

# ILLUMINATION

THE UNIVERSITY OF VIRGINIA'S MILLER CENTER

SPRING 2023



OUR LATEST BOOKS

p. 6





ANN COMPTON, TOM PERRIELLO, AND DENVER RIGGLEMAN  
ON STAGE AT UVA'S ROTUNDA

## BATTLING FOR DEMOCRACY IN UKRAINE

TWO FORMER CONGRESSMEN FROM OPPOSITE SIDES OF THE AISLE SEE EYE TO EYE ON A RISING THREAT TO DEMOCRACY

What does Russia's war in Ukraine mean for democracy? Two former U.S. representatives from Virginia's Fifth Congressional District—Democrat Tom Perriello and Denver Riggleman, who served as a Republican—found common ground in a November 2022 event moderated by Ann Compton, former ABC News chief Washington correspondent.

Perriello and Riggleman, reflecting on humanitarian and military developments in Ukraine, drew connections between rampant Russian propaganda, cyber warfare, and threats to American democracy.

The discussion was part of the University of Virginia's "Democracy Dialogues" series, which aims to strengthen democracy through civil debate and is co-produced by UVA's Karsh Institute of Democracy and the Miller Center.

**COMPTON:** You recently spent several weeks in Ukraine. Can you give us your eyewitness account?

**PERRIELLO:** When I was on the ground, I saw great pride. Ukrainians made a fundamental decision after the Soviet era: "We are going to be a democracy." That was a defining moment for them—and the original sin in the eyes of Russian President Vladimir Putin—because the great Soviet project fell apart. Ukraine was the crown jewel.

Rather than saying, "America, come save us!" they're focused on saving themselves. It's inspiring to be there. For Ukrainians, it's about the right to determine their own future. You see the kinds of mobilizations we hear about from the World War II era, where every single citizen is part of the effort.

**COMPTON:** Is Ukraine a distant troubled spot, or is this a stress test for American democracy?

**RIGGLEMAN:** Ukraine is being battered. I've been in the intelligence field for 20 years, both kinetic—that is, I dropped bombs—and nonkinetic, which includes cyber and information warfare. The Ukraine situation is a threat to democracy because a democratic country with democratic institutions is fighting an invader.

As this war continues, we have to worry about not only Russia's hegemonic interests but also what's going on in the United States—people spreading disinformation that the Ukrainians are Nazis, that Putin is the last Christian leader, that he'll bring back a Christian world rule.

**COMPTON:** That is the second warfare, beyond the missiles and rockets—the disinformation.

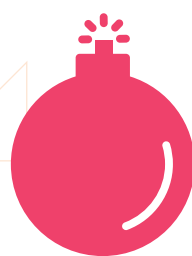
**RIGGLEMAN:** There's so much faulty information. We can't seem to get the facts out. My biggest fear is that in the social media ecosystem, we're not winning. We're losing. We don't have a reality-based community that can fight back against the fantasy-based community, whether they're good people or not. The problem is our own vulnerabilities to this disinformation.

**PERRIELLO:** It's about democracy and also about our mental health. People get a dopamine hit from hate. Hope and unity and positivity do not give the same endorphin release, which means that deferred gratification—the things that are part of deliberative democracy—are not rewarded in the same way.

**RIGGLEMAN:** Disinformation cannot be our baseline for policy discussions and how we run this country.

FIND THE FULL CONVERSATION AT  
[millercenter.org/democracy-ukraine](https://millercenter.org/democracy-ukraine)

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THE "DEMOCRACY DIALOGUES" SERIES AT  
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# A LETTER FROM THE DIRECTOR

By BILL ANTHOLIS *Director & CEO*

## “What are the great questions facing the institution of the presidency?”

This was the foundational question I posed to Sidney Milkis and Barbara Perry, two of our leading scholars on the American presidency, when I first began working at the Miller Center eight years ago.

Sid and Barbara grouped their questions into three categories—“Presidency and Constitutional Powers,” “Presidency and Policy,” and “Presidency and the American People”—a framework that has guided our research and public programming.

Looking back, I’m so appreciative of all that the Miller Center team has accomplished in the past eight years. Here are some highlights:

- Creation of the First Year Project 2017, a multiyear, nonpartisan effort to examine the first 365 days of each new administration
- Co-hosting the 2019 Presidential Ideas Festival, a three-day conference featuring headliners Bill Clinton and Madeleine Albright
- Completion and release of the George W. Bush Oral History Project
- Initiation of the Barack Obama and Hillary Rodham Clinton oral history projects
- Co-production of the PBS documentary *Statecraft: The Bush 41 Team*
- Creation of the LBJ Telephone Tapes exhibit with the LBJ Library
- Help with the launch of UVA’s Karsh Institute of Democracy, with which the Center has collaborated on numerous projects and events

On top of that, our scholars have published transcripts for hundreds of hours of Oval Office recordings. Our faculty and fellows have written dozens of books and hundreds of op-eds. We’ve hosted hundreds of weekly events and conferences, reaching thousands of engaged citizens.

We’ve launched policy undertakings and mentored students, some of whom you will meet in this issue of *Illumination*. We’ve served tens of millions of online visitors to our website, especially to our extensive materials on all 46 U.S. presidencies.

In reviewing that list, I’m filled with excitement about the possibilities that lie ahead, especially as we approach the Miller Center’s 50th anniversary in September 2025.

But I also must admit a growing concern. The American presidency, as a distinctly democratic institution, may be in crisis. It is both unleashed and under strain. Presidents are more powerful and more prone to fail.

We will host a major conference in fall 2023 to examine these topics of central importance to Sid and Barbara’s “Presidency and the Constitutional Powers” category.

We will also carry forward a series of cutting-edge efforts related to “Presidency and Policy”:

- The Project on Democracy and Capitalism recently held a major conference covered by PBS NewsHour (page 10).
- Our Health Care Policy Project builds on work related to the COVID pandemic and is hosting conversations about issues vital to the federal government, American politics, and society more broadly.
- The Ukraine War Room, a scholarly collective that has been meeting every week since Russia’s invasion, serves as an incubator for work in international affairs.
- Our focus on East Asia included a spring conference covering the U.S.-China competition in technology. One scholar has established a path-breaking new center in Taiwan on Asia-Pacific resilience and innovation.

Last, we will continue our work on the “Presidency and the American People” with a series of events on civil rights and race relations, immigration, and the role of social media in a democratic society.

I feel certain that our predecessors who established the Miller Center as the go-to place for the American presidency would be proud of where our current scholars and staff are taking us.



