

# ILLUMINATION

THE UNIVERSITY OF VIRGINIA'S MILLER CENTER

FALL 2019



PREZFEST IN  
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# MILLER CENTER VALUES

The faculty, staff, and Governing Council of the Miller Center commit to these values as an expression of who we are, what we do, and what we aspire to be. This is a living document, prepared by the faculty and staff, and each value is equally important. We expect volunteers, visitors, and those who engage with us to embrace these principles.

## SCHOLARLY EXCELLENCE

We value rigorous scholarship focused on the presidency, political history, and issues of pressing national concern. This work is grounded in evidence-based research and academic freedom. We question simple, easy truths, without fear of or favor toward any political party, leader, or donor.

## DIVERSE PERSPECTIVES

We rely on a range of research traditions, subjects of study, and political philosophies. We honor a range of opinions, based in respect for others. We aspire to build a workplace that is inclusive of individuals with varied backgrounds and diverse experiences.

## PURPOSEFUL ENGAGEMENT

We convene scholars, practitioners, and the public to foster vigorous debate, focused on scholarly inquiry and constructive response. We are willing to have difficult discussions, grounded in our shared humanity, educating and inspiring today's and tomorrow's leaders and global citizens.

## RESPONSIBLE STEWARDSHIP

We believe in service to our nation, to our community, and to one another. In these efforts, we are mindful that we have precious intellectual, financial, and human resources that we must carefully steward.

## SUPPORTIVE COMMUNITY

We recognize the time, talent, and perspectives of our colleagues. We support each other in our work and lives, appreciate each other's contributions, and seek to establish relationships based on collaboration, and clear communication with positive intent.

## RESPECTFUL CONDUCT

We insist on a workplace in which integrity and accountability are cultivated every day. We strive to establish clear expectations and courageously follow through on our commitments.

*These values were developed by the faculty and staff of the Center in spring 2019, and were endorsed by the Miller Center Governing Council at its April 2019 meeting.*



## A LETTER FROM THE DIRECTOR

University of Virginia President Jim Ryan opened the Presidential Ideas Festival and former U.S. President Bill Clinton closed it. Both presidents focused their remarks on our never-ending quest to achieve a more perfect union.

They were both speaking in Old Cabell Hall, filled to capacity with Republicans and Democrats, students from Virginia and teachers from Colorado, former politicians and future leaders. They had gathered to explore every facet of the U.S. presidency and democracy.

Comprising 25 events over three days in May, PrezFest was an examination of the most important issues facing our nation. Every event was open to the public at no cost. Every discussion included people from a variety of backgrounds and with a wide range of political viewpoints. All of the conversations were respectful and constructive.

PrezFest brought together some very big names from both political parties, and some not aligned with either party. And it highlighted the power of collaboration, with our partners from across the University, Charlottesville, and the Presidential Precinct.

PrezFest showed the Miller Center faculty and staff at its finest. Dozens of our faculty and practitioner fellows appeared onstage. The staff mastered the details—big and small—of hosting nearly 2,000 guests in a half dozen venues. And they recorded it all on video, which is now being watched by tens of thousands of additional viewers online from as far away as Nigeria, Hong Kong, France, and India.

This is important to us as a nation. And it's important to us as an institution. Here at the Miller Center, it's not just what we do but how we do it that is essential.

Indeed, PrezFest embodied a set of written organizational values that our team crafted this past year (see opposite page). It's one thing to print these on a piece of paper and hang them on the wall. It's another entirely to embody these values in everything we do.

What struck me most about the festival was how clearly our values were on display—not only among our faculty and staff but also embedded in the programming itself: the topics, the speakers, and even the audience. Here's how I saw our values realized over those three days.

**SCHOLARLY EXCELLENCE:** PrezFest drew some of the most renowned scholars from across the globe—including faculty from more than 10 entities at UVA, as well as more than a dozen prominent alumni—with a wide range of specialties and academic interests.

**DIVERSE PERSPECTIVES:** Our panelists and guests were Rs and Ds, men and women, with different areas of expertise, faiths, and racial and ethnic backgrounds—proof that we can have differing viewpoints and still come together for substantive discussions.

**PURPOSEFUL ENGAGEMENT:** When we connect our scholars and their research priorities with a powerful lineup of former policy makers, legislators, public intellectuals, and media personalities, the resulting conversations are big enough to shape our national discourse and set national priorities. This value is PrezFest in a nutshell.

**RESPONSIBLE STEWARDSHIP:** Service to our nation, to our community, and to one another is critical. We helped the nation address the challenge that Bill Clinton described as facing each president. “Here are our problems—solve them,” he said. “Here are our opportunities—seize them. Here are our fears—ease them. Here are our dreams—make them come true.” We saw this play out in ways both micro and macro.

**SUPPORTIVE COMMUNITY:** Miller Center faculty and staff came together, combining their many and diverse talents to create a unique experience. We also worked closely with our partners in Charlottesville and the region—including the national treasures embodied at Thomas Jefferson's Monticello, James Madison's Montpelier, and James Monroe's Highland. The definition of our “community” expanded over the course of the festival: from UVA to Charlottesville to the Commonwealth to the nation and beyond.

**RESPECTFUL CONDUCT:** Even with the combative and hyperpartisan climate in this country, we witnessed a diversity of opinion that was expressed in unfailingly polite terms. When we disagree without being disagreeable, we can more clearly see our way to solutions.

*If you'd like to watch any of the discussions you missed (or even rewatch ones you saw), go to [prezfest.org](https://prezfest.org).*

Bill Antholis

  
DIRECTOR AND CEO  
Miller Center



SOME MILLER CENTER SCHOLARS, STAFF, STUDENT INTERNS, AND VOLUNTEERS WITH UNIVERSITY OF VIRGINIA PRESIDENT JAMES E. RYAN (8TH PERSON FROM LEFT) AT THE CONCLUSION OF THE PRESIDENTIAL IDEAS FESTIVAL ON MAY 23, 2019.



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# ADDING TO OUR **BRAIN** **TRUST**

INTRODUCING THE MOST  
RECENT CLASS OF UVA  
SCHOLARS TO JOIN THE  
MILLER CENTER AS FACULTY  
SENIOR FELLOWS



## ASHLEY DEEKS

**AFFILIATION:** School of Law and formerly with the State Department  
**EXPERTISE:** National security law

Ashley Deeks's primary research and teaching interests are in the areas of international law, national security, intelligence, and the laws of war. She has written articles on the use of force, executive power, secret treaties, the intersection of national security and international law, and the laws of armed conflict. She is a member of the State Department's Advisory Committee on International Law and serves as a senior contributor to the Lawfare blog.



## AYNNE KOKAS

**AFFILIATION:** Department of Media Studies  
**EXPERTISE:** Media and China

Aynne Kokas's research examines Sino-U.S. media and technology relations. Her book, *Hollywood Made in China*, argues that Chinese investment and regulations have transformed the U.S. commercial media industry, most prominently in the case of media conglomerates' leverage of global commercial brands. Her project at the Wilson Center, Border Control on the Digital Frontier: China, the United States, and the Global Battle for Data Security, examines the cybersecurity policy implications of the Sino-U.S. data trade.



## JENNIFER LAWLESS

**AFFILIATION:** Department of Politics  
**EXPERTISE:** Political ambition, campaigns and elections, media and politics

Jennifer Lawless's research focuses on political ambition, campaigns and elections, and media and politics. She is the author or co-author of six books, including *Women on the Run: Gender, Media, and Political Campaigns in a Polarized Era* (with Danny Hayes) and *It Still Takes a Candidate: Why Women Don't Run for Office* (with Richard L. Fox). She is an editor of the *American Journal of Political Science* and holds an appointment as a



nonresident senior fellow at the Brookings Institution. In 2006, she sought the Democratic nomination for the U.S. House of Representatives in Rhode Island's Second Congressional District. Although she lost the race, she remains an obsessive political junkie.



## RICHARD C. SCHRAGGER

**AFFILIATION:** School of Law  
**EXPERTISE:** Constitutional law and local government law, federalism, urban policy

Rich Schragger writes about law and religion, having authored articles on the Establishment and Free Exercise clauses, the role of cities in a federal system, local recognition of same-sex marriage, takings law and economic development, and the history of the anti-chain store movement. Schragger has published in the Harvard, Yale, Chicago, Virginia, and Michigan law reviews, among others. He teaches property, local government law, urban law and policy, and church and state.



## MILA VERSTEEG

**AFFILIATION:** School of Law  
**EXPERTISE:** Democratic institutions and constitutionalism

Mila Versteeg's research and teaching interests include comparative constitutional law, public international law, and empirical legal studies. Most of her research deals with the origins, evolution, and effectiveness of provisions in the world's constitutions. In 2017, Versteeg was named an Andrew Carnegie Fellow, which provided her with a \$200,000 award to expand her research into the world's constitutions to better understand how constitutional rights are enforced in different countries. She previously worked at the U.N. Interregional Crime and Justice Research Institute in Turin and at the Southern Africa Litigation Centre in Johannesburg.

## HOW DO WE CHOOSE?

Our mission at the Miller Center is to inspire America's leaders with nonpartisan insights on the most important issues of the day. To do so effectively requires a variety of perspectives. That is why our appointed fellows are a critical piece of the puzzle.

The Miller Center recently instituted a new process for appointing fellows, thanks to the hard work of David Leblang, the Miller Center's Randolph P. Compton chair and Ambassador Henry Taylor Professor of Politics in the College of Arts and Sciences and professor of public policy in the Batten School.

There are two types of Miller Center fellows. Faculty fellows are academic faculty with a primary appointment in a UVA school or another university and hold a courtesy appointment at the Miller Center. Practitioner fellows are individuals with expertise drawn from working in government or the private sector.

The newly established Fellows Appointment and Review Committee vets all nominees and submits recommendations to Miller Center director and CEO William Antholis. The same process is then used for renewals and reappointments following the completion of a fellow's term.

At left you can meet our latest class of faculty fellows. Stay tuned for an announcement on the next class of practitioner fellows.



## DEMOCRACY INITIATIVE ADDS TWO NEW LABS

THE FOCUS IS ON MEDIA AND STATECRAFT



## DELIBERATIVE MEDIA INITIATIVE

"While our current media ecosystem helps motivate like-minded people to find each other and act, it undermines the ability of diverse groups of people to deliberate informatively and dispassionately about issues using a shared body of accepted facts," says media studies professor Siva Vaidhyanathan, who is leading the Deliberative Media Initiative lab. "The lab would address the problem by assessing and analyzing the current state of media and prescribing technologies, practices, and ethics that might foster and promote deliberation."

In addition to publishing scholarly research and educating students, the lab will produce media products, engage with policy makers, and collaborate with an Internet company with the intent of developing a model deliberative platform.

TO GIVE A GIFT TO THE MILLER CENTER, VISIT  
[millercenter.org/support](http://millercenter.org/support)

This fall, UVA's Democracy Initiative, co-sponsored by the College and Graduate School of Arts and Sciences and the Miller Center, welcomed two new labs. "These labs start to round out the approach we are taking at the Democracy Initiative," says Melody Barnes, codirector of the program.

"We already have a corruption lab that focuses on institutions and a religion and race lab that focuses on citizenship, and now we have a lab on media and one on statecraft. This hits the core areas of the Initiative, but we also recognize that these are significant issues and we will continue to deepen and focus our work."

## DEMOCRATIC STATECRAFT LAB

"At the end of World War II, the United States began constructing a world order based on the core principles of democratic governance, the rule of law, and free trade," says politics professor and Miller Center faculty senior fellow Todd Sechser, who is leading the Democratic Statecraft lab. "But those core principles are increasingly under threat today. Russia and China are actively trying to weaken Western democracies, fracture democratic alliances, and overturn liberal norms while offering authoritarianism as an alternative model of governance. Around the world, populist leaders are eroding democratic institutions from within. The purpose of the Democratic Statecraft lab is to help map a strategy for meeting the challenge of authoritarianism and safeguarding the institutions that are the foundation of the American-led world order."

The Miller Center and the Brookings Institution will serve as institutional partners to the lab, which plans to organize a pair of symposia: one geared toward academic scholarship and another toward public-policy strategies inspired by the scholarship produced by the lab's contributors.



## OBAMA ORAL HISTORY PROJECT BREAKS GROUND FIRST UP: THE FINANCIAL CRISIS OF 2008-09

The Miller Center has begun work on its next major project: a comprehensive oral history of the Barack Obama administration.

Miller Center presidential scholars have commenced interviews with high-ranking officials of the Obama administration, the first round of which focused on the 2008-09 transition to office, its response to the 2008 financial crisis, and efforts to address climate change. Additional interviews and symposia are being scheduled with policy makers and other officials on those topics, as well as with those who participated in the passage of the Affordable Care Act, diplomacy and national security issues (especially in Europe, the Middle East, and Asia), and the historic nature of the Obama presidency.

"Capturing and preserving the thoughts and recollections of the most senior administration officials allows scholars, students, and the general public to better understand the events of the time and their context," said Miller Center director and CEO William Antholis.

Each interview begins with extensive research on the public record of the interviewees and how they carried out their policy and governing responsibilities. Teams of scholars conduct the interviews, drawing on their expertise on policy issues, the institutional structure and history of the White House, and executive branch processes. A typical interview ranges from a few hours to a couple of days. More than 100 outside scholars have participated in past interview panels.

The Miller Center is forming an advisory council of scholars and Obama administration alumni to help guide the project. As with past presidential oral history projects, the Center expects to partner with a range of universities, think tanks, educational institutions, and researchers working on complementary efforts. And, as in previous efforts, the Miller Center will forge partnerships with think tanks, publishers, and media outlets to bring the lessons of this historical material to policy makers and the public.





OVERHEARD AT *PrezFest*

94 SPEAKERS, 25 HOURS OF CONVERSATION, ONE HISTORIC EVENT  
PrezFest photos by Tom Cogill and Sanjay Suchak



There hadn't been an assemblage of political figures at the University of Virginia this exciting since the cornerstone of the school's first building was laid in 1817 by Presidents Thomas Jefferson, James Madison, and James Monroe.

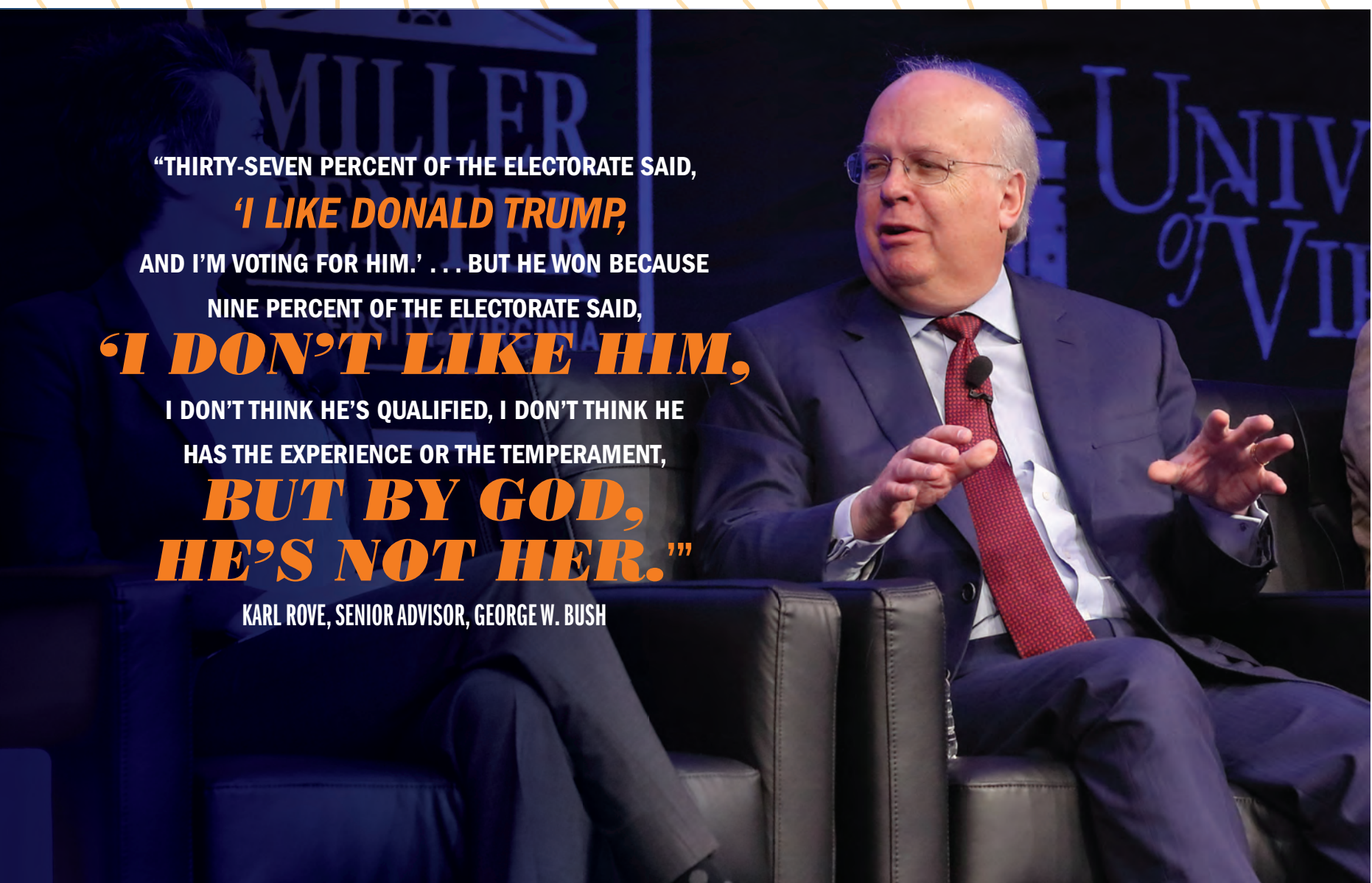
Indeed, this past May's Presidential Ideas Festival: Democracy in Dialogue involved some of the most prominent names in politics, journalism, and academia. But the best part wasn't who attended. It was what they said.

They discussed foreign policy and the digital age of media; U.S.-China relations and women in leadership; racism at home and democracy around the world. It was a true pan-University effort, as schools and departments from across UVA contributed their time and talent.

On these pages you'll find some of the most memorable moments captured in photographs and words. If these pique your interest, you can always watch video of the full conversations at [prezfest.org](http://prezfest.org).



"THIRTY-SEVEN PERCENT OF THE ELECTORATE SAID,  
**'I LIKE DONALD TRUMP,**  
AND I'M VOTING FOR HIM.' . . . BUT HE WON BECAUSE  
NINE PERCENT OF THE ELECTORATE SAID,  
**'I DON'T LIKE HIM,**  
I DON'T THINK HE'S QUALIFIED, I DON'T THINK HE  
HAS THE EXPERIENCE OR THE TEMPERAMENT,  
**BUT BY GOD,**  
**HE'S NOT HER.'"**  
KARL ROVE, SENIOR ADVISOR, GEORGE W. BUSH



"AS PRESIDENT, MY OFTEN-STATED DEFINITION OF  
MAKING **OUR UNION MORE PERFECT** WAS THIS:  
I THOUGHT MY JOB WAS TO WIDEN THE CIRCLE OF  
**OPPORTUNITY,**  
TO DEEPEN THE MEANING OF  
**FREEDOM,**  
AND TO STRENGTHEN THE BONDS OF  
**OUR COMMUNITY."**  
PRESIDENT BILL CLINTON



"I WAS BORN IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA.  
**I AM A REFUGEE . . .**  
WHAT I LIKE TO DO MORE THAN  
ANYTHING IS TO GIVE PEOPLE THEIR  
NATURALIZATION CERTIFICATES . . .  
[AFTER GIVING ONE TO A MAN AT A CEREMONY AT MONTICELLO IN 2000],  
I HEAR HIM SAYING,  
'I JUST GOT MY NATURALIZATION CERTIFICATE FROM  
THE SECRETARY OF STATE AND I'M A REFUGEE.'  
I WENT UP TO HIM AND SAID,  
'CAN YOU BELIEVE THAT A REFUGEE IS THE  
SECRETARY OF STATE?'  
**THAT IS WHAT AMERICA IS."**  
MADELEINE ALBRIGHT, FORMER SECRETARY OF STATE







## WHERE DO I STAND?

A PHOTOGRAPHER’S PASSION FOR POLITICS ON FULL DISPLAY AT PREZFEST 2019

As former secretary of state Madeleine Albright made her way offstage at UVA’s Old Cabell Hall, she walked down a short set of steps into a music department classroom that was serving as the green room. UVA senior university photographer Sanjay Suchak was already inside, manning the “studio” he had fashioned in a corner with a giant sheet of white paper draped over some lockers. He watched her enter and waited for an opportune moment to ask if he could take her picture.



She said yes. He motioned for her to join him in the studio, and then asked how she’d like to pose. She adjusted her collar, clasped her hands across her midsection, looked up at him, and smiled.

This scene repeated itself more than 50 times over the course of PrezFest—with some of the biggest names in politics, academia, and journalism telling him yes. The resulting photographs make up Suchak’s new collection entitled, “Where Do I Stand?”

His inspiration was the late photographer Richard Avedon, who captured minimalistic, intimate portraits of the political, media, and corporate elite from the 1960s through the early 2000s. One of his most famous collections was for a 1976 *Rolling Stone* article called “The Family.” It included 69 black-and-white photos of influential Americans: current and future presidents, members of the Kennedy and Rockefeller families, Katharine Graham of the *Washington Post*, and even Deep Throat (although at the time, Mark Felt’s secret identity was still secret).

With the concept in mind, Suchak’s next challenge was to ask some of our country’s most powerful political figures to pose for him. “I can’t believe everyone said yes,” he says. “These are people who could say no to anything they want. But they were all nice and agreeable.”

That wasn’t by chance. Suchak worked hard to put them at ease. Having majored in international relations and politics in college in the early 2000s, he had studied the careers of many of these people. So he used that knowledge to strike up conversations. “I would ask them about policy decisions,” Sanjay says. “And I’d occasionally ask questions about those decisions in the context of their modern-day consequences.”

See more of “Where Do I Stand?” at [millr.cr/where-do-i-stand](http://millr.cr/where-do-i-stand)

From top: Anita McBride; Madeleine Albright; Andy Card, Mack McLarty, and Denis McDonough; James Ryan; Susan Rice.



# GEORGE H. W. BUSH

## ON THE OTHER SIDE OF THE WALL

### 30 YEARS: GEORGE H. W. BUSH AND THE END OF THE COLD WAR

George H. W. Bush's first year in office demanded every ounce of his prodigious foreign policy expertise. It was 1989, and Soviet-dominated regimes across the Eastern Bloc had begun to crack. Nobody could be sure of how the Russians would respond. President Bush offered special assistance to the Communist government in Poland as they negotiated with Lech Walesa's Solidarity movement. Antigovernment protests in China's Tiananmen Square began on April 15 and ended with a brutal government crackdown in early June.

And then, on November 9, the East German government announced it was opening its borders at midnight. The "Iron Curtain" was coming down, and in Berlin, the wall was transformed overnight—from a barrier into a gateway between East and West, a place where the Berliners with whom President John F. Kennedy had identified 26 years earlier could meet and celebrate together.

The story of this eventful era emerges in detail through the Miller Center's George H. W. Bush Oral History Project, part of the Center's Presidential Oral History Program, which covers every presidency since Gerald Ford (see "Word-of-Mouth" on facing page for more about the program). Hundreds of hours of preparation and in-depth interviews offer a unique perspective on our government's most important actor.

Taken together, the 44 interviews from Bush 41's administration—roughly 425 hours' worth—add clarity and detail far beyond what traditional research methods

can yield. To look at the fall of the Berlin Wall through the eyes of President Bush's senior staff is to see a president who put practicality over passion and the future over the past.

What most in the White House remember is Bush's focus on a continuing relationship with the Soviet Union. He was determined not to "dance on the wall," in the words of Robert Gates and James Baker III, Bush's deputy national security advisor and his secretary of state, respectively. Bush knew, Baker told the Miller Center, that "he was going to have to deal with [Soviet leader Mikhail] Gorbachev and [Eduard] Shevardnadze [the Soviet foreign minister] after the wall came down.

"He got a lot of grief from the media for not being more emotionally exuberant about the fact that the wall had come down, and he said, 'Wait a minute. We're going to have to continue to deal with these people, and I'm not going to stick it in their eye.' He was so wise on that, really."

Timothy McBride, an aide to the president, confirmed in his oral history interview that Bush's main concern was what came next: "How do we help Gorbachev save face and unwind this thing in a way that is responsible and doesn't require him to get his back up, doesn't push him up against a wall and invite some response other than a peaceful unwind of this thing?"

Bush took the position that America wasn't the main actor in the drama and that true influence would come by recognizing this, not trying to change it. "I think when the countries began falling, Poland as well as the wall, one of the reasons President Bush's reaction was tempered was because he knew how much the people were behind this," recalled Craig Fuller, Bush's chief of staff as vice president. "He wanted it to be their movement, not an American foreign policy victory."

As fissures in the Eastern Bloc began to show, Bush navigated his relationship with Soviet leader Gorbachev calmly and deliberately. "Gorbachev also had his strategy toward Eastern Europe, which was to create in the Bloc little Gorbachevs, little reforming Gorbachevs, totally misunderstanding the character of Communism in Eastern Europe," said Brent Scowcroft, Bush's national security advisor. "There was no halfway house between a Soviet system and a non-Soviet system the way he was seeking to do it. . . .

*continued on next page*

"So [Gorbachev] looked benignly, or at least indifferently, to what we were doing, and to what was happening inside Eastern Europe until the wall fell. Then he got scared. But up 'til then, he was very relaxed. In fact, he was helping us—helped us in Poland, helped us in East Germany.

"When you look at . . . any pattern of the demise of the world's great empires, their death throes are usually much less benign than was this one."

If unlocking memory is the key to oral history, one of Baker's clearest recollections may capture Bush's presidency best of all: "I was in that Oval Office interview

when he was accused of not being willing to acknowledge a 40-year victory. . . . I remember it like it was yesterday. He was sitting at the Oval Office desk and I was right there with him. I remember Lesley Stahl and others saying, 'Why are you so dispassionate?' He said, 'I'm not a passionate kind of guy.'"

## ON FILM

### THE MILLER CENTER TEAMS UP WITH AWARD-WINNING FILMMAKER

"The Cold War didn't have to end peacefully," says George H. W. Bush's secretary of state (and best friend) James Baker III in the new documentary *The Art of Statecraft* (working title). "It could have ended with a whimper; it could have ended with a bang. Most people thought it was gonna end with a bang but it didn't. We had a wise president and we had a prudent president. . . . We had a president who knew foreign policy and understood it. And we had a great team. We had a team of friends, not a team of rivals."

To a person, this team attributes its success to Bush's leadership and national security experience. "He picked people who worked well together," says documentary filmmaker Lori Shinseki, who traveled the country to conduct dozens of interviews. "They had a ball. Many of them actually said it was the most fun they've ever had working in the White House."

Shinseki interviewed the likes of Dick Cheney at his private home in Wyoming; Condoleezza Rice, Stephen Hadley, and Robert Gates; Baker; and Colin Powell. They also plan to speak with scholars, including the Miller Center's Barbara

Perry, Russell Riley, and Philip Zelikow, the last of whom served in the first Bush administration with Rice on the National Security Council.

With substantial archival and content research from Miller Center librarian Sheila Blackford, and video editing work by the Center's Woody Sherman and Kevan Holdsworth, Shinseki plans to air the film by the end of the year. It is a coproduction of the Miller Center and VPM (formerly the "Community Idea Stations"), with major funding from the Virginia Foundation for Public Media.

*The Art of Statecraft* captures an important group of people at an important moment in American history. "Bush's foreign policy team kept the peace at a time of incredible turmoil in the world," says Dimitri Salonikios, graphics and animation editor for the film. "There's never been a great empire that's fallen without a great conflict that follows. This was the first one."

**LIKE THE MILLER CENTER FACEBOOK PAGE** to receive updates on when you can watch *The Art of Statecraft*.

## A "WORD-OF-MOUTH" BUSINESS

### THE MILLER CENTER'S PRESIDENTIAL ORAL HISTORY PROGRAM

"Much of great significance that happens in every White House is never recorded in writing," says Russell Riley, who along with Barbara Perry is the cochair of the Miller Center's Presidential Oral History Program (POHP). "The West Wing is an intimate place to work, and presidential politics is most often a word-of-mouth business."

For nearly a half century, the Center has collected candid and confidential recollections from every White House from Gerald Ford to Barack Obama. These interviews are conducted by Miller Center oral historians alongside leading experts in political science, history, law, business, and public policy. Over four decades, the program has produced rich archives that illuminate the inner workings of modern presidencies.

These scholars don't simply record memories. They present to policy makers and the public the lessons of past presidencies, both successes and failures. And they question truths without fear or favor toward any political party or leader.

The Miller Center is the only organization doing this work on a continuing basis across administrations. Without it, much would be forgotten and lost forever.

The next POHP project to be released is the George W. Bush Oral History, which will be rolled

out in November. And work has already begun on the Barack Obama Oral History Project (see page 5).

**READ MORE ABOUT THE PRESIDENCY OF GEORGE H. W. BUSH AT**  
[millr.cr/bush41](http://millr.cr/bush41).



## MILLER CENTER RESEARCHER MAKES CHILLING DISCOVERY

President Richard Nixon and his chief of staff, H. R. “Bob” Haldeman, had just finished discussing logistics for a land transfer event—as anodyne a topic as it gets—when the conversation returned to the 1971 uprising at Attica Correctional Facility in New York.

Inmates had taken violent control of the prison and for five days had been negotiating with state officials, including Governor Nelson Rockefeller, to address overcrowding and other issues. After refusing to grant amnesty to prisoners who took guards as hostages, Rockefeller decided to end the standoff. The New York State Police moved in to retake the facility. An hour later, 29 prisoners and nine hostages were dead.

The president’s response: “This might have one hell of a salutary effect. They can talk all they want about the radicals. You know what stops them? Kill a few.

“Remember Kent State?” the president continued. “Didn’t it have one hell of an effect, the Kent State thing?”

“Sure did,” replied Haldeman. “Gave them second thoughts.”

Miller Center research specialist Ken Hughes uncovered this frank exchange after a request from journalist and author Bob Woodward, who was visiting

Kent State and asked Hughes for some relevant audio. Although the tapes are in the public domain, many historians shy away from them in favor of more accessible written documents. But for understanding the Nixon presidency, there is no substitute for the unvarnished picture these recordings offer.

The Miller Center’s Presidential Recordings Program continues to review and publish the Nixon tapes—and those of the five presidents before him—to offer historical perspective on the inner workings of American democracy. Hughes is among the nation’s foremost experts on Nixon, the Vietnam War, and Watergate, but he’d never heard of the recording before.

“My first reaction was that Woodward could probably use this in his presentation,” says Hughes. “But it was a surprise to me that Nixon saw the Kent State massacre as somehow intimidating the demonstrators. And I don’t think that necessarily was proven by responses afterward.”

What emerges from Nixon and Haldeman’s discussion of the prison uprising isn’t as straightforward as it may seem. Certainly, the cold-blooded nature of Nixon’s attitude and his talk of toughness are familiar to Nixon scholars. But the Attica discussion, even before the Kent State comparison that concludes it, highlights a president who saw complex issues of race, social

protest, and criminal justice through a lens of social and political power: There were groups trying to undermine the nation and his presidency, and he was determined to stop them.

In fact, Nixon viewed the protests against the Vietnam War as deeply personal. “He thought the Democrats were against the war because they did not want Nixon to win it,” Hughes says, “which is an odd thing to believe since he himself realized he could not win it.”

Earlier in the day, after Haldeman had informed Nixon of the police raid to retake the prison, the president asked, “Is this a black business?”

“Yes sir,” replied the chief of staff.

“We have got to be tough on this,” Nixon said. “You know what this is? This is the Angela Davis crowd”—adding a few seconds later, “These are the negroes.”

“Which concerns me,” said Haldeman. “The word is around now that this is the signal for the black uprising.”

“It’s clear this is what they’re doing,” Haldeman said. “The revolution thing is moving to the prisons now, versus the campuses where they couldn’t get enough action on.”

Later, Nixon called Rockefeller—who referred to the raid as “a beautiful operation”—to congratulate him. “Tell me, is this a—are these primarily blacks that you’re dealing with?” Nixon asked.

“Oh yes,” responded Rockefeller, “the whole thing was led by the blacks.”

After the congratulatory call, Haldeman told Nixon, “They’ve probably got some legitimate grievances—I’m sure they do. My guess is, looking at it, that it has nothing to do with anything legitimate; it has to do with the revolution.”

“We’re not going to turn around here in this town,” said Nixon. “If they hit this town again [i.e., come to Washington to protest], we’ve got to be tough.”

“Nixon prided himself on analyzing things in a cold-blooded fashion,” says Hughes, “not looking at the human implications of events but rather the political and sometimes geopolitical implications.”

Listen to the tapes of Nixon discussing the Attica uprising at [miller.cr/kill-a-few](https://millercenter.org/presidential-recordings/kill-a-few).



GETTING ON BOARD  
MEET THE NEWEST MEMBERS OF THE MILLER CENTER GOVERNING COUNCIL

Welcome to our latest class of Governing Council members, whose service began on July 1.



**DAVE BURKE**  
Dave Burke is the co-founder, managing director, and former CEO of Makena Capital Management. Burke is a member of the firm's board of directors and management and investment

committees. Prior to forming Makena in 2005, Burke was a managing director of the Stanford Management Company, overseeing the Stanford University endowment's investments in private equity and venture capital. Burke currently serves on the boards of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, University of Virginia Law School Foundation, and Sacred Heart Schools, Atherton. Burke received a BS degree in finance, a JD, and an MA in foreign affairs from the University of Virginia, and is an adjunct faculty member at the University of Virginia and guest lecturer at the Stanford University Graduate School of Business and Knight-Hennessy Scholars Program.



**ADIB CHOUDHURY**  
Adib Choudhury is a recent graduate of the University of Virginia, where he received a BS degree in commerce with a concentration in finance from the McIntire School of Commerce. Choudhury

currently works as an investment analyst at Investure, an outsourced investment office for colleges and foundations, where he supports investment diligence and portfolio management. Prior to Investure, he interned at Salesforce in their finance and strategy group and for Ernst & Young's advisory group. While a student at UVA, he served on class council, as a tour guide for the University Guide Service, and as an intern for the Jefferson Trust.



**STEPHANIE INGRASSIA**  
Stephanie Ingrassia is the vice chairperson of the Brooklyn Museum. Over her career, she has worked as a graphic designer and recently as an art curator. She taught editorial design at

The School of Visual Art in New York City. She serves on the boards of Creative Time and City Squash. In partnership with Pilobolus, a modern dance company, she organizes and presents an art and performance festival in Washington, Connecticut. Ingrassia received a BA degree from the School of Visual Arts in New York and studied at Michigan State University and the University of London.



**GEORGE MARTIN**  
George K. