

ILLUMINATION

THE UNIVERSITY OF VIRGINIA'S MILLER CENTER

SPRING 2022



VITAL CENTER OF AMERICAN POLITICS
New book by Sidney Milkis
p. 4

BY THE NUMBERS

So how does the Miller Center Presidential Oral History Program work? We invite members of former presidential administrations to spend a day or two with scholars reviewing and reflecting on their experiences in office for the benefit of generations

to come. These sessions capture for the permanent historical record a picture of each presidency, seen through the eyes of those who knew it best.

1981

The Miller Center began its unique approach to presidential oral histories during our 1981 project covering the Jimmy Carter White House. Ours differ from traditional interview practices because we cover all key actors in an entire administration.

120

The number of hours it takes professional researchers to compile a “briefing book” for each interview. These books assist in preparing both the interviewees and the interviewers, sometimes reminding even the subject about forgotten accomplishments and events.

8,345,000

Approximate number of words in all published Miller Center Presidential Oral History projects since the inception of the program.

220

The approximate number of square feet of physical storage space required for oral history files. Secure storage and strict confidentiality agreements from all participants are critical in order to foster candid discussions.

750

Oral history interviews conducted since the program began, about 20 per year.

READ MORE AT
millercenter.org/presidential-oral-histories

WHY I GIVE



MAYA GHAEMMAGHAMI, a Miller Center Governing Council member and retired hematologist and oncologist in Charlottesville, Virginia

WHY IS THE MILLER CENTER IMPORTANT TO YOU?

I believe we need a reputable, scholarly institution that discusses the topics that are important to Americans, without bias.

There are no answers. That's not what I'm looking for. I want *information*.

Newspapers and cable news lean one way or the other. But at the Miller Center, I get an academic viewpoint, delving deeply into the full spectrum of critical issues.

SO, THE MILLER CENTER'S COMMITMENT TO NONPARTISANSHIP IS A BIG PART OF THE DRAW FOR YOU?

Whatever one's views are, we can learn about policy issues from the other side. I have seen the Miller Center from all angles: as an active participant in its weekly events, as a donor, and as a member of the governing board. What the Miller Center provides

is an opportunity for anyone in the public to learn about public policy without fear or favor.

YOU'RE A PHYSICIAN. WHAT'S YOUR TAKE ON OUR EFFORTS TO EXAMINE AND ANALYZE HEALTH POLICY DURING THE PANDEMIC?

Health care policy affects all of us, no matter our political affiliation. The Miller Center is a perfect venue for these discussions. The goal always is to find ways to work together and move forward.

WHAT ABOUT OUR WEEKLY EVENTS?

Miller Center scholars truly are a hidden gem in our community, offering their insights through lectures, book talks, and Q&As—all free to the public and available online at millercenter.org.

I'm particularly impressed by the high frequency and caliber of the public programming. It's trustworthy. What I learn at each event allows me to make up my own mind—whether the speakers are covering issues of health care, equity, elections, democracy, or foreign relations. There's no other place like it.

TO GIVE A GIFT TO THE MILLER CENTER, VISIT
millercenter.org/donate

A LETTER FROM THE DIRECTOR

By BILL ANTHOLIS *Director & CEO*



We stand at a crisis-filled moment. A pandemic, economic shocks, and a return to war in Europe have us living in a state of anxiety and conflict.

What does presidential history teach us about how to address these challenges?

We start with our scholars. That expertise is anchored in the Miller Center's two unique programs: our Presidential Oral History Program and our Presidential Recordings Program.

Our oral history team invites members of former administrations to reflect on their experiences in office for the benefit of future generations. We have done so for every president since Gerald Ford. Currently, we are conducting interviews for the presidency of Barack Obama, with a deep-dive into Hillary Rodham Clinton's service as secretary of state. And we're looking ahead to a project on the presidency of Donald Trump.

Parallel to that work, our recordings program transcribes thousands of hours of audio, from Franklin Roosevelt to Richard Nixon. An essential source for historians and scholars, this is also a gold mine for documentarians—including those who recently produced CNN's *LBJ: Triumph and Tragedy* (page 13).

These two "pillars" of the Miller Center are the top priority of our capital campaign—for which we are building a \$20 million endowment.

The rest of the Miller Center's faculty and fellows—from across UVA and beyond—conduct cutting-edge research. A leading example graces the cover of this issue of *Illumination*. It draws from *What Happened to the Vital Center?*—a new book by Sidney Milkis, our White Burkett Miller Professor of Governance and Foreign Affairs and a senior member of UVA's department of politics. He and his coauthor, Nicholas Jacobs, write about how trends toward populism on both the left and right contribute to a strengthening of presidential power.

Likewise, our new **Project on Democracy and Capitalism** (page 12), conceived by Faculty Senior Fellow Robert Bruner (UVA's Darden School of Business), draws on his

work with our oral history team on the 2008–09 financial crisis. Bob and a group of scholars are developing teaching materials and policy recommendations based on where democracy and capitalism have—and have not—worked together.

Similarly, our new **Health Policy Initiative** (page 10) builds on our Presidential Recordings Program. It explores the history of health care challenges, including how LBJ's establishment of Medicaid and Medicare shaped our public health system. It is led by Associate Professor Guian McKee, a leading authority on both LBJ and health policy history, and Margaret Foster Riley, our Dorothy Danforth Compton Professor.

And after **Russia's invasion of Ukraine**, we quickly launched a pop-up event series and a blog. The blog (millercenter.org/russias-invasion-ukraine), which became a clearing-house for real-time insights on the Russian invasion and the evolving implications for Europe, the United States, world peace, and economic stability. The pop-up events featured UVA experts, diplomats, and current and former government officials.

Across these projects, we also collaborate beyond the University with former administration officials, scholars from other institutions, and Miller Center board members. Recently, I teamed up with one such board member, Dave Burke (Selby Lane Capital), to co-teach a class on President Biden's first year in the White House. Together, we created a framework that our students could use to assess leadership—connecting back to our core presidential research.

"[The class was] a private conversation with a group of 22 year olds who are about to launch into their careers, and they're talking to [former officials who have] been doing it for 30, 40 years," Dave told reporter Andrew Ramspacher (page 6). "Maybe . . . they get a job. Maybe we create some mentorships."

Our hope across all these activities is quite simple: to use the experiences of practitioners to give guidance to America's leaders—both in the present and future.



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WHAT HAPPENED TO THE VITAL CENTER?

IN THEIR NEW BOOK, THE MILLER CENTER'S SIDNEY MILKIS AND HIS FORMER STUDENT NICHOLAS JACOBS
LOOK AT POPULISM, PARTY POLITICS, AND THE PRESIDENCY

By the time he formally declared his candidacy for president, every American already knew his name. For decades, he made national headlines by defying the conventional wisdom and deriding the political establishment—attracting the ire of sitting presidents, disgusting the intellectual elite, and capturing the media's attention. His name was synonymous with a provocative style, distinguished by a thick accent, a clear sign to his followers that he was not a conventional politician. He claimed to speak for the “forgotten” American—those who felt left behind by seismic cultural, economic, and political change.

In running his campaign, he trashed leaders of both parties and national heroes. In front of large banners reading “Stand Up for America!” he taunted bureaucrats, shouting that we needed to “take away their briefcases and throw them in the Potomac River!”

He spoke of crime in the streets and promised that “if we were president today, you wouldn’t get stabbed or raped in the shadow of the White House, even if we had to call out 30,000 troops and equip them with two-foot-long bayonets and station them every few feet apart.”

His rallies were staged spectacles. Campaign staffers ensured that a couple of demonstrators would always be able to sneak in, so that they could shout down the candidate as a fascist and a neo-Nazi. These protesters were pawns in staged political theater, allowing the leader of “real Americans” to play the strongman his followers craved: “Come on down, I’ll autograph your sandals,” he would yell back.

George Wallace wanted to be president. And in 1968, nearly 10 million Americans—13.5 percent of voters—supported him.

Wallace’s assault on the “establishment” echoed a rallying cry that is endemic to American politics. As bitter and divisive as modern American politics appears, such eruptions have frequently roiled the country. Farmers in Western Pennsylvania mobilized in the 1790s and violently attacked federal tax collectors who were implementing the new government’s excise tax on distilled spirits; rage over this controversial tax issue galvanized a mob of nearly 7,000 men who marched on Pittsburgh determined to raze the American “Sodom” and loot the homes of its merchant elite.

Fifty years later in 1863, at the height of the Civil War, the largest riot in American history broke out in New York City in response to Congress’s new draft order. White working-class residents—many of them new, impoverished Irish immigrants—were enraged by the provision that allowed wealthy citizens to buy substitutes for the draft at the cost of an average workingman’s yearly salary. Anger swelled as the mob torched the homes of prominent politicians and lynched Black residents throughout Manhattan.

A century later, in the 1950s, anticommunist hysteria swept the nation. Lesser-known politicians, including a young congressman, Richard Nixon, took advantage of new television audiences, fabricated lists of suspected communist agents in high-level positions throughout government and society, and subjected them to vindictive hearings on Capitol Hill. Suspicion seeped out of Washington, and by the beginning of the 1960s, 100,000 dues-paying members had joined the John Birch Society—an organization formed to fight communism’s spread.

The anger of Wallace and his followers was animated by civil rights reform and the antiwar movement of the 1960s. But like all populists, they were tapping into a deep strain of unmediated protest, which has defined the American experiment in self-government since the beginning.

THROUGHOUT
AMERICAN HISTORY,
POLITICIANS HAVE
ROUTINELY EXPLOITED THE
PERVASIVE BELIEF THAT
THE COUNTRY’S POLITICAL
SYSTEM IS RIGGED
AND ILLEGITIMATE.

Donald Trump is just the latest manifestation of populist rage. Certainly, there are important ideological differences between Wallace and Trump, and between the state-building motivations of 19th-century populists and the antitax, agrarian rebellions of the late 1700s.

But populist politics is as much a matter of style as substance. While scholars have gone to great lengths to try to categorize populism’s various iterations—reactionary versus progressive, conservative versus liberal, coercive versus democratizing—we see a common refrain. Throughout American history, politicians have routinely exploited the pervasive belief that the country’s political system is rigged and illegitimate.

While populism cuts a deep current through American political history, so too does its antithesis. Standing in its path is a form of constitutional politics—the practice of persuasion, negotiation, and compromise, the art of acknowledging irreconcilable differences, of appreciating diversity in how people want to live their own lives, and of recognizing the limits to collective action.

Populism is vindictive, spurred by the desire to seek revenge on those in power because of a sense of prolonged injustice. Followers are uncompromising in their beliefs and distrustful of those who do not share their vision of a remade future. As much as cynicism and suspicion are the hallmarks of the populist, faith in institutions and desire to persuade are necessary ingredients of spirited republican debate and resolution. Leaders of populist movements exploit the

anger of disaffected citizens and offer simple solutions to complex questions. Patient, sober statesmanship is drowned out by the fury of self-righteousness that makes wise citizens look cowardly, and foolish ones courageous.



