

RELEASE IN FULL

ST EULOGY FOR WC DRAFT: 3/23/2011 2:00 PM

- A. B. has captured, movingly and evocatively, Chris's contribution to the law, to this city, to this state, and to our country.
- I would like to reflect on his contribution to our world.
- I do so as someone who knew and admired Chris since the 70s,
 - worked for him from his first to his last day in office in 90s,
 - and has—like so many of you—been blessed by....
 - ✓ his loyalty and generosity as a friend,
 - ✓ the wisdom of his counsel....
 - ⇒ ... and two other qualities better known to many of you here than to the rest of the world....
 - ✓ the sweetness of his nature,
 - ✓ and his subtle but puckish sense of humor.
- A little over 18 years ago, when Chris became our 63rd Secretary of State, the assignment awaiting him was, even by today's standards, daunting in the extreme.
- He had already—in earlier periods of public service—demonstrated his willingness to take on tough, grueling, controversial and sometimes physically dangerous jobs:
 - ✓ ending mayhem in our cities,
 - ✓ negotiating the release of our hostages in Iran,
 - ✓ navigating the treacherous domestic politics of the Panama Canal Treaty.
- In 1993, he returned to State at time of multiple upheavals and dangers abroad, some of them all too familiar but others virtually without precedent.
- The Soviet monolith had collapsed into 15 pieces.
- Four of those New Independent States now had nuclear weapons of their own,

→ and relations between two of them, Russia and Ukraine, were unstable and incendiary.

- Iran, Iraq, and North Korea all threatened their neighborhoods.
- Haiti was a humanitarian disaster in the grip of a military dictatorship.
- The Balkans had re-ignited war in Europe.
- As he settled in to grapple with all those problems, Chris asked that a portrait of Dean Acheson be put on the wall of his office.
- He took solace from that predecessor, a Covington & Burling lawyer who, as our 51st Secretary of State, saw himself as “present at the creation”

→ that is: the management of a post-World War II standoff with the Soviet bloc that would keep the cold war from becoming hot.

- I remember a meeting, early on in the administration, when Chris’s friend and colleague, Peter Tarnoff (who is here today) pointed to the Acheson portrait and drew a wan smile from our boss by remarking....

→ “Well, Chris, I guess you could say we’re present at the re-creation...
 and that means mean we need to have a sense
 of *what* we’re recreating
 in the place of what we inherited.”

- In the four years that followed, Chris made a substantial, enduring — and I would add, under-appreciated — contribution in rising to that task.
- With him at the helm of the Department, the U.S. went a long way toward establishing the principles and mechanisms for a rule-based post-cold war international order....

→ laying a foundation on which his successors could build,
 including the two have done him the honor of being here today:

- ✓ Madeleine Albright,
- ✓ and Hillary Clinton.

- A. B. spoke movingly about the credo that Chris crafted for O'Melveny & Myers.
- The catchword was "excellence," which Chris translated into a guiding vision for a "values-driven" and "global" law firm.
- Chris brought a variant of that same commitment to his career as a statesman.
- He believed that our nation and our world needs a *values-driven* U.S. foreign policy that recognizes global interdependence as an organizing principle of statecraft.
- 35 years ago, in his first stint at the Department, as Cy Vance's deputy, Chris had led a sustained effort to make sure that all pertinent agencies of the U.S. government defended and promoted human rights around the world.
- A dozen years later, when Chris returned to State as Secretary, one of his first acts was to create a management position, down the hall from his own office, responsible for ensuring that the whole building — and the whole *government* — give priority to transnational challenges, like....
 - ✓ combating climate change,
 - ✓ empowering women,
 - ✓ fighting cross-border crime and the spread of infectious diseases,
 - ✓ and stemming the proliferation of dangerous technologies.
- These are just two examples of Chris's legacy that will live on in the *structure* and *process* of U.S. foreign policy.
- For him, organizations mattered, but *staffing* — recruiting and retaining people who met his exceedingly high standard of excellence — mattered even more.
- As Secretary of State, Chris relished the chance to exercise America's unique influence in filling top slots in the institutions of global and regional governance.
- The two most critical such personnel decisions he made — and he made both in the face of intense resistance and criticism — were,
 - first, tapping Javier Solana for the leadership of NATO

→ and, then, elevating Kofi Annan to the post of Secretary-General of the United Nations.

