

ILLUMINATION

THE UNIVERSITY OF VIRGINIA'S MILLER CENTER

FALL 2022



WELCOME BACK
TO IN-PERSON EVENTS

CABINET REPORT p. 18

'I HEARD IT AT THE MILLER CENTER'

FALL PUBLIC PROGRAMMING IS BRINGING BIG NAMES AND BIG IDEAS TO UVA

The Miller Center's robust lineup of events has been available to the public all semester via webinar, in person, or on-demand afterward. For the added protection of our patrons, we have installed new HEPA air-filtering equipment in our event space. **FIND MORE DETAILS AND REGISTRATION INFORMATION AT millercenter.org/events.**

SEPTEMBER

- **Roe vs. Dobbs: The future of reproductive health** (Miller Center's Health Policy Initiative)
- **Undaunted: A former CIA director's fight against America's enemies**, with Obama CIA Director John Brennan
- **Has democracy come to an end?** in partnership with UVA's Karsh Institute of Democracy
- **Obama's future—and America's**, with leading scholars of African American history and politics
- **Global capitalism and how the world became rich** (Miller Center's Project on Democracy and Capitalism)

OCTOBER

- **The Divider: Trump in the White House, 2017–2021**, with Peter Baker (*New York Times*)
- **Nuclear brinkmanship: What we learned from Nixon**
- **Midterms 2022: Who will come out on top?** with *POLITICO*'s John Harris, *Chicago Tribune*'s Clarence Page, and Miller Center Senior Fellows Mary Kate Cary and Jennifer Lawless

- **Trafficking Data: How China Is Winning the Battle for Digital Sovereignty**, with Miller Center C. K. Yen Professor Aynne Kokas
- **The Peaceful Transfer of Power**, with former Clinton administration official David Marchick, former Trump Deputy Chief of Staff Chris Liddell, and *New York Times* correspondent Peter Baker

NOVEMBER

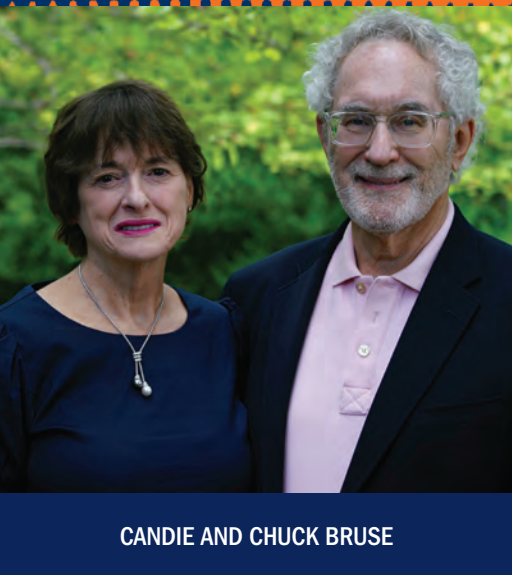
- **Democracy Dialogues: The battle for democracy at home and abroad**, with former Rep. Tom Perriello (D-VA) and Denver Riggleman (R-VA); co-sponsored by the UVA Karsh Institute of Democracy and the UVA President's Office
- **Russia's war in Ukraine: Military, economic, and geopolitical perspectives** (Ambassador William C. Battle Symposium)

DECEMBER

- **Jefferson Innovation Summit: Decarbonizing the global economy**, with the Darden School of Business, UVA's Environmental Resilience Institute, and the Miller Center
- **43: Inside the George W. Bush Presidency**, with former Secretary of Defense Robert Gates and Miller Center scholars Michael Nelson, Barbara Perry, and Russell Riley
- **The Kennedy Withdrawal: Camelot and the American Commitment to Vietnam**, with Miller Center scholars Marc Silverstone and Barbara Perry, and Harvard historian Fredrik Logevall

WHY I GIVE

CHUCK BRUSE, RETIRED LAWYER, LOBBYIST, AND CORPORATE EXECUTIVE; AND CANDIE BRUSE, RETIRED U.S. SENATE STAFFER, PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN WORKER, AND INTERIOR DESIGNER



CANDIE AND CHUCK BRUSE

WHY SUPPORT THE MILLER CENTER?

When Candie and I first moved to Charlottesville several years ago, after living in the D.C. area for 40 years, I surveyed the various programs and organizations within the University of Virginia that might spark our interests. I had read about the Miller Center's major work on the presidency, and we quickly became familiar with the other aspects of its historical and public policy scholarship.

We are interested in all aspects of public policy and politics since our professional careers were focused on those fields. Both Candie and I served as staff for U.S. senators and on the Senate Judiciary Committee early in our careers. For the last 20 years of my career,

I was vice president of federal governmental affairs for a major insurance company. So, it is fair to say that politics and government are in our blood.

YOU HAVE INCLUDED THE MILLER CENTER IN YOUR ESTATE PLANS. WHY DID YOU MAKE THAT CHOICE?

Candie and I recently executed new wills because we realized that our perspectives and priorities have changed. We thought it would be a good use of our assets to help an institution whose mission we support and whose programs we enjoy today.

We are not graduates of UVA, although our son is. And we believe that the Miller Center can benefit from bequests of any size.

HOW DO YOU HOPE YOUR GIFT WILL MAKE A DIFFERENCE?

The mission of the Miller Center can be accomplished only with donations from folks like us. Even modest contributions can make a big difference. The cost of paying the salaries of scholars and support staff, running the many outreach programs and in-person events, and maintaining the beautiful Miller Center headquarters are substantial and increasing. We support the Center so that it can continue its work and remain an important repository of historical and public policy expertise.



A LETTER FROM THE DIRECTOR

By BILL ANTHOLIS *Director & CEO*

Welcome back to in-person and online public programming at the Miller Center at the University of Virginia!

Last spring, *PBS NewsHour* anchor Judy Woodruff joined us to honor the late, great journalist Jim Lehrer (as shown on the cover of this magazine). I was struck by how her passionate investment in journalism mirrors the Miller Center's own dynamic engagement with political history and public policy.

Judy talked through the current crises facing America and the world: a global pandemic that has claimed more than a million lives at home and another five million abroad; Russia's invasion of Ukraine, which has sparked the first full-scale war in Europe since World War II; and political polarization at home, as deep as any era since the Civil War.

She spoke from the heart about the challenges of getting the news right, night after night. She was most spirited when taking questions from UVA students, who were excited to share the stage with her.

This remarkable event reminded me why the Miller Center is such a special place. We have the honor of hosting national leaders from a range of backgrounds and professions. We are the home of leading experts on the American presidency, political history, and public policy. We design leadership opportunities for some of the brightest students in the country. All of us, working together, inspire our leaders with insights from the best minds at UVA and beyond.

