### **CURRICULUM VITAE**

May 2022

# **Christopher Clay DeMuth**

Hudson Institute
1201 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20004
cdemuth@hudson.org | www.ccdemuth.com

#### **EDUCATION**

University of Chicago Law School (J.D. 1973)

Harvard College (A.B. 1968)

The Lawrenceville School (1964)

### **CURRENT POSITION**

Distinguished Fellow, Hudson Institute (2012–)

### PREVIOUS OCCUPATIONS

D. C. Searle Senior Fellow, American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research, Washington, D.C. (2009–2011)

President, American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research, Washington, D.C. (1986–2008)

Managing Director, Lexecon Inc., Washington, D.C. (1984–1986)

Editor-in-Chief and Publisher, Regulation, Washington, D.C. (1986–1987)

Administrator, Office of Information and Regulatory Affairs, U.S. Office of Management and Budget, Washington, D.C. (1981–1984)

Executive Director, Presidential Task Force on Regulatory Relief, The White House, Washington, D.C. (1981–1983)

Director, Harvard Faculty Project on Regulation, and Lecturer in Public Policy, Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. (1977–1981)

Associate General Counsel, Consolidated Rail Corporation, Philadelphia, Penna. (1976–1977)

Attorney, Sidley & Austin, Chicago, Ill. (1973–1976)

Staff Assistant to the President and Chairman, White House Task Force on Environmental Quality, The White House, Washington, D.C. (1969–1970)

## BOARDS, COMMITTEES, AND ADJUNCT AFFILIATIONS

Chairman, Board of Trustees, The AHA Foundation (2007–)

Co-Chairman, Board of Visitors, The Federalist Society (2010–)

Board of Trustees, Edmund Burke Foundation (2019–)

Member, Board of Advisors, Alliance for Market Solutions (2016–)

Governor, Smith Richardson Foundation (2002–2008; 2016–)

Editorial Advisory Board, Regulation Magazine, Cato Institute (2012–)

Distinguished Senior Fellow, C. Boyden Gray Center for the Study of the Administrative State, Antonin Scalia Law School, George Mason University (2015–)

Advisor, Regulation and the Rule of Law Initiative, Hoover Institution, Stanford University (2016–)

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Public Member, Administrative Conference of the United States (2016–2021)

Board of Directors, State Farm Insurance Companies (2004–2019)

Advisory Board, Henry Salvatori Center, Claremont McKenna College (2012–2019)

President, Board of Directors, Constitutional Enterprises Corporation (owner of *National Review*) (2011–2015); Board of Trustees, National Review Institute (2015–2016)

Grant Advisor, Searle Freedom Trust (1997–2013)

Board of Directors, Donors Capital Fund (2000–2012)

Chairman, Board of Directors, Clean Burn, Inc. (1990–2013)

Board of Trustees, American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research (1986–2008)

Chairman, Board of Directors, DeMuth Steel Products Company (1990–2006)

Visiting Committee, University of Chicago Law School (1998–2001)

Visiting Committee, Harvard Kennedy School of Government (1995–1998)

Board of Directors, Insurance Services Office (1990–1995)

### **BOOKS AND MONOGRAPHS**

Religion and the American Future (ed., with Yuval Levin), AEI Press 2008

An Agenda for Federal Regulatory Reform (with Robert W. Hahn, Robert W. Crandall,

and Robert E. Litan), AEI Press 1997

The Neoconservative Imagination: Essays in Honor of Irving Kristol (ed., with William Kristol), AEI Press 1995

# PUBLISHED ESSAYS, ARTICLES, AND REVIEWS

"The Nation is the Heart of the Matter," Law & Liberty, April 9, 2022

"Long Live Ukraine, Taiwan, and the Nation State," The Wall Street Journal, Feb. 5, 2022

"Why America Needs National Conservatism," The Wall Street Journal, Nov. 13, 2021

"Which American Way?" The Wall Street Journal, Oct. 15, 2021

"National Diversity is the Sine Qua Non of EU Reform and European Revival," Mandiner Magazine, October 7, 2021

"America's Welfare State Is on Borrowed Time," The Wall Street Journal, May 5, 2021

"The Rise and Rise of Deficit Government," Law & Liberty, May 5, 2021

"The Electoral College Saved the Election," The Wall Street Journal, Jan. 9, 2021

"The Electoral College By Dawn's Early Light," *Claremont Review of Books*, Winter 2000/21

