced free enterprise, Russia had mixed results. They're still struggling with that, so I see President Vladimir Putin as simply trying to restore Mother Russia to her former glory. And, while he keeps them in the dark, the Russian people back him in that endeavor.

“I don't believe he wants to dominate the world, he just wants recognition of Russia as a worthy military and economic competitor. And it is. We may now have an edge, but the gap is closing, so it's no use trying to demean Putin personally. Instead, we must make clear our efforts, with allies, to protect the rights of other nations pursuing their chosen form of democracy. As President Reagan said, peace through strength.”

Ever the Atlanticist, John prescribes a united front against Putin. “European security remains a vital objective. Trump has made a few ill-advised comments about NATO, that's for sure, but he's right to indicate that European nations need to meet their share of the financial burden.”

## A time for celebration

After five years at the Naval Secretariat, John was charged with a new task. Mired in the Watergate affair in 1974, Nixon needed a man of substance to oversee the Declaration of Independence's 200th anniversary. As Director of the American Revolution Bicentennial Administration, John built bridges as never before.

Bringing all fifty states together in organizing their own celebratory programs, John coordinated the varied interests of 20 foreign nations, as they paid tribute to the success and longevity of American-style democracy. Foremost among them was the UK.

“Given the primacy of the rule of law in both the U.S. and Great Britain, which traces back to Magna Carta, Sir Peter Ramsbotham, the UK's most distinguished Ambassador, and I came up with a bold idea. Would Britain loan us an original copy of the manuscript for the entire year of our celebration? With the consent of the Queen and Parliament, it took temporary leave of its traditional home to visit this once-rebellious colony. It was placed securely in the U.S. Capitol Rotunda and was seen by millions of visitors in 1976.”

## A touch of glamor

John convincing the U.S. Navy to share nuclear submarine tech with the Royal Navy earlier in the decade may or may not have swayed her decision on the loan but, nonetheless, Queen Elizabeth joined the 1976 celebrations. Bringing with her quite the entourage, Ramsbotham asked a favor of John in return.

There was a second, unaccompanied Elizabeth requiring a chaperone and the ambassador hoped to ensure she stole no thunder from Her Majesty. John kept Elizabeth Taylor out of the spotlight for once and five months later became her fifth or sixth



husband, depending on how many times one counts Richard Burton.

### Finding a new equilibrium

During the 1970s, American manufacturing dominance was facing challenges that led to decades of industrial decline. Trump has promised a revival, but John isn't yet convinced.

“He must strike a balance between protecting workers, the very people who elected him, and the realities of a globalized economy – foreign markets offering substantial labor cost reductions to business and technology taking away American jobs. That's not easy, and Trump's stumbling on it so far, but I think flexible labor markets must, and will, continue.”

With bicentennial celebrations over, John was unsure what to do next. It was President Gerald Ford who convinced him to run for office. Taylor was a huge draw on the 1978 stump and, despite occupying the moderate end of the Republican spectrum, John won the first of his five terms as Senator for Virginia.

### High on the hill

Given his military and legal experience, John was President George H.W. Bush's first port of call when he wanted to draw up the Congressional joint resolution authorizing the liberation of Kuwait in 1991. Moreover, not only was he a natural fit for the Senate Committee on Armed Services, chairing it on three occasions, but he also served as an active member of committees covering health, education, the environment, and intelligence.

John's pragmatism saw him cross the aisle throughout his time in the Senate, supporting gun controls, civil unions, and stem cell research. He was one of only a handful of Republicans to vote against the impeachment of President Clinton in 1998, but it is his environmental work that marks him out from more traditional conservatives.

Co-sponsoring the Climate Security Act of 2007 with Senator Joseph Lieberman of Connecticut, John led America's last comprehensive look at its energy needs and brought the U.S. into greater alignment with Kyoto Protocol goals.

John believes Trump is failing to recognize worldwide concerns about climate change. “He has tried to avoid explicitly answering the environmental question. But, in keeping with his attitude to the size and role of government, I see him trying to strip back some important environmental gains and protections.”

### Service before self

Senator John W. Warner is a bridge builder of rare ability, bringing people and ideas together for the greater good. He knows as well as any the business of politics.

His contribution was recognized by President George W. Bush, when he learned of John's decision to call time on his Senate career in 2008. In his final days in the White House, Bush named a Virginia-class submarine USS John Warner in his honor, just as the Office of the Director of National Intelligence awarded him the first ever National Intelligence Distinguished Public Service Medal.

Britain, too, lionized his military support and cooperation over the years by bestowing upon him the title of Knight Commander of the Most Excellent Order of the British Empire (KBE). But, talking to John, who acknowledged the recognition with characteristic humility, one thing was clear.

Helping the people and the planet was all the motivation he ever needed. Modest to the last, he summed it up, saying “I just had the very good fortune and luck to be able to serve.”

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