



Miller Center Releases New LBJ Volumes Tapes Focus on Civil Rights and Vietnam

June 24, 1964 was the most recorded day of the presidency of Lyndon Johnson, who secretly taped hundreds of hours of his phone calls and meetings. On this day, Johnson was dealing with three missing civil-rights workers in the South in an investigation the FBI called Mississippi Burning. Throughout the day and the next week, Johnson had more than 40 recorded conversations about the case. They included an emotional call in which he tells the mother of one of the missing workers about “a little hope we didn’t have earlier” and another call in which FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover tells the president, “These men have been killed.”

These conversations are part of the newest volumes of the Miller Center’s acclaimed series of transcripts of Johnson’s White House tapes. “The Presidential Recordings, Lyndon B. Johnson: Mississippi Burning and the Passage of the Civil Rights Act, June 1, 1964–July 4, 1964” includes

Continued on page 15.



Editors Kent Germany (left), Guian McKee (second from left), and David Carter (right) join Pulitzer Prize-winning author Taylor Branch (second from right) at an event in April at the National Archives in Washington, D.C.



The Miller Center’s new home page

9,500,000!

That’s how many times the Miller Center’s web site has been viewed in the past 12 months. That’s a 21-percent increase from the previous year and more than twice as many views that the web sites of leading think tanks in Washington get. With these impressive numbers, millercenter.org is proving to be one of the Miller Center’s most valuable assets. Now with a newly redesigned web site, the numbers are expected to continue to grow. See p. 14 for more information.

Five Years and Counting



I've now served as director of the Miller Center for longer than I occupied the office of the governor of Virginia.

This year marks a personal milestone, as I've now served as director of the Miller Center for longer than I occupied the office of the governor of Virginia. While I enjoyed my time in Richmond immensely, I'm delighted to be here at the Miller Center; "policy without the politics" has much to recommend it.

In my time here, through the efforts of our dedicated scholars, staff, and supporters, the Miller Center has continued its rich tradition of presidential scholarship. The Center has already completed the oral histories of the administrations of Presidents Jimmy Carter and Ronald Reagan. Our projects on the administrations of Presidents George H. W. Bush and Bill Clinton are nearing completion, and our project on the administration of President George W. Bush has recently begun. And Miller Center scholars continue to transcribe and annotate the secret White House tapes recorded by every president from Franklin Roosevelt to Richard Nixon.

The national footprint of the Miller Center has likewise continued to grow. We have attracted scholars of the highest caliber to serve as Miller Center faculty and as Forum and colloquium speakers, conference participants, and national fellows, while PBS and C-SPAN carry our debates, conferences, and Forums across the country. The Miller Center's web site receives roughly twice the traffic of those of the leading Washington think tanks—more than 32,000,000 visitors in recent years. Miller Center news, events, and resources truly are accessible to anyone in the world.

Over the past five years, two presidents of the United States have asked to be briefed personally about our work on three occasions. The proposal of the Miller Center's most recent national commission, on the war powers of the president and Congress, is currently under review at the highest levels of government. Last October, President Obama showcased our David R. Goode National Transportation Policy Conference report in a live Rose Garden press conference. In the same period, the Miller Center has prompted front-page coverage in *The New York Times*, *The Washington Post*, *USA Today*, *Newsweek*, and *Time*.

These past five years have moved briskly, and I believe we're in fact just getting started on what the Miller Center can accomplish. This latest issue of the Miller Center Report provides you with a glimpse of some of the Center's newest initiatives. Our logo and web site have been given a fresh look, and the Presidential Recordings Program has released new volumes of LBJ White House tapes. There are other significant events to detail, such as the Miller Center's participation in both the Reagan Centennial Conference and the University of Virginia's week-long commemoration of Martin Luther King, Jr.

It is an honor—and a great pleasure—to lead this important institution at the University, and I richly look forward to the years ahead. Thank you for your generous support as we continue together to advance the Miller Center's national mission, reputation, and impact.

STREET ADDRESS
2201 Old Ivy Road
MAILING ADDRESS
P.O. Box 400406
Charlottesville, VA 22904-4406

434.924.7236 VOICE
434.982.2739 FAX

millercenter.org

WASHINGTON, DC ADDRESS
1900 K Street, NW Suite 626
Washington, DC 20006

MILLER CENTER

Gerald L. Baliles
Director

Rose Marie Owen
Executive Assistant to the Director

Taylor Reveley IV
Associate Director

Andrew Chancey
Assistant Director for Finance & Program Analysis

George Gilliam
Assistant Director for Public Programs

Michael Greco
Assistant Director for Information
& Support Services

Sidney Milkis
Assistant Director for Democracy
& Governance Studies

Kristy Schantz
Assistant Director for Communications
& Marketing

Marc Selverstone
Assistant Director for Presidential Studies

MILLER CENTER FOUNDATION

Joseph Taylor
Executive Director

MILLER CENTER REPORT

Editor
Kim Curtis

Photography
Center for Strategic and International Studies;
Tom Cogill; Michael Greco; Stephanie Gross;
Earl McDonald, National Archives and
Records Association; Amber Reichart

Design
The Glover Park Group
Anne Chesnut

For the complete list of
Miller Center scholars and staff,
see millercenter.org.



“Because of the most unusual absence of malice, President Reagan’s judgments were unaffected by the pettiness and mean-spiritedness that tend to make in politics good intentions bad and tough situations worse.

He never sought to get even with anybody except by the triumph of his ideas.”