"Stephen Williams on Liberal Reform," Law & Liberty, Nov. 5, 2020

"Israel's Civil Service May Be Necessary, but Its Legislature Is Indispensable," *Mosaic*, Sept. 14, 2020

"Trump Rewrites the Book on Emergencies," The Wall Street Journal, April 18, 2020

"Cost-Benefit Analysis vs. Regulatory Budgeting," 11 (1) *Journal of Benefit Cost Analysis*, 41–48 (Spring 2020)

"The British Conservative Party Should Stop Cancelling Conservatives" (with Yoram Hazony) Quillette, February 19, 2020

"National Conservatism," The Wall Street Journal, February 12, 2020

"The Man Who Saved the Electoral College," National Affairs, Winter 2020

"America's Nationalist Awakening," The Wall Street Journal, July 19, 2019

"Welfare and Debt: A Moynihanian Assessment," The American Interest, April 23, 2019

"Trump and the Revolt of the 'Somewheres'," The Wall Street Journal, March 2, 2019

- "Trumpism, Nationalism, and Conservatism," *Claremont Review of Books*, Winter 2018–2019 (*Commentary* on this essay)
- "Mending Walls," Jewish Review of Books, Fall 2018
- "The Difference Congress Makes," Claremont Review of Books, Summer 2018
- "The Administrative State: Congress as Coconspirator," Heritage Foundation Lecture, May 15, 2018 (delivered), Jan. 25, 2019 (published)
- "Repairing Our Fractured Politics," National Review Online, January 11, 2018
- "Trump vs. the Deep Regulatory State," The Wall Street Journal, November 18, 2017
- "The Constitution at 230: The Dangers of Letting Legislative Powers Atrophy," *The Philadelphia Inquirer*, September 18, 2017
- "The Spirit of Michael Novak," The Weekly Standard, March 6, 2017
- "The Method in Trump's Tumult," The Wall Street Journal, February 11, 2017
- "Regulatory Reform: A New Approach for the Trump Era," *The Weekly Standard*, January 30, 2017
- "Agency Finance in an Age of Executive Government," (with Michael S. Greve), 24 George Mason Law Review 555–594 (2017)
- "All Purpose Spectrum Licenses: The Essential Next Step in the Wireless Revolution," In Jim Manzi, et al., *Unleashing Opportunity: Policy Reforms to Advance Innovation*, December 2016
- "A Trump-Ryan Constitutional Revival," The Wall Street Journal, November 26, 2016
- "Our Voracious Executive Branch," The Weekly Standard, June 27, 2016
- "Can the Administrative State Be Tamed?" 8(1) Journal of Legal Analysis 121–190 (Spring 2016)
- "Reviving a Constitutional Congress," *Imprimis*, November 2015
- "The Decline and Fall of Congress," The Wall Street Journal, October 18, 2015
- "Agency Taxation," Engage, Vol. 16, No. 2; September 4, 2015
- "Congress Incongruous," Liberty Law Forum; August 2015
- "Our Corrupt Government," Claremont Review of Books, Summer 2015
- "The Republicans' Congress Problem," National Review Online, January 13, 2015
- "A Constitutional Congress?", The Weekly Standard, October 27, 2014

- "Our Democratic Debt," National Review, July 21, 2014
- "America's Deficit-Attention Disorder," RealClearMarkets, July 10, 2014
- "Capital for the Masses," The Wall Street Journal, April 7, 2014
- "The FDA Nixes a Pathbreaking Drug for MS" (with Christopher DeMuth Jr.), *The Wall Street Journal*, January 17, 2014
- "The Silence of the Liberals," The Weekly Standard, December 23, 2013
- "This Federal Shutdown is Much More Serious Than the Others," Forbes, October 6, 2013
- "The Bucks Start Here," Claremont Review of Books, Summer 2013
- "Open Skies and Open Spectrum: The Occasional Power of Simple Ideas," *National Review*, June 15, 2013
- "The Real Cliff," The Weekly Standard, December 24, 2012
- "A Referendum on ObamaCare and Liberty," The Wall Street Journal, November 5, 2012
- "The Regulatory State," National Affairs, Summer 2012
- "A Gentleman and a Scholar: James Q. Wilson, 1931–2012, *The Weekly Standard*, March 19, 2012
- "OIRA at Thirty," 63 Administrative Law Review 3:101 (2011)
- "Competition and the Constitution," 9 National Affairs 38 (Fall 2011)
- "Contemporary Conservatism and Government Regulation," in *The Future of American Conservatism* (Joel Aberbach and Gillian Peele, eds.), Oxford University Press, 2011
- "Rationalism in Regulation" (with Douglas H. Ginsburg) 108 Michigan Law Review 877 (April 2010)
- "The Practical Liberal," *The American*, September 22, 2009
- "Think-Tank Confidential," The Wall Street Journal, October 11, 2007
- "What the U.N. Needs Now" (with Herbert London), *The Washington Times*, *September* 7, 2006
- "Reaganomics: How's It Going?" National Review, August 28, 2006
- "Some Transatlantic Challenges," AEI On the Issues, July 24, 2006
- "Unlimited Government," The American Enterprise, January/February 2006
- "Why the Economy Must Remain Job One," The American Enterprise, June 2004