At the Miller Center, everything starts with our decades-long tradition of rigorous research and documentation of the American presidency. Our nonpartisan approach provides us with treasured open space for dialogue—in Charlottesville and also in the larger community of our American democracy. In 2022, all of us, whether we agree or disagree, could use a bit more respectful discourse.

Our network of scholars and practitioners applies lessons from history to understand the modern presidency and to address some of today's biggest challenges. In the last year alone, we've launched projects on Democracy and Capitalism, Health Care Policy, and Russia's invasion of Ukraine. These efforts combine our best-in-class presidential scholars with faculty fellows from across UVA and practitioner fellows who have served presidents from both political parties. The result is a bountiful yield of important new scholarship, teaching materials, and public conversations, in which experts debate new ideas.

This fall we are excited to have added new voices to our roster of faculty and fellows (meet them on page 15).

We also look forward to our 2022-23 season. Browse this issue of *Illumination* for a peek at past and upcoming public programming, peruse the comprehensive archives housed on millercenter.org, and—most especially, if you are able—join us at the Miller Center for in-person events in our Forum Room or online on demand. We all play a role in our American democracy, and we hope our work will inspire you with leadership lessons, insight, and wisdom.



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GEORGE W. BUSH

**GEORGE W. BUSH,
AS A POST-COLD WAR
PRESIDENT, CAME TO
OFFICE WITH MODEST AIMS**

By RUSSELL RILEY

George W. Bush, reflecting on his own wisecracking ways, occasionally quipped that he had his father's eyes and his mother's (acerbic) mouth. But he inherited something much more important from his father once he became president: an institution transformed by the successful conclusion of the Cold War.

During the Cold War, the presidency was an empowered institution in a state of continuous readiness for nuclear conflict. Although it would be too much to say that the Cold War presidency was raised to the wartime heights of Abraham Lincoln (or Woodrow Wilson or Franklin Roosevelt), those presidents who served after World War II never returned to anything close to a status of power equality with the other branches of the federal government.

"How could it . . . have," asked Senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan (D-NY) in 1991, "in the course of 30 to 40 years in which presidents knew they would have 10 minutes at most to decide whether to launch a thermonuclear second strike?"

That persistently elevated threat created two generations of presidents who dominated the American political system and the global landscape. But the victory in the Cold War that President George H. W. Bush helped secure brought an end to that quasi-wartime presidency, ushering in a decade of constitutional readjustment.

**BY THE TIME BUSH
ENTERED THE WHITE HOUSE,
POST-COLD WAR
CONTRACTIONS HAD LEFT
THE PRESIDENCY IN A
DIMINISHED STATE**

Such periods are commonly characterized by painful institutional contraction. That was certainly true for the elder Bush and his successor, Bill Clinton. Bush's reelection failure in 1992, Clinton's loss of a "permanent" Democratic majority in the House of Representatives and the Senate in 1994, and Clinton's 1998 impeachment can all be traced to the conventional postwar impulses to restore a constitutional balance.

By the time George W. Bush entered the White House, those post-Cold War contractions had left the presidency in an institutionally diminished state. The office was neither a place of grand public designs nor a seat of soaring global leadership. That kind of office would have called for a president with expansive ambitions. Instead, Bush had more modest aims. He would replicate what he had done as governor of Texas.

In 2001, Texas's governor was ranked 39th out of 50 in terms of statutory powers. Thus, what Bush had been able to accomplish in Texas was largely the product of cooperation with the state legislature. He had developed an especially fruitful—and colorful—relationship with Democratic lieutenant governor Robert Bullock, which allowed Bush to tell national voters that his style was consensual. Observers often commented on the bipartisan character of their partnership and what it meant for Bush.



BUSH AND BULLOCK REACHED ACROSS THE AISLE TO WORK TOGETHER

“The relationship with Bullock,” reported Paul Burka of *Texas Monthly* in 1999, “was the foundation of Bush’s national image as a politician who values consensus and goodwill over partisanship.”

But in the prevailing institutional environment of the times, the relationship may have been equally important for what it said about Bush’s valuing of consensus and goodwill over getting his own way as governor. He was a political executive who succeeded in a state where the legislature was the dominant institution. As president, Bush would thus be practiced in the art of deferring to legislative ways.

When Bush finally appeared in public to claim the presidency after the Supreme Court ruled in his favor on the Florida recount, he chose to speak in the chamber of the Texas House of Representatives.

**‘HERE, IN A PLACE WHERE
DEMOCRATS HAVE THE MAJORITY,
REPUBLICANS AND DEMOCRATS
HAVE WORKED TOGETHER
TO DO WHAT IS RIGHT FOR THE PEOPLE
WE REPRESENT.’
—GEORGE W. BUSH**

“Here, in a place where Democrats have the majority, Republicans and Democrats have worked together to do what is right for the people we represent,” Bush said. “We had spirited disagreements, and in the end, we found constructive

consensus. It is an experience I will always carry with me, and an example I will always follow.”

The way Bush depicted his approach to the job in his 2000 presidential campaign betrayed a relatively modest conception of his aims in office. Bush’s five major priorities, according to domestic policy aide Kristen Silverberg in her oral history (with Chief of Staff Josh Bolten), were No Child Left Behind, tax cuts, Social Security reform, Medicare reform, and faith-based initiatives.

But, Bolten noted, “from the president’s perspective, there was no question that two things had to come first. One . . . was the tax cuts, and the other was his top priority, which was education reform. He ran to be the education president.”

Selling tax cuts to a Republican Congress was not a heavy lift—and had the added benefit of constraining the size of the national government. Education reform was another small-bore policy that, for most Americans, did not betray imperial aspirations on the part of the president. It made him look like the nation’s governor. In pursuing No Child Left Behind,

Bush closely replicated his Austin experience by finding an unlikely Democratic leader to help sell his plan: Senator Edward Kennedy of Massachusetts. Their partnership was indispensable in getting the reforms passed.

It was clear from the beginning of Bush’s presidency that he was content to lead in ways that were more transactional than transformational.

As journalist John Dickerson observed, “In 2001, President Bush’s staff talked about how he was going to be an ‘A4’ president, not always in the center of the day’s news on page A1 of the newspaper.”

Indicative of these intentions, the administration announced just days before the 9/11 attacks that it would follow up its earliest initiatives with a “national

campaign. . . to get people to be nicer” to one another. A major Canadian paper described the program as “politicians and Hollywood stars united together in a public campaign to eliminate gossip from the American landscape and restore some sort of dignity to public debate.”

**‘HE RAN TO BE THE
EDUCATION PRESIDENT.’
—CHIEF OF STAFF JOSH BOLTEN**

One instructive measure of the relatively tranquil state of the first phase of the Bush presidency arises from the oral history of one of the most influential figures of the post-9/11 period: John Yoo, who arrived at the Justice Department in July 2001. Rather than reveling in the experience of being the formal dispenser of executive powers under a forward-leaning Republican president, Yoo found himself completely bored:

“There was really not enough work for the day. I spent some time on a Vacancies Act issue, which always happens at the beginning of an administration: When can you appoint people who aren’t confirmed yet? . . . I remember reviewing a treaty about marine mammals. . . . There was a case about a Russian on an American ship who might have killed an American. . . . I was thinking I’d probably go back home after a year because I thought the job was pretty dull.”