- Had those two men not been in those posts, the combination of diplomacy-backed-by-force and force-backed-by-diplomacy in the Balkans would have been far more difficult, and far less successful.
- In other areas, too, Chris's diligent stewardship of our national interest bore fruit after he left office.
- He negotiated arduously in Moscow and Kiev to remove nuclear weapons from Ukraine.
- Had he failed, Eurasia would be a far more perilous place today.
- Chris worked with Madeleine Albright, then our ambassador at the UN, to get Security Council approval for the use of force to restore democracy in Haiti—
→ the first, [and so far only] time that such a resolution has passed.
- That was an important undergirding in international law for the principle that *all* governments (such as Libya's) have a "responsibility to protect" their own citizens and face international sanctions, including by force, if they fail to do so.
- And then there were Chris's heroic exertion in another part of the world that is so much in the news and on our minds today — the Greater Middle East.
- His doggedness and skill were vital in cementing the Israel-Jordan peace that exists between Israel and Jordan today,
→ and in securing a ceasefire between Israel and Lebanon that lasted for [a decade].
- His 16 trips to Damascus and Jerusalem did not culminate in an Israeli-Syrian peace deal, but they left no doubt in the region that the U.S. was, literally, prepared to go the last mile—and never, *ever* give up.
- And, I might add, never, *ever* lose your cool or let the other guy get your goat.

- My colleague, Martin Indyk, who toiled at Chris's side on the Middle East, recalls a backbreaking trip to the region that ended with a visit to Rabat for an audience with the King of Morocco.
- Chris was willing to do a lot for his country, but not, if at all possible, eat Arab food, so he declined a royal invitation to dinner (perhaps because there was no rhubarb on the menu [THIS IS ASSUMING A. B. SPEAKS ABOUT CHRIS'S PASSION FOR THAT DESERT]).
- The King was so offended that when he received Chris, he was wearing slippers and black velvet smoking jacket.
 - (Imagine how Chris, in his Turnbull & Asser pinstripes and high-collar shirt, felt about *that*).
- Worse, His Majesty blew [CHECK WITH MARTIN: cigar?] smoke in Chris's face, and gave him a long, excoriating lecture repudiating an agreement for new ties between Israel and the kingdom that Martin and others had painstakingly negotiated.
- After the encounter, when Moroccan officials expressed regret, Chris just smiled and said mildly, "Well, that's what kings do."
- In addition to never raising his voice, Chris was, to a rare degree, a superb listener.
- That's part of the reason he was so effective in negotiations with foreign leaders and in deliberations within the U.S. government.
- He was so attuned to the subtleties of what he was hearing that the other parties at the table sensed he understood their position....
 - ... and were more likely to trust him to make an honest, reasonable, and imaginative effort to find common ground — or, better yet, a breakthrough to new ground.
- If we add up all these characteristics we've got something of a paradox:
 - we've got a combination of virtues and values that enhanced Chris's accomplishments as a policymaker and diplomat....

→yet at the same time that tended to diminish public awareness of those accomplishments.

- Bill Clinton said it best in his own tribute to Chris published today [NEWSWEEK OUT MONDAY]:
 - “Chris had the lowest ratio of ego to accomplishment of any public servant I’ve ever worked with. That made him easy to underestimate, but all Americans should be grateful that, along with great ability, he possessed the stamina and the steel to accomplish things that were truly extraordinary.”
- I’d add only one last thought—again, borrowing from A. B.’s tribute.
- A.B. quoted Chris’s admonition that “it’s acceptable to love a law firm.”
- To a degree that he did not wear on his sleeve—(how often did we ever even see his sleeves?)—Chris also regarded it as acceptable
 - to *love* his work in this big messy world of ours,
 - to *love* the Department of State,
 - and to *love* the job that allowed him to serve all of us with such
 - ✓ integrity,
 - ✓ dignity,
 - ✓ and—that favorite word of his: with such *excellence*.