EXCERPTED FROM *WHAT HAPPENED TO THE VITAL CENTER? PRESIDENTIALISM, POPULIST REVOLT, AND THE FRACTURING OF AMERICA*, BY SIDNEY MILKIS AND NICHOLAS JACOBS (OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS, 2022).
READ MORE EXCERPTS AT millercenter.org/vital-center

FIRST YEAR

MEETING SOME

BOOK STARTERS

OF THE **POLICY WORLD**

UVA STUDENTS LEARN LESSONS FROM A PRESIDENTIAL FIRST YEAR—

AND FROM BIG NAMES IN PUBLIC SERVICE

BY ANDREW RAMSPACHER, *UVA TODAY*



CLARENCE PAGE

TOM DONILON

FIONA HILL

JOHN BRIDGELAND

JOHN HARRIS

Tom Donilon was in his third year at the University of Virginia School of Law when he sat down for lunch with a friend in Washington, D.C.

By this point—spring 1985—his résumé already included a degree from Catholic University and work in the Jimmy Carter White House. He had plans to begin a political consulting firm following his time at UVA Law. While such a proposed future seemed rewarding, his lunch mate offered an alternative.

“Why would you do that?” Warren Christopher asked. “You could come work at my law firm.”

Christopher, deputy secretary of state under Carter, was a mentor to Donilon, who went on to serve in the administrations of Clinton (as U.S. State Department chief of staff) and Obama (as national security advisor). Trust on both sides led Donilon to soon join Christopher’s prestigious O’Melveny & Myers firm.

Donilon told this story to a class of UVA students in January, as part of a leadership course called “President Biden’s First Year.”

Twelve fourth-year students at UVA—selected by William Antholis, director of the Miller Center; and entrepreneur/investor Dave Burke, a member of the Miller Center’s Governing Council—had a chance to interview a bipartisan series of prominent leaders from the executive and legislative branches, as well as from media and nonprofit organizations.

Guests also included Pulitzer Prize winner and member of the *Chicago Tribune*’s editorial board Clarence Page; Ambassador of Ireland to the United States Daniel Mulhall; senior director for European and Russian affairs on the National Security Council (2017–19) Fiona Hill; John Bridgeland, former domestic policy advisor to President George W. Bush; *POLITICO* co-founder John Harris; and 12 others.

“These are fireside chats,” said Burke. “Kids can ask anything they want of these world and national leaders. If they want to ask about Biden’s first year, fine, but most want to know how these people got to where they are, how they process what’s going on in the world right now.”

The course connects to the Miller Center’s long-standing focus on the first year of U.S. presidencies (millercenter.org/the-first-year). “We’re using it as a framework for assessing leadership,” said Antholis, who also hosted a two-day webinar on the topic near the anniversary of Biden’s inauguration (watch it at the same link).

“This class is a private conversation with a bunch of 22 year olds who are about to launch into their careers, and they’re talking to people who’ve been doing it for 30, 40 years,” Burke said. “Maybe someone they meet has an opening and they get a job. Maybe we create some mentorships.”

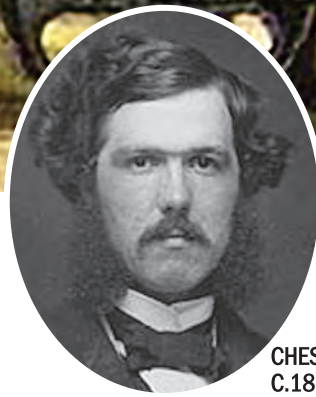
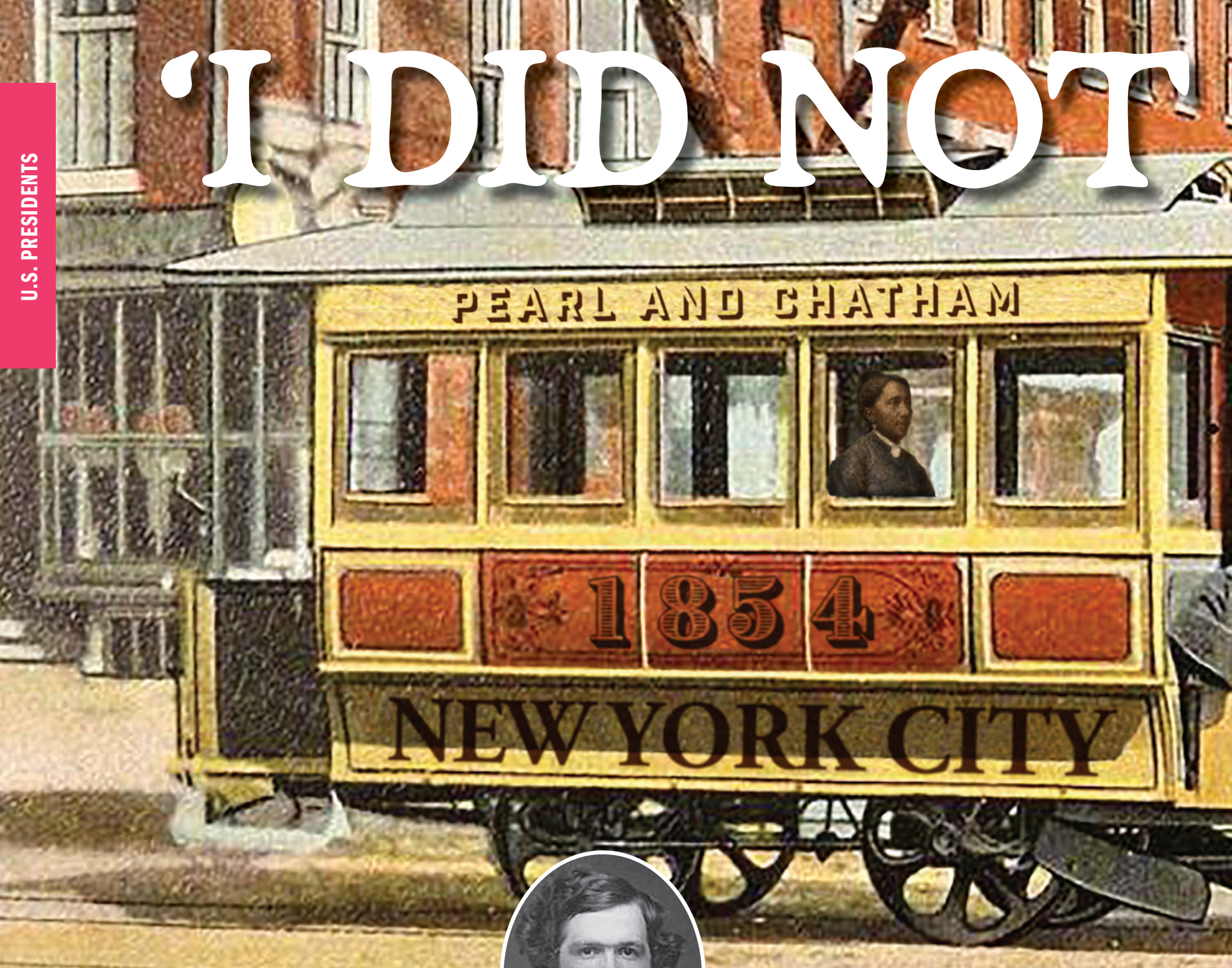
Domenick Bailey, a psychology and sociology major who’s been accepted into Harvard Law School, was fascinated by the discussion with Matan Chorev, the principal deputy director of the State Department’s policy planning staff. Chorev took students behind the curtain on difficult policy decisions. “At the end of the day, these are all humans with the same flaws and tendencies that we all have,” said Bailey. “So that’s why it’s important for us to always be there as guardrails to hold them accountable.”

When he was a UVA student himself, Antholis—who eventually would serve in the Clinton administration—interned with Bill Bradley, the former U.S. Senator and National Collegiate Basketball Hall of Fame inductee. It’s one of Antholis’s favorite memories because it illustrates the importance of a course like this.

“Seeing and understanding that Bradley was a real person was the biggest part of the internship,” Antholis said. “It breaks down this artificial wall. For many of the students, this will be their first opportunity to get that in-person connection. There’s a certain magic in seeing that happen for the first time.”

'I DID NOT

U.S. PRESIDENTS



CHESTER ARTHUR
c.1855

Elizabeth Jennings's first-person account appeared in the antislavery newspaper *The New York Daily Tribune* on June 19, 1854. Three days before, this 24-year-old schoolteacher on her way to church had boarded the Third Avenue Railroad in New York City. The conductor told her to wait for the next car, because it would be accepting Black riders.

Jennings, an African American encountering segregation in the country's largest city, refused. What ensued was a physical and legal battle in which another 24 year old, Chester A. Arthur, would play an important role.

At first, Jennings argued with the conductor. "I then told him 'I have no people . . . I wished to go to church,'" she wrote in the *Tribune* account.

He refused to move the streetcar and said he "had as much time as I had and could wait just as long." She replied, "Very well. We'll see."

Finally, the conductor appeared to relent, saying she could ride the car but would have to disembark if any white passengers objected. This was not good enough for Jennings, who demanded she be subjected to neither his authority nor the whims of white citizens: "I . . . told him I was a respectable person, born and raised in New York . . . and that he was a good-for-nothing impudent fellow for insulting decent persons on their way to church."

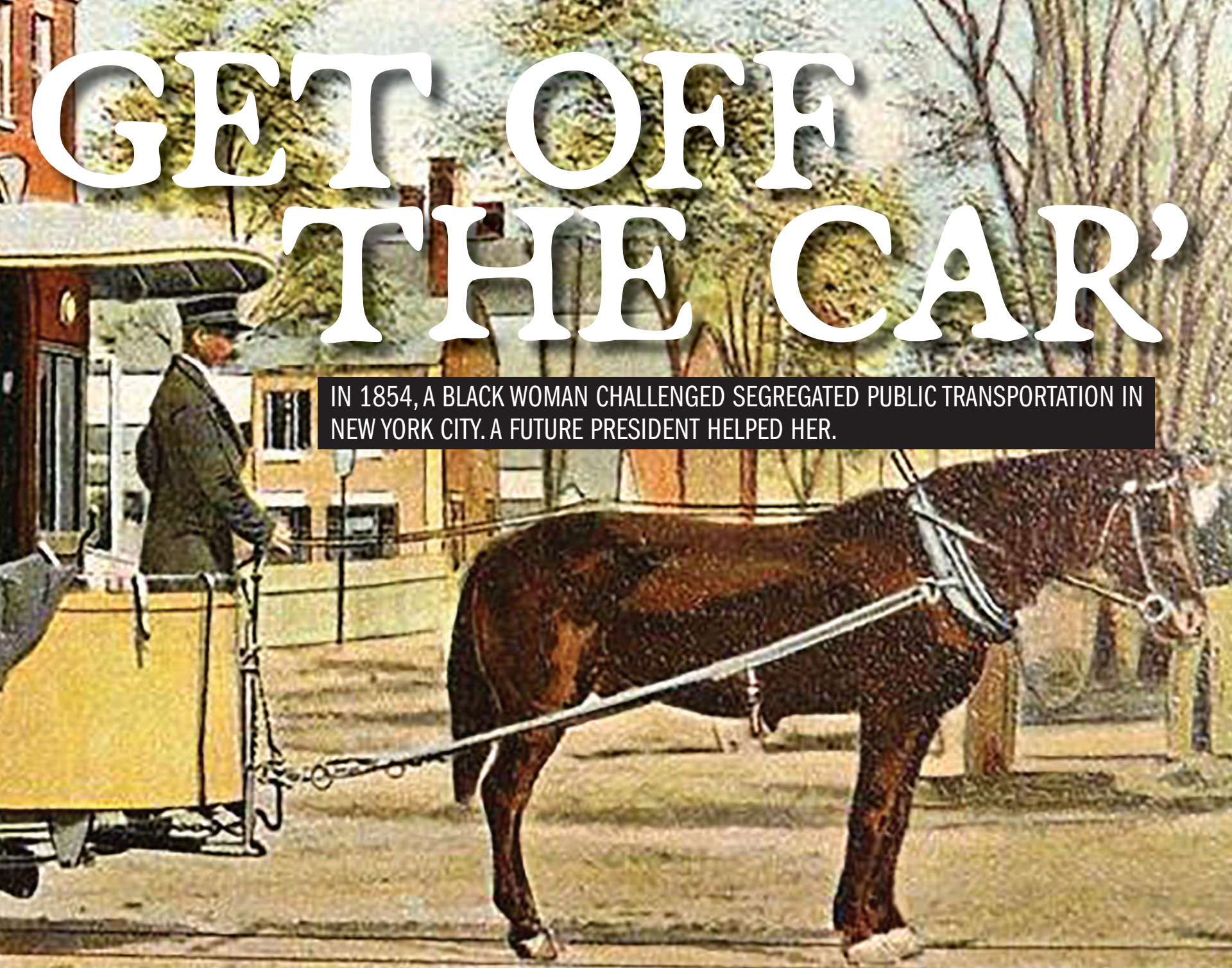
The conductor grabbed Jennings and tried to force her off. She grabbed a window, then the