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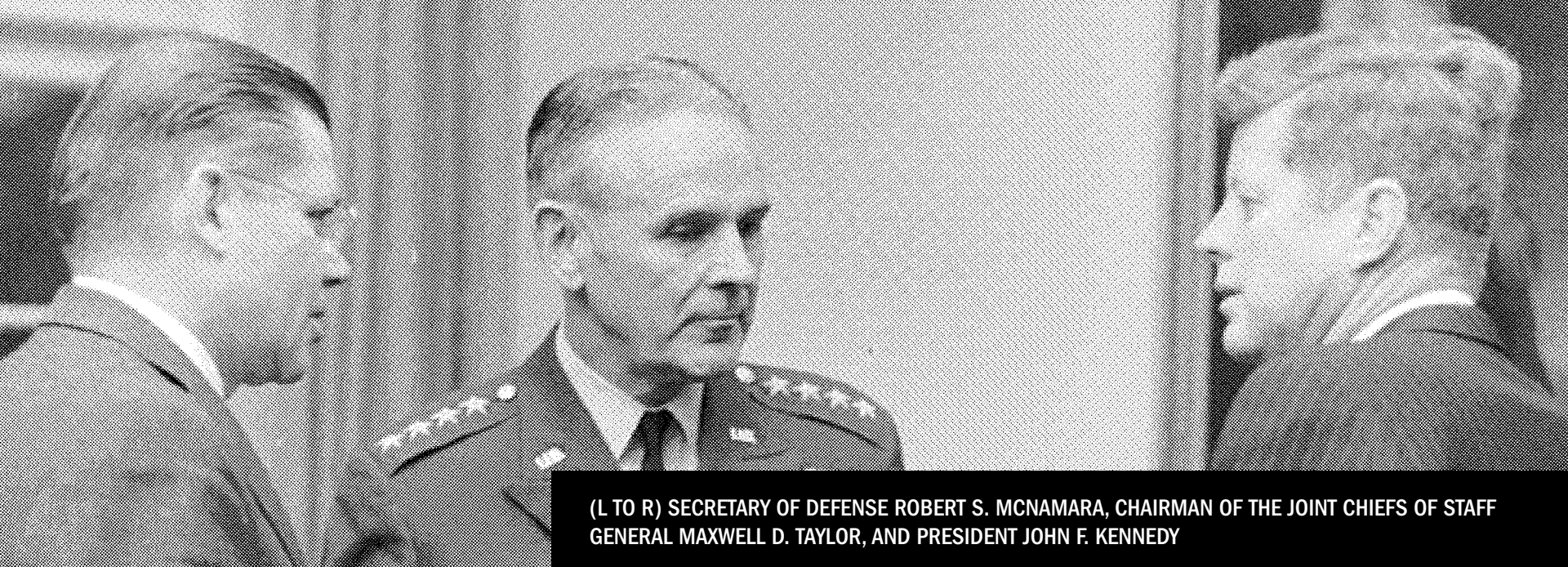


# 'THE KENNEDY WITHDRAWAL'

PROPOSALS FOR REMOVING U.S. TROOPS FROM VIETNAM PUT KENNEDY'S TOP ADVISORS AT ODDS WITH ONE ANOTHER







(L TO R) SECRETARY OF DEFENSE ROBERT S. MCNAMARA, CHAIRMAN OF THE JOINT CHIEFS OF STAFF GENERAL MAXWELL D. TAYLOR, AND PRESIDENT JOHN F. KENNEDY

Of all the assumptions and recommendations contained in the October 1963 report from Secretary of Defense Robert McNamara and Joint Chiefs of Staff chair Gen. Maxwell Taylor, the withdrawal clauses generated the most pushback from members of the mission team. “I just can’t buy this,” said William H. Sullivan, an assistant to Under Secretary of State Averell Harriman, characterizing the pledge to withdraw troops from Vietnam as “totally unrealistic.”

The United States was not going to remove its troops by 1965, he maintained, and therefore “we mustn’t submit anything phony as this to the president.” Although McNamara allegedly convinced Taylor to strike that language from the draft report, Taylor’s frustration with GVN [Government of (South) Vietnam] President Ngo Dinh Diem got the better of him.

Taylor made the case for withdrawal as a form of leverage against the GVN. “Well, goddamnit,” he exclaimed, “we’ve got to make these people put their noses to the wheel—or the grindstone or whatever,” as Sullivan recalled their exchange. “If we don’t give them some indication that we’re going to get out sometime, they’re just going to be leaning on us forever. So that’s why I had it in there.”

Sullivan acknowledged Taylor’s motivations but cautioned that “if this becomes a matter of public record, it would be considered a phony and a fraud and an effort to mollify the American public and just not be considered honest.”

Sullivan came away from the conversation thinking he had kept the clause out of the report. He was mistaken. McNamara and Taylor likely reinserted

the passage when they met in Taylor’s office on the morning of October 2, a mere 80 minutes before they were to meet with President John F. Kennedy. Fifteen months of planning to remove U.S. troops from Vietnam thus made its way to Kennedy’s desk as a result of Taylor’s pique and the last-minute machinations of Pentagon leadership.

Framing it as part of the comprehensive phaseout of American forces, the report recommended that the Pentagon announce the initial drawdown “in the very near future” as part of the broader effort “to train progressively Vietnamese to take over military functions” presently being carried out by U.S. advisors.

This first withdrawal, they noted, “should be explained in low key as an initial step in a long-term program to replace U.S. personnel with trained Vietnamese without impairment of the war effort.” Central to both the incidental and comprehensive withdrawals were concerns about South Vietnamese morale. In the end, Saigon had to run the war on its own, and the continued presence of U.S. advisory forces in Vietnam “beyond the time they are really needed” would compromise the “independence” and “initiative” of the South Vietnamese.

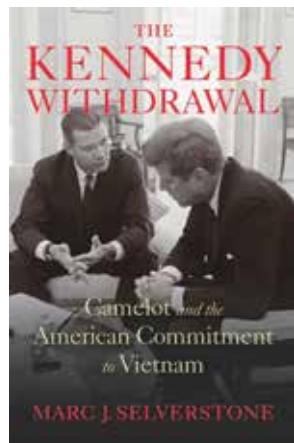
In fact, McNamara and Taylor thought a limited transfer of responsibility could take place at that very moment “without material impairment of the total war effort.” But beyond the return of those 1,000 troops, they held that “no further reductions should be made until the requirements of the 1964 campaign become firm.” The comprehensive withdrawal would thus depend on military conditions, while the 1,000-man withdrawal would now proceed in spite of them.

*Excerpted from* THE KENNEDY WITHDRAWAL: CAMELOT AND THE AMERICAN COMMITMENT TO VIETNAM *by* Marc J. Selverstone, *published by* Harvard University Press. *Copyright* © 2022 *by the President and Fellows of Harvard College. All rights reserved.*

READ MORE EXCERPTS AT [millercenter.org/kennedy-withdrawal](https://millercenter.org/kennedy-withdrawal)



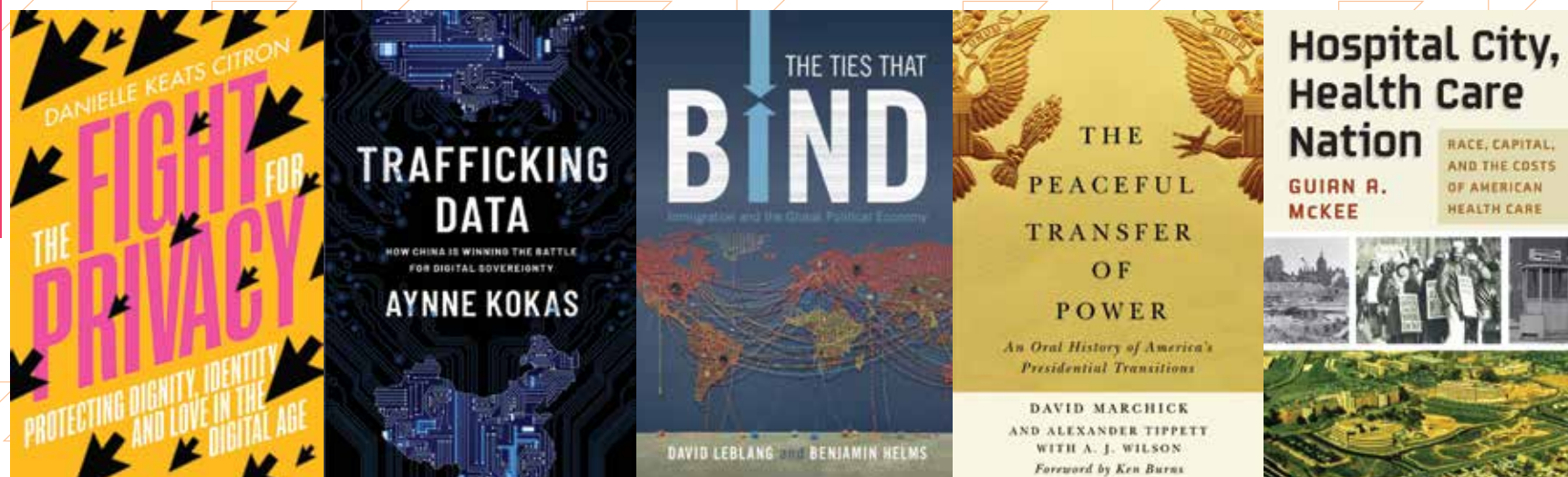
**Marc J. Selverstone** is an associate professor in presidential studies at the Miller Center and chair of the Center’s Presidential Recordings Program. His scholarship focuses on presidents and presidential decision making, particularly during the 1960s and 1970s.





# Reading Room

THE LATEST BOOKS FROM MILLER CENTER FACULTY AND FELLOWS



Miller Center experts are a prolific bunch. Here's a roundup of their recent books, published during the 2022–23 academic year.

## **THE FIGHT FOR PRIVACY: PROTECTING DIGNITY, IDENTITY, AND LOVE IN OUR DIGITAL AGE**

by Danielle Keats Citron (Miller Center faculty senior fellow; UVA Law professor), published by W. W. Norton and Company

Privacy is disappearing. From our sex lives to our workout routines, our personal preferences once relegated to pen and paper have joined the slipstream of new technology.

When intimate privacy becomes data, corporations know exactly when to flash that ad for a new drug or pregnancy test. Social and political forces know how to manipulate what you think and who you trust. And as new technologies invite new violations, people have power over one another like never before, from revenge porn to extortion, attaching life-altering risks to growing up, dating online, or falling in love.

Drawing on in-depth interviews with victims, activists, and advocates, Citron weaves visceral stories about the countless ways that corporate and individual violators exploit privacy loopholes.

**TRAFFICKING DATA: HOW CHINA IS WINNING THE BATTLE FOR DIGITAL SOVEREIGNTY** by Aynne Kokas (Miller Center C.K. Yen Professor; UVA department of media studies), published by Oxford University Press

As digital technologies and social media have evolved into organizing forces for the way we conduct our lives, the business logic that undergirds these digital platforms has

become clear: We are their product. We give these businesses information about where we live and work, what we consume, where we travel, what we think politically, and who our friends are.

Kokas covers TikTok, Fortnite, Grindr, and Facebook, delivering an urgent look into the technology firms that gather our data and how the Chinese government is capitalizing on this data flow for political gain.

**THE TIES THAT BIND: IMMIGRATION AND THE GLOBAL POLITICAL ECONOMY** by David Leblang (Miller Center Randolph P. Compton Professor; UVA department of politics) and Benjamin Helms (Carnegie Mellon), published by Cambridge University Press

Migration is among the central domestic and global political issues of today. Yet the causes and consequences are poorly understood.

Migration is both costly and risky, so what are the political, social, economic, and environmental factors that cause people to leave their homes and seek a better life elsewhere? Leblang and Helms argue that political factors—the ability to participate in the political life at their destination—are as important as economic and social factors. They combine theory with a wealth of micro and macro evidence to demonstrate that migration isn't static, but continuously fluid. And they argue that migrants are the glue that helps hold global finance together.

**THE PEACEFUL TRANSFER OF POWER: AN ORAL HISTORY OF AMERICA'S PRESIDENTIAL TRANSITIONS** by David Marchick (American University's Kogod School of Business), Alexander Tippett (researcher

and A. J. Wilson (former speechwriter); edited by Guian McKee (Miller Center associate professor) and Marc Selverstone (chair of the Miller Center Presidential Recordings Program); published by University of Virginia Press

Ronald Reagan called the peaceful transfer of power from one U.S. president to the next a miracle, and it is. It is also the most delicate and hazardous period in the entire political cycle.

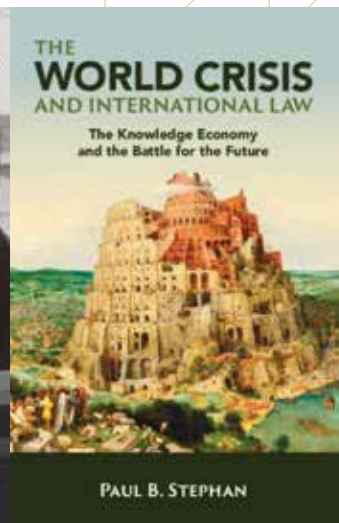
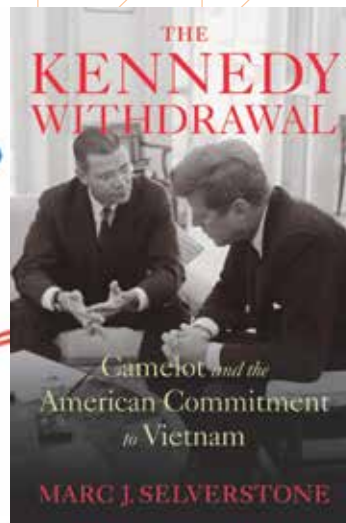
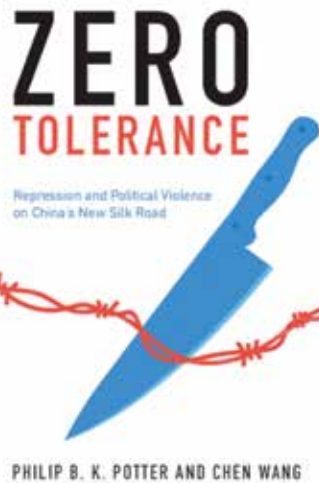
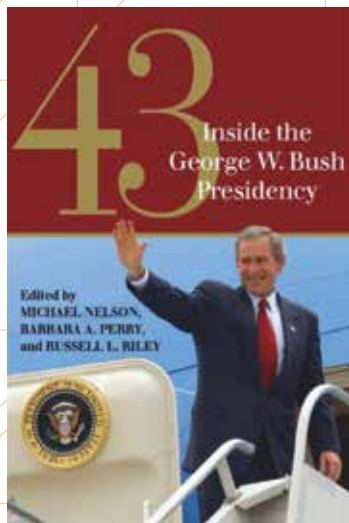
Even at the best of times, an incoming administration faces a gargantuan task, as every new president must make more than 4,000 political appointments in a short period of time. Transitions stand at a critical juncture here and abroad.

This book offers every citizen invested in safeguarding our democracy accessible and concentrated insights that will help future transitions run better, faster, and more smoothly.

**HOSPITAL CITY, HEALTH CARE NATION: RACE, CAPITAL, AND THE COSTS OF AMERICAN HEALTH CARE** by Guian McKee (Miller Center associate professor), published by University of Pennsylvania Press

McKee argues that the country's high health care costs have allowed urban hospitals and academic medical centers to become economically vital, yet problematic, for communities across the nation.

Using a detailed historical case study of Baltimore's Johns Hopkins Hospital, McKee argues that high spending has also constrained health care reform over many decades, even after the passage of the Affordable Care Act in 2010. At the same time, the role of hospitals in urban renewal, in



community health provision, and as employers of low-wage workers has contributed directly to racial health disparities.

**43: INSIDE THE GEORGE W. BUSH PRESIDENCY** edited by Michael Nelson (Miller Center nonresident faculty senior fellow), Barbara Perry (Miller Center director of Presidential Studies), and Russell Riley (Miller Center co-director of the Presidential Oral History Program); published by University Press of Kansas

The presidency of George W. Bush has been the subject of extensive commentary but limited scholarly analysis in the years since he left office. *43* draws primarily from the recently released interviews of the Miller Center's Presidential Oral History Program at the University of Virginia.

Relying heavily on insider accounts, the essays are critical, yet balanced, in providing assessments of Bush's controversial victory in 2000; "endless wars" precipitated by the 9/11 terrorist attacks; and legislative battles over taxes, education reform, Medicare, and attempts to address the Great Recession. These landmark events are illuminated by conversations with the decision makers who made history.

**ZERO TOLERANCE: REPRESSION AND POLITICAL VIOLENCE ON CHINA'S NEW SILK ROAD** by Philip Potter (Miller Center faculty senior fellow; UVA department of politics) and Chen Wang (University of Idaho), published by Cambridge University Press

China's mistreatment of its Uyghur minority has drawn international condemnation and sanctions.

The repression gripping their home region of Xinjiang is also hugely costly to China in yuan, personnel, and stifled economic productivity.

Despite this, the Chinese Communist Party persists in its policies. Why? Drawing on extensive original data, Potter and Wang demonstrate that insecurities about the stability of the regime and its claim to legitimacy motivate Chinese policies. These perceived threats to core interests drive the ferocity of the official response to Uyghur nationalism.

The result is harsh repression, sophisticated media control, and selective international military cooperation. *Zero Tolerance* sheds light on this problem, informing policy makers, scholars, and students about an emerging global hotspot destined to play a central role in international politics in years to come.

**THE KENNEDY WITHDRAWAL: CAMELOT AND THE AMERICAN COMMITMENT TO VIETNAM** by Marc Selverstone (chair of the Miller Center Presidential Recordings Program), published by Harvard University Press

In October 1963, the White House publicly proposed the removal of United States troops from Vietnam, earning President Kennedy an enduring reputation as a skeptic on the war. In fact, Kennedy was ambivalent about withdrawal and was largely detached from its planning.

Drawing on secret presidential tapes, Selverstone lifts the veil on the legend of Camelot, revealing that the withdrawal statement gave Kennedy political cover and allowed him to sustain support for U.S. military assistance. Its details were

the handiwork of Defense Secretary Robert McNamara, whose ownership of the plan distanced it from the president.

*The Kennedy Withdrawal* makes clear that portrayals of Kennedy as a dove are exaggerated. His proposed withdrawal was in fact a cagey strategy for keeping the United States involved in the fight—a strategy the country adopted decades later in Afghanistan.

**THE WORLD CRISIS AND INTERNATIONAL LAW: THE KNOWLEDGE ECONOMY AND THE BATTLE FOR THE FUTURE** by Paul B. Stephan (Miller Center faculty senior fellow; professor, UVA School of Law), published by Yale University Press

The knowledge economy, a seeming wonder for the world, has caused unintended harms that threaten peace and prosperity and undo international cooperation and the international rule of law. The world faces threats of war, pandemics, growing domestic political discord, climate change, disruption of international trade and investment, immigration, and the pollution of cyberspace, just as international law increasingly falls short as a tool for managing these challenges. Prosperity dependent on meritocracy, open borders, international economic freedom, and a wide-open Internet has met its limits, with international law one of the first casualties. Any effective response to these threats must reflect the pathway by which these perils arrive.

**FOR MORE ABOUT BOOKS WRITTEN BY MILLER CENTER FACULTY AND FELLOWS, GO TO [millercenter.org/experts](http://millercenter.org/experts)**



# DEVOTED TO THE PRESIDENCY

## BARBARA PERRY'S SCRUPULOUSLY BALANCED APPROACH

By Howard Witt

Barbara Perry's earliest presidential memory was formed when she was just four years old, on an October day in 1960 when her mother took her to hear John F. Kennedy's campaign speech in downtown Louisville, Kentucky.

Perry's most recent presidential memory happened in December, when she chatted with President Joe Biden at a White House holiday reception.

In between, Perry has spent a lifetime interviewing presidents, writing about presidents, leading presidential oral histories, and mingling with presidential families. Along the way, she scaled a fence to watch Ethel Kennedy play tennis at the Hickory Hill Kennedy family compound in McLean, Virginia, chatted for hours with Vice President Dick Cheney in his dining room in Wyoming, and followed presidential candidate Mo Udall around a potato festival in Kentucky.

Not bad for a self-described "introverted scholar" who dreamed in high school of becoming America's first woman president—although she eventually changed her mind about seeking elective office during a Capitol Hill internship, when she was shocked to discover the existence of signature machines.

"As a college student, I'd get these letters from my congressman and senators offering congratulations on making the dean's list," Perry recalled. "Then I realized they weren't actually writing those letters. I was put off by the fakery of politics."

For the past nine years, Perry has served as the Miller Center's director of Presidential Studies while leading the Center's esteemed Presidential Oral History Program along with co-director Russell Riley and overseeing the





Center's other signature presidential projects, including the Presidential Recordings Program and the comprehensive presidential biographical materials on [millercenter.org](http://millercenter.org).

She has conducted more than 130 in-depth interviews for the George H. W. Bush, George W. Bush, Bill Clinton, Barack Obama, and Sen. Edward Kennedy oral history projects, and she is currently co-directing a Hillary Clinton project while laying the groundwork for one planned on the Donald Trump administration.

The author or co-author of five books about modern presidents and the Miller Center's Gerald L. Baliles Professor, Perry serves on the boards of the White House Historical Association and the John F. Kennedy Library Foundation.

Yet Perry's wide-ranging interests don't stop with the presidency. She's also a nationally recognized expert on the Supreme Court, having served as a fellow for the high court and authored six books about it. She counted Justices Antonin Scalia, Sandra Day O'Connor, William Brennan, and Chief Justice William Rehnquist as acquaintances.

"I'm just drawn to understand famous people," Perry explained. "I don't know why. Maybe because my mother was so excited about famous people."

Perry credits her "ordinary" parents with inspiring her extraordinary interests and curiosity. Although the Great Depression blocked their dreams of going to college, her father, Louis—who worked as a photoengraver for the Louisville *Courier Journal*, and her mother, Lillian—a homemaker—instilled in her a keen sense of civic responsibility.

From an early age, Perry recalled, her mother would take her and her two older brothers to political rallies and into the voting booth on Election Day. Every night after finishing his shift, Perry's father would bring home defective copies of the day's newspapers that failed quality-control checks, seeding Perry's daily-newspaper habit. Her dad, a World War II Army veteran, took her to see former President Dwight Eisenhower as he campaigned in the 1962 midterm elections. And the whole family drove to Hodgenville, Kentucky, the birthplace of Abraham Lincoln.

Her parents were particularly proud, Perry said, to have scraped together the money to buy a full set of the *World Book Encyclopedia*—"plus every Year Book supplement up to 1978." And they subscribed to all the major magazines of the era, which Perry devoured.

Perry's mother also set her on a path to overcome her natural shyness, encouraging her to enter a second-grade speech contest on "Why I like the library" and helping her practice by using the crooked handle of a vacuum cleaner as a pretend microphone. She won—the first of many academic accolades that would culminate in a perfect 4.0 GPA earned at the University of Louisville; a scholarship to the University of Oxford, where she earned a master of arts degree; and a PhD in American government from the University of Virginia.

Perry has a particular fascination with President John F. Kennedy and the Kennedy family, which has led her to write books about JFK, Jacqueline Kennedy, Rose Kennedy, and Sen. Edward Kennedy. As a leading authority on the star-crossed family, she is often sought



(L TO R) RUSSELL RILEY, MIKE NELSON, DICK CHENEY, BARBARA PERRY, AND STEVE KNOTT CONDUCT AN ORAL HISTORY INTERVIEW WITH CHENEY AT HIS HOME IN JACKSON HOLE, WYOMING

to write and speak about the Kennedys and has served as an on-camera expert in numerous documentaries. She's been invited to speak to the British Parliament about JFK in June.

But never mistake Perry for some blind partisan. Beyond her work on the Bush 41 and Bush 43 oral history projects, during which she gained the trust of scores of senior Republican interview subjects, Perry is a nonresident fellow at the Mitch McConnell Center at the University of Louisville. She counts among her favorite oral histories the 25 hours she spent interviewing Dick Cheney at his home in Jackson Hole, Wyoming.

"When I am conducting an oral history, I take off any ideological hat that I might wear in a private setting," Perry said. "I see these people as people first, not partisans. I go into it with that approach, which is very easy for me to do, because I'm really interested in people's personalities and their backgrounds."

To illustrate the value of the Miller Center's rigorously nonpartisan approach to presidential research, Perry cites two contemporaneous oral history interviews she helped lead: Marc Short, former director of legislative affairs for President Donald Trump, and Melody Barnes, former director of domestic policy for President Barack Obama.

"One is a white man from the Norfolk area; one is a Black woman from Richmond," Perry explained. "Two people with very different family backgrounds who ended up in different spots on the political spectrum, working for very different office holders."

"So we have two really good interviews with these two different people from these two different parts of the spectrum, and yet growing up in the same Commonwealth of Virginia about the same time. Why did one become a liberal and one become a conservative? Why did they work for the people they did?"

The Short interview was part of preliminary research for a planned Trump oral history project, and the Barnes interview was part of the ongoing Obama oral history project. Neither will be publicly released until the full projects are concluded in future years.

Yet someday, Perry predicted, "if people only read those two interviews, I think they'd have a really good understanding of politics in the United States in this perplexing time."



BARBARA PERRY PHOTOGRAPHS A PORTRAIT OF JOHN F. KENNEDY AT THE WHITE HOUSE

**READ MORE ABOUT BARBARA PERRY AT**  
[millercenter.org/barbara-perry](http://millercenter.org/barbara-perry)



# DEMOCRACY AND CAPITALISM

## CAN DEMOCRACY AND CAPITALISM COEXIST? NEW PROJECT STARTS PROVIDING ANSWERS

A SCHOLARS CONFERENCE AMIDST ECONOMIC ANXIETY



(L TO R) JUDY WOODRUFF, SIDNEY MILKIS, JAMELLE BOUIE, SCOTT C. MILLER

A packed audience in the UVA Rotunda—along with 25,000 online viewers—watched a kick-off conversation with PBS NewsHour’s Judy Woodruff, New York Times columnist Janelle Bouie, White Burkett Miller Professor of Governance Sidney Milkis, and Scott C. Miller.

Two key goals for the project are to increase public understanding and shape key public policy debates, at a moment when the effect of financial crises on democratic governance is of increasing concern.

As Miller Center Director and CEO William Antholis remarked: “We come at this with a shared feeling that our country requires broader understanding of what democracy and capitalism are—how market democracies and capitalist systems work together, or else pull apart.”

Following the opening session, scholars including Danielle Allen of Harvard University, Joel Mokyr of Northwestern University, and Jacob Hacker of Yale University met in focused panels to present their work, which will be combined into an edited volume to be published by a major academic press.

The Project on Democracy and Capitalism also sponsored a recent event focused on UVA students. Members of the Jefferson Literary and Debating Society and the Washington Literary Society and Debating Union, with almost one hundred undergraduates in attendance, debated whether, “on balance, capitalism is beneficial for democracy,” followed by a guided discussion with faculty judges Miller, Darden Professor Vidya Mani, and Karsh Institute of Democracy Academic Director Laurent Dubois.

The debate came on the heels of a public Miller Center event featuring Darden Professor Ed Freeman, Harvard Professor Glory Liu, and entrepreneur Jeff Cherry, who discussed capitalism in relation to historical concepts of the “good society” and questioned whether free markets can make free people.

The Project on Democracy and Capitalism is also preparing to launch DemCap Analytics, an interactive web-based platform and suite of educational resources designed to engage users in data-driven economic and political analysis. Featuring some 500 datasets from more than 30 sources and a suite of classroom-ready case studies, DemCap Analytics will empower instructors at the secondary and collegiate levels to teach at the intersection of democracy and capitalism.

**LEARN MORE ABOUT THE PROJECT ON DEMOCRACY AND CAPITALISM AT [millercenter.org/democracy-and-capitalism](https://millercenter.org/democracy-and-capitalism)**

For three days in March, some of America’s leading scholars and journalists discussed and debated how our democratic political system and capitalist economy can co-exist. They brought research ranging from assessments of the economic policies of our two-party system to the economic forces that drove the Glorious Revolution in England in the 17th Century.

At the conclusion of the Project on Democracy and Capitalism Scholars Conference, Project Director Scott C. Miller summarized the view of most participants. Miller suggested that democracy and capitalism have coexisted in the United States for more than 200 years. “The real question is: Will they continue to do so?” Miller said. “And if so, how?”

The timing could not have been more prescient, as the failure of Silicon Valley Bank occurred the very next day. Many of the issues discussed have featured prominently in media coverage of the crisis, including a core question: In a deeply polarized country, are our institutions equipped to respond when economic crises and their societal consequences occur?

The conference was the culmination of two years of work by the Miller Center’s new Project on Democracy and Capitalism, which made great strides in the first half of 2023.

Funded by the William & Flora Hewlett Foundation and led by a Miller Center team including Robert F. Bruner, the Compton Visiting Professor at the Center and dean emeritus of the University of Virginia Darden School of Business, the conference convened experts from 10 academic disciplines at institutions including Harvard, Yale, Princeton, Stanford, and many others.



# The scary truth about ‘data privacy’

COMPANIES—AND FOREIGN GOVERNMENTS—ARE SELLING AND USING OUR PERSONAL INFORMATION



The U.S. government only lightly regulates collection of personal data online. Who should care about that? According to two Miller Center scholars who study the topic, the answer is every American.

We sat down with those scholars to learn more about the risks and current protections for online data. **Danielle Citron**, author of *The Fight for Privacy: Protecting Dignity, Identity, and Love in the Digital Age*, is a Miller Center faculty senior fellow and a professor at the University of Virginia School of Law. **Aynne Kokas** is the Miller Center’s C.K. Yen Professor and an associate professor of media studies at UVA who recently released *Trafficking Data: How China Is Winning the Battle for Digital Sovereignty*.

## Q: WHAT EXACTLY DOES “DATA PRIVACY” MEAN?

**CITRON:** Data privacy concerns the boundaries set around our personal lives and data. A foundational form is intimate privacy: access to, and information about, our bodies, health, innermost thoughts, gender, sexual orientation, and close relationships. We expect and deserve intimate privacy, yet too often we do not get it.

**KOKAS:** The idea that citizens should be responsible for managing their own data is incredibly flawed. In *Trafficking Data*, I write about it as an issue of the commons, much like climate change. Individual responses don’t work when collective action is required.

## Q: HOW WOULD YOU GRADE THE U.S. GOVERNMENT ON PROTECTIONS THUS FAR?

**CITRON:** I would give it a middling to low grade on two fronts. First, we treat personal data as a consumer protection problem. So long as companies don’t lie to us about it, then all collection, use, and sale of data is permissible.

Yes, we have a handful of state privacy laws. But they largely embody procedural protections rather than hard-and-fast limits. I give a “middling” grade because other countries don’t necessarily do it better. Not even the European Union.

Second, we provide a legal shield to online service providers through Section 230 of the Communications Decency Act. Courts have interpreted that immunity so broadly that websites that promote cyberstalking content are immunized from liability. On that score, we get a failing grade.

**KOKAS:** We see further fragmentation in efforts to respond to the challenges presented by Chinese firms. A new federal law bans Chinese-

controlled apps like TikTok on government but not personal phones, creating a patchwork of oversight that is highly reactive. Compared to the Chinese government, U.S. data protections offer very limited support for consumers and create an opening for what I term “data trafficking,” or the nonconsensual extraction of data that is moved across borders for political purposes.

## Q: WHAT ARE SOME POSSIBLE SOLUTIONS?

**CITRON:** Intimate privacy should be protected as a moral right, a human right, and a civil right. Individuals, companies, and governments should not collect, use, or share our intimate data without a darned good reason.

**KOKAS:** To compete effectively with China, the United States needs to have serious conversations about how to stabilize transnational data flows and prevent data trafficking.

Many of our allies and partners around the world view both Silicon Valley and Beijing with skepticism, so it is particularly important to address those concerns through trade agreements and improved global corporate citizenship from U.S. tech firms.

**READ MORE ABOUT THESE NEW BOOKS ON PAGE 6**



# Students AT THE Center

HOW THE MILLER CENTER IS INFLUENCING THE NEXT GENERATION OF LEADERS

The Miller Center helps students—and their instructors—engage with presidential history and American politics. A key part of our mission is to fill expanding minds with ideas about how presidencies of the past can help shape those of the future.

“Students who work at the Miller Center are bright and focused,” said Director and CEO William Antholis. “We help them develop real-world experience, leadership skills, and self-confidence. Some go on to become government leaders, others become journalists or scholars themselves. One day we may even capture some of their voices through our oral history program.”

*Here are nine ways the Miller Center has a positive impact on students of all ages:*

## **‘THE PRESIDENCY’ SECTION OF MILLERCENTER.ORG**

Students from middle school through college rely on millercenter.org for comprehensive information about the U.S. presidency. They navigate our scholarly essays and presidential timelines to prepare for civics tests, U.S. history AP exams, and political science term papers.

Last year, “The Presidency” section of the Center’s website drew more than eight million unique page views—the most of any section on the site. Given the site’s value to students and teachers, it’s

no surprise that those numbers spike dramatically from September to May—the start and end of the school year for most American students.

“We know teachers point students to our resources,” said Sheila Blackford, managing editor of “The Presidency” section of the website. “In Google searches about particular presidents, we’re always in the top two to five results. And we curate our resources to reflect that demand.”

## **LEONARD D. SCHAEFFER FELLOWS IN GOVERNMENT SERVICE**

The brainchild of Leonard Schaeffer, a former assistant secretary at the Department of Health Education and Welfare (now Health and Human Services) and former CEO at WellPoint (now Anthem), this program matches undergraduates from five universities—the University of Virginia, Harvard University, Princeton University, the University of California–Berkeley, and the University of Southern California—with elected officials and government agencies for intensive summer internships.

“The unique collaboration with UVA’s Miller Center, the Center for Politics, and the Career Center incorporates a commitment to advancing democratic institutions,” Schaeffer said. “We identify fellows with leadership potential and offer

internships that inspire an interest in public service, better public policy, and engaged citizenship.”

Miller Center Schaeffer Fellows have interned in the U.S. Departments of State and Justice, the U.S. House, and other federal agencies; in the Smithsonian National Museum of Natural History; and in state and local government offices across Virginia and the District of Columbia. They also have worked at the Centers for Medicare and Medicaid Services—an office designed by none other than Leonard Schaeffer when he was assistant secretary.

The Miller Center partners with the UVA Career Center to recruit, select, and match fellows based on their future career interests. Alternatively, students find their own internships. In either case, the Schaeffer Fellows program provides them the financial support necessary to work for 40 hours each week. This cost-of-living stipend is what enables many students to take a nonpaying government internship.

“This program takes the internship opportunity and elevates it through networking, mentoring, and professional development,” said Matthew Slagley, who interned as a fellow in 2019 with the Virginia State Police. After graduating from UVA, he landed a full-time job in the same office.