- "Guns, Butter, and the War on Terror," The Wall Street Journal, April 29, 2004
- "Governors (and Generals) Rule," The American Enterprise, January/February 2004
- "Practical Environmentalism versus Romantic Environmentalism" (with Steven Hayward), AEI Environmental Policy Outlook, July 2002
- "The Kyoto Treaty Deserved to Die," The American Enterprise, September 2001
- "Smoke and Smears" (with Steven Hayward), The Weekly Standard, October 30, 2000
- "Count Our Blessings, and Failings," The Australian, May 23, 2000
- "Why the Era of Big Government Isn't Over," Commentary, April 2000
- "Politics and the Constitution at the EPA," AEI On the Issues, July 1999
- "Wizards of Ozone," The Weekly Standard, June 21, 1999
- "The Strange Case of the E-Rate," AEI On the Issues, July 1998
- "The New Wealth of Nations," Commentary, October 1997
- "Not Quite the End of Racism," The Wall Street Journal, November 3, 1995
- "Real Regulatory Reform," AEI On the Issues, May 1995
- "Regulatory Policy in the Reagan Administration," in *American Economic Policy in the* 1980s (Martin Feldstein, ed.), University of Chicago Press 1993, p. 504
- "Captain of Enterprise—Christopher DeMuth on the Business of Liberty" (interview), *Policy Review*, Spring 1992
- "Plastic Populism," The Wall Street Journal, November 19, 1991
- "Is Perestroika Possible? Advice from a U.S. Deregulator," *Finanzmarkt und Portfolio Management* (5 Jahrgang 1991)
- "The Pen and the Scales" (review of Richard A. Posner, *Law and Literature: A Misunderstood Relation*), *The Wall Street Journal*, February 15, 1989
- "The Case Against Credit Card Interest Rate Regulation," 3 Yale Journal on Regulation 201 (1986)
- "White House Review of Agency Rulemaking" (with Douglas H. Ginsburg), 99 Harvard Law Review 1075 (1986)
- "Regulation, Productivity, and the Reagan Administration's Regulatory Reform Program," in *Regulatory Reform Reconsidered* (Gregory A. Daneke and David J. Lemak, eds.), Westview Press 1985

- "A Strategy for Regulatory Reform," Regulation, March/April 1985
- "Deregulation and Antitrust Reform," 53 Antitrust Law Journal 189 (1984)
- "The *Chadha* Decision and the Prospects for Regulatory Reform," *Administrative Law Journal* (1984)
- "What is Regulation?" in *What Role for Government?* (Richard J. Zeckhauser and Derek Leebart, eds.), Duke University Press 1983, p. 262
- "A Strong Beginning on Reform," Regulation, January/February 1982
- "Constraining Regulatory Costs—The Regulatory Budget," *Regulation*, March/April 1980
- "Constraining Regulatory Costs—The White House Review Programs," *Regulation*, January/February 1980
- "The Regulatory Budget as a Management Tool for Reforming Regulation" (with Richard H. Sharkson, Eric O. Stork, and Arthur Wright), Joint Economic Committee, United States Congress, May 1979
- "Why Are There Neoconservatives?", The American Spectator, November 1979
- "The FTC's Tantrum Against Children's Television," The American Spectator, April 1979
- "Protecting Consumers from Regulation," The American Spectator, January 1978
- "Tubthumping in the Political Marketplace," The Wall Street Journal, November 30, 1977
- "Class Conflict on the Nation's Freeways," The Wall Street Journal, October 14, 1977
- "Off Track" (review of Dan Lufkin, Many Sovereign States), 15 Business and Society Review 106 (1975)
- "Banfield Returns," *The Alternative*, November 1974)
- "Deregulating the Cities," The Public Interest, Summer 1976
- "Revenue Sharing," The Wall Street Journal, February 25, 1971