conductor's coat. The conductor enlisted the help of the streetcar driver, who fastened the horses and helped drag the young woman to "the bottom of the platform, so that my feet hung one way and my head the other, nearly on the ground. I screamed murder with all my voice."

Still, Jennings returned to the car, and the conductor ordered the driver to proceed to the police station, where an officer helped remove Jennings as he "tauntingly told me to get redress if I could."

With the help of a future president, she could.

Chester Arthur, son of an abolitionist preacher and a new partner in the law firm of Culver, Parker & Arthur, had passed the bar only two months before. His firm was already involved in the case of *Lemmon v. People of New York*, trying to free seven enslaved Americans who had been placed in jail as



GET OFF THE CAR'

IN 1854, A BLACK WOMAN CHALLENGED SEGREGATED PUBLIC TRANSPORTATION IN NEW YORK CITY. A FUTURE PRESIDENT HELPED HER.

their owner attempted to ship them from Virginia to Texas. It was unsurprising, then, that the tight-knit African American community of New York hired the future president and his firm to work for them on behalf of Jennings.

Jennings's account received widespread publicity among African American New Yorkers and their supporters. Her father, Thomas L. Jennings, was a prominent tailor and community leader who helped found the famous Abyssinian Baptist Church. Her grandfather Jacob Cartwright was, as *Frederick Douglass' Paper* noted, "a native African, a soldier in the Revolutionary War, and took active part in city politics until the time of his death." Though slavery in the state had ended in 1827, Black citizens were determined to advance their rights and to end slavery elsewhere. The Jennings family was at the forefront of the effort.

Arthur was soon in front of New York State Judge

William Rockwell in a Brooklyn court. Rockwell instructed the all-white, all-male jury that "under the law, colored persons, if sober, well behaved and free from disease, had the right to ride the streetcars" and "could neither be excluded by any rules of the Company, nor by force or violence."

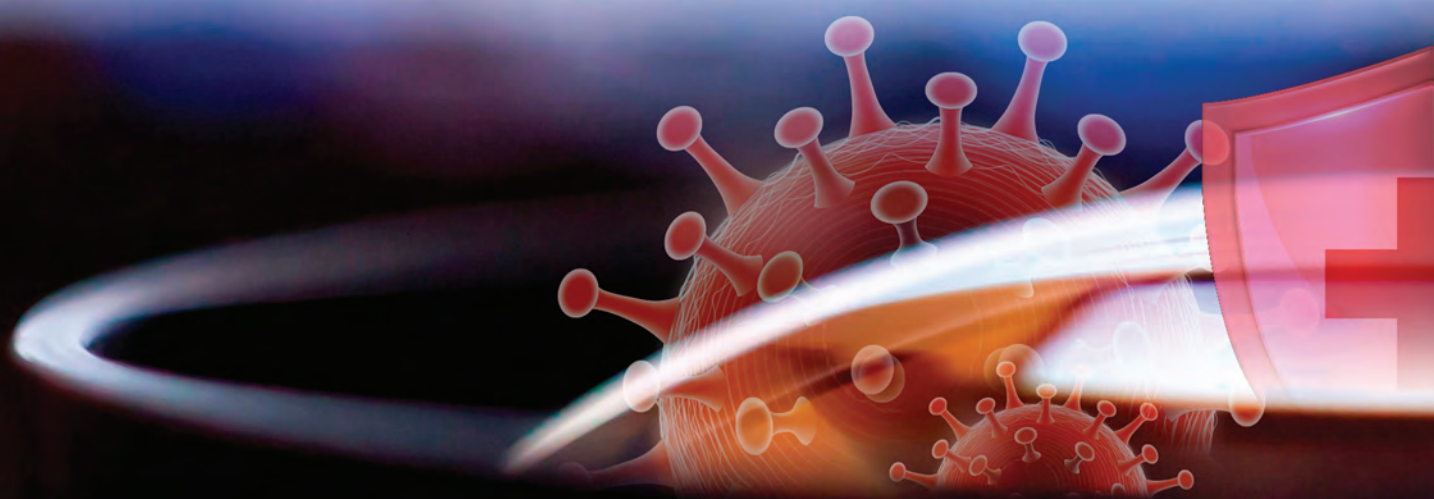
On March 2, 1855, *Douglass' Paper* reported the verdict: Jennings would be awarded \$250 (less than the \$500 for which she had asked). And when other New York streetcar companies failed to immediately integrate, Thomas Jennings founded the Legal Rights Association to challenge them. By the end of 1861, the entire system had been desegregated.

