

TEAM OF FIVE

THE PRESIDENTS CLUB
IN THE AGE OF TRUMP



KATE ANDERSEN BROWER

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SOURCES AND NOTES

NOTES ON REPORTING

My research for *Team of Five* took me from a candid conversation with President Donald Trump in the Oval Office to a visit with Jimmy and Rosalynn Carter in their modest living room in Plains, Georgia. I interviewed more than a hundred presidential aides, family members, White House residence staff, and former first ladies and vice presidents. When aides asked to talk on background because of the confidential nature of some of these conversations, I respected their wishes. This is an especially sensitive story that is unfolding every day in unexpected ways. Accounts of life as a former president were supplemented by extensive research from archival materials, including oral histories from presidential libraries; memoirs penned by former presidents and first ladies, residence staffers, and political aides; and biographies. I especially want to thank the Miller Center at the University of Virginia for the incredible work they do documenting what really happens inside the West Wing.

PROLOGUE: "I'M A DIFFERENT KIND OF PRESIDENT"

Donald Trump, interview with the author, March 27, 2019. Published sources include James Fallows, "Donald Trump's Telling Change to the Oval Office," *The Atlantic*, August 25, 2017, and Nancy Gibbs and Michael Duffy, *The Presidents Club: Inside the*

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I. THE PEACEFUL TRANSFER OF POWER

Interview subjects include Laura Bush, Jimmy and Rosalynn Carter, Christine Limerick, Stephen Rochon, George Hannie, Gerald Rafshoon, Don Evans, and Nelson Pierce. Published sources include Lady Bird Johnson, *A White House Diary* (New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1970); Kate Andersen Brower, *The Residence: Inside the Private World of the White House* (New York: HarperCollins, 2015); Kenneth T. Walsh, *Air Force One: A History of the Presidents and Their Planes* (New York: Hyperion, 2003); Presidential Transition Act of 1963, Pub. L. No. 88–277 (1964); Nancy Gibbs and Michael Duffy, *The Presidents Club: Inside the World's Most Exclusive Fraternity* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2012); Letitia Baldrige, *A Lady, First: My Life in the Kennedy White House and the American Embassies of Paris and Rome* (New York: Viking, 2001); Ryan Lizza, "Waiting for Obama," *Politico Magazine*, November 26, 2019; George H. W. Bush, *All the Best, George Bush: My Life in Letters and Other Writings* (New York: Touchstone, 1999); Bill Clinton, "Bill Clinton: George H. W. Bush's Oval Office Note to Me Revealed the Heart of Who He Was," *Washington Post*, December 1, 2018; Jon Meacham, *Destiny and Power: The American Odyssey of George Herbert Walker Bush* (New York: Random House, 2015); Barbara Bush, *Barbara Bush: A Memoir* (New York: Scribner, 1994); Laura Bush, *Spoken from the Heart* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2010); Kevin Liptak, "Exclusive: Read

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II. THE UNWRITTEN RULES OF THE CLUB

Author drew on conversations with Jimmy Carter, Donald Trump, Dick Cheney, Alan Simpson, Nelson Pierce, Justin Cooper, Chase Untermeyer, Leon Panetta, Melanne Vermeer, Jean Becker, Katie Hill, Eugene Kang, Luis Miranda, Bobby Schmuck, Ed Nixon, Lonnie Bunch, Pete Seat, and Jenny Botero. Published sources include Harry S. Truman, *Memoirs*, vol. 2, *Years of Trial and Hope* (New York: Doubleday, 1956); Andrew Glass, “Adams-Jefferson Correspondence Resumes, May 27, 1813,” *Politico*, May 26, 2017; Alexander Hamilton, James Madison, and John Jay, *The Federalist Papers* (1788; reprint, Signet, 2003); George H. W. Bush, *All the Best, George Bush: My Life in Letters and Other Writings* (New York: Touchstone, 1999); Associated Press, “Hurricane Relief Effort Led by Ex-US Presidents Raises \$41M,” AP News, January 24, 2018; George W. Bush, *41: A Portrait of My Father* (New York: Crown, 2014); Kent Garber, “Teddy Roosevelt, on the Bull Moose Party Ticket, Battles Incumbent William Howard Taft,” *U.S. News and World Report*, January 17, 2008; Mark K. Updegrove, *Second Acts: Presidential Lives and Legacies After the White House* (Guilford, CT: Lyons Press, 2006); Barack Obama, Remarks on Earthquake Relief Efforts in Haiti, January 15, 2010, White House; Bill Clinton, *My Life* (New York: Knopf, 2004);

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III. UNEXPECTED FRIENDSHIPS

Interview subjects include Jimmy Carter, Dick Cheney, Alan Simpson, Nelson Pierce, Donald Trump, Justin Cooper, Chase Untermeyer, Leon Panetta, Melanne Verveer, Jean Becker, Eugene Kang, Luis Miranda, Ed Nixon, Bobby Schmuck, Lonnie Bunch, and Jenny Botero. Published sources include Harry S. Truman, *Memoirs*, vol. 2, *Years of Trial and Hope* (New York: Doubleday, 1956); Kenneth T. Walsh, *Air Force One: A History of the Presidents and Their Planes* (New York: Hyperion, 2003); George H. W. Bush, *All the Best, George Bush: My Life in Letters and Other Writings* (New York: Touchstone, 1999); Anne E. Kornblut, "Bill Clinton: Obama Campaign 'Played the Race Card on Me,'" *Washington Post*, April 22, 2008; Thomas M. DeFrank, *Write It When I'm Gone: Remarkable Off-the-Record Conversations with Gerald R. Ford* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 2007); Ashley Feters, "How George H. W. Bush and Bill Clinton Went from Political Rivals to Best Friends," *The Atlantic*, December 2, 2018; George W. Bush, *41: A Portrait of My Father* (New York: Crown, 2014); Mark K. Updegrove, *Second Acts: Presidential Lives and Legacies After the White House* (Guilford, CT: Lyons Press, 2006); Andy Lewis, "Inside Ronald Reagan's Century City 'Die Hard' Office," *Hollywood Reporter*, September 26, 2013; Barack Obama, Remarks on Earthquake Relief Efforts in Haiti, January 15, 2010, White House; Bill Clinton, *My Life* (New York: Knopf, 2004); Dana Perino, *And the Good News Is . . .* (New York: Twelve, 2015); Kent Garber, "Teddy Roosevelt, on the Bull Moose Party Ticket, Battles Incumbent William Howard Taft," *U.S. News and World Report*, January 17, 2008; Tony Freeman-tle, "Bush, Clinton Form Unlikely Bond on Tsunami Tour," *Houston Chronicle*, March 7, 2005; Bob Greene, *Fraternity: A Journey*

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IV. THE HANGOVER

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V. CASHING IN

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VI. REDEMPTION

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VII. AMERICA'S PYRAMIDS AND THE WEIGHT OF LEGACY

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VIII. THE FIRST LADIES CIRCLE

Interview subjects include Barbara Bush, Rosalynn Carter, Laura Bush, Deesha Dyer, Jean Becker, Neil Bush, Anita McBride, Gustavo Paredes, Liz Allen, Susie Tompkins Buell, Jim McGrath, Ann Compton, Don Evans, Russell Riley, Christine Limerick, and Paul Costello. Published sources include “ABC News: Michelle Obama ‘Stopped Even Trying to Smile’ at Trump Inauguration,” CNN, November 12, 2018; Kate Andersen Brower, *First Women: The Grace and Power of America’s Modern First Ladies* (New York: HarperCollins, 2016); Hillary Rodham Clinton, *Living History* (New York: Scribner, 2003); Hilary Weaver, “Laura Bush, Michelle Obama, and the Soft Power of Outspoken First Ladies,” *Vanity Fair*, June 20, 2018; Mark K. Updegrove, *Second Acts: Presidential Lives and Legacies After the White House* (Guilford, CT: Lyons Press, 2006); Sandra Sobieraj Westfall, “After 67 Years of Marriage, What Do Jimmy and Rosalynn Carter Mean by ‘ILYTG’?,” *People*, October 8, 2014; Laura Bush, *Spoken from the Heart* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2010); Yesha Callahan, “Michelle Obama Talks Post-White House, Relationships, and Living a Healthy Life at Essence Festival,” *Essence*, July 7, 2019; Jessica Kwong, “Melania Trump Follows Her Husband’s Least Favorite Person on Twitter: Barack Obama,” *Newsweek*, February 6, 2018; Chris Cillizza, “Michelle Obama Just Compared Donald Trump to a ‘Divorced Dad,’” CNN, April 16, 2019; David Nakamura, “President Trump Traveled 250 Yards to Greet George W. Bush. He Used a Stretch Limo and an Eight-Vehicle Motorcade to Make the Trip,” *Washington Post*, December 5, 2018; Jim Frederick, “Q & A with Chelsea Clinton,” *Time*, September 26, 2012; Barack Obama, Remarks at a Campaign Rally for Democratic Presidential Nominee Hillary Rodham Clinton, October 14, 2016, Cleveland; Hillary Clinton, *It Takes a Village*

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IX. “WEIRD SHIT” STRIKES THE PRESIDENTS CLUB

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