Without any indicators of presidential urgency, the matter of terrorism was committed to the ordinary slog of the policy-making process. National Security Council legal advisor John Bellinger reported, “We concluded that we couldn’t just decide on a policy toward al-Qaeda until we decided on a policy toward Afghanistan. And we couldn’t decide on a policy toward Afghanistan until we had decided on a policy toward Pakistan. And we couldn’t decide on a policy toward Pakistan until we decided on an [India-Pakistan] policy.”

Then airplanes began to fly into buildings.

Excerpted from 43: Inside the George W. Bush Presidency, edited by Michael Nelson, Barbara A. Perry, and Russell L. Riley, published by the University Press of Kansas © 2022. www.kansaspress.ku.edu. Used by permission of the publisher.

READ MORE EXCERPTS AT millercenter.org/bush-43



Russell Riley, co-chair of the Miller Center’s Presidential Oral History Program, is the White Burkett Miller Center Professor of Ethics and Institutions. He is one of the nation’s foremost authorities on elite oral history interviewing and the contemporary presidency.



Madeleine

'Forcefully, Madeleine'

MADELEINE ALBRIGHT, THE FIRST FEMALE SECRETARY OF STATE, PROVIDED CRITICAL INSIGHTS IN HER MILLER CENTER ORAL HISTORIES

Madeleine Albright believed in America's role of advancing democracy. After her death in March, we looked back at the two oral history projects for which we interviewed Albright multiple times, where she shared memories of her roles serving Presidents Jimmy Carter and Bill Clinton.

"One thing I learned in the Clinton administration is that you spend a lot of time on the Hill as a Cabinet member testifying. I did that both as UN ambassador and as secretary of state. I used to say all the time that they weren't hearings; they were yellings."

In a 2006 interview, Albright described internal debates within the Clinton administration about military intervention in Bosnia:

"I went to the foreign policy principals' meetings, and it did not seem to me that we were where we should have been. I remember one time I said something like, 'Gentleman, history is going to judge us very badly if we don't do something.' Our main problem was Colin Powell, then chair of the Joint Chiefs of Staff. I say this with a lot of regret because Colin and I are very good friends.

"I said, 'You know, Colin, what are you saving this incredible military for?' He did get mad at me. In Colin's book, he wrote that I practically gave him an aneurysm, and he had to explain patiently to Ambassador Albright that our military were not toy soldiers. I called him up and said, 'Colin, "patiently"?' He said, 'I did have to explain it to you patiently. You didn't understand anything about the military.' So he sent me his book and signed it, 'To Madeleine, with love, admiration, etc.' He signed it, 'Patiently, Colin.'

"I sent him back a note and said, 'Dear Colin, thanks for the book. With love and admiration.' I signed it, 'Forcefully, Madeleine.'"

At the 2019 Presidential Ideas Festival at the University of Virginia, co-hosted by the Miller Center, Albright spoke of her love of the United States:

"I'm very grateful to be an American. I wasn't born in the United States. I was born in Czechoslovakia, and I'm a refugee. One of the things I like to do more than anything is to give people their naturalization certificates [to become new U.S. citizens]. The first time I did it was July 4, 2000, at Monticello. I figured that since I had Thomas Jefferson's job, I could do that.

"I gave this man his naturalization certificate, and all of a sudden, I hear him saying, 'I just got my naturalization certificate from the secretary of state, and I'm a refugee.' I went up to him and said, 'Can you believe a refugee is secretary of state? That's what America is really about.'"

FOR MORE FROM SECRETARY ALBRIGHT'S ORAL HISTORY INTERVIEWS, GO TO millercenter.org/madame-secretary



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



FROM LEFT: JOURNALIST JOHN DICKERSON, BUSH 43 NATIONAL SECURITY ADVISOR STEPHEN HADLEY, SECRETARY ALBRIGHT, AND MILLER CENTER DIRECTOR AND CEO WILLIAM ANTHOLIS AT UVA'S PRESIDENTIAL IDEAS FESTIVAL IN 2019

JOURNALISM in a time of **CRISIS**



PBS NEWSHOUR'S JUDY WOODRUFF VISITED UVA TO PAY TRIBUTE TO JIM LEHRER, HER LONGTIME COLLEAGUE AND FORMER MILLER CENTER GOVERNING COUNCIL MEMBER

Legendary journalist Jim Lehrer set a standard of excellence. “He created this moral ecology where we understood what was the right way to do [*PBS NewsHour*],” said journalist David Brooks the day after Lehrer died. “That lives on today. And what could be greater than passing down a moral ecology that defines what excellence is?”

Judy Woodruff, the heir to that “moral ecology” as host of the *NewsHour*, came to the University of Virginia in May to discuss journalistic integrity and her approach to leading her news team through the major crises of the past several years. She joined Miller Center Director and CEO William Antholis for the inaugural James C. Lehrer Lecture to discuss journalism in a time of crisis. The Lehrer Lecture was endowed by several Miller Center supporters, including Jim’s widow, Kate Lehrer.

WILLIAM ANTHOLIS: How does the “moral ecology” described by David Brooks carry over to the *NewsHour* today?

JUDY WOODRUFF: I love that term “moral ecology.” I think it captures what Jim was able to do. He conveyed that the *NewsHour* is all about informing, not proselytizing. We figure out how to cram as much information as possible into one hour. And that’s not always easy because there’s a lot going on. It’s almost as if I can hear Jim saying, “Remember the audience. What do they want to know? What do they need to know? Put yourself in their shoes.”

More than anything, that has helped to guide me. On any given day you could go in 10 or 20 different directions. If you’re in Dallas, Texas, or



Omaha, Nebraska, or someplace in Maine or Oregon, whether you’re a truck driver or a lawyer or a teacher or a homemaker. What’s on your mind? That’s how we try to drive the decisions we make.

ANTHOLIS: It’s been an incredible two years since Jim’s passing. We’ve been through a series of crises. On the pandemic, where did you see the moral heart of that story?

WOODRUFF: Never in my lifetime have I covered something that affected every human on the planet. Whether we got COVID or not, it affected us all—our public health, our economy, our politics.

You asked about the moral heart. It’s “How do we keep as many people safe as possible, until we have a way to address this?” To me that was it; it was keeping people safe. And it was also trying to understand how it became so political.

Then you have the murder of George Floyd—the horror of it. First of all, the facts of it, and then realizing what it meant. It was an earthquake in the middle of what was already a phenomenally unpredictable and stressful time for all of us. It caused us to ask really hard questions about our own coverage.