Arthur went on to win the *Lemmon* case in front of the New York State Supreme Court in 1860, but the victory came in the shadow of the Dred Scott decision and looming Civil War. During the war, Arthur rose to the rank of brigadier general

and began to cultivate political connections that would leave him as James Garfield's vice president. When Garfield was assassinated, Arthur became the 21st president of the United States.

Elizabeth Jennings continued to teach, married Charles Graham, and bore a son named Thomas, who died when he was one. Following the death of her husband, she founded New York City's first kindergarten for Black children. "Love of the beautiful," said a contemporary account of the school, "will be instilled in these youthful minds." Elizabeth Jennings Graham died in 1901, 15 years after Chester Arthur.

"U.S. PRESIDENTS" IS A SECTION OF MILLERCENTER.ORG THAT PROVIDES FACTS AND ESSAYS FOR ALL 45 COMMANDERS IN CHIEF. FOR MORE ON THE LIFE AND PRESIDENCY OF CHESTER ARTHUR, VISIT millercenter.org/president/arthur



HEALTH POLICY THROUGH A WIDER LENS

RESPONSES TO THE CURRENT PANDEMIC COME IN THE CONTEXT OF PAST AND FUTURE SCHOLARSHIP



More than 15 years before the world ever heard the words “COVID-19,” Dr. Frederick Hayden, a UVA infectious disease expert, previewed for a Miller Center audience what would happen during the next inevitable pandemic.

Hayden predicted that “medical supplies will be inadequate.”

He foresaw “large numbers of deaths” and vast “economic and social disruption.” And he anticipated the rapid development of vaccines and antiviral medicines. “This will happen,” Hayden said during his 2005 presentation. “It is inevitable.”

Although the Miller Center is primarily known for its presidential research and expertise, the Center has for many years also focused on health care policy. These critical learnings have come from guest speakers like Hayden, presidential oral histories, presidential recordings, and analysis of presidential policies

that form the core of Miller Center scholarship. Now all of that work, up to and including Covid-19, is assembled in one place on the Miller Center’s website for citizens, policy makers, and scholars alike to utilize (millercenter.org/health-care-policy).

The effort is led by a unique team of Miller Center scholars who combine historical, legal, public health, and policy expertise: Guian McKee, a professor of history whose work focuses on health care policy and Medicare; Margaret Riley, the Miller Center’s Dorothy Danforth Compton Professor, a professor at the UVA School of Law, the UVA School of Medicine, and the Frank Batten School of Leadership and Public Policy; and Syaru Shirley Lin, Compton Visiting Professor in World Politics at the Miller Center and the commissioner, chair, and convener of the Asia-Pacific Hub of the Reform for Resilience Commission, which works to manage global health challenges.

THE MILLER CENTER’S HEALTH POLICY INITIATIVE

When the Miller Center was founded, health care played a relatively minor role in the presidency and the U.S. federal budget. Today, as the Center approaches its 50th anniversary, health care programs make up the largest share of the federal budget, at 25 percent. As of 2019, total public and private health care spending in the United States equaled 17.6 percent of GDP.

These statistics capture the centrality of health care in American life, from the economy to the now-all-too-familiar challenges of public health. It has played an outsize role in the policy agendas of all recent presidents, from George W. Bush’s Medicare prescription drug benefit to Barack Obama’s Affordable Care Act, and Donald Trump and Joe Biden’s struggles with the COVID-19 pandemic. In response, the Center has launched a major initiative on health

care policy, building on existing research and event programs on the presidency and national security.

Two related themes govern the structure of the initiative: domestic health policy and global health security. While distinct, these tracks will attend to areas of interaction and overlap—something that the pandemic has demonstrated to be critical. Both areas will be characterized by the Center’s longstanding commitment to non-partisanship and its philosophy of giving careful attention to history and contemporary realities.

DOMESTIC

The domestic policy track will focus on issues related to the structure, organization, operation, and financing of the health care system in the United States from World War II to the present.

These will include the classic challenges of health care reform and presidential politics, but will also extend to crucial questions such as health care innovation, public health, racial and socioeconomic health disparities, structure of health care systems, health care cost control, and health and democratic values.

“THERE ARE 110 MILLION PEOPLE IN THIS COUNTRY WHO CAN’T AFFORD PROPER MEDICAL ATTENTION. THAT IS A DISGRACE TO THE RICHEST COUNTRY IN THE WORLD.”

Harry S. Truman, October 14, 1948



**“IT’S INEVITABLE THAT
MEDICAL SUPPLIES
WILL BE INADEQUATE
AND WE WILL SEE
LARGE NUMBERS OF DEATHS
AND ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL DISRUPTION.”
Dr. Frederick Hayden, 2005**

GLOBAL

The global health security track will place the health challenges of the United States in a wider context. Its focus will include many issues arising from the pandemic: global public health preparedness and vaccine development, diplomacy and equity, and how health issues affect national security and international leadership. Along with COVID-19, we will explore the global AIDS reduction effort (an area of strength in the Miller Center’s oral history resources), tuberculosis, mental health, and childhood vaccination.

THE CO-CHAIRS

Leading the efforts are Guian McKee and Margaret Riley. During the spring of 2022, the Miller Center is hosting events to formally launch the Health Policy Initiative. These

include high-profile panels in each of our core tracks, featuring Miller Center and UVA faculty as well as nationally and globally prominent figures in these fields. We are reaching out both to UVA faculty with expertise in relevant areas and to experts and policy makers in Washington (and elsewhere). In addition, we are developing a detailed plan for research, public programming, and fund-raising to be implemented over the next three years.



McKee is an associate professor in presidential studies at the Miller Center who works extensively with the Presidential Recordings Program. Focusing on how federal policy plays out at the local level, he is completing a new book on the rise of the health care economy in American cities after World War II.



Riley is the Dorothy Danforth Compton Professor at the Miller Center, a professor of law at UVA Law School, a professor of public health sciences at the UVA School of Medicine, and a professor of public policy at the University’s Frank Batten School of Leadership and Public Policy. She has extensive expertise in health care law, biomedical research, genetics, food and drug regulation, reproductive technologies, human and animal biotechnology, and public health.

**TO VIEW THE MILLER CENTER’S EXPANSIVE
WORK ON HEALTH CARE ISSUES, VISIT
millercenter.org/health-care-policy**

DEMOCRACY AND CAPITALISM

A NEW CROSS-UVA COLLABORATION EXPLORES ECONOMIC GROWTH INEQUALITY, FINANCIAL CRISES

There is a sense of strain, if not crisis, between democracy and capitalism.

Are they good for each other? What does each require of the other? How well might reforms promote the full potential of economic dynamism and democratic rule?

What do democracy and capitalism require of each other?

The Miller Center's new Project on Democracy and Capitalism aims to answer these questions and more. This collaboration brings together faculty from the Darden School of Business, the College of Arts & Sciences, the School of Law, the Batten School, and the Miller

Center. And it emphasizes teaching, research, and policy to examine the intersection of free markets, free peoples, and free societies.

Why now? "Recently, there has been growth in economic inequality, more alienated voters and workers, frequent dislocations from global trade, and episodic financial crises," says Robert Bruner, a Miller Center faculty senior fellow and dean emeritus of UVA's Darden School of Business. "In addition, there are increased attacks on civil rights, suppression of suffrage, and assaults on civil society across the globe."

While critics dating back to Karl Marx have questioned whether democracy and capitalism can co-exist, such views have gained special currency in recent years on both the right and the left.

The project aims to address public misunderstandings of what democracy and capitalism are, how they function, and why they shape societies in specific ways. We will tackle the issue from three angles:

1. **CURRICULUM AND TEACHING**—producing teaching materials and course designs.
2. **SCHOLARSHIP**—creating a community of scholars who study the intersection of capitalist and democratic institutions, while producing scholarship that examines these topics in detail.
3. **POLICY**—generating tangible solutions and presenting them to decision makers.

FOR MORE ABOUT THE PROJECT, VISIT millercenter.org/democracy-and-capitalism

MEET THE SCHOLARS BEHIND THE DEMOCRACY AND CAPITALISM PROJECT



MELODY BARNES is executive director of the UVA Karsh Institute of Democracy and co-director for policy and public affairs for the Democracy Initiative, an interdisciplinary teaching, research, and engagement effort led by the College and Graduate School of Arts & Sciences at the University of Virginia. She is also the J. Wilson Newman Professor of Governance at the Miller Center and a distinguished fellow at the UVA School of Law.



ROBERT BRUNER, a Miller Center faculty senior fellow, is University Professor at the University of Virginia, Distinguished Professor of Business Administration, and dean emeritus of the Darden School of Business. He has also held visiting appointments at Harvard University and Columbia University, INSEAD in France, and IESE in Spain. He is the author, co-author, or editor of more than 20 books on finance, management, and teaching.



SIDNEY M. MILKIS is the White Burkett Miller Professor of Governance and Foreign Affairs at the Miller Center and a professor of politics. His research focuses on the American presidency, political parties and elections, social movements, and American political development. In addition to teaching undergraduate and graduate students, he regularly gives public lectures on American politics and participates in programs for international scholars and high school teachers that probe the deep historical roots of contemporary developments in the United States.



SCOTT MILLER is a lecturer and research associate at the University of Virginia's Darden School of Business and a research fellow at the Miller Center. Holding master's degrees from George Mason University (2013) and the University of Virginia (2015), Miller received his PhD in American economic and business history from UVA in 2018. Before returning to UVA in May 2021, Miller was a postdoctoral fellow in economic and business history at the Yale School of Management's International Center for Finance.



MARGARET FOSTER RILEY, Dorothy Danforth Compton Professor at the Miller Center, is professor of law at UVA Law School, professor of public health sciences at the UVA School of Medicine, and professor of public policy at UVA's Frank Batten School of Leadership and Public Policy. She also directs the Animal Law Program at the law school. Riley has written and presented extensively about health care law, biomedical research, genetics, food and drug regulation, reproductive technologies, human and animal biotechnology, and public health.

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THE RELEVANCE OF

LBJ

PRESIDENTIAL STUDIES

MILLER CENTER SCHOLARS HELPED SHAPE A GROUNDBREAKING CNN DOCUMENTARY ON THE 36TH PRESIDENT

“Perhaps this is a moment to look at [President Lyndon] Johnson with fresh eyes,” said Melody Barnes, the J. Wilson Newman Professor of Governance at the Miller Center and executive director of the Karsh Institute of Democracy at the University of Virginia. “As we’re having debates over the role of government and the fulfillment of American democracy, this is a chance to think about and look at Johnson with a different perspective.”

Barnes—whose podcast, “LBJ and the Great Society,” was named the ninth best of its kind by the *New Yorker* in 2020—said the complexities of Johnson’s life make him an enticing character. Also, many of the same issues Johnson fought for while president (1963–69) are once again in the spotlight.

CNN’s four-part documentary *LBJ: Triumph and Tragedy*, which aired in February, featured Barnes along with two Miller Center colleagues: Guian McKee, associate professor; and Kevin Gaines, one of our faculty senior fellows.

UVA Today sat down with Barnes recently to explore LBJ’s legacy:

Q. WHAT MAKES THE CNN DOCUMENTARY SO COMPELLING?

A. People found it interesting to hear Lyndon Johnson’s voice and the inflection (through the material provided by the Miller Center’s Presidential Recordings Program and the LBJ Library)—hearing him in the negotiations, hearing him pushing and prodding and processing and thinking.

It gives you a multifaceted perspective—interviews with people who were in the room with him, who were on the other side of the negotiating table from him, as well as people who were allies but didn’t fully understand what he may have been thinking.

Q. HOW DO THE MILLER CENTER’S PRESIDENTIAL RECORDINGS SHAPE OUR IMPRESSIONS?

A. It’s one thing when you read about what someone has done, but it’s different when you actually hear it.

I found very strong opinions about Johnson. He had such a horrible legislative record on civil rights up until the late 1950s. And then, all of a sudden, he became a strong advocate.

Some people found it fascinating that I, as an African American, am doing this. “But he was a racist,” some have said. “Why are you interested in him?” Or people had views about policy that they thought he advocated for that he hadn’t.

What I heard most is that people appreciated the opportunity to think about Johnson and to shape, reshape, or deepen their own thoughts and perceptions of him.

FOR MORE ABOUT THE MILLER CENTER’S WORK ON PRESIDENT JOHNSON, GO TO [LBJTAPES.ORG](https://lbjtapes.org).



TEACHERS

TEACHING

TEACHERS

MILLER CENTER PROFESSOR HELPS VIRGINIA EDUCATORS SHAPE CURRICULA

Five middle and high school teachers from all corners of the Commonwealth of Virginia were selected to attend the UVA Democracy Biennial, a two-day virtual event cohosted by the Miller Center in fall 2021 with the goal of inspiring people to imagine practical solutions to the most pressing challenges facing democracies across the globe.

These teachers had a (virtual) front-row seat, and came away with homework of their own: to develop

curricular materials centered on the Biennial's themes of social and economic mobility, systemic reform, and the relationship between capitalism and democracy.

"These efforts will enhance the teaching of democracy and democratic principles in secondary-school classrooms across the state," said Associate Professor Marc Selverstone, who—along with the Miller Center's Stefanie Georgakis Abbott—has partnered with UVA's Center for

the Liberal Arts (CLA) to work with the five selected educators.

Later this year, CLA will host a workshop for teachers throughout Virginia to refine these and related curricular resources. Then, CLA and the Miller Center will disseminate the teachers' products to schools all across Virginia.

READ MORE ABOUT THE PROJECT AT
millercenter.org/biennial-fellows

THESE EFFORTS WILL ENHANCE THE

TEACHING OF DEMOCRACY & DEMOCRATIC PRINCIPLES

IN SECONDARY SCHOOL CLASSROOMS ACROSS THE STATE



COLIN POWELL:

THE PROFESSIONAL SOLDIER

1937–2021

A soldier for 35 years and a high-ranking official in several administrations, Colin Powell, who died on October 18, 2021, of complications from COVID-19, was the go-to authority during dozens of international crises. The Miller Center’s oral history team captured critical recollections from him—as well as *about* him from such senior officials as Dick Cheney, Robert Gates, and the late Madeleine Albright.

In conversation with our oral history team in 2011 and 2017, Powell talked about his time serving under President George H. W. Bush and President George W. Bush, his roles as national security advisor and secretary of state, relations with the Soviet Union, events in Panama, colleagues in both Bush administrations, the Gulf and Iraq Wars, and much more.

I reported for duty the first working day [as deputy national security advisor] in 1987. The office is a tiny little cubicle compared to my Corps Commander’s suite, and I’m in my new place of business trying to figure out how I can fit into this tiny little room when suddenly I heard this boisterous voice coming down the hall:

“Is he in there? Is he in there?” It was Vice President Bush, and he came in and gave me a warm welcome.

“Great to have you here. Glad that you were able to accept the job.” That was the beginning of our relationship. For most of the next year, I was still the deputy national security advisor, and then I became the national security advisor in November of ’87, but we became very close during this period. One, we shared the same bathroom, which will dictate a certain degree of familiarity.

READ MORE ABOUT POWELL IN EXCERPTS FROM OUR
ORAL HISTORIES AT millercenter.org/colin-powell

**“THEN ALONG COMES . . .
THE FEBRUARY 5TH [2003]
FAMOUS SPEECH [TO THE UNITED NATIONS],
WHICH IS GOING TO BE
IN MY OBITUARY,
ITEM NUMBER ONE.”**

—Colin Powell’s accurate prediction that he would be remembered for the incorrect assertion that Iraq had weapons of mass destruction [from a Miller Center oral history interview in 2017]



NOTES FROM THE *PRESIDENCY*

Presidencies rely on more than the president. The Miller Center's work captures the intricate dynamic among the chief executive and key players inside and outside the administration. Occasionally, a deep personal bond is revealed. After reading Sandy Berger's Miller Center oral history, President Bill Clinton penned this note to Miller Center Director William Antholis, who worked on the National Security Council staff in the Clinton White House. Berger, who served as Clinton's national security advisor, died in 2015.



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WILLIAM JEFFERSON CLINTON

March 18, 2016

William J. Antholis
Director and Chief Executive Officer
The Miller Center
Post Office Box 400406
Charlottesville, Virginia 22904

Dear Bill:

Kevin Thurm passed along the copy of Sandy Berger's Miller Center interview—thanks for sharing it.

Sandy was a marvelous man and an extraordinary public servant, and I appreciated the chance to relive so many memories from our 43 years of friendship.

All my best wishes to you.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in blue ink, appearing to read "Bill", representing President Bill Clinton.