### SUPREME COURT AMICUS BRIEFS

See: www.ccdemuth.com/amicus-briefs

### **COURSE READING LISTS**

See: www.ccdemuth.com/reading-lists

# **CONGRESSIONAL TESTIMONY**

- Testimony before the House Committee on the Judiciary at a hearing on the Regulatory Accountability Act of 2011, October 25, 2011
- Testimony before the House Committee on Energy and Commerce, Subcommittee on the Environment and the Economy, at a hearing on Environmental Regulations, the Economy, and Jobs, February 15, 2011

### **UNPUBLISHED PAPERS**

- Keynote Address, "Multiculturalism and Nationalism," Conference, "Multiculturalism vs. America," Claremont Institute, University Club, May 3, 2019
- "Conservatism and Regulation," December 2011
- "Executive Government and Bankrupt Government," Dinner Address, Transatlantic Law Forum 2013 Annual Meeting, George Mason University School of Law, Arlington, Va., February, 2013
- "Unintended Consequences and Intended Non-Consequences," Bradley Lecture, American Enterprise Institute, Washington, D.C., June 2009
- "Competition in Government," presented at Annual Meeting, American Political Science Association, Philadelphia, Penna., September 2006
- "Twenty-Five Years of Reaganomics: Successes, Failures, and Lessons," lecture at a conference on "The Conservative Movement: Its Past, Present, and Future," sponsored by James Madison Program in American Ideals and Institutions and Center for the Study of Democratic Politics, Princeton University, Princeton, N.J., December 2, 2005.
- "Freedom's Future: From Revolution to Institutions," presented at a FAES Conference on Freedom and Revolution, Madrid, Spain, March 2005
- "Economic Reform as a Security Strategy," presented at an IPS Herzliya Conference on the National Security of Israel, Herzliya, Israel, December 2003
- "Competition as a Principle of Good Government," Inaugural Lecture, America's Founding and Future Lecture Series, George Madison Program, Princeton University, Princeton, N.J., November 2002
- "After the Ascent: Politics and Government in the Super-Affluent Society," Francis Boyer Lecture, American Enterprise Institute, Washington, D.C., February 2000
- "Genetic Research and Society," presented at American Enterprise Institute conference, "The Promise of DNA Research," Washington, D.C., June 1997
- "The Politics of Trade and 'Bourgeois Liberalism'," presented at American Enterprise Institute conference, "China's Modernization—Strategic and Economic

- Implications," Singapore, March 1987
- "Should Product-Liability Law be Nationalized?" presented at National Science Foundation/ Carnegie-Mellon University conference on "Regulation at the Crossroads," Pittsburgh, Penna., September 1985
- "Domestic Regulation and International Competitiveness," presented at Harvard University conference on "U.S. Competitiveness in the World Economy," Cambridge, Mass., May 1980
- "Advertising and the First Amendment," Working Paper, Harvard Faculty Project on Regulation, Cambridge, Mass., November 1979

#### PRIVATE CONSULTING REPORTS THAT ARE PUBLICLY AVAILABLE

- An Economic Analysis of the Vertical Integration Restriction in the Loews Antitrust Decree, prepared for Loews Theatre Management, Inc., November 1988
- Economic Issues in the Mandatory Sale of an Ownership Interest in the Farley Nuclear Power Plant, prepared for the Alabama Power Company, July 1986
- Consumer Banks and the Regulation of Banking (with Daniel R. Fischel, Alan S. Frankel, Andrew M. Rosenfield, and Robert S. Stillman), prepared for Sears Roebuck & Company, September 1985
- The Economics of Gray-Market Imports (with Dennis W. Carlton), prepared for the Coalition to Preserve the Integrity of American Trademarks, May 1985
- Statement in Response to the National Telecommunications Information
  Administration's Request for Comments in Connection with the Comprehensive
  Study of the Structure and Regulation of the U.S. Telecommunications Industry
  (with Dennis W. Carlton, William M. Landes, and Andrew M. Rosenfield),
  prepared for Ameritech, February 1985
- An Economic Analysis of the Medicare Physician Fee Freeze (with Sam Peltzman), prepared for the American Medical Association, December 1984

#### **PERSONAL**

Married to Susan Ann DeMuth, MD; three children (Christopher DeMuth Jr., Elizabeth Braman, Catherine Stone) and twelve grandchildren