—former Canadian Prime Minister
Brian Mulroney

Video of the speech in its entirety is available at millercenter.org/academic/reagancentennial/video#mulroney



Sen. Jim Webb, John Negroponte, John Warner, and Andrea Mitchell

Miller Center Hosts Conference on Reagan’s Foreign Policy

To commemorate President Ronald Reagan’s 100th birthday, the Reagan Presidential Foundation and Library created a series of conferences to examine the legacy of our 40th president. The Miller Center was selected to host a two-day conference, which examined the impact of Reagan’s foreign policy, on Feb. 10 and 11 at the National Press Club in Washington, D.C.

On the first day, Andrea Mitchell, NBC News chief foreign affairs correspondent, moderated a roundtable on Reagan’s global legacy. Roundtable participants included Sen. Jim Webb; former Sen. John Warner; John Negroponte, former U.S. ambassador to the United Nations and former director of national intelligence; and former State Department official Richard Haass, president of the Council on Foreign Relations.

The following day, former Canadian Prime Minister Brian Mulroney gave an address offering his personal reflections on Reagan as a leader.

More than 20 top scholars, policymakers, and journalists participated in other panel discussions throughout the conference. These discussions focused on several key issues, including Reagan’s defense buildup, global democratic expansion, the

rise of global capitalism, the effects of Reagan’s economic policy, and the relationship between partisan politics and foreign policy.

Participants included Zalmay Khalilzad, former U.S. ambassador to the United Nations, Iraq, and Afghanistan; Kiron Skinner, an associate professor at Carnegie Mellon University and a fellow at the Hoover Institution; Melvyn Leffler, a faculty associate at the Miller Center and history professor at UVa.; Robert Kagan, a senior fellow at the Brookings Institution and a Washington Post columnist; and Michael Barone, Washington Examiner senior political analyst.

Archived webcasts of the entire conference is available at millercenter.org/academic/reagancentennial.

U.S.-China Report Released by Miller Center

On March 29, the Miller Center released a report that outlines practical ways the United States can improve and enhance its interactions with China. The report, “A Way Ahead with China,” was released in Washington, D.C. and includes six recommendations (see sidebar).

The report is the product of a Miller Center conference on U.S.-China relations, featuring government, military, business, and academic leaders with in-depth China knowledge and experience. Admiral Joseph Prueher, former U.S. ambassador to China and former commander of the U.S. Pacific Command, led the conference. Admiral Prueher is the Miller Center’s James R. Schlesinger Distinguished Professor, a visiting chair for leading policymakers.

“There can be no coherent, effective U.S. strategy to mitigate dangers and capitalize on oppor-

tunities that does not account for China’s strengths, weaknesses, aims, and ambitions,” said Prueher. “The best way to look at this challenge is that it will be a protracted negotiation.”

Key report recommendations include ways the U.S. can improve its negotiating position with China, such as addressing U.S. debt, approaching the relationship as equals, and taking a fresh look at the Taiwan situation.

The full report, including a complete list of conference participants, is available at millercenter.org/policy/chinaroundtable.



The six key recommendations of **A WAY AHEAD WITH CHINA**

- 1. The U.S. must get its own house in order.** Excessive debts and deficits in the U.S. budget undermine our credibility and stability on the international stage.
- 2. We should take a fresh look at Taiwan.** Our involvement with Taiwan is a frequent point of contention with the Chinese, particularly with respect to arms sales, and one that should be re-examined. The complex relationship is political and should be re-examined outside of a military context.
- 3. The U.S. and China should conduct negotiations as equals.** Both countries should come to the table with an attitude of collaboration, instead of an adversarial one based around counter demands and ultimatums. A solution-based attitude of respect and deference—instead of acrimony—should be adopted in these discussions.
- 4. Create structured communications.** U.S. schools should work to improve language skills in Mandarin to match Chinese efforts and foster greater cultural understanding and exchange. More structured diplomatic and quasi-official dialogues should be promoted.
- 5. Build habits of cooperation to promote understanding.** It is accurate for Americans to view and interpret China as uniquely “Chinese” rather than as “Communist,” as the Chinese people are pragmatically, rather than philosophically, driven.
- 6. Encourage greater economic integration.** Although foreign direct investment (FDI) serves our economic interests by returning capital and operating revenues to the United States, that FDI must include a mutually updated system of trade.



Top left: Admiral Joseph W. Prueher. Top right: Admiral Prueher and former Chinese President Jiang Zemin in 1997. Bottom: U.Va. Batten School’s Harry Harding, Admiral Prueher, John Hopkins’ David Michael Lampton, and CSIS’ Charles Freeman III at the report’s release



Miller Center Governing Council Chair Gene Fife, George Gilliam, and Gilliam's wife, Page, at the May 16 event

Miller Center Honors Gilliam

The Miller Center community celebrated the many contributions of George Gilliam as he prepares to assume his new role as senior fellow.

Gilliam is stepping down in June from his duties as the Center's assistant director for public programs and chair of the Forum program, which he has headed since 2004. Gilliam is not heading far from the Miller Center. He will become the Center's senior fellow for national engagement and focus on research, writing, and special programming for the Center. He will also continue to teach in U.Va.'s history department. A national search is underway for the next host of the Forum program.

A May 16 event featured a video retrospective of memorable Forum moments and a special question-and-answer session, during which the tables were turned on Gilliam. The program, which was followed by a "thank you" lunch, also included remarks from Gerald L. Baliles, director of the Miller Center, and Gene Fife, chair of the Miller Center's Governing Council.

"George has been a good friend since our early days together in law school and government work," said Baliles. "In our time together here, the Forum program in particular has advanced tremendously on the national stage, bringing the work of the Miller Center—civility and substance on issues of national importance—to television audiences across the country. The entire Miller Center community is deeply thankful to George, and going forward I know that

the Forum program, beloved locally and increasingly nationally, will move from strength to strength."

Gilliam joined the Miller Center in 2003 to develop special programming and work with Director Emeritus Kenneth W. Thompson on the Forum program, which Thompson had hosted for more than two decades. The following year, upon Thompson's retirement, Gilliam formally became head of the Forum program, and in 2006, he was also named by Baliles as the Center's assistant director for public programs. During Gilliam's tenure, the Forum program every year has featured more than 50 leading public officials, journalists, and scholars. In addition, both the Forum program and the National Discussion and Debate Series, in partnership with MacNeil/Lehrer Productions, have gained national television audiences on PBS.

"It is an honor to work at the Miller Center, and it has been a particular honor and delight to lead the Forum program, as well as to help create and drive the National Discussion and Debate Series," said Gilliam. "The Miller Center enjoys extraordinarily talented faculty and staff, and I look forward to the work ahead, both through the summer and beyond. It will also be a delight to give focused attention to my own writing and scholarship and to assist in the transition for the Forum program."

This fall's roster of Forum speakers promises to continue the substance and relevance for which the Miller Center is known. Forums are free and open to the public. Please check millercenter.org for scheduling additions and updates.

- Wednesday, Sept. 7
Teresa Sullivan, U.Va. president
- Monday, Sept. 19
Janny Scott, New York Times reporter and author of "A Singular Woman: The Untold Story of Barack Obama's Mother"
- Monday, Oct. 17
John Nagl, president of the Center for a New American Security
- Monday, Oct. 24
Bob Woodward, author of "Obama's Wars"
- Friday, Nov. 11
Evan Thomas, author of "The War Lovers: Roosevelt, Lodge, Hearst, and the Rush to Empire, 1898"

ALSO COMING THIS FALL

- **Peter Bergen**, author of "The Longest War: The Enduring Conflict between America and Al Qaeda"
- **Jim Newton**, Los Angeles Times editor-at-large and author of "Eisenhower: The White House Years"



Michele Rubin



Kent Germany



Michael Duffy



Marc Selverstone

STUDENTS LEARN ABOUT CIVIL RIGHTS AT MILLER CENTER

On March 31, a 12th-grade U.S. government and politics class from Covenant School, a private school in Charlottesville, toured the Miller Center. The 23 students also heard a presentation from Marc Selverstone, the Miller Center’s assistant director for presidential studies, on the role of Presidents Kennedy and Johnson in civil-rights legislation. “The purpose of the trip was two-fold,” said class teacher Allie Martindale. “First, I wanted to expose the students to the primary sources that are made available to them via the Miller Center. Second, I wanted to give them a more in-depth expert perspective on the civil-rights movement and make it come alive for them.” Added Martindale, “At the end of the visit, I had one student exclaim, ‘I learned more in that one session than I ever have in any other history class!’”

Miller Center Remembers MLK and JFK

This past January, the Miller Center honored two significant figures in 1960s American history: Martin Luther King, Jr. and President John F. Kennedy.

The University of Virginia held a week-long series of events to remember the life and legacy of King. As part of that commemoration, the Miller Center hosted a program, “King: In His Own Words,” that examined King’s private conversations with government officials and public communications.

Kent Germany, an associate professor of history at the University of South Carolina and a Miller Center fellow, talked about the relationship between King and President Lyndon B. Johnson that emerges in the secret White House telephone tapes recorded by Johnson. Germany played a tape of King and Johnson discussing the assassination of President Kennedy and the election of 1964. Transcripts of this and other conversations can be found in the newly released “The Presidential Recordings, Lyndon B. Johnson: Mississippi Burning and the Passage of the Civil Rights Act, June 1, 1964–July 4, 1964” (see cover story).

Michele Rubin, a literary agent who represents King’s estate, then described how King’s spiritual beliefs and moral vision influenced his actions and writings concerning civil rights, the Vietnam War, non-violent tactics, and social justice. The Miller Center’s Marc Selverstone moderated the panel.

Later in January, to mark the 50th anniversary of Kennedy’s presidency, the Miller Center held two events featuring the rhetoric and imagery of

Kennedy. Michael Duffy, Time magazine’s assistant managing editor and Washington bureau chief, kicked off the day with “The Making of the (First Celebrity) President: 1960,” an in-depth look at Kennedy’s candidacy. He supplemented his presentation, which later aired on C-SPAN, with some of Time Life’s iconic images of Kennedy.

Following Duffy’s talk was a panel discussion, “Let the Word Go Forth: The Rhetoric, Images, and Symbols of John F. Kennedy’s New Frontier,” which explored Kennedy’s important legacy, as well as his collaboration with Theodore Sorensen. The Miller Center’s Barbara A. Perry, author of “Jacqueline Kennedy: First Lady of the New Frontier,” discussed how Kennedy explained his Catholicism to voters in speeches written with Sorensen. Selverstone, who is currently writing a book about Kennedy and Vietnam, analyzed selected passages from Kennedy’s inaugural speech, using audio from the Miller Center’s online collection. Sidney Milkis, author of numerous books on the presidency, moderated the panel.

A collection of Kennedy resources, including White House tape recordings, in-depth Kennedy essays, and videos of many Kennedy speeches, is available at millercenter.org/president/kennedy.

Archived webcasts of these events are available at millercenter.org.

Tax Reformers Gather at Miller Center for Kemp Project

Jack Kemp's political approach was one of civility and thoughtful deliberation of ideas, not political interests or posturing. We strive to follow that example here at the Miller Center.

—Gov. Gerald L. Baliles

Veteran journalist Morton Kondracke (center) moderates a panel on the Tax Reform of 1981. Alan Murray, Wall Street Journal deputy managing editor and Miller Center Governing Council member, is to Kondracke's right.

Ronald Reagan listed the 1981 and 1986 tax laws as the two biggest economic policy achievements of his presidency. Both were achieved at a time of deep partisan divide. How did this happen and are there lessons that can be applied today?

That was the focus of a day-long conference that the Miller Center and the Jack Kemp Foundation hosted on April 18. The gathering, which was part of the Jack Kemp Oral History Project, brought together key figures who helped enact the Tax Reforms of 1981 and 1986 and recorded for history the inside story of this major tax-reform legislation.

After welcomes from Gerald L. Baliles, director of the Miller Center, and Russell Riley, chair of the Center's Presidential Oral History Program, the first panel explored the Economic Recovery Tax Act of 1981. Panelists included Bruce Bartlett, Kemp's staff economist; Bill Brock, former senator from Tennessee and chair of the Republican National Committee; Randy Teague, Kemp's chief of staff; and John Mueller, Kemp's speechwriter and staff economist. Morton Kondracke, veteran journalist and director of the Kemp Oral History Project, and Brian Domitrovic, author of "Econoclasts: The Rebels Who Sparked the Supply-Side Revolu-

tion and Restored American Prosperity," moderated the panel.

Following a keynote interview with former Sen. Bill Bradley conducted by Kondracke, the day proceeded with a panel on the Tax Reform Act of 1986. Participating in this panel were Mueller; Robert Kasten, former senator from Wisconsin; Jeff Bell, a key player in the 1986 reform and in the 1988 Kemp presidential campaign; David Hoppe, Kemp's chief of staff; and Alan Reynolds, a bank economist who secured the National Review's support for supply-side economics. Moderating the panel were Kondracke and Alan Murray, deputy managing editor of The Wall Street Journal and a member of the Miller Center's Governing Council.

James Kemp, Jack Kemp's son and president of the Jack Kemp Foundation, provided the conference's concluding remarks.

"Jack Kemp's political approach was one of civility and thoughtful deliberation of ideas, not political interests or posturing," said Baliles. "We strive to follow that example here at the Miller Center."

An archived webcast of the conference is available at millercenter.org.





Gov. Gerald L. Baliles (left) and Joe and Sally Gladden stand in front of the Miller Center's new logo.

History. Policy. Impact.

A Conversation with Miller Center Foundation Board Chair Joseph R. Gladden, Jr.

Q & A

The Miller Center would like to recognize Joseph R. Gladden, Jr., current chair of the Miller Center's Foundation Board. For 16 years, Gladden served as executive vice president and general counsel with the Coca-Cola Company. An alumnus of the U.Va. School of Law, he also spent 17 years with the law firm of King & Spalding. Gladden presently serves on the board of directors for Emory Healthcare and the U.Va. Health Services Foundation. Gladden recently sat down to talk about his connection to the Miller Center and the rebranding process that he and his wife, Sally, supported.

How did you become involved with the Miller Center?

I became involved with the Miller Center several years before moving to the Charlottesville area. One of my law partners was [Carter Attorney General] Griffin Bell, who had been active with the Center for some time. When he heard that we were beginning to look for a place in this area, he said, "If you end up moving to Charlottesville, be SURE to become involved with the Miller Center. It is an extraordinary institution." After we moved, my wife and I began attending various Miller Center programs, and both learned that Griffin's as-

essment was not an exaggeration. Governor Baliles was most gracious in including us in several events, and that simply added to our respect and enchantment with what the Miller Center had been doing, is currently doing, and the possibilities for what it can be doing in the future.

In your work as chair of the Miller Center's Foundation Board, what do you find compels others to get involved?

The many and varied programs and research are both attractive to a wide and growing audience. The programs are always informative, educational,

and inspirational, and, in a time when numerous public institutions are undergoing stress and change, the broad scope of the Center's skills and expertise promises a growing national interest in its activities and impact. In order for the Center to reach its potential, and to maintain its current capabilities, the base of support, both financial and intellectual, must be broadened. It is an exciting opportunity to be, or get, involved with an institution which husbands such an important mission, founded on such a formidable base.

Thanks to a generous gift from you and your wife, Sally, the Miller Center has been undergoing a rebranding process. Why do you think this is so important?

Three words: History. Policy. Impact. History in the sense that without knowing it we are condemned to relive it. Policy in the sense that the Miller Center is one of the few "think tanks" that is genuinely and honestly non-partisan. It honestly and neutrally reviews, analyzes, and reports situations which have faced American presidents in the past and brings that experience alive for a broad public. In the United States, as in countries around the world, knowledge of what has gone before, and how contemporary leaders dealt with the challenge of the moment, should be known, and the Miller Center is the best avenue available to present it. Impact in two senses: First, the Miller Center's studies, reports, and publications have great respect among senior policymakers in the United States and growing numbers of political and academic leaders around the world. Second, in educating the public, particularly students, as to an unbiased and uneditorialized report of what has happened during various crises and incidents from our country's past, the Miller Center fills a gap in our contemporary education system. As all of us look to the future, you cannot do better than that.

You worked at Coca-Cola for 16 years. Anything the Miller Center can learn from one of the world's most well-known brands?

A limited but significant amount. Selling a consumer product which is clearly a "luxury item" in many places around the world is quite different from providing intellectual and historical content to the same audience. However, there are some corollaries: No one "needs" a soft drink, particu-

larly where fresh, clean water is available. To sell that soft drink, you need to create an aspiration for that refreshment. In the case of the Miller Center, our "marketing" should focus on that same need—except that we are creating a "need" for knowledge—of history and its application to contemporary situations!

You graduated from U.Va. Law School. Now you teach there. What's it like going from student to teacher?