## THE GILDER LEHRMAN INSTITUTE OF AMERICAN HISTORY

“Let the word go forth from this time and place, to friend and foe alike, that the torch has been passed to a new generation of Americans.” This quotation from President John F. Kennedy’s 1961 inaugural address is what has inspired Miller Center Director of Presidential Studies Barbara Perry to support history teachers and their students throughout her career. For the past 15 years, she has taught courses through the Gilder Lehrman Institute, a nonprofit dedicated to promoting American history to the general public, with a special focus on K–12 educators.

Perry recently led a course, “Presidential leadership at historic crossroads: From the Founding to current challenges.” Part of an online, accredited master’s program through Gettysburg College that is designed to be flexible and affordable for teachers, the class included about 280 teachers in the summer and fall semesters of 2022.

“I use the essays and information on millercenter.org as assigned reading,” Perry said. “Teachers tell me that they rely on the Miller Center’s presidential resources with their students. This translates into so many young people, across the nation, turning to the outstanding, informative content that we produce.”

## UVA DEMOCRACY BIENNIAL FELLOWS

“We are helping to teach the next generation of citizens about democratic practice,” said Miller Center Professor Marc Selverstone, who

collaborated with the UVA Center for Liberal Arts to create the UVA Democracy Biennial Fellows program—an effort that works with educators to develop civics curricula for secondary-school classrooms across Virginia.

This program was inspired by the 2021 UVA Democracy Biennial event, an ambitious two-day conference sponsored by UVA’s Karsh Institute of Democracy and the Miller Center. As part of the schedule, middle and high school teachers from across the Commonwealth were invited to attend.

Five of those teachers reconvened in fall 2022 as the inaugural class of Biennial Fellows, exchanging ideas and workshopping new teaching materials covering social and economic mobility, systemic reform, and the relationship between capitalism and democracy.

“We hear about the challenges of teaching in the current political environment—as well as getting students to express their thoughts,” said Selverstone, who worked with colleagues Stefanie Georgakis Abbott and Alfred Reaves IV on the project. “It’s been gratifying to hear educators describe the workshop as motivational and effective.”

The next UVA Democracy Biennial will take place at UVA in October 2023.

## 22ND-CENTURY SCHOLARS

It was summer 2020. Students were unsure about their summer job prospects because of the

COVID-19 pandemic. The Miller Center and other units at UVA responded quickly with a first-of-its-kind, virtual, public sector summer internship program—teaming up with UVA’s Center for Politics, the Sorensen Institute for Political Leadership at the Weldon Cooper Center, the Democracy Initiative (now the Karsh Institute of Democracy), the Frank Batten School of Leadership and Public Policy, and the Career Center.

Named for the impact participants will have on public policy extending into the 22nd century, the program continues today with a hybrid of virtual and in-person work at one of the participating UVA units.

Those who have been assigned to the Miller Center have helped mine presidential oral history transcripts for a project on the George H. W. Bush administration. Last summer, one intern assisted the Center’s new Project on Democracy and Capitalism, and another researched the history of the Miller Center’s 19th-century building, known as the Faulkner House.

Students also have had the opportunity to engage with policy makers, journalists, and other thought leaders, including CBS News *Face the Nation* moderator Margaret Brennan, former UVA and NFL football player Tiki Barber, and former director of the U.S. Cybersecurity and Infrastructure Security Agency Chris Krebs.

*(continued next page)*



TERRELL PITTMAN (UVA '25),  
LEONARD D. SCHAEFFER FELLOW  
IN GOVERNMENT SERVICE

# STUDENT SPOTLIGHT

## ‘THE TANGIBLE IMPACT OF GOVERNMENT’

Terrell Pittman is going places. The summer after his first year at the University of Virginia, Pittman worked for the U.S. attorney general in Washington, D.C. in a full-time internship sponsored by the Leonard D. Schaeffer Fellows program.

Pittman, who plans to attend law school, compiled data to help attorneys litigate discriminatory housing practices. “I was doing work, but everyone wanted me to learn,” said Pittman, a native of Franklin, Virginia. “I had the opportunity to sit in

on trials and ask questions. I learned that legal actions related to civil rights encompass so much.”

Pittman is one of more than 50 Schaeffer Fellows from UVA, Harvard, Princeton, and other elite universities who are assigned high-level internships with elected officials or government agencies, encouraging participants to become engaged citizens.

“Being a Schaeffer Fellow opened my eyes to the tangible impact of government,” Pittman said.

FOR MORE ABOUT THE SCHAEFFER FELLOWS PROGRAM, GO TO  
[millercenter.org/schaeffer](https://millercenter.org/schaeffer)



### ANSELMI FAMILY INTERNSHIP

One UVA undergraduate is chosen each year to be a paid research assistant for Miller Center Director William Antholis. Students spend their days researching, writing briefs, drafting remarks for Antholis, and providing administrative assistance. The program was made possible by a generous gift in 2019 from the Anselmi family, whose twin sons, Nick and Luke, also were Miller Center interns.

“One of our recent Anselmi interns managed an entire seminar series, including invitations, correspondence, and schedules, communicating with top economic policy experts across the country,” said Rick Willis, executive assistant and special advisor to Antholis. “She anticipated faculty questions, supplied answers and solutions, and did so professionally. What a success story.”

The benefits go both ways. “The students learn from being around all of us and we learn from being around them,” Willis added. “The Miller Center team is a passionate group that focuses on what public service has been and what it could be.”

### UNDERGRADUATE INTERNSHIPS

UVA undergraduates sign up for other paid internships across the Center. We seek out students who can work independently, have a positive attitude, and display strong written and verbal communication skills. Interest in history and politics are a plus.

“The undergrads get to see how a team works, how the Center works—to see that their role affects everyone’s performance,” said Mike Greco, director of information technology, who hires several interns each semester for his department. “There are also some intangibles that they bring us. They give me hope for the future.”

Some of our most visible interns are the students who greet visitors at the front desk. “I ask them, ‘Where are you from? What is something new you’ve learned since you arrived at UVA?’” said Alfred Reaves IV, faculty and program coordinator, who manages the students at the front desk. “Talking to them in this way models how they can collaborate with all kinds of people. It’s important, for them and for us, to take the time to connect as human beings first.”

Other undergraduate interns generate first-draft transcripts of secret tapes from the White House (mostly from the JFK, LBJ, and Nixon administrations) for the Presidential Recordings Program. They put on headphones, listen intently, and type what they hear—generating raw materials that are further refined by Miller Center faculty and staff.

“This work represents the first real job for some—their first opportunity to show up on time, interact in an office setting, and present themselves as professionals,” said Keri Matthews, associate editor. “Since many interns work for us across multiple years, it can be especially rewarding to watch them become seasoned, poised, and ready for full-time employment after graduation.”

Some of the text excerpts they create help visitors to [millercenter.org](http://millercenter.org) simultaneously listen to voices from the past and read the words being spoken. “The perennial ‘cool factor’ of listening to the secret White House tapes as a fly on the wall, being privy to the unvarnished thoughts of the country’s most senior officials, can never be underestimated,” Matthews said.



(L TO R) MILLER CENTER DIRECTOR WILLIAM ANTHOLIS WITH STUDENTS ELLEN COYNE, MIHRET NIGUSE, AND SOPHIE ROEHSE, WHO POSED QUESTIONS TO SPEAKER JUDY WOODRUFF AT THE MAY 2022 LEHRER LECTURE

### GRADUATE FELLOWSHIPS

The Miller Center’s Presidential Oral History Program hires graduate students to provide research support for the detailed briefing books that are produced ahead of every oral history interview, with the goal of prompting memories for the person being interviewed and helping the interviewers themselves prepare.

Graduate fellows identify key issues using public statements, past news coverage, and scholarly sources, suggesting questions to use during the interview process. Typically, graduate fellows also produce a few briefing books of their own each semester.

The Presidential Oral History Program may produce more than 100 briefing books for each project. “So we need their help,” said Bryan Craig, senior researcher. “Their incredibly meticulous work sets them apart because only a few places in the country do what the Miller Center does. It’s not unusual for our fellows to be asked in job interviews about their time at the Miller Center.”

### UVA’S INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS ORGANIZATION

As part of the Miller Center’s outreach, students are encouraged to enter an annual essay competition to promote undergraduate research in foreign affairs. This is done in partnership with UVA’s prestigious International Relations Organization (IRO), a student-run nonprofit founded in the 1970s that seeks to spread awareness of American foreign policy and the role of the U.S. presidency in international affairs.

The essay competition is open to all UVA undergraduates, with the winner receiving a cash prize, an honorary luncheon at the Miller Center, and publication of the essay in the *Virginia Journal of International Affairs*, the IRO’s undergraduate research journal.

The 2020 essay contest prompted students to select the most pressing foreign policy challenge facing then President Donald Trump. They were instructed to use a historical example or case study as context, analyzing lessons learned and how the Trump administration should address the issue moving forward.

In 2021, applicants were asked to provide insights on President Joe Biden’s memorable declaration at his inaugural address: “America is back.” Should future American foreign policy embrace multilateralism or take a more unilateral approach? In 2022, they were asked what the president’s top foreign policy priority should be in the coming year.

**FOR MORE ON THE MILLER CENTER’S PROGRAMS FOR STUDENTS, GO TO [millercenter.org/student-opportunities](http://millercenter.org/student-opportunities)**




# BY THE NUMBERS

The Miller Center hires student workers, funds and directs internships and fellowships, designs and delivers academic experiences, and provides one-on-one mentorship to shape our nation's future leaders. And during UVA's exam weeks, students love to study in the peace and quiet of the Miller Center's beautiful Scripps Library.

## HOW ELSE DOES OUR STUDENT IMPACT STACK UP?

30 

The number of undergraduate and graduate students employed by the Miller Center in 2022. Students worked for the Presidential Recordings Program, the Presidential Oral History Program, in the IT department, and at the front desk.

 35

The number of UVA students who were named Leonard D. Schaeffer Fellows since 2019, the start date of the Miller Center's participation in the program.

5+ 

There are countless former Miller Center interns who've hit it big-time in careers in politics, media, and elsewhere: Jamelle Bouie is a *New York Times* opinion columnist. John Bellinger served in the George W. Bush State Department as a legal advisor to Condoleezza Rice. Olivia Beavers is a *POLITICO* reporter covering Capitol Hill. Kyle O'Connor went from transcribing President Lyndon Johnson's secret Oval Office recordings to speechwriting for President Barack Obama. And

Bill Antholis received a Miller Center fellowship when working on his doctorate at UVA; he would go on to work at the State Department and White House, returning to the Miller Center in 2015 as director and CEO.



3.8M 

Approximate number of visitors to "The Presidency" section of millercenter.org. How do we know most of them are students? There's a spike in online visits between September and May, especially during late-night hours when students are typically doing homework and writing papers.

## WHY I GIVE

L.F. PAYNE IS A FORMER U.S. REPRESENTATIVE (VA-5), A MEMBER OF UVA'S BOARD OF VISITORS AND THE MILLER CENTER'S GOVERNING COUNCIL, AND PRESIDENT OF THREE RIDGES GROUP

### WHY SUPPORT THE MILLER CENTER?

The Miller Center is the preeminent institution studying the American presidency. I appreciate its pragmatic focus on discovering what worked in the past and what might work in the future.

My wife, Susan, and I want to make a difference. Our democracy depends on all of us. The Miller Center's scholarship shows us what effective government looks like. It's shared with the larger world through op-eds and books, and it's explored during weekly events at the Center. All of that is critical.

### HOW DOES YOUR LEGISLATIVE EXPERIENCE AFFECT YOUR OUTLOOK?

From my time in Congress, I've seen the government's work up close. I served with three presidents, so I've seen good leadership. I also learned about what not to do.

### WHICH MILLER CENTER PROJECTS EXCITE YOU?

The First Year Project in 2017, which shared lessons learned about the crisis-prone first 365 days of presidential administrations throughout U.S. history. I also enjoyed the Presidential Ideas Festival in 2019,

when former President Bill Clinton spoke about what it means to have "a more perfect Union." The latest project I'm excited about covers the intersection of democracy and capitalism, exploring how our capitalistic democracy is the best way to organize a society.

### FROM YOUR PERSPECTIVE, WHERE DOES OUR DEMOCRACY STAND?

Recently, all of us have learned about the fragility of democracy. I am a huge fan of the Miller Center and how its work helps strengthen that democratic foundation.



L. F. PAYNE

READ ABOUT OTHER MILLER CENTER DONORS AT [millercenter.org/donor-stories](https://millercenter.org/donor-stories)



# NOTES FROM THE PRESIDENCY

On November 29, 1982, just two years after failing in his bid for reelection, Jimmy Carter sat down with Miller Center interviewers for nearly five hours of in-depth conversation. More than 50 other members of the Carter administration also recorded interviews for the Jimmy Carter Oral History Project, creating an important archive of primary source materials about Carter and his time.

**FIND THE TRANSCRIPTS AT [millercenter.org/carter-oral-history](http://millercenter.org/carter-oral-history)**

Carter was reflective about his time in office, and claimed to have few regrets. "Now I'm perfectly at ease with myself," he said. But he also commented on the challenges facing an outsider president: "I had a different way of governing, I think, than had been the case with my predecessors, and the public and the press were still in somewhat of a quandary about how we managed the affairs of the White House."

The Center has conducted oral history projects for every presidential administration from Ford to Obama, with planning for a Trump oral history underway.



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## CARTER PRESIDENCY PROJECT

I hereby authorize my remarks in the Miller Center transcript titled "Carter Presidency Project: Jimmy Carter Session, November 29, 1982" to be used for scholarly research at the Center and will allow my remarks to be quoted with/without my prior approval.  
(circle one)

A handwritten signature in blue ink that reads "Jimmy Carter".  
President Jimmy Carter

FORMER MILLER CENTER DIRECTOR KENNETH W. THOMPSON (LEFT) AND PRESIDENT CARTER (RIGHT) DURING A BREAK IN THE ORAL HISTORY INTERVIEW IN PLAINS, GEORGIA