

ILLUMINATION

THE UNIVERSITY OF VIRGINIA'S MILLER CENTER

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**CONFERENCE ON THE
AMERICAN PRESIDENCY**

p. 4

UVA STUDENTS DEBATE REGULATION OF **ARTIFICIAL INTELLIGENCE**

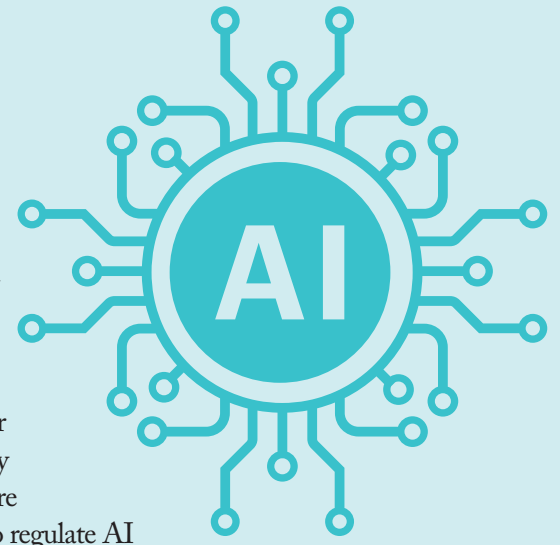
As artificial intelligence (AI) systems like ChatGPT rapidly grow in popularity and accessibility, is government regulation of AI technology preferable to private industry oversight? Student members of two esteemed University of Virginia societies—the Jefferson Literary and Debating Society and the Washington Literary Society and Debating Union—wrestled with that question during a debate hosted by the Miller Center in October 2023. Miller Center Director Bill Antholis, faculty senior fellow Michael Lenox, and Project on Democracy and Capitalism Director Scott Miller judged the contest.

Each team had one member from each society. Advocating for government regulation of AI were Bryan Torres, a first-year student intending to major in commerce, and Nishita Ghanate, a fourth-year student studying politics and computer science. They argued that private companies cannot be trusted to protect the public from the dangers of this evolving technology. The students criticized the private sector's poor regulation of AI in various fields, which they argued has fueled the spread of misinformation and resulted in biased algorithms and discrimination against marginalized groups. They particularly stressed the need for government regulation of autonomous weapons. Technology companies have no incentive to self-regulate, the students asserted, and often prioritize profits over public safety, whereas government agencies, such as the National AI Advisory Committee, are working to enact AI regulations.

The opposition team featured Gregory Perryman, a second-year student studying politics and global sustainability, and Lukas Barragan, a fourth-year student studying politics. They argued that tech companies are significantly more qualified to regulate AI

and solve AI-related issues than government officials, whom they noted often do not have degrees or experience in tech, cybersecurity, and other relevant fields. Private companies are also more focused on supporting users and fostering innovation than government officials, who might take a long time to pass regulations or even use regulations for nefarious political interests, the team claimed. In addition, the students detailed various successful AI regulations deployed by the private sector, including AI tools that detect and combat discrimination, bias, and misinformation.

After a brief deliberation, the three judges ruled in favor of the opposition team, arguing that the affirmative team did not “necessarily demonstrate an active ability of government” to regulate AI or adequately detail what government regulation should look like, said Miller.



CONDOLEEEZZA RICE–STEPHEN HADLEY ORAL HISTORY INTERVIEW RELEASED



In 2005, Condoleezza Rice became the first female African American secretary of state after serving as the first female national security advisor under President George W. Bush. What was her experience advising the president and implementing his foreign policies across the globe?

Rice reflected on her historic tenure in a compelling interview held in June 2011 at the Hoover Institution as part of the Miller Center's George W. Bush Oral History Project. She was joined by Stephen Hadley, who succeeded her as national security advisor. In October 2023, the Center published the 82-page transcript of this enlightening interview,

conducted by presidential historians Russell Riley of UVA and Seyom Brown of Southern Methodist University at the time of the interview.

Throughout the interview, Rice offered insights on the decision to invade Iraq, the Iraq War surge, and her approach to working with Iraqi leaders to reconstruct the country. Along with Hadley, she also shed light on communications with President Bush, the transition to Bush's second

term, and the decision process involved in coordinating with the Pentagon, among other significant topics.

“It was extraordinary to listen to them compare notes about George W. Bush, his wrestling with Iraq, and his operating style—their points of agreement and disagreement,” said Riley, co-chair of the Presidential Oral History Program.

The conversation was the first time Miller Center scholars had conducted a joint interview with a president's secretary of state and national security advisor, “so we got to hear from them what the foreign policy-making process looked like from both the White House and Foggy Bottom at the same time—which is rare,” Riley said.

In addition, Rice and Hadley detailed tensions with the Defense Department, particularly over Bush's surge policy. “That's one of the most historically important episodes of the Bush presidency—a White House-driven decision taken over the initial objections of the Pentagon to increase the number of brigades fighting the war,” Riley said.

Comparing her two roles under Bush, Rice concluded that Hadley had been a better national security advisor—one of the most striking parts of the interview, Riley noted. “I was, I think, a better secretary of state than I was national security advisor,” Rice said.

READ THE RICE–HADLEY ORAL HISTORY AT millercenter.org/ice-hadley

**“IT WAS EXTRAORDINARY
TO LISTEN TO THEM COMPARE
NOTES ABOUT GEORGE W.
BUSH . . . THEIR POINTS
OF AGREEMENT
AND DISAGREEMENT”
—RUSSELL RILEY**

A LETTER FROM THE DIRECTOR

By BILL ANTHOLIS *Director & CEO*

As we approach the 2024 election, with the country so divided over the presidency, it often seems that there's no common ground. It's not always easy, but the Miller Center continues to be trusted by veterans of Democratic and Republican presidential administrations. That's been essential to what we have been doing for nearly 50 years.

We hosted two conferences in the fall of 2023 that highlight what makes our organization unique and so necessary right now.

Our two-day Government Leaders Forum in September brought together about 50 senior career government officials—veterans of both Republican and Democratic presidential administrations—who sought insight and guidance from our network of scholars and high-level practitioners on some big challenges they face. Partnering with McKinsey & Company, the Miller Center shared best practices for harnessing technology, promoting economic development, nurturing effective workforces, and improving the citizen experience of government.

One month later, we brought together more than 60 former senior White House officials from both parties, leading journalists, and top presidency experts for a two-day Conference on the American Presidency that was part of UVA's Democracy360 ideas festival. Discussing a series of topics under the framing "Toward a More Responsible and Effective Presidency," participants assessed what is and is not working in the presidency and the executive branch of our federal government.

What is unique about these conferences? Like some of the best think tanks in the country, we bring together scholars and practitioners from across ideological perspectives. Like some of the best universities in the world, we connect scholars and scholarship with the work of public affairs. But unlike any other organization, we connect a diverse set of ideas and people around the American presidency.

In many ways, our ability to do this research and to convene leaders started with our first major symposium—a two-day gathering of senior members of the Gerald Ford White House. This impressive group, which included a young Dick Cheney, Donald Rumsfeld, and Brent Scowcroft, gathered in April 1977 to discuss how Gerald Ford sought to stabilize the American presidency in the wake of Richard Nixon's resignation.

Since then, we have worked with senior officials from every presidency—Ford to Biden—to understand what works and what doesn't in the federal government.

The Miller Center also began hosting frank, civil conversations about the American presidency and American politics at weekly public events in our Forum Room.

"WE CONNECT A DIVERSE SET OF IDEAS AND PEOPLE AROUND THE AMERICAN PRESIDENCY"

Our nonpartisan tradition of scholarship and convening continues, up and through the most recent administrations. In our Studies on the Presidency series with the University of Virginia Press, President Donald Trump's former deputy chief of staff Christopher Liddell offers timely recommendations for effective presidential transitions, based on both what his administration did well and what it did not.

As we look ahead to the Miller Center's 50th anniversary in 2025, you'll be hearing more about celebration events and plans to share new ideas and best practices that surfaced in the expert conversations at the presidency conference.



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SEARCHING FOR SOLUTIONS TO THE PARADOX OF THE PRESIDENCY

THE MILLER CENTER CONVENED EXPERTS TO CONSIDER REFORMING THE PRESIDENCY

By Brielle Entzminger

As the 2024 presidential election rapidly approaches, the American presidency faces a growing paradox. Executive power has grown significantly over the past four decades, increasingly enabling presidents to act unilaterally. At the same time, presidents have become more prone to failure, challenged by numerous crises and losing public trust.

In October 2023, the Miller Center convened more than 60 leading experts on the American presidency for a two-day conference examining this paradox. Participants including senior officials who served in Republican and Democratic administrations, along with top scholars and journalists, proposed answers to the event's central question: How do we create a more responsible and more effective presidency?

The Miller Center's inaugural Conference on the American Presidency was part of the UVA Karsh Institute of Democracy's Democracy360 festival. To frame the discussion, a dozen participants wrote essays analyzing critical issues, from political polarization to abuse of power, that confront all three branches of government.

Panelists opened the conference by scrutinizing the growth in executive power and the federal bureaucracy since the early 20th century and the danger this expansion poses to the country's system of checks and balances. In their joint essay, UVA professors Sidney Milkis and Rachel Augustine Potter use the term "executive-centered partisanship" to describe this growth in executive power combined with a political structure that makes the president the head of their political party.

After President Franklin D. Roosevelt created the Executive Office of the President in 1939, executive administration, rather than lawmaking, became "the core activity of American government," explained Milkis, the Miller Center's White Burkett Miller Professor of Governance and Foreign Affairs.

At the same time, Milkis explained, electoral reforms such as open caucuses and direct primaries led to the weakening of traditional party organizations, which "enhanced the influence of donors, interest groups, and social activists who scorned the pragmatic politics and compromise" credited with forging majority coalitions. Consequently, outside groups now use the executive

branch to advance their causes and cut through the checks-and-balances system, Milkis said.

Potter, a Miller Center faculty senior fellow, argued that partisan gridlock in Congress has also shifted much of policymaking from the legislative to the executive branch, incentivizing presidents to use executive action to advance their political agendas. In recent years, presidents frequently have wielded unilateral action in a partisan manner, she explained.

To rein in executive-centered partisanship, “[we need] to maneuver our institutions of government into a position where compromise becomes not only possible but necessary, [which] does involve reducing the fundamental authorities of the president,” said Joshua Bolten, who served as chief of staff to President George W. Bush.

Several speakers emphasized the need to reform the presidential selection process and presidential campaigns, which have become “popularity contests” run “almost exclusively on fictive policy,” argued Elaine C. Kamarck, who cofounded the New Democrat movement that helped elect President Bill Clinton. “The people who are adept at fictive policy [have] the president’s ear and the president’s trust,” continued Kamarck, a senior fellow at the Brookings Institution. Meanwhile, executive agencies often lack access to the White House, causing “government failure across the board,” she said.

Additionally, panelists warned of the alarming rise in acute polarization and threats of political violence across the country and their impact on the presidency and Congress. In a national poll conducted by UVA’s Center for Politics and published last October, 41 percent of Biden voters and 38 percent of Trump voters at least somewhat believed that the other side had become so extreme that it would be acceptable to use violence to prevent them from achieving their goals.

As legislators have grown increasingly focused on catering to voter bases and getting reelected, Congress has abdicated many of its lawmaking duties, said Kathryn Dunn Tenpas, Miller Center practitioner senior fellow. “These are fundamentally political actors,” she said.

Panelists noted how polarization obstructs lawmaking, prevents bipartisanship, and tempts presidents to employ unilateral actions.

Polarization “weakens presidents [and] their unilateral tools are a poor substitute for legislating—but those [tools] are often all that presidents have to work with,” said Frances E. Lee, a politics and public affairs professor at Princeton University.

William Howell, director of the University of Chicago’s Center for Effective Government and a professor in the Harris School of Public Policy and Department of Political Science, echoed concerns about augmenting presidential power. Republicans have been consistently frustrated in their long-standing mission to contain the dominant liberal components of the “administrative state,” which is a network of executive departments and agencies charged with interpreting and implementing federal statutes. Much of this network—sometimes referred to as the “deep state”—was built by Democratic administrations through the New

Deal and Great Society to accomplish progressive objectives. But other elements were signed into law by Republican presidents, such as Richard Nixon, Gerald Ford, and George H.W. Bush. Howell argued that these conservatives now aim to build “a strongman presidency” with unfettered control over appointments and numerous unilateral powers to retrench the administrative state, raising profound concerns about checks and balances—and the future of democracy.

Discussing how the executive and judicial branches fuel polarization, Bob Bauer, who served as White House counsel to President Barack Obama, voiced concern about the size and duties of the counsel’s office. He characterized the office as an “enabling legal institution” for the president. “It’s very important,” Bauer said, that lawyers warn the president “of the potential consequences of pursuing an action that could be rejected by the courts.”

Many questions surrounding executive powers are “by and large unsettled questions of law,” said J. Michael Luttig, who was appointed by President George H. W. Bush to the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Fourth Circuit. Luttig argued that President Donald Trump pushed the powers of the president “beyond their limits” and “inflamed the passions of the population often against the government [and] institutions of our democracy and law”—a criticism of the former president echoed by several other panelists throughout the conference.

Leah Wright Rigueur, a history professor at Johns Hopkins University, called attention to the “racial, economic, and cultural polarization that is deeply intertwined with and cannot be separated from political polarization.” Social-political movements like the Tea Party can drive the “political actions of the executive branch,” she explained.



Technology and social media have played a significant role in worsening polarization, added Kim Malone Scott, who held leadership roles at Apple and Google and serves as a member of the Center's Governing Council. "It is easier and faster to make stuff up than it is to do real research," said Scott, who called for "checks and balances on the power of tech."

Panelists proposed critical improvements to presidential norms, the presidential selection process, and the political parties.

Bolten called for additional "customs and norms" that promote "governing from the center." The Trade Promotion Authority, for example, enables presidents to negotiate trade agreements in consultation with Congress in exchange for Congress voting on the agreements without amending them.

Criticizing the lack of any form of competency screening for presidential candidates, Kamarck advocated for increased "peer review" in the nomination process. The Democratic and Republican parties could facilitate a preprimary endorsement process or conduct a preprimary "vote of confidence" among their House and Senate caucuses, national committees, and governors, Kamarck suggested. Or they could increase the number of superdelegates at their nominating conventions who can support candidates who might not have won enough primary votes.

In the realm of relations between the White House and Congress, "the single best thing we can do to improve government effectiveness is to reduce the number of Senate-confirmed appointees," said Valerie Smith Boyd, who previously held roles in the Bush, Obama, and Trump administrations and is the current director of the Partnership for Public Service's Center for Presidential Transition.

Several panelists echoed Boyd's calls for minimizing the number of Senate-appointed positions, critiquing the negative impact that the lengthy confirmation process has on national security. Senators currently use confirmations "as a vise to get things from the administration [and] their own leadership," said Louisa Terrell, who served as President Biden's director of legislative affairs.

Additionally, Christopher Liddell, who was deputy chief of staff for policy coordination during the Trump administration, suggested a requirement that all appointments be confirmed within 30 days, starting when the White House puts the nomination forward.

Speakers also anticipated an impending shift in the country's party system, stressing the cynicism many Americans currently feel toward the government. Both dominant political parties are dying because "they have stopped serving the people [in] the times that we're in," asserted Don Baer, who served as Clinton's communications director.

"Talk to college students about how they feel about the parties," added Guian McKee, Miller Center professor of presidential studies. "For you Republicans in the room, wow, it's ugly—but it's not much better for the Democrats."

Many students believe the parties "don't act on the needs they perceive for people their age" and "the challenges they're going to face moving forward," McKee said. "They're looking for alternatives."

Conference participants emphasized the need to prevent presidential abuse of emergency powers and to explicitly define what constitutes an emergency.

"We can build in checks that some third party [can] decide whether there actually is an emergency," argued Saikrishna Prakash, Miller Center faculty senior fellow and professor in the UVA School of Law. "If something lasts forever, it's not an emergency, and legislation shouldn't be triggered by an emergency."

Prakash continued, "If it's really, truly an emergency, give [presidents] 60 or 90 days—the measure will take effect when the president says it will and will last 60 or 90 days after Congress reconvenes."

Several speakers called for the reformation of the Insurrection Act, referencing allegations—detailed in a federal indictment against Trump—that if the former president had successfully overturned the 2020 election results, he might have used the act to suppress protests.

Philip Zelikow, who previously directed the 9/11 Commission and led an effort to study the government's response to the COVID-19 pandemic, decried the government's actions during health crises. He argued that even though the legislative response to COVID-19 was massive financially, there was ample advance warning of the potential for a pandemic but too little planning for the possibility. As a result, when the virus arrived, the administrative and legislative response was poorly designed.

Following the 2001 anthrax attacks, Zelikow said, "the president and Congress moved together proactively to stockpile things [and] create new administrative capacities" to prepare for potential bioterror attacks. "We've basically done nothing structurally to learn from [COVID]," Zelikow said.

The conference concluded with a panel moderated by *PBS NewsHour* senior correspondent Judy Woodruff at the Paramount Theater in downtown Charlottesville. Journalists Laura Barrón-López from PBS, Elaina Plott Calabro from *The Atlantic*, and Mike Emanuel from Fox News participated. Cohosted by UVA's Karsh Institute of Democracy, the event offered insight into what it takes to report on the inner workings of the White House.

Reflecting on the lessons they have learned throughout their careers, the journalists emphasized the importance of building a strong network of diverse sources, upholding journalistic integrity and objectivity, and producing accurate reporting—despite the pressures of the 24/7 news cycle and social media. Most importantly, reporters have a duty to consistently seek out truth, the panelists stressed.

"Our job is to confront" powerful leaders "because we are the watchers," Barrón-López said. "We are the people who are making sure what is presented to the public—be it on TV or in print or on radio—is what the truth is."

The conference's discussions are now the starting point for a series of Miller Center research efforts and events in 2024 and beyond. These activities will include further examining how the president and Congress work together, how to improve federal government performance, how to reform the process for choosing presidents, how we hold presidents accountable, and how presidents can unify a divided nation.

"[WE NEED] TO MANEUVER OUR INSTITUTIONS OF GOVERNMENT INTO A POSITION WHERE COMPROMISE BECOMES NOT ONLY POSSIBLE BUT NECESSARY"
—JOSH BOLTEN

WATCH THE CONFERENCE ON THE AMERICAN PRESIDENCY AT
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RIGHTING THE SHIP OF STATE

NEWLY RELEASED GERALD FORD ORAL HISTORY ILLUMINATES THE POST-WATERGATE PRESIDENCY

By Hallie Richmond

What would it have been like to be in a room with Dick Cheney, Don Rumsfeld, or Brent Scowcroft in April 1977? We tend to think of these three senior foreign policy leaders as having served in the presidencies of George H. W. Bush and George W. Bush. But they first worked with one another in the administrations of Richard Nixon and Gerald Ford. Thanks to the digital release of the very first Miller Center presidential oral history, their early tour of duty together is now available to a wide audience.

Not long after Jimmy Carter's narrow victory in the 1976 presidential election and his subsequent inauguration, a group of top Ford White House staff and University of Virginia scholars gathered for a daylong symposium at the newly formed White Burkett Miller Center of Public Affairs. The purpose was to discuss the recent past—the presidential successes and failures of the 38th president, Gerald R. Ford.

In three sessions, held April 23, 1977, some of Ford's most senior staffers discussed the exceptional circumstances and administrative challenges of Ford's presidency. The conversations were recorded but not published or made publicly available for almost a decade, in part because the Miller Center did not have an official oral history program. When James Sterling Young (the founder and longtime chairman of the Miller Center's Presidential Oral History Program) came on the scene a few years later, the three conversations about Ford's presidency were edited into a book, *The Ford White House*, published in 1986.

Even so, the Miller Center's first oral history remained in a kind of black box—secure inside its book covers but available on the shelves of only a few libraries. The Center's Presidential Oral History Program has now made the long out-of-print book available to the public as a comprehensive online resource about Gerald Ford, rounding out the original printed material with newly released comments from three participants.

In the first two sessions, participants conduct a frank assessment of the abrupt transition period between Nixon and Ford and note key distinctions between the two presidential approaches to decision-making. Different views are aired about how Ford managed the challenge of creating a unified governing coalition among diverse, often competing constituencies within the executive branch.

Russell Riley, the current co-chair of the Center's Presidential Oral History Program, comments that “for the most part, these conversations are White House insiders talking shop about their operating procedures and technical problems getting the work done. That's catnip for political scholars, attentive journalists, and other readers too.”

The topics in the third session resonate into our current political moment. Candid queries about presidential imperialism and presidential-congressional relations are met with reflections on the growing importance of media messaging, and even future Vice President Dick Cheney's views on the largely ineffectual role of the vice president. Jeni Crockett-Holme, editor of the Presidential Oral History Program, remarks that “reading these conversations with the knowledge of everything that's happened in almost 50 years since is kind of extraordinary.”

Herbert Storing, a University of Virginia professor of government and, at the time, the newly appointed director of the Center's Program on the Presidency, moderated the conversations and concluded the final discussion this way: “At some points in the conversation one wonders how on earth the American government system works at all, and why it does such a reasonably good job, given all the problems that seem to be built into it. Part of the answer, I think it's fair to say, is the quality of an awful lot of the people who work in it, including many of those sitting around this table.”

FIND THE GERALD FORD ORAL HISTORY AT millercenter.org/gerald-ford



PRESIDENT GERALD FORD (L) WITH NATIONAL SECURITY ADVISOR BRENT SCOWCROFT (APRIL 28, 1975)

PRESIDENTIAL ORAL HISTORY

Ford was well known and well respected by his peers on both sides of the aisle on Capitol Hill. He served almost 25 years as a U.S. representative from Michigan before Nixon chose him as vice president to replace Spiro Agnew. Ford's predicament was to set himself apart from the disgraced former president who had lifted him to power, while reassuring the American people that despite a historic disruption, our democratic traditions—and responsible and effective governance—would prevail.

In this passage from the first session of Gerald Ford Oral History, Donald Rumsfeld—who led Ford's transition team and became his White House chief of staff and then secretary of defense—comments on Ford's complicated balancing act:

The problem he faced was one of trying to deal with basically two things at once. One was to provide a degree of continuity as the first president who wasn't elected and came in abruptly, and to see that the government ran, that things worked this way. This was particularly important to foreign policy and national security affairs.

At the same time, he recognized the need for change. There was a need in the country for something other than what had been, as a result of the resignation. There obviously was, he felt, the desire to do those things that might contribute, along with the most important ingredient of time, to restoring the Executive Office of the President to a position of sufficient respect and trust that a leader, who has to lead by persuasion and consent, is able to function.



PARTICIPANTS IN THE FORD ORAL HISTORY AT THE MILLER CENTER IN APRIL 1977. DONALD RUMSFELD, DICK CHENEY, AND BRENT SCOWCROFT CAN BE SEEN IN THE FIRST ROW CENTER.

WHAT MIGHT JFK HAVE DONE IN VIETNAM?

NEW TRANSCRIPTS PROVIDE UNIQUE INSIGHTS

By Brielle Entzminger

Ever since President John F. Kennedy was assassinated on November 22, 1963, scholars have debated numerous questions surrounding the 35th president's unfulfilled plans for the country. Foremost among them: If Kennedy had lived, what might he have done in Vietnam?

The Presidential Recordings Program's newest publication, *Kennedy and Vietnam*, offers potential answers to this intriguing question. It provides unique insights into Kennedy's decision-making during a critical phase of the Vietnam War.

Published in November 2023, *Kennedy and Vietnam* features 26 transcripts of roughly 15 hours of secretly recorded conversations between

Kennedy and his chief advisors that address key developments in the war from early May 1963 to early November 1963. The volume was edited by Miller Center Director of Presidential Studies Marc Selverstone and research specialist Ken Hughes.

Featuring annotations, footnotes, introductions, and contextual essays, *Kennedy and Vietnam* is the latest addition to the *Presidential Recordings Digital Edition*. This online portal for the transcripts of the Kennedy, Johnson, and Nixon White House tapes is published by the University of Virginia Press and its electronic imprint, Rotunda.

The new release of Kennedy transcripts reveals what the president and his advisors thought about "their prospects in Vietnam, their allies in the South Vietnamese government, and the disposition of American aid," Selverstone said. "In some cases, these are the only records we have of key moments in Kennedy's decision-making."

The first tape in the volume, recorded May 7, 1963, captures an Oval Office conversation between Kennedy and Secretary of Defense Robert McNamara. It presages Kennedy's future policy toward Vietnam—including the possible withdrawal of U.S. forces.

Kennedy believed an early withdrawal "should take place only in the context of military success," wrote Selverstone. "That question of context—the conditions under which Kennedy would have pursued a U.S. force reduction—has long animated debate about Kennedy and Vietnam. Several Kennedy aides recorded oral histories years later, recollecting the president's thoughts on the matter, but real-time evidence for JFK's position is thin."

Kennedy's recorded conversations help to "fill in the blanks," Selverstone said, especially regarding the "Buddhist crisis." During the summer of 1963, South Vietnamese president Ngô Đình Diệm, a Roman Catholic, had suppressed Buddhist religious leaders and their followers. The country's Buddhists believed the Diệm regime "was destroying the moral fabric of the nation" and staged large protests across the country, Selverstone said.

Although Kennedy urged Diệm to implement reforms, the regime's persecution of Buddhists culminated in August 1963, when South Vietnamese troops, ordered by Diệm's brother Ngô Đình Nhu, violently raided Buddhist pagodas in South Vietnam's major cities. They arrested more than 1,400 Buddhists and killed hundreds.

The Buddhist crisis significantly increased political instability and civil unrest in South Vietnam and further strained relations between Saigon and Washington, which strongly disapproved of Diệm's actions. Kennedy's tapes shed light on his administration's internal division over continuing to support the Diệm regime in the wake of the pagoda raids. The tapes also offer insights into the administration's advance knowledge of the coup against Diệm, who was assassinated—along with Nhu—by South Vietnamese army officers on November 2, 1963.

"The coup in South Vietnam was JFK's last great crisis, and the tapes he secretly recorded provide us with a once-in-history opportunity to observe a president overseeing the overthrow of a foreign government in a covert operation," said Hughes.

FIND THE PRESIDENTIAL RECORDINGS PROJECT AT
millercenter.org/whitehouse-tapes

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NEW DIRECTOR OF PRESIDENTIAL STUDIES GUIDING THE CENTER'S SIGNATURE WORK

MARC SELVERSTONE USES 'THE INSIGHTS OF HISTORY TO HELP US THINK ABOUT THE CHALLENGES OF TOMORROW'

By Brielle Entzminger

Photograph by Dominique Attaway

Marc Selverstone, the Miller Center's new director of presidential studies, has long been intrigued by the Vietnam War.

Born in the early 1960s, Selverstone remembers the intense controversy surrounding the war and experiencing a political awakening during this divisive period. When the Cold War entered a "chillier phase" during the 1980s, Selverstone, then a college student, was captivated by the United States' decades-long geopolitical conflict with the Soviet Union and its communist allies. This interest inspired his academic studies—and his future career as a Cold War historian and presidential scholar.

"I was particularly interested in the early Cold War," Selverstone said, "and the way that American policymakers and the American people came to see international communism as a 'monolithic conspiracy'."

In his new role as the leader of the Center's signature programs in presidential studies, Selverstone oversees the Presidential Oral History Program, the American President section of the millercenter.org website, and the Presidential Recordings Program, which he continues to co-chair with Professor Guian McKee.

"My goal is to sustain the excellence of our research programs and expand our outreach to several audiences," Selverstone said. "Our work illuminates the history and workings of the American presidency, and we have important roles to play in explaining its development and contributing to its health."

Selverstone earned a BA in philosophy from Trinity College, an MA in international affairs from Columbia University, and a PhD in history from Ohio University. After defending his dissertation on the early Cold War, he joined the Miller Center in 2000 as an assistant professor in the Presidential Recordings Program, which provided what he said was a "fantastic opportunity" to contribute to the program's research, teach courses on U.S. foreign relations, and refine his dissertation for publication.

In addition to honing his expertise in the Cold War, Selverstone said that the program's work on the secret White House tapes reinvigorated

his lifelong interest in the Vietnam War, particularly its management by President John F. Kennedy.

Selverstone has written for numerous journals and contributed to edited volumes on the Kennedy presidency, the Cold War, and the Vietnam War. He is the author of *The Kennedy Withdrawal: Camelot and the American Commitment to Vietnam* and *Constructing the Monolith: The United States, Great Britain, and International Communism, 1945–1950*, based on his PhD dissertation, which won the Stuart L. Bernath Book Prize from the Society for Historians of American Foreign Relations.

An expert on presidents and presidential decision-making, particularly during the 1960s and 1970s, Selverstone transcribes, annotates, and interprets the thousands of meetings and telephone conversations secretly recorded by Presidents John F. Kennedy, Lyndon B. Johnson, and Richard M. Nixon. He is the general editor of the *Presidential Recordings Digital Edition*, published by the University of Virginia Press, the Presidential Recordings Program's primary online portal for transcripts of the secret tapes; the editor of *A Companion to John F. Kennedy*; and coeditor, with McKee, of the Miller Center's Studies on the Presidency book series, published by the University of Virginia Press.

Selverstone, who teaches courses on U.S. foreign relations at UVA, has also participated in interviews for the Miller Center's Presidential Oral History Program and managed the Center's American President website, for which he previously served as executive editor.

As Selverstone leads the Miller Center's presidential scholarship into its sixth decade, he aims to expand his research on the Vietnam War with a focus on the Johnson administration. He said he is particularly interested in how Johnson navigated the politics of the war during the understudied years of 1966 and 1967, when Johnson drastically increased the U.S. commitment to the war—and eventually saw both "his fortunes and those of the Democratic Party collapse."

"We're using the insights of history to help us think about the challenges of today and tomorrow," Selverstone said.

LEARN MORE ABOUT MARC SELVERSTONE AT millercenter.org/selverstone

MEASURING THE DRAPES

IN NEW BOOK, PRESIDENTIAL TRANSITION VETERAN SAYS EARLY PLANNING IS NOT PRESUMPTUOUS

By Hallie Richmond

As a native of New Zealand, Christopher Liddell might seem an unlikely expert on the American presidency. But his private-sector leadership experience, combined with a decades-long desire to use his skills to serve the public good, converged with an opportunity to work inside the White House during the Donald Trump administration. Liddell was named assistant to the president and director of strategic initiatives in 2017, and he continued as deputy chief of staff for policy coordination through the end of Trump's term. He ultimately became one of the longest-lasting senior staffers in an administration marked by constant turnover.

His new book is *Year Zero: The Five-Year Presidency*, published in the Miller Center Studies on the Presidency series with UVA Press. Liddell draws on his White House experience and previous work with Mitt Romney's presidential campaign to offer a systematic and nonpartisan overview of how to manage the complex transition process, even during moments of national crisis.

Far from the pejorative "measuring the drapes" cliché that caricatures overeager aspirants to the White House, Liddell argues for an expanded "five-year" presidency—not a longer presidential term but a longer timeline that includes more intensive preelection and pretransition planning.

Liddell notes early in the book his work on three transitions: planning for a potential Mitt Romney presidency in 2012, taking over (midcourse) the 2017 transition for President Trump, and assisting and completing the historically turbulent transition from Donald Trump to Joe Biden. Managing presidential transitions is always complicated, but Liddell faced the additional challenge of a president who did not want to relinquish the office or accept the results of the November 2020 election. Liddell considered resigning after the January 6, 2021, attack on the Capitol. Instead, he opted to keep the transfer of power to the incoming Biden team moving forward.

"History will judge the roles of those close to Trump, and when it does, Chris should be applauded for staying," David Marchick, the former director of the nonpartisan Partnership for Public Service's Center for Presidential Transition, wrote in *Washington Monthly*. "He tried to create order amid chaos and pushed for the faithful implementation of the Presidential Transition Act. He was the direct liaison with the Biden team once the formal transition began. As chaotic and dangerous as the roughly 75 days between the election and the inauguration were, I shudder to think what would have happened had Chris not been there."



In a recent interview, Liddell spoke about his time in the Trump White House and his idea for a presidential "year zero" of vigorous advance planning before a president-elect takes office.

FOR SEVERAL DECADES, YOU WERE AT THE HELM IN THE PRIVATE SECTOR, LEADING SEVERAL LARGE, HIGH-PROFILE AMERICAN AND INTERNATIONAL COMPANIES. WHAT MADE YOU WANT TO HOLD A STAFF POSITION IN THE WHITE HOUSE?

I have a belief that everyone should do public service at some stage of their life. Doing it either at the start or near the end of your career are both good approaches. If you do it later on, as I did, you can bring to the table skills that you've learned over the course of your life. Public service had been in my mind for decades, and I finally had an opportunity to work with the Romney campaign as executive director of their transition planning in 2012. I thought it was just a one-time thing, and when Romney lost, I thought, well, yeah, there's my chance to serve come and gone. But then the Trump opportunity came up, and fortunately I was able to work directly in the White House. I became a U.S. citizen in 2010, so the ability to contribute to my new country at a senior level was unique and meaningful to me.

DO YOU THINK BEING A NATIVE OF NEW ZEALAND AFFECTS HOW YOU SEE AMERICAN POLITICS?

Sometimes coming from outside a country you are able to bring a new perspective. When you're part of a team, as you are in the White House, it's useful to have people with different backgrounds and different perspectives. Probably more useful, though, was the fact that I'd had a series of interesting private-sector jobs that gave me experience with how to run large organizations. That experience, combined with what I learned during my time at the White House, is embedded in the book as philosophy of how you can run the White House significantly more effectively.

I wanted to mention something really positive about the U.S. system of government—the ability for people like myself to come in and serve as a political appointee. In most political systems, including in my home country, New Zealand, you're either an elected official or you're a career civil servant. There isn't, in many countries, that middle layer of people who are political appointees. We're not elected, and we're not doing it for a career. But we want to make a contribution. We come in for two, three, four years, whatever, and then go back to whatever we did before. That's a unique and I believe, overall, a positive aspect of the American system.

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millercenter.org/donate



IN YOUR LEADERSHIP ROLES AT MICROSOFT, GENERAL MOTORS, AND INTERNATIONAL PAPER, YOU PARTICIPATED IN MULTINATIONAL CORPORATE TRANSITIONS. AND *YEAR ZERO* ISN'T YOUR FIRST BOOK ABOUT AMERICAN PRESIDENTIAL TRANSITIONS—YOU DOCUMENTED YOUR INSIGHTS FROM LEADING MITT ROMNEY'S TRANSITION PLANNING TEAM IN AN EARLIER BOOK [*ROMNEY READINESS CAMPAIGN 2012: RETROSPECTIVE AND LESSONS LEARNED*]. SO THE TRUMP–BIDEN TRANSITION WASN'T YOUR FIRST RODEO, SO TO SPEAK. ARE THOSE PREVIOUS EXPERIENCES LEADING TRANSITIONS AT THE CORE OF THIS BOOK?

American presidential transitions have a reasonably rich history of passing on knowledge from one to the next, starting all the way back with Laurin Henry and what he wrote [Laurin Henry's 1960 book, *Presidential Transitions*, was the first comprehensive treatment of 20th century transitions]. What you observe is that everyone builds on the knowledge of previous transitions and tries to make them better in a bipartisan effort.

In the Romney case, we built on all of the good work of people like Martha Kumar [director, White House Transition Project], from the past. When we lost, the Romney team had the benefit of time on our hands. Clearly we weren't governing! So Governor Leavitt [Michael Leavitt, the former governor of Utah and chair of Romney's transition planning committee] and candidate Romney agreed that we should document everything we did for the benefit of future transitions. At least we'd make a contribution from all the work we'd done.

But that book was more retrospective. In *Year Zero* I want to address some of the big issues we're having with the presidency, look forward, and come up

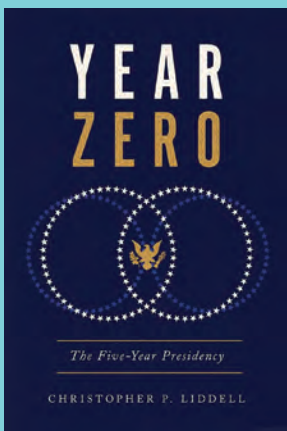


CHRIS LIDDELL (L) WITH DAVID MARCHICK, SPEAKING AT THE MILLER CENTER ON JANUARY 23, 2024

with practical solutions for how to make the White House more effective. There's no point just talking about the issues and never doing anything about them. We have to come up with ideas and solutions for how to make things better. By "year zero," I mean the year before a presidential inauguration, when these ideas can be implemented—developed, tested with the presidential candidate, and integrated into a clear governing framework.

LEARN MORE ABOUT *YEAR ZERO* AND READ EXCERPTS FROM THE BOOK AT millercenter.org/yearzero

EXCERPT



My most important takeaway from my experiences and research is that a standard bit of DC's conventional wisdom is wrong: I believe that it is never too soon to "measure the drapes." This

metaphor is widely used to describe an attitude of entitlement on the part of would-be officeholders: they "measure the drapes" of the physical space they seek to inhabit but have not yet earned. The critics' implication is that, rather than tending to the fundamentals of an

election, candidates distract themselves with dreams of authority before the voters have awarded them public office. The idea of "measuring the drapes" has become something of a clichéd synonym for brazen overconfidence. In a feat of presumption, the candidates are thinking too much about what should happen after their election.

I believe that it is never too soon to "measure the drapes."

However, underpreparing for leadership in the Oval Office is, in my view, a larger blunder for an aspiring president than anticipating what he or she will do once there. I prefer the phrase

"measuring the drapes" to mean undertaking the necessary and comprehensive work of preparing to command the most powerful office on earth.

At its heart, this book is a call to assist future presidents by transforming the connotations surrounding the "measuring the drapes" metaphor from pejorative ones to positive ones. Instead of regarding early activity as a sign of arrogance, political insiders and the larger American voting public should see it as a sign of competence. It shows voters a candidate preparing to effectively govern. And that, in governing well, a would-be president can help restore faith in the American system.

EXCERPT

MEET THE CENTER'S NEW SCHLESINGER DISTINGUISHED PROFESSORS

ADMIRAL CHARLES A. RICHARD AND DIPLOMAT MARA RUDMAN SHARE THEIR EXPERTISE WITH FACULTY AND STUDENTS

By Hallie Richmond

As the culmination of his career in public service, Admiral Charles A. Richard served from 2019 until his retirement in 2022 as the commander of U.S. Strategic Command (STRATCOM)—the branch of the Pentagon responsible for the global command and control of all the nation's nuclear forces. In that role, his passion was the national security objective of strategic nuclear deterrence.

“The great opportunity I see at the Miller Center specifically, and at UVA more generally, is the chance to continue the strategic deterrence work that we were doing in STRATCOM, in this place with its great academic and intellectual firepower,” Richard said.

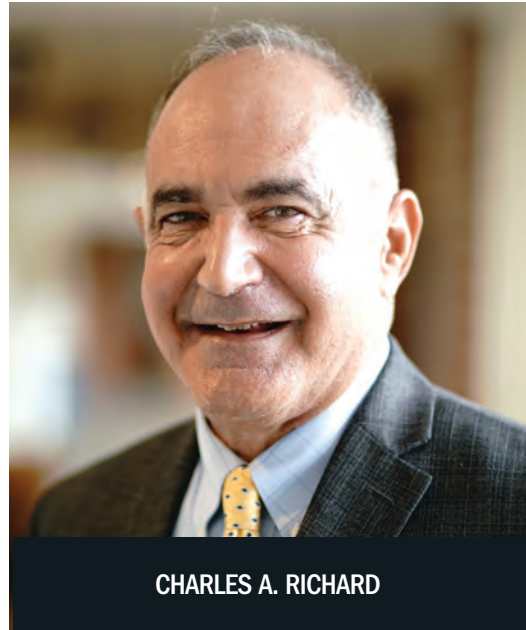
Richard noted that the United States must manage multidirectional tensions of provocation and deterrence at a moment when one nuclear superpower—Russia—is involved in a massive conflict using conventional weapons and “nuclear saber-rattling,” and another—China—is actively increasing its nuclear capacity.

“The most likely way you end up with a nuclear exchange in the 21st century isn't a direct act of nuclear aggression. That is very unlikely,” Richard said. “It's that you wind up in a great-power conventional war where one side is losing and then chooses to escalate to limited nuclear to make up for conventional inferiority and avoid the possibility of a regime-threatening loss.”

He noted, “That's a much more difficult deterrence challenge than even the very tough situation we faced in the Cold War.”

Richard discussed the unique challenges of the contemporary geopolitical environment in a recent event at the Miller Center. With a distinguished career of more than four decades in service to the nation, he advised UVA students and audience members to “remember that we have the best possible form of government to address these challenges.”

Mara Rudman, a former national security official, Middle East expert, and former executive vice president for policy at the Center for American Progress, is the director of the Miller Center's new Ripples of Hope Project, named for



CHARLES A. RICHARD

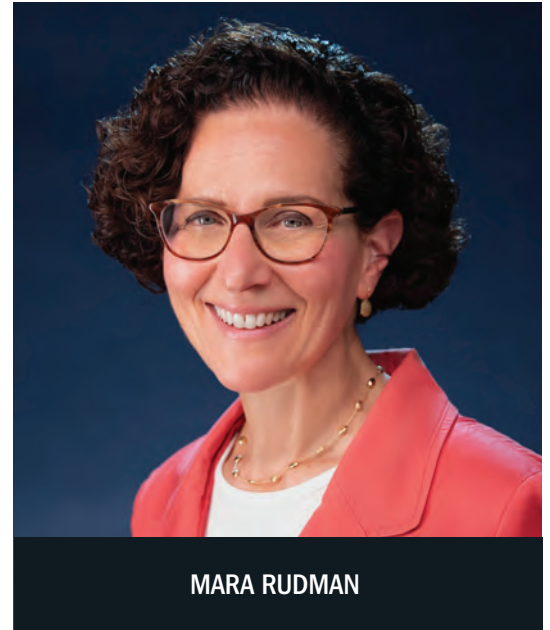
Senator Robert F. Kennedy's famous 1966 speech given in Cape Town, South Africa.

The project seeks to find common ground around complex and contested issues, such as developing sustainable critical mineral supply chains or building a safer and more secure digital landscape. Discussions help model progress among stakeholders who share interests in reaching resolution. The aim is to illustrate how democracies are strengthened by bringing together diverse viewpoints to achieve tangible gains.

“I view the ripples of hope idea as, you do what you can, where you can,” Rudman said. “With concerted effort, you start to gather vast forces that can make significant change happen.”

People “who might not otherwise be perceived as having a lot in common do share economic and security interests,” Rudman observed. “We're at an inflection point in our country and in the world on so many fronts. I have a conviction that the majority of people are not at either political extreme. What they want is a better future for themselves and their children, and throughout the world people are increasingly losing hope that that's possible. We're aiming to have people—center right and center left—talk to each other and work through issues.”

Rudman served in the Obama and Clinton administrations, including as deputy assistant



MARA RUDMAN

to the president for national security affairs and chief counsel to the House Foreign Affairs Committee. She also served as deputy envoy and chief of staff for the Office of the Special Envoy for Middle East Peace at the U.S. Department of State and assistant administrator for the Middle East at the U.S. Agency for International Development. She was also a senior vice president at Business Executives for National Security.

The University of Virginia established the James R. Schlesinger Distinguished Professorship at the Miller Center in 2007 to bring public servants of great distinction to the University.

The Schlesinger Distinguished Professorship honors Schlesinger's tenure as a UVA economics professor, his long career in public service, and his particular interest in strategic affairs, having served as secretary of defense under Presidents Nixon and Ford and as the nation's first secretary of energy under President Carter.

The professorship provides a unique opportunity for public servants with foreign policy and national security experience to participate as visiting faculty in programs at the Miller Center and to engage with students at the University.

LEARN MORE ABOUT THE RIPPLES OF HOPE PROJECT
AT millercenter.org/ripples

PRESIDENTIAL CABINET

THE MILLER CENTER'S LEADERSHIP GIVING SOCIETY

The Miller Center is a vital part of the University of Virginia. Our mission is to foster intellectually rigorous, nonpartisan research on American public policy and the U.S. presidency. We are committed to promoting civil discourse, stemming directly from Thomas Jefferson's founding principles for the University and the nation.

Our support comes almost exclusively from private individuals, families, and foundations. Your generous contributions to the Miller Center make our work possible. They are a vital component of our operational support and help to keep our weekly events free and open to the public.

WHAT IS THE PRESIDENTIAL CABINET?

The Presidential Cabinet is the Miller Center's annual leadership giving society. Based on giving levels, members enjoy a variety of special benefits, including reserved seating for public and academic events, invitations to private lunches with speakers and scholars, and access to exclusive events and receptions.

HOW DO I BECOME A MEMBER?

The Presidential Cabinet recognizes all donors who make an unrestricted gift of at least \$1,000 to the Miller Center Foundation within a fiscal year. Anyone who gives at this level automatically becomes a member of the Presidential Cabinet.

WHEN CAN I JOIN?

You can become a part of the Presidential Cabinet at any point throughout the year.

WHAT ARE THE LEADERSHIP LEVELS?

There are several Presidential Cabinet giving levels to fit your personal philanthropic goals:

- Madison Circle: \$1,000–\$2,499
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To join the Presidential Cabinet, contact Assistant Director of Donor Relations **June Drude** at 434-924-7756 or jd4cu@virginia.edu

LEARN MORE ABOUT THE PRESIDENTIAL CABINET AT millercenter.org/presidential-cabinet

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WHY I GIVE

FRED MCCLURE IS A MEMBER OF THE MILLER CENTER'S GOVERNING COUNCIL AND THE CHIEF COMMUNITY ENGAGEMENT OFFICER AT TEXAS A&M UNIVERSITY

YOU WERE A SPECIAL ASSISTANT FOR LEGISLATIVE AFFAIRS TO RONALD REAGAN, THEN ASSISTANT FOR LEGISLATIVE AFFAIRS TO GEORGE H. W. BUSH. GIVEN YOUR SENIOR WHITE HOUSE ROLES, WHAT APPEALS TO YOU MOST ABOUT THE MILLER CENTER?

I've always been impressed with the quality of the oral history program. The interviews with senior staffers bring each presidency to life. I first became aware of the Center when I was interviewed for the Bush 41 [George H. W. Bush] oral history.

Since then I've been interviewed several times, including a memorable group interview in Kennebunkport [Maine] with the former president. I was also part of a group interview in Washington, D.C., with all the legislative affairs assistants who served Democratic and Republican presidents. Our policy differences didn't matter in that setting. We were able to talk shop and share ideas about what worked best to get things done.

HOW DO YOU HOPE YOUR SUPPORT WILL MAKE A DIFFERENCE?

The Center's oral history sessions help inform future decision-makers. We can embrace and examine the past and try not to make mistakes again, if we've made mistakes, or learn from what we experienced and apply it to how we create policy moving forward. The fact that the Miller Center provides reliable, nonpartisan information for others to use when they

make decisions—that is a good thing.

In their public events, the Center also works hard to bring in different experts to talk about current events. They come together with the people who participated in making government decisions. In addition to supporting the good work with the oral histories, I want the Center to keep sharing ideas. Hopefully people will listen to these ideas and use

them as a basis for making decisions. We're all—and I include myself in the Miller Center family—working to take the Center's impact to the next level.

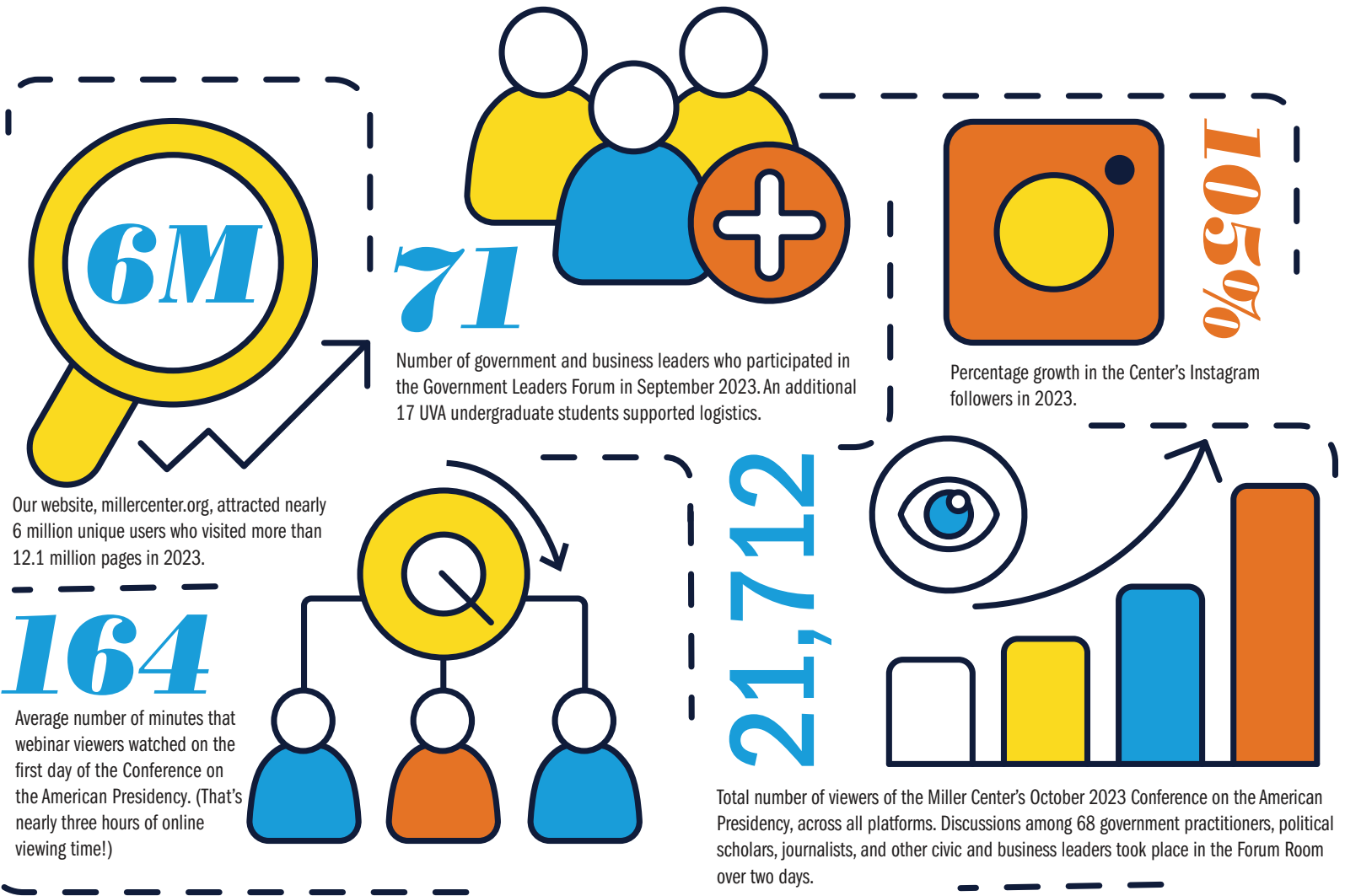
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FRED MCCLURE

BY THE NUMBERS

EXPANDING THE CENTER'S REACH TO NEW AUDIENCES



LESSONS FROM THE OVAL OFFICE

SENIOR CIVIL SERVANTS DRAW LEADERSHIP INSIGHTS FROM THE PRESIDENCY

By Kelsey Millay

More than 50 senior career civil servants from across the federal government gathered at the Miller Center in September 2023 for the Government Leaders Forum. Participants discussed the challenges facing federal agencies and opportunities for new initiatives that can help government more effectively deliver its services.

Organized in partnership with the McKinsey Center for Government, the two-day conference enabled government leaders to interact with Miller Center scholars on the presidency, as well as industry and nonprofit experts.

Many of the sessions were informed by leadership insights drawn from the Center's work in presidential oral histories, public programs, policy research, and political history, giving context to the challenges faced by civil servants. Miller Center Director and CEO William Antholis opened the conference with a presentation on leadership lessons from the presidency.

Presenters discussed building and maintaining a strong workforce, optimizing major federal investments, transforming government through technology, and reimagining citizen experiences with government. Seventeen UVA undergraduate students—including current and former Miller Center interns and leaders from student groups focused

on politics and government—supported the sessions by taking notes, helping meeting facilitators, and participating in discussions.

The conference also featured several keynote conversations on government productivity, inspirational leadership, and crisis management. Speakers included Frances Townsend, former homeland security advisor; John Negroponte, former director of national intelligence; Ron Klain, former chief of staff to President Joseph Biden; and Dr. Sanjay Gupta, CNN chief medical correspondent.

“People at your level get told to do more with less,” Townsend told the career civil servants. “I cringe because the answer is, look, in these jobs you’re always doing more with less. There’s not more you can do with less, but what you can do is look for new ways of working.”

Jon Spaner, a McKinsey partner, said his organization was pleased with the outcome of the Government Leaders Forum.

“We are grateful for our terrific partnership with the Miller Center,” Spaner said. “As a team, we were able to convene some of the best minds in the public and private sectors to tackle the tough issues our government leaders are facing. We are excited about the future of our collaboration and the Government Leaders Forum initiative.”

EXPERIENCING **THE REAL WORLD**

LEONARD SCHAEFFER FELLOWS SHARE LESSONS LEARNED FROM PUBLIC SERVICE INTERNSHIPS

By Brielle Entzminger



LEONARD D. SCHAEFFER FELLOWS IN GOVERNMENT SERVICE

Caleb Kuo, a second-year UVA student majoring in government, had a rare opportunity in summer 2023 to experience the reality of the field he plans to enter. Working with Arlington County's (VA) Department of Human Services, Kuo helped provide housing assistance and homeless services.

His mentors took him directly into the community, exposing him to the nuances of the homelessness crisis.

"It's not for the faint of heart," Kuo said, but "local government is where the most important and productive work occurs."

Since 2019, the Miller Center, in partnership with UVA's Career Center, has afforded undergraduate University of Virginia students like Kuo with the opportunity to gain real-world public policy experience through the Leonard D. Schaeffer Fellows in Government Service program.

Each summer, Schaeffer fellows from UVA, Harvard, Princeton, University of California Berkeley, and the University of Southern California intern with elected officials and agencies at the local, state, and federal government levels for 10 weeks, working in a variety of critical fields. The program provides students with the financial support necessary to work 40 hours each week. This cost-of-living stipend enables many students to take unpaid government internships.

TEN 2023 SCHAEFFER FELLOWS WERE SELECTED FOR THE HIGHLY COMPETITIVE, FULL-TIME INTERNSHIPS FROM AMONG MORE THAN 75 UVA APPLICANTS:

- Gloria Akol, a third-year majoring in foreign affairs
- Drew Barr, a fourth-year majoring in government
- Sean Frias, a fourth-year majoring in commerce
- Caleb Kuo, a second-year majoring in government
- Patrick Lambrecht, a third-year majoring in global security and justice
- Eli Le, a fourth-year majoring in biology
- Sofia Marrero, a fourth-year majoring in global development
- Christian Meloni, a fourth-year majoring in government
- Sidney Seybold, a third-year majoring in history
- Nadia Varga, a third-year majoring in global security and justice

At a Miller Center luncheon in October 2023, several students shared their internship experiences.

At the Mayor's Office in Richmond, Virginia, Sofia Marrero drafted in-depth policy memos on homelessness, artificial intelligence, and policing. Eli Le and Sidney Seybold interned together at the Smithsonian National Museum of Natural History, where they helped update public programming and improve its accessibility.

While interning in the office of U.S. Representative Morgan Griffith (R-VA), Christian Meloni attended briefings and responded to constituents' calls, emails, and inquiries. Meloni said that although assisting constituents with navigating government services was a "challenge," he learned that constituent feedback "actually matters a lot" in Congress.

LEARN MORE ABOUT THE SCHAEFFER FELLOWS AT
millercenter.org/student-opportunities

LEONARD SCHAEFFER AIMS TO RESTORE 'SHEEN' OF PUBLIC SERVICE



As an undergraduate at Princeton University, Leonard D. Schaeffer spent a summer interning on Capitol Hill. It changed his life "significantly" and inspired his career in public service, he told the 2023 class of Schaeffer fellows.

"It has occurred to me much later in life that it would be an experience that many undergraduates would enjoy and benefit from," Schaeffer said.

In the federal government, Schaeffer served in several high-ranking positions, including as administrator of the Health Care Financing Administration (now Centers for Medicare and Medicaid Services). He also served as director of the Bureau of the Budget for the State of Illinois

and deputy director for management of Illinois' Department of Mental Health and Developmental Disabilities.

In 1986, he became CEO of Blue Cross of California, which was near bankruptcy, and managed the company's turnaround and the IPO that created WellPoint (now Elevance) in 1993. Under Schaeffer's leadership, WellPoint's value grew to more than \$49 billion from \$11 million. Additionally, Schaeffer served as president and CEO of Group Health, Inc. of Minnesota, executive vice president and chief operating officer of the Student Loan Marketing Association (Sallie Mae), and vice president of Citibank.

Schaeffer is currently Judge Robert Maclay Widney Chair and Professor at the University of Southern California, vice chair of the board of trustees at the Brookings Institution, and

senior advisor to private equity firm Whistler Capital Partners. He serves on the boards of numerous businesses and philanthropic and professional organizations.

Established in 2014, the Leonard D. Schaeffer Fellows in Government Service program aims to build a "cadre of folks that care about how this country is managed and hopefully bring in people who want to manage it correctly," said Schaeffer. He encourages students to become "engaged citizens" regardless of their career paths. The program is housed in the new Leonard Schaeffer Institute in Washington, DC.

"We've lost the sheen of government service," Schaeffer continued. "We need Americans to be concerned about government."

NOTES FROM THE PRESIDENCY

On September 8, 1974, President Gerald Ford announced his decision to “grant a full, free and absolute pardon for all offenses against the United States” that Richard Nixon “has committed or may have committed” in the Watergate cover-up. Ford’s decision, driven by his desire to forestall “prolonged and divisive debate” about a potential Nixon prosecution, was highly controversial. But over time, people began to reconsider the Nixon pardon. “I was one of those who spoke out against his action then,” Senator Ted Kennedy said in 2001 while receiving his Profiles in Courage Award. “But time has a way of clarifying past events, and now we see that President Ford was right. His courage and dedication to our country made it possible for us to begin the process of healing and put the tragedy of Watergate behind us.”



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GRANTING PARDON TO RICHARD NIXON

BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
A PROCLAMATION

Richard Nixon became the thirty-seventh President of the United States on January 20, 1969 and was reelected in 1972 for a second term by the electors of forty-nine of the fifty states. His term in office continued until his resignation on August 9, 1974.

Pursuant to resolutions of the House of Representatives, its Committee on the Judiciary conducted an inquiry and investigation on the impeachment of the President extending over more than eight months. The hearings of the Committee and its deliberations, which received wide national publicity on television, radio, and in printed media, resulted in charges adverse to Richard Nixon on recommended Articles of Impeachment.

As a result of certain acts or omissions occurring before his resignation from the Office of President, Richard Nixon is liable to possible indictment and trial for offenses against the United States. Whether or not he shall be prosecuted depends on findings of the appropriate grand jury in the discretion of the authorized prosecutor. If an indictment ensue, the accused shall then be entitled to a trial by an impartial jury, as guaranteed to every citizen by the Constitution.

It is believed that a trial of Richard Nixon, if it became necessary, would not fairly begin until a year or more has elapsed. In the meantime, the tranquility to which this country has been restored by the events of recent weeks could be seriously threatened by the prospects of bringing to trial a former President of the United States. The prospects of such

2

trial will cause prolonged and divisive debate over the propriety of exposing to further punishment and degradation a man who has already paid the unprecedented penalty of relinquishing the highest elective office of the United States.

NOW, THEREFORE, I, Gerald R. Ford, President of the United States, pursuant to the pardon power conferred upon me by Article II, Section 2, of the Constitution, have granted and by these presents do grant a full, free, and absolute pardon unto Richard Nixon for all offenses against the United States which he, Richard Nixon, has committed or may have committed or taken part in during the period from January 20, 1969 through August 9, 1974.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, I have hereunto set my hand this eighth day of September, in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred and seventy-four, and of the Independence of the United States of America the one hundred and ninety-ninth.

Gerald R. Ford