Quite different. Partly from perspective, but more significantly from content. When I was at U.Va. as a law student, U.Va. was well known as turning out practicing lawyers, unlike Harvard "the factory" or Yale "the academe." While we learned a great deal of "law," there was very little of its practical application. Things have changed for the better. The traditional "black letter" subjects are still taught (and necessary), but the law school has added a large number of courses taught by people like me: old folks who are not academics but who have been out "doing it" for a fair number of years. Each of us teaches what we have been doing in the context of an academic discipline. No war stories, just "this is how this subject works in real life." On a much larger scale, this is what I think the Miller Center can do in public life.

What is your first memory of a U.S. president?

I was born in 1942, with no personal memory of the then-president. I do, however, have some memories of Harry S. Truman on the radio (and wondering, even at the time, how a haberdasher could become president—in retrospect, he did pretty well). I also remember listening on the radio, as my family was driving to the beach, to the Republican convention, I think in 1952, when Gen. Eisenhower was nominated to the Republican ticket. We have come far since that time—the question is "How much have we learned and how will we educate others?"

SUPPORT THE MILLER CENTER

Contributions to the Miller Center Foundation are welcome. Please call 434.982.3050 or visit millercenter.org/donate for information on supporting the Miller Center.

NEW BOARD MEMBERS

This July, George W. Logan and Michael P. Castine will begin three-year terms of service as directors of the Miller Center Foundation Board, having been elected at the board's spring meeting.

A U.Va. alumnus, Logan lectures at U.Va.'s Darden School of Business and INCAE Business School, one of the highest-ranking business schools in Latin America. He is chairman of the board and an organizing director of Valley Financial Corporation and Valley Bank and has 40 years of general-management and corporate-finance experience in industrial manufacturing, commercial real estate, and trade publishing. Logan's recent for-profit directorships include Roanoke Electric Steel; Marical, Inc; Burris Logistics; and Alliance Logistics Center and Alliance Silesia Logistics Park. His recent nonprofit directorships include Carilion Health Systems, Marine Biological Laboratory, the George Washington Foundation, and the Foundation for Management Education in Central America.



George W. Logan

Michael Castine is chairman of the Asset and Wealth Management practice based in the New York office of Korn/Ferry, a premier global executive talent search firm. Castine worked with several top executive-recruiting firms and has been president of a money-management firm. He served on the staff of the National Security Council as director of international communication and as deputy director of the office of private sector initiatives under President Ronald Reagan. He also was an aide to Congressman Jack Kemp. Castine serves on the boards of several nonprofits, including the Ronald Reagan Presidential Foundation and Library, the American Association of the Order of Malta, and Brunswick School. His daughter, Ellie, graduated from U.Va. this year.



Michael P. Castine

"Logan and Castine are terrific acquisitions for the board of directors," said Joseph Taylor, executive director of the Miller Center Foundation. "Their strong business acumen will mean a lot for us strategically as the Miller Center forges more partnerships in Washington and expands its donor base nationally. They believe in what the Center is doing—that's the prime quality for board service."



Brent Cebul (center left) leads the History Behind the Headlines class at the Miller Center.

“History Behind the Headlines” Features Colloquium Series

This spring, the Miller Center joined forces with U.Va.’s history and politics departments to launch a new undergraduate course, which explored the historical context behind today’s most pressing issues.

This spring’s GAGE colloquium series, which the History Behind the Headlines class attended and discussed, included an impressive roster of speakers. Archived webcasts of these colloquia are available at millercenter.org.

- JANUARY 21
Tom Sugrue, University of Pennsylvania
“Barack Obama and the Burden of Race”
- FEBRUARY 4
Marc Hetherington, Vanderbilt University
“Authoritarianism, Threat, and Americans’ Support for the War on Terror”
- FEBRUARY 18
James Morone, Brown University
“Progressivism’s Holy Grail—Obama and Health-Care Reform”
- FEBRUARY 25
Theda Skocpol, Harvard University
“Reaching for a New Deal: Obama’s First Two Years”
- MARCH 25
Dara Strolovitch, University of Minnesota
“Advocacy in Hard Times: Representing Marginalized Groups in Times of Crisis”
- APRIL 1
Monica Prasad, Northwestern University
“The Credit/Welfare State Trade Off: A Demand-Side Theory of Comparative Political Economy”
- APRIL 8
John Ikenberry, Princeton University
“The Future of Liberal Internationalism”

The course, History Behind the Headlines, centered on the Miller Center’s Governing America in a Global Era (GAGE) colloquium series. This series provides an open forum for scholars to share their works-in-progress and to exchange ideas about politics, history, and current affairs.

Using the colloquium series as a jumping-off point, the twelve undergraduates who were enrolled in History Behind the Headlines tackled significant and relevant political and policy questions, including health care, partisan polarization, America’s role in the world, and the economic downturn. At each History Behind the Headlines class, the students discussed that week’s reading assignment, attended the colloquium together, and reconvened to talk about the topic, often with the speaker in attendance.

In keeping with the Miller Center’s goal of articulating cutting-edge scholarship for an engaged public, students also crafted a series of op-ed style pieces, advocating for political or policy change based on the colloquium speakers’ expertise and scholarship.

“Getting to work with such motivated undergraduates and to interact with some of the top scholars in my field was an opportunity too good to pass up,” said Brent Cebul, History Behind the Headlines’ instructor and a U.Va. graduate student in history.

However, it took an undergraduate student to make History Behind the Headlines a reality. Lily Bowles, a third-year political and social thought major at U.Va., attended Miller Center Forums and colloquia frequently but noted that there was no structured place for discussion once the audience had left the John and Rosemary Galbraith Forum Room, where most Miller Center events take place.

Coincidentally, many Miller Center faculty members had expressed a longtime interest in forming an undergraduate course around the politics and policy experts who visit the GAGE colloquium series. As a result, once Bowles had recruited Cebul as the course’s instructor, Miller Center faculty members Brian Balogh and Sidney Milkis lobbied the U.Va. history and politics departments for support.

According to Bowles, History Behind the Headlines not only meets the needs of students and faculty but also increases student awareness of the Miller Center itself.

Noting that the Miller Center is a tremendous asset for the University of which undergraduates should take advantage, Bowles said, “I was convinced it was a matter of publicity and creating a more familiar learning environment that would make students more comfortable and willing to come.”

“I hope that History Behind the Headlines will be offered in the future,” Cebul said.

Miller Center Announces 2011–12 Fellows

The Miller Center has selected nine promising young scholars for its 2011–12 fellowships in American politics, foreign policy, and global politics.

The program awards each fellow a one-year \$20,000 grant to complete their dissertation and connects each fellow with their “dream mentor,” a leading national scholar in the fellow’s field. The newest Miller Center fellows are investigating current and pressing questions such as the nature of authoritarian regimes, the historical roots of the modern housing crisis, and the political evolution of interest groups like the Tea Party.

“The fellows analyze politics through the lens of history, spanning the disciplines of political science, sociology, and history,” said Brian Balogh, the founder and chair of the fellowship program. “Besides sponsoring this cutting-edge scholarship, the Miller Center trains its fellows to distill their findings for non-specialists—to better inform citizens and improve the quality of public discourse.”

This year, more than 130 students from the nation’s top graduate programs in political science, history, sociology, and international relations applied for fellowships.

In its 12 years of funding graduate research, the Miller Center has helped launch the careers of more than 100 academicians and public-affairs experts. Fellows now teach at such prestigious universities as Yale and Northwestern, while others work at institutions including the U.S. Air Force and Department of State.

The fellowship’s emphasis on reaching a broader audience through timely op-eds, media appearances, and blogging has also deepened its fellows’ commitments to sharing their work with the general public. The fellows’ work regularly appears in *The New York Times*, *The Washington Post*, *Politico*, and *Slate* and on PBS and NPR.

THE 2011–12 MILLER CENTER FELLOWS

Michael Beckley

Columbia University, Political Science
The Unipolar Era

Emily Charnock

University of Virginia, Political Science
From Ghosts to Shadows: The National Party Organizations and Interest Groups

Sheena Chestnut

Harvard University, Government International Relations & Security Studies
Intelligent Autocrats: Secret Police & State Violence Under Authoritarianism

Jack Epstein

Ohio University, History
Behind the Menacing Racket: Organized Labor, Federal Anti-Racketeering Policy, and the Law and Order Origins of the Modern American State, 1927–1970

Robert Henderson

University of Maryland, History
Dream Deregulated: The Transformation of Housing Finance, 1968–1985

Andrew Kelly

Northwestern University, Political Science
Entering the New Frontier: The Origins and Development of Scientific Capacity in the United States and Great Britain

Aila Matanock

Stanford University, Political Science
International Insurance: Explaining Why Militant Groups Participate in Elections as Part of a Peace Agreement

Rachel Moran

Penn State University, History and Women’s Studies
Body Politic: Federal Policy-Making on American Physique, 1890–1965

Victor Nemchenok

University of Virginia, History
A Dialogue of Power: Development, Global Civil Society, and the Third World Challenge to the International Order, 1970–1988



Quinn Mulroy

At this year’s spring fellowship conference on May 12 and 13, Miller Center national fellows presented their work during four panel sessions. The schedule also included a discussion of the WikiLeaks phenomenon, organized by alumni fellow Seth Center, who now works at the State Department, and featured former Assistant Secretary of State for Public Affairs P.J. Crowley and U.Va.’s Siva Vaidhyanathan, whose recent book, “The Googlization of Everything,” has been the subject of much publicity. In addition to the fellows’ “dream mentors” and scholars from the Miller Center and U.Va., the conference included Columbia’s Ira Katznelson, Stanford’s David Kennedy, Swarthmore’s Rick Vallely, and Howard University’s Daryl Michael Scott, who reviewed Katznelson’s forthcoming manuscript, “Fear Itself: New Deal Democracy in a Southern Cage.”

Archived webcasts of conference sessions are available at millercenter.org.

Francesca Ammon



McKee Wins Grant



Guian McKee of the Miller Center's Presidential Recordings Program has won a grant from the Bankard Fund for Political Economy for his project, "Hospital Cities, Health Care Nation."

This project examines

the history of urban hospitals and medical centers since World War II, placing the development of those institutions within the context of the changing economic and social character of U.S. cities and the problematic growth of the U.S. health-care system. The Bankard Fund supports research programs at UVA. that are deemed to have the greatest possible influence on the public policy needed for a healthy private-business system and national economy. McKee's grant, which began on June 1, will provide research time as well as cover travel and research expenses. McKee is also an associate professor of public policy at UVA. and a faculty member at UVA's Batten School of Leadership and Public Policy.

Historic Preservation and Renovation of Center's Facilities

Due in large part to a matching grant from the Mary Morton Parsons Foundation of Richmond, Va., the Miller Center will be making technological improvements and building renovations this summer. Gifts from individuals, led by Miller Center Foundation Board member Richard Kreitler, filled in the remainder of the match to the grant. Charlottesville's Perry Foundation, a longtime Miller Center supporter, is another major contributor. "In addition to technological upgrades, including a redesigned web site and new servers, these grants and individual gifts will allow us to make needed improvements to the Miller Center's historic core, Faulkner House," said Wes Myhre, director of foundation relations.

Miller Center Offers Behind-the-Scenes Tours

This spring, the Miller Center offered tours that, for the first time ever, gave visitors a behind-the-scenes look at the Center's history, programs, and facilities.

The tours, which were conducted by the student-run University Guide Service, resulted from "mini-tours" of the Miller Center given during a special student event in September 2010. "The Miller Center has so much history in its building and with all the incredible programs it does," said fourth-year university guide Samantha Sisisky. "I've found that many students and the 'regulars' who go to Forums

every week don't know about all the wonderful programs the Miller Center has. The tours are a great way to educate students and the general public about the Miller Center and generate more support and enthusiasm about the Center." Sisisky, who organized the tours along with University Guide Service Chair Tyler Carlson, hopes that more Miller Center tours will be offered in the future.



Founder of ProPublica to Speak at Foundation Salute

For the Miller Center Foundation's Salute, its annual donor recognition event scheduled for Sept. 20, ProPublica General Manager Richard Tofel will share with the Foundation's Presidential Cabinet donors and other guests the secret to this innovative outfit's success.



ProPublica is a non-profit investigative newsroom that is independent and nonpartisan. It specializes in exposés of alleged misconduct in government and business, aiming to spur reform by spotlighting wrongdoing. Unlike other publishing organizations, ProPublica is supported entirely by philanthropy.

"The Miller Center held stakeholder meetings last year on the challenges that traditional newspapers are facing," said Gerald L. Baliles, director of the Miller Center. "This will be a timely follow-up on a new approach by the media to civic engagement."

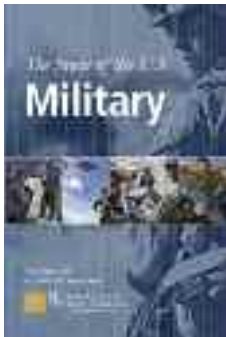
ProPublica provides articles free of charge, both through its own web site and to leading news organizations. It began publishing in 2008 and has

won back-to-back Pulitzer Prizes in 2010 and 2011, three George Polk Awards, and the Edward R. Murrow Award for Media Entrepreneurship, among other accolades.

At the salute, the Foundation will reflect with its board and council members, volunteers, and Presidential Cabinet donors on a year during which the Foundation met its most ambitious fundraising goal ever. With few funds from the University and no appropriated funds from the Commonwealth, the Miller Center's support comes from corporate, foundation, and personal philanthropy.

"We thought a keynote from ProPublica was a great fit," said Miller Center Foundation Executive Director Joseph Taylor. "ProPublica is focused on the public interest as it scrutinizes how American government and business run. It has successfully combined a public-service mission with a philanthropy-based business model. Our generous citizen-donors believe in and practice these values."

Book on U.S. Military Published



In March, the Miller Center published “The State of the U.S. Military,” a collection of presentations made during a year-long Forum series. The book offers a unique assessment of the challenges confronting

the U.S. military in Iraq and Afghanistan. It also explores the massive shift made from thinking about doctrine, strategy, culture, and weaponry in Cold War terms to post-9/11 terms. The presentations were delivered by top military leaders, journalists who cover military affairs, and policy analysts:

- Gen. John P. Abizaid, former commander of the U.S. Central Command (CENTCOM)
- Raffi Khatchadourian, New Yorker staff writer and author of “The Kill Company,” and one of his sources, Capt. Pete Hegseth, who served in Iraq
- Greg Jaffe, Washington Post Pentagon correspondent and author of “The Fourth Star: Four Generals and the Epic Struggle for the Future of the United States Army”
- Brig. Gen. Herbert McMaster, who was appointed by Gen. David Petraeus to head a joint anticorruption task force at the International Security Assistance Forces
- Mark Mazzetti, Pulitzer Prize-winning New York Times national security correspondent
- Peter Baker, New York Times White House correspondent
- Peter W. Singer, director of the Brookings Institution’s 21st Century Initiative

Archived webcasts of all Forums included in “The State of the U.S. Military” are available at millercenter.org/public/forum/series/military.



Edward Ayers, Brian Balogh, and Peter Onuf

“BackStory” Hits Download Milestone

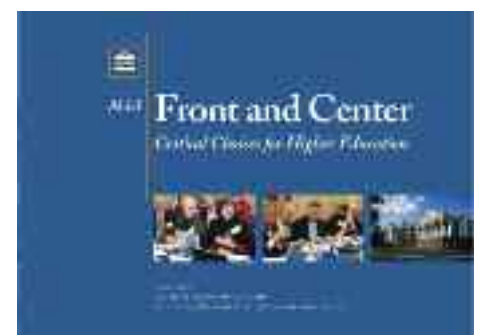
This April, “BackStory with the American History Guys,” which is co-hosted by the Miller Center’s Brian Balogh, surpassed 1,000,000 in the number of its MP3 downloads.

Andrew Wyndham, executive producer and creator of “BackStory,” credits this milestone to iTunes and iTunesU consistently and prominently featuring the program on their web sites. In addition, iTunesU ran a special promotion that included “BackStory”’s three-part Civil War series and segments from several related episodes. “BackStory” is a public-radio program that brings historical perspective to the events happening around us today. During each episode, Balogh, plus co-hosts Edward Ayers, president of the University of Richmond, and Peter

Onuf, a history professor at UVa., tear a topic from the headlines and discuss its historical depths. Over the course of the hour, they are joined by fellow historians, newsmakers, and callers interested in exploring the roots of what’s going on today. “BackStory,” which is produced by VFH Radio at the Virginia Foundation for the Humanities, has been carried by more than 200 stations, 30 of those in top-50 markets in 38 states. More information, including how to listen to episodes of “BackStory,” is available at backstoryradio.org.

Higher Education Report Released

In May, the Miller Center and the Association of Governing Boards of Universities and Colleges released a report outlining recommendations to increase the number of Americans who finish college and other certificate programs, stressing that such a goal is necessary to ensure that the U.S. economy remains competitive. Recommendations include making online instruction more readily available and rethinking the role of the federal government in higher education. The report, “Front and Center: Critical Choices for Higher Education,” is based on a December conference that brought together individuals and organizations responsible for higher education. Participants included current and former



governors, university and college presidents, chancellors of several state university systems, and other national education leaders. Besides the Miller Center and AGB, the conference was also sponsored by the National Governors Association and the National Conference of State Legislatures. The full report is available at millercenter.org.

Miller Center Unveils Redesigned Web Site

The Miller Center has just launched a redesigned web site that will not only allow users to navigate it more easily, but also show them the breadth and depth of all the Center has to offer. And that is quite a lot.

From detailed information on every U.S. president to a vast video library of conferences, Forums, and debates to numerous policy reports, the resources on millercenter.org are extensive. The redesign will help users discover valuable material deep within our archives that they otherwise might have missed.

For example, in the past, millions of people have turned to our presidential essays, but they often stopped there. Now when they click on the essay pages, they will see a multi-media gallery of all Miller Center resources related to that president. So on John F. Kennedy's page, you will not only find essays about Kennedy and his administration, but also videos of his speeches, a photo gallery,

clips from his White House tapes, videos of Miller Center events about his presidency, and a list of the Center's Kennedy scholars.

Other popular destinations on our web site are the pages about our many policy reports. These too are getting a makeover. In the past, you could read our war powers and transportation reports online. Today, you can download electronic versions of these reports that you can read on your iPad, Kindle, or even your cell phone.

Another thing you may notice on the new and improved millercenter.org is our new logo. It's also on the cover of this issue of the Miller Center Report. The new logo depicts our name within a rendering of our historic building, in the colors of the

University of Virginia. At the bottom are three words that succinctly describe what we do: History. Policy. Impact.

The new square logo is the perfect shape for social media, such as Facebook and Twitter. The Miller Center is taking full advantage of these effective marketing tools to help spread the word about our work. We regularly update our Facebook and Twitter pages to promote Miller Center events as well as material related to current events and historic anniversaries.

You can follow the Miller Center on Facebook at facebook.com/millercenter and on Twitter at twitter.com/miller_center.

Amber Reichart and Waldo Jaquith, members of the Miller Center's web design team, work on the new home page.



Continued from page 1.

more than 1,000 pages of transcripts of candid and uncensored conversations Johnson had during a critical 34-day period. During this time, Johnson was dealing with many issues in addition to the Mississippi Burning crisis, including the Vietnam War and passage of the Civil Rights Bill.

Among the conversations included in the volumes:

■ **On June 9, 1964**, Johnson and Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy discussed the need for congressional approval for the use of force in southeast Asia. Johnson says, "I'm fearful that if we move without any authority of the Congress that the resentment would be pretty widespread..."

■ **On June 19, 1964**, Johnson's congressional liaison Larry O'Brien called the president to tell him the Senate just voted 73 to 27 to pass the Civil Rights Bill. Johnson reacts to the news by saying, "Wonderful, Wonderful. 73!"

■ **On June 20, 1964** Johnson talked to members of the Kennedy family after Sen. Ted Kennedy is injured in a plane crash. He tells Jacqueline Kennedy, "My dear, it looks like you have more than we can bear, don't you?"

Published by W.W. Norton, the volumes received a starred review in *Publishers Weekly*, which said the volumes constituted "a significant record of American history in the making, and for anyone fascinated by LBJ or the inner working of the White House, this is an invaluable record."

The volumes were edited by the Miller Center's Guian McKee, an associate professor at UVa., Kent Germany, an associate professor at the University of South Carolina, and David Carter, an associate professor at Auburn University.

Joined by Pulitzer Prize-winning author Taylor Branch, the editors held an event at the National Archives in Washington, D.C. in April to release the volumes. In a discussion moderated by David Coleman, chair of the Miller Center's Presidential Recordings Program, the panel discussed the painstaking research required to transcribe the tapes. They played several Johnson tapes, providing scene-setting details.

The volumes, which are the seventh and eighth in the Miller Center's Johnson print series, also include a multimedia DVD, which includes complete audio of the Johnson tapes, a photo gallery, and video from the period.



On June 19, 1964, Sen. Ted Kennedy was severely injured in a plane crash. The next day, President Lyndon Johnson called Attorney General Robert Kennedy and Jacqueline Kennedy at the family's retreat in Hyannis Port, Mass.

President Johnson: How's Teddy, Bob?

Kennedy: Well, he's got a lot of broken bones and his back is in bad shape, but he's not paralyzed. And it's going to take...they suppose anywhere from six months to a year, but he's going to be fine at the end of it.

President Johnson: Oh, well, thank God, he's safe.

Kennedy: Well, I do thank you for calling for...

President Johnson: Looks like you have more than you can bear, but you're a mighty brave fellow, and you have my sympathy and all your family, and...

Kennedy: Thank you, Mr. President

President Johnson: Any way in the world I can help, I'm just as close as the phone.

Kennedy: Well, I think [unclear].

President Johnson: Well, I appreciate it so much. It's so distressing, and I know you're carrying a heavy load. I wished I could do something to help you. Give your mother my love.

Kennedy: Jackie just wants to say hello to you too.

President Johnson: Thank you, Bobby.

Kennedy: Hold on, Mr. President.

President Johnson: Bye.

Jacqueline Kennedy: Hello? Mr. President?

President Johnson: My dear, it looks like you have more than we can bear, don't you?

Jacqueline Kennedy: Yeah, boy, that was just such a hard day. But you're so nice to call.

President Johnson: Well, I'm thinking of you, and I wished I could do something.

Jacqueline Kennedy: Well, everyone here is very touched that you were. They thank you so much.



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For more information on how to create a lasting legacy through a bequest, please contact Joseph Taylor at 434-982-3050 or jtaylor@virginia.edu or go to our planned giving web pages at www.millercenter.org/foundation.

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