WATCH THE FULL CONVERSATION AT millercenter.org/woodruff

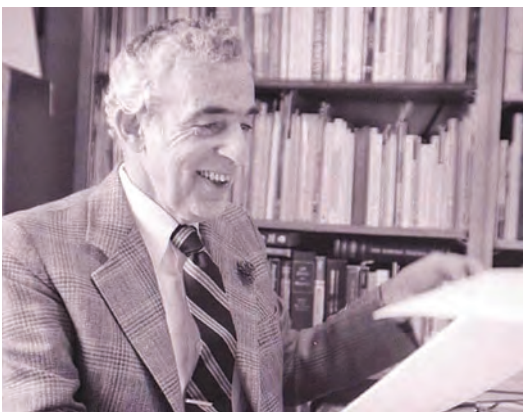




U.S. ARMY UNIT AT CAMP RITCHIE, MARYLAND, CIRCA 1945. (U.S. HOLOCAUST MEMORIAL MUSEUM)

‘I CAN’T STAY IN THIS COUNTRY ANYMORE’

A LONGTIME UVA PROFESSOR ON WHY HE FLED NAZI GERMANY FOR AMERICA



Editor’s note: The Miller Center is proud to host the annual Henry J. Abraham Distinguished Lecture, which was established by his friends, family, and mentees in 1999. Professor Abraham died at age 98 in 2020. His legacy lives on through the many lives and careers he inspired.

By HENRY ABRAHAM

It was 1934, Hitler’s second year in power. My parental home since my birth in 1921 was Offenbach am Main, Germany’s leather-goods center, where I attended an elementary co-ed public school. The bell rang for the customary 20-minute recess, and I hurried out into the courtyard with my fourth-year classmates to play a bit of *fussball*, when one of the latter smashed my chin, yelling, “Dirty Jew!”

“What did you do that for?” I exclaimed, struggling to get to my feet. He yelled, “You are a dirty, slimy Jew!”

Reporting the disconcerting incident to my parents that evening, I cried out, “I can’t stay in this country anymore; please send me to America.” At the age of 13, I already realized that the United States represented to me the epitome of a free society.

Four years later, my wonderful, determined mother had convinced FDR’s anti-Semitic State Department that I would not be a threat to the United States, and I received my visa with intention to become a citizen. Over the strenuous objections of my German father, a World War I–decorated veteran of the Kaiser’s army, twice wounded at Verdun fighting the Americans, I left my parents and younger brother in April 1937 for Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, where I would live as a refugee with an

American Jewish family. My parents and brother followed in 1939, my father’s health broken in the concentration camps of Sachsenhausen and Dachau following Kristallnacht in November 1938. He would die in Pittsburgh, an American citizen, in 1951.

Though considered an enemy alien after Germany declared war on the United States in December 1941, I was drafted into the U.S. Army in 1942. As author Bruce Henderson observed in his national bestseller *Sons and Soldiers: The Untold Story of the Jews Who Escaped the Nazis and Returned with the U.S. Army to Fight Hitler*, “War planners in the Pentagon soon realized that the German Jews already in uniform knew the language, culture, and psychology of the enemy best and had the greatest motivation to defeat Hitler.” I was among the 1,985 of these German Jews selected to form a top secret “force to help win the war in Europe.”

Camp Ritchie in Maryland became the legendary center for training, in eight-week sessions, an elite force of fluent German- and French-speaking commissioned and non-commissioned intelligence officers. I was among them and particularly happy that we were fast-tracked for U.S. citizenship before being sent overseas to interrogate German POWs and liberated French citizens.

Seven years after I had escaped the Nazis’ grasp, I returned—as a “Ritchie Boy,” American citizen, and U.S. Army 2nd lieutenant—to my birthplace, war-torn Offenbach am Main, and attended a poignant service in my boyhood synagogue. I sat in a pew with my elementary school teacher, a Protestant, holding my hand throughout the liturgy. His support of my studies had cost him his job in 1934.

I devoted my life and career to the study of constitutional law and history because I had learned firsthand how quickly a democracy can devolve into a dictatorship.

WATCH THE MOST RECENT HENRY J. ABRAHAM DISTINGUISHED LECTURE, FEATURING 9/11 VICTIM COMPENSATION FUND SPECIAL MASTER KENNETH FEINBERG, AT millercenter.org/feinberg

COLD



WAR II?

THE RUSSIAN INVASION OF UKRAINE OFFERS INSIGHT INTO THE LIKELY EMERGENCE OF ANOTHER COLD WAR

By ALLAN STAM

For the past decade, experts have questioned whether the U.S.-led liberal system is becoming locked into a zero-sum bipolar conflict with a Chinese-centric system. The competition would be between a loose collection of authoritarian states led by China and a network of alliances among the systems' liberal democracies. The autocratic side would include Russia, not as a spoiler but as a central figure in the competition between the international system's two leaders: the United States and China.

The Korean War of 1950–53 provides a useful comparative case. Before the North Koreans invaded South Korea, Secretary of State Dean Acheson stated that Asian countries were on their own to a significant extent. America's Asian friends could not count on the United States to come directly to their assistance. While the secretary's intentions remain disputed, it is clear he did not lay down an unambiguous deterrent statement.

The North Korean invasion changed Democratic President Harry Truman's mind and also that of the people in his administration and the Republican leadership. Before the North Korean invasion, there had been a debate between those supporting the continuation of Franklin D. Roosevelt's somewhat apologetic policy toward the Soviets and those who advocated a less conciliatory containment policy.

The North Korean invasion quickly created a consensus regarding Soviet intentions. When the war between the north and south in Korea ended, the border had not moved. An observer looking at the world in 1949 and 1953 might have concluded that nothing had changed. But everything

having to do with beliefs about each side's intentions toward the other had shifted dramatically.

That shift produced the consensus that the East and West—communists and capitalists, totalitarians and democrats—were engaged in an existential struggle, which came to be known to all as the Cold War.

The United States never demobilized significantly again until the mid-1990s. The Korean War led to 45 years of enhanced military mobilization and sustained aggression of the United States and its NATO allies toward the Soviet Union.

Absent the Korean War, the trajectory of the Cold War might have been very different. Why? Because it was the Korean War that generated the bipartisan consensus around Soviet and Chinese intentions.

Today, the war in Ukraine has had the same sort of effect on Western beliefs about Russian and Chinese intentions. If we look at U.S. politics—aside from the far left, which has traditionally been solidly anti-war, and the far-right, traditionally isolationist—we saw a bipartisan consensus that NATO should support the Ukrainian government.

This was an amazing development given the extreme partisanship and political polarization over the past few years.

This Cold War II will turn on geographic, economic, and nuclear competitions. The physical boundaries will be sharpest along the fault lines between NATO and Russia in the west and China in the east. These edges will likely sharpen, not blur, as the nature of Cold War II becomes increasingly apparent.

FOR MORE FROM THE UKRAINE WAR BLOG, GO TO millercenter.org/ukraine

**'THIS COLD WAR II
WILL TURN ON
GEOGRAPHIC,
ECONOMIC,
AND
NUCLEAR
COMPETITIONS.'**



Allan Stam is a Miller Center faculty senior fellow, a professor of public policy and politics, and former dean of the Frank Batten School of Leadership and Public Policy at the University of Virginia.



MILLER CENTER BLOG: RUSSIA'S INVASION OF UKRAINE

In the wake of the Russian invasion of Ukraine on February 24, the Miller Center quickly launched a blog to answer the great number of questions with unknown answers. Scholars and Miller Center fellows weighed in on every dimension of the war—from Russian affairs,

diplomacy, and international relations to democracy, nuclear strategy, modern warfare, history, economics, law, cybersecurity, China, the American presidency, and politics.

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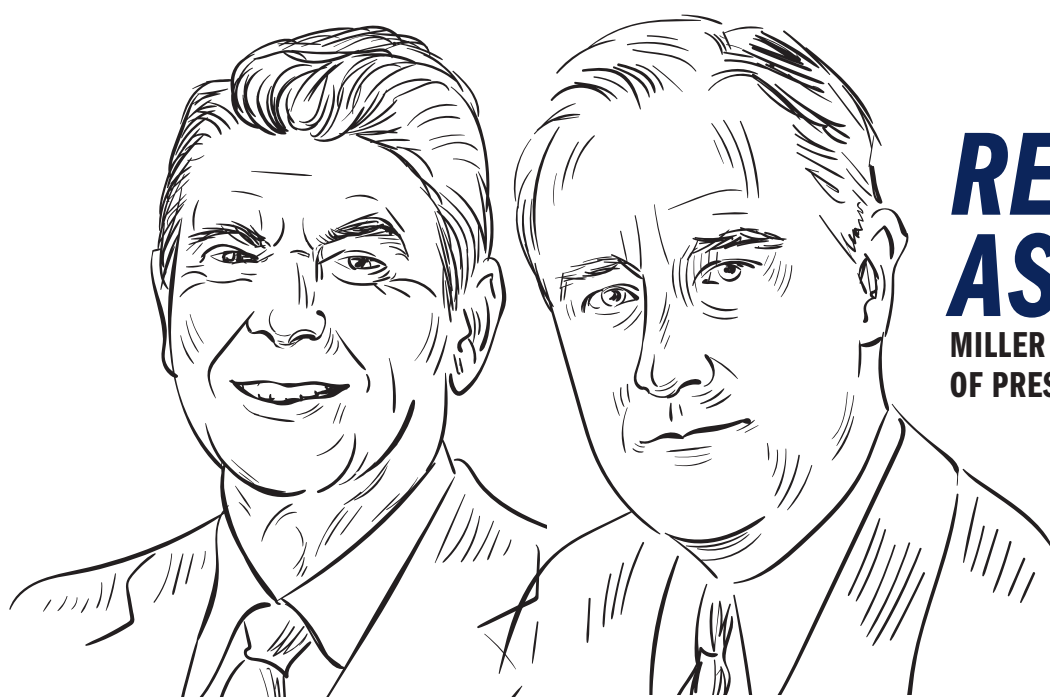
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READ THE BLOG AT millercenter.org/ukraine

This project is possible thanks to the support of the George and Judy Marcus Democracy Praxis Fund



REAGAN AND FDR AS NEVER BEFORE

MILLER CENTER SCHOLARS BEGIN ANALYZING NEW BATCHES OF PRESIDENTIAL TAPES

In 1996, author William Doyle filed a Freedom of Information Act request to see whether any of President Ronald Reagan's taped conversations could aid his research on the 1987 Iran-Contra Affair. It wasn't until 2014 that those tapes were made public and we learned about the existence of audio recorded during Reagan's calls with foreign heads of state.

"Reagan recorded conversations with foreign heads of state so he could generate accurate records, which would be especially valuable given the challenges of translating them into and from English," said Marc Silverstone, director of the Miller Center's Presidential Recordings Program. "The calls themselves came through the Situation Room switchboard, but only about three hours of tape exist because they routinely taped over previous conversations instead of preserving the audio of each."

Each hour of recording requires approximately 100 hours of manpower transcribing and analyzing.

It's a painstaking process. But thanks to a grant from the National Historical Publications and Records Commission (NHPRC), the Miller Center is now working with archivists at the Reagan Library to establish the scope of the taping and transcripts and to flesh out the details.

In addition, the Miller Center has received NHPRC funding to transcribe and analyze eight hours of recordings from the Franklin D. Roosevelt presidency.

"FDR recorded press conferences so that he could have an accurate record of what he said as a check against what journalists reported," explained Silverstone. "His interest in generating a verbatim account stemmed from an episode in January 1939 in which he thought he had been misquoted."

At times, FDR's tape recorder remained on after the press conferences had finished, allowing us to hear his debriefing sessions with aides and telephone conversations thereafter.

Even though the technology was rudimentary at the time, the Miller Center's Presidential Recordings team is confident they will be able to render highly detailed and comprehensive transcriptions. Stay tuned for the findings.

FOR MORE ABOUT THE MILLER CENTER'S
PRESIDENTIAL RECORDINGS PROGRAM, GO TO
millercenter.org/secret-white-house-tapes

BY THE NUMBERS

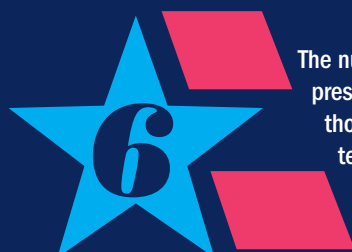
SECRET WHITE HOUSE TAPES



The year the Miller Center established the Presidential Recordings Program to make once-secret White House tapes accessible to scholars, historians, journalists, and the public

Number of transcripts the Miller Center published in the past year

552



The number of consecutive American presidents who secretly taped thousands of their meetings and telephone conversations



3,630

Total number of transcripts from the Lyndon B. Johnson presidential recordings that the Miller Center has published, supported by grants from the National Historical Publications and Records Commission



'ONE OF THE MOST IMPORTANT PARTS OF MY UNDERGRADUATE EXPERIENCE'

SOPHIE ROEHSE, MILLER CENTER INTERN

Growing up in Germany, Sophie Roehse (UVA class of 2022) didn't learn about the American presidency as a child. But a course taught by Miller Center Director Bill Antholis piqued her interest.

"I ended up working at the Miller Center for three years and learned a ton about American political history," she said. "It was one of the most important parts of my UVA undergraduate experience."

During her four years at UVA, Roehse worked for Antholis as the Anselmi Family Intern, on the Project on Democracy and Capitalism, in the Presidential Recordings Program, and as a research assistant for Miller Center faculty members Melody Barnes and David Leblang.

"Bill always encouraged me," Roehse said. "He'd ask about my classes and say, 'OK, but where's the fun part?' then recommend writing or drama—something creative that I might not do again in the future. In the end, his advice led me to write a thesis for the distinguished majors program through UVA's department of politics. He'd say, 'You'll definitely learn something from it, and who knows, you might love it!'"

THANK YOU, DONORS!

We are grateful to the **1,090** donors who supported the Miller Center in fiscal year 2022. Together your gifts totaled **\$5,231,178**, one of our highest fundraising totals ever.

We welcomed **385** new donors to the Miller Center and look forward to connecting with each and every one of you.

The Miller Center is particularly grateful to several individuals who made significant new commitments in fiscal year 2022, especially **Mary Anne and Steve Burns** and **Sara Page and Dick Mayo**.

OUR "HONOR ROLL" OF DONORS WHO GAVE \$1,000 OR MORE IN FISCAL YEAR 2022 CAN BE FOUND AT millercenter.org/donor-roll-2022.

THANK YOU FOR SUPPORTING OUR NONPARTISAN APPROACH TO THE STUDY AND DISCUSSION OF PRESIDENTIAL AND POLITICAL HISTORY.

WELCOME TO THE MILLER CENTER

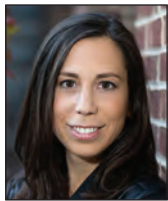
OUR NEW CLASS OF FELLOWS, CHAIRS, AND BOARD MEMBERS

ENDOWED PROFESSORSHIPS

Endowed professorships provide resources to conduct extensive research or supervise projects that support the Center's academic mission.



Robert Bruner, the Miller Center's Compton Visiting Professor of World Politics, is University Professor at the University of Virginia, distinguished professor of business administration, and dean emeritus of the Darden School of Business. He is the author, co-author, or editor of more than 20 books on finance, management, and teaching.



Aynne Kokas is the C.K. Yen Professor at the Miller Center and an associate professor of media studies at the University of Virginia. Her latest book, *Trafficking Data: How China is Winning the Battle for Digital Sovereignty*, argues that exploitative Silicon Valley practices help China build infrastructures for global control.

FACULTY



Syaru Shirley Lin is research professor at the Miller Center and nonresident senior fellow in the Foreign Policy Program of the Brookings Institution. She is also an adjunct professor at the Chinese University of Hong Kong. Her work focuses on East Asia.

SENIOR FELLOWS

These scholars and practitioners contribute to the Center's research, engage with UVA students and faculty, and help design and deliver public discussions on the challenges facing our nation.

FACULTY SENIOR FELLOWS



Ashley Deeks is the director of the UVA Law School's National Security Law Center, a member of the State Department's Advisory Committee on International Law, a senior contributor to the Lawfare blog, and a senior fellow at the Lieber Institute for Law and Land Warfare.



Anne Meng is associate professor of politics at the University of Virginia. She conducts research on authoritarian politics, institutions, and elite power-sharing.



Thomas B. Nachbar is a professor at the UVA School of Law, focusing on the nature of regulation and the law of armed conflict.



Philip Potter is an associate professor in UVA's department of politics and specializes in foreign policy and international relations.



Rachel Augustine Potter, associate professor of politics at UVA, uncovers the hidden politics of procedure and process in American political institutions, with a particular focus on bureaucracy and regulation.



Vivian Riefberg is a professor of practice at UVA's Darden School of Business. She retired as a senior partner with McKinsey & Company in 2020 and serves on the boards of PBS and Johns Hopkins Medicine.



Paul B. Stephan is the John C. Jeffries, Jr., Distinguished Professor of Law and David H. Ibbeken '71 Research Professor of Law at UVA. He is an expert on international business, international dispute resolution, and comparative law.

PRACTITIONER SENIOR FELLOW



Elizabeth Cameron is a professor at the Brown University School of Public Health and a senior advisor for global health security at the U.S. Agency for International Development. Cameron also spent two tours on the White House's National Security Council, where she focused on preventing and responding to biological crises.

MILLER CENTER GOVERNING COUNCIL

The Governing Council exercises oversight of the Center's work and mission.



Barbara Comstock was elected to Congress in 2014 and served two terms as the first woman to represent Virginia's Tenth Congressional District in northern Virginia. Comstock sponsored the 2017 INSPIRE Women Act, encouraging women and girls to study math and science, which was signed into law by Donald Trump.



Barbara J. Fried is president of Fried Companies Inc., a real estate development and property management firm. Fried previously served on UVA's Board of Visitors, and in that role served as an *ex officio* member of the Miller Center Governing Council. Now she joins the Council as an independent member.



Kim Malone Scott is co-founder of Radical Candor, an executive training organization that facilitates better workplace relationships. She is the author of bestselling books *Just Work: Get Sh*t Done Fast and Fair* and *Radical Candor: Be a Kick-Ass Boss Without Losing Your Humanity*.

MILLER CENTER FOUNDATION BOARD

The Miller Center Foundation raises funds on behalf of the Miller Center, holds endowment and custodial funds, and follows standard policies and procedures for nonprofits as a 501(c)(3).



Bob Bond spent his career in the computer industry, 16 years with Hewlett Packard and 14 years with a software company, Rational Software, which was acquired by IBM in 2003.



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

DEDICATED TO THE MISSION

A TRIBUTE TO THE NEW MEMBERS OF THE MILLER CENTER'S
HOLTON SOCIETY AND TO THOSE WHO HAVE PASSED AWAY



The Holton Society is the Miller Center's way of honoring former Governing Council members and dedicated friends whose interests and expertise have sustained the institution for almost 50 years.

The group is named for **A. LINWOOD HOLTON JR.**, former governor of Virginia and chairman emeritus of the Miller Center's Governing Council who died in October 2021 at the age of 98. While governor, Holton personally orchestrated negotiations between Burkett Miller and the University of Virginia that resulted in the Miller Center's founding. He chaired the Center's Governing Council for more than two decades, from 1977 to 1999.

Beyond his work at the Center, Holton is remembered for racially integrating public schools in the Commonwealth, forging alliances between business and labor, gaining the ratification of a new Virginia constitution, and cleaning up waterways.

As the first Republican governor since Reconstruction, he was known for working across the aisle. Invoking Abraham Lincoln, Holton called for an open society in Virginia and declared "we must see that no citizen of the Commonwealth is excluded from full participation in both the blessings and responsibilities of our society because of his race." At the Miller Center, we are grateful for Holton's significant contributions to our community.

We are saddened by the recent passing of two other Holton Society members. Longtime benefactor **JOSEPH R. GLADDEN JR.**, an alumnus of the University of Virginia School of Law and a former executive and general counsel of the Coca-Cola Company, served on the Miller Center's Governing Council and Foundation Board. **LEIGH B. MIDDLEDITCH JR.**, a Miller Center Governing Council member, Foundation Board chair, and founding member of the Holton Society, was an alumnus of UVA and the UVA School of Law and served as the University's legal advisor and member of the Board of Visitors.

We also welcome seven recently added Holton Society members, all of whom previously served on the Miller Center's Governing Council and/or Foundation Board:

- **ANN COMPTON** covered seven presidential administrations in her groundbreaking career as correspondent for ABC News.
- **TERRY DANIELS** is chairman of Quad-C Management, Inc., a private equity firm based in Charlottesville.
- **EUGENE FIFE** is a retired partner and chairman at Goldman Sachs and founding principal of Vawter Capital LLC.
- **CLAIRE W. GARGALLI** is a retired corporate and international banking executive and trustee emeritus of Middlebury College and Carnegie Mellon University.
- **DAVID GOODE** is retired chairman, president, and CEO of Norfolk Southern Corporation and a former member of the Governing Council.
- **LEONARD W. SANDRIDGE** is former executive vice president and COO of the University of Virginia.
- **ELSIE THOMPSON** practiced antitrust, mining, and corporate law and is a founding director and past president of the Boys & Girls Clubs of Central Virginia and Charlottesville's Paramount Theater.

FOR MORE ON THE HOLTON SOCIETY, GO TO millercenter.org/holton



PRESIDENT BARACK OBAMA BEING INTERVIEWED ON MAY 17, 2010, BY THE LATE JAMES STERLING YOUNG, FOUNDER OF THE MILLER CENTER ORAL HISTORY PROGRAM.

\$1.5M GIFT HELPS TO ENDOW PRESIDENTIAL STUDIES

GENEROUS DONATION PROPELS THE MILLER CENTER'S PRESIDENTIAL ORAL HISTORIES

Former presidents and those who worked with them have much to teach future generations about the presidency that never made the news. A major gift to the Miller Center will enhance our efforts to capture those memories and bring their lessons to the public.

Miller Center Governing Council Chair Steve Burns, a managing partner at the investment firm Quad-C Management, along with his wife, Mary Anne, committed \$1.5 million toward creating an endowment to fund the Miller Center's Presidential Studies Program.

"When combined with other gifts, this money will help ensure that the Miller Center's core mission of studying the U.S. presidency is funded by an endowment so that the talented scholars and staff can continue to produce top-quality research, without wondering how to fund the essentials," Burns said.

Miller Center scholars conduct an average of 20 in-depth oral history interviews each year, devoting hundreds of hours of research, preparation, and interviewing time to capture the detailed recollections of the top 100 administration officials and world leaders who worked with each president since Jimmy Carter.

The Center's oral history experts have conducted interviews with presidents, vice presidents, senior officials, and hundreds of others over the years. The interview sessions, often stretching across several days, capture for the permanent historical record a picture of a presidency, as seen by those who knew it best.

Miller Center oral history interviewees have included presidents Jimmy Carter, Bill Clinton, and Barack Obama; vice presidents Walter Mondale, Dan Quayle, and Dick Cheney; and senior officials Madeleine Albright, David Axelrod, James Baker, Melody Barnes, William Barr, Zbigniew Brzezinski, Andy Card, Hillary Rodham Clinton, Robert Gates, Mack McLarty, Leon Panetta, Colin Powell, Karl Rove, Robert Rubin, Donald Rumsfeld, Brent Scowcroft, John Sununu, and Frances Townsend.

But it's an expensive endeavor.

"This generous gift will ensure that the Miller Center can continue to collect historical interviews with presidents and their administrations that preserve illuminating memories for all time," said Miller Center Director of Presidential Studies Barbara Perry, who is the co-director of the Oral History Program. "An independent source of funding means that projects can begin soon after presidencies end, while recollections are fresh, without having to wait for presidential library foundations to be established and procure resources. Steve and Mary Anne appreciate how crucial this work is to preserving the American republic, and we are most grateful for their support."



STEVE AND MARY ANNE BURNS

The oral history interviews usually commence after a president's last (or only) term and can go on for five years. Each project cannot start in earnest until the majority of the funding is acquired.

"In our view, time is of the essence in the presidential oral history business," Burns explained. The fundraising aspect, including getting the cooperation and financial support of the respective presidential library, can take quite a while and create a delay. In the meantime, memories of the key players start to fade, interest or urgency can wane, and key principals could die.

"An endowment will allow for proper scheduling and execution regardless of funding," he added. "In other words, the Miller Center can spring into action on its timeline, not a third-party funder's, and create a better product because of it."

FOR MORE ABOUT THE MILLER CENTER'S PRESIDENTIAL ORAL HISTORY PROGRAM, GO TO millercenter.org/presidential-oral-histories

FISCAL YEAR 2021-22

FINANCIAL ACTIVITIES AND ASSETS



The Miller Center, as a unit of the University of Virginia, operates on a July 1 to June 30 fiscal year. The Miller Center Foundation, a section 501(c)(3) nonprofit organization and a supporting University-associated organization, follows the same fiscal year. The Center has financial assets held by the University, including endowment and operating funds, and follows University policies and procedures for its fiscal operations. The Foundation receives and holds funds on behalf of the Center and transfers those funds to the Center for use as needed. The Foundation also holds endowments in support of the Center. The Foundation follows standard policies and procedures for nonprofit organizations.

Generous funding from donors and vital support from the University of Virginia bolster the Miller Center's programs and operations. Funding received in one fiscal year but intended for use in another fiscal year is deferred until the year of its use and is recognized as revenue in that year. Beginning and ending cash balances, therefore, include funds that are restricted by program or time and are not necessarily available for use in a given fiscal year. In fiscal year 2022, the Center recognized \$2.8 million of revenue secured in previous years and secured \$2.6 million in revenue to be recognized in future years.

Endowments comprise the largest financial asset for both the Miller Center and the Miller Center Foundation. For fiscal year 2022, endowment distributions constituted 48.6 percent of total income for programs and operations. All endowments are managed by the University of Virginia Investment Management Company (UVIMCO) in its long-term pool. Endowment distribution rates follow those set by the University's Board of Visitors; the rate for fiscal year 2022 was 5.01 percent.

UVIMCO realized an overall rate of return for the fiscal year ending June 30, 2022, of negative 4.7 percent, a three-year annualized rate of return of 14.4 percent, and a five-year annualized rate of return of 12 percent. Total market value for Center and Foundation endowments decreased from \$115.6 million on June 30, 2021, to \$107.2 million on June 30, 2022. This decrease includes new contributions of \$1.5 million and market performance, less distributions and other expenses.

The University of Virginia allocates central services costs to its individual units and charges those units for the actual costs of their utilities usage. In some cases, the University partially offsets these costs with a subvention. The central services and utilities costs totaled \$1.39 million for the Miller Center in fiscal year 2022. The subvention offset totaled \$1.01 million.

The Miller Center and Miller Center Foundation ended fiscal year 2022 with positive net income for programs and operations, modest negative total net income, and cash balances exceeding \$5 million.

For the past decade, the Miller Center Foundation held a long-term commercial lease in Washington, D.C., for an office the Miller Center formerly used. The space was subleased for much of that time. That lease obligation was fulfilled in the past year.

The reporting of financial activities here is derived from preaudit statements and internal working papers.

MILLER CENTER AND MILLER CENTER FOUNDATION
SUMMARY OF FINANCIAL ACTIVITIES

MILLER CENTER AND MILLER CENTER FOUNDATION
ENDOWMENT AND QUASI-ENDOWMENT
RESERVE FUNDS, MARKET VALUE

As of June 30 each year

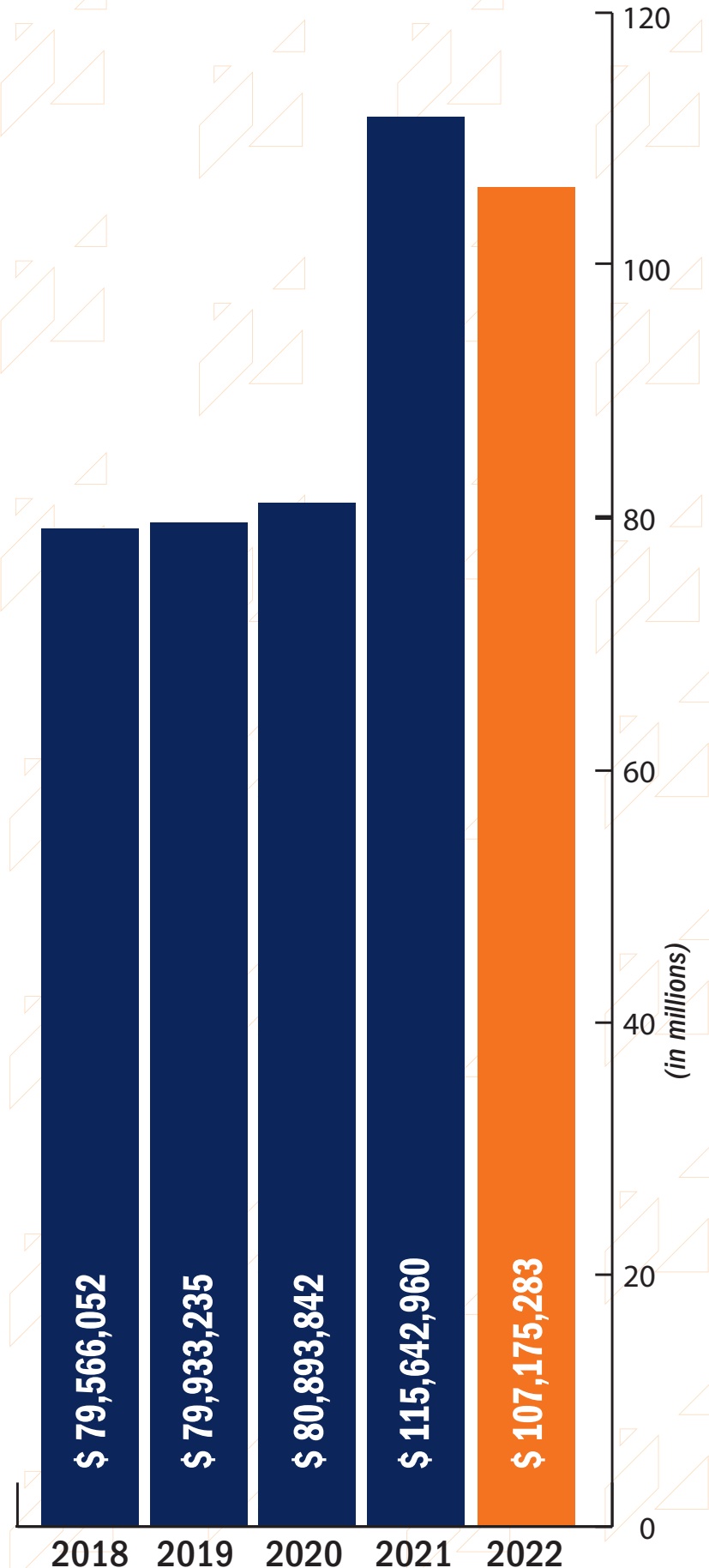
INCOME FOR PROGRAMS/OPERATIONS	FY2022	FY2021
Endowment Distribution	\$ 3,902,949	\$ 3,619,230
Gifts & Grants	3,433,017	4,084,666
University of Virginia	522,673	817,772
Other	1,144	1,123
Deferred Revenue, Recognized	2,775,966	1,669,533
Deferred Revenue, Unrecognized	(2,598,542)	(2,404,553)
TOTAL	\$ 8,037,208	\$ 7,787,771

EXPENSE FOR PROGRAMS/OPERATIONS	FY2022	FY2021
Presidential Studies	\$ 2,047,066	\$ 1,982,148
Democracy & Governance Studies	2,199,832	1,727,090
Library & Information Services	238,034	212,232
Marketing & Communications	1,008,080	1,152,004
Executive Office & Governing Council	815,076	779,786
Administration & Operations	537,494	581,055
Advancement	539,285	504,998
Foundation Operations	77,853	83,006
TOTAL	\$ 7,462,720	\$ 7,022,320

NET INCOME FOR PROGRAMS/OPERATIONS	\$ 574,488	\$ 765,452
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[Plus] Additional Deferred Revenue, Recognized	\$ 50,161	\$ 42,549
[Plus] Sublease Income	(9,213)	249,810
[Less] Lease Obligation	151,198	374,313
[Plus] University of Virginia Central Services Allocation	1,011,728	924,559
[Less] University of Virginia Central Services Assessment	1,389,623	1,167,160
[Plus] New Contributions Designated for Endowment	1,402,960	448,800
[Less] Transfers of Contributions Designated for Endowment	1,495,487	357,369
TOTAL NET INCOME	\$ (6,184)	\$ 532,328

Cash Balance, Beginning	\$ 5,549,022	\$ 4,324,223
[Less] Deferred Revenue, Recognized	2,826,127	1,712,082
[Plus] Deferred Revenue, Unrecognized	2,598,542	2,404,553
CASH BALANCE, ENDING	\$ 5,315,252	\$ 5,549,022



NOTES FROM THE PRESIDENCY

Franklin D. Roosevelt reestablished relations with the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics in his first year as president in 1933. Roosevelt and Maxim Litvinov, Soviet commissar for foreign affairs under Stalin, negotiated agreements captured in a series of letters (*the first, shown here*).

Roosevelt's statesmanship required turning a blind eye to the plight of Ukraine. Nearly four million Ukrainians perished between 1932 and 1933 in a famine resulting from Stalin's agricultural collectivization program. A Soviet disinformation campaign successfully cast doubt on reports of the famine's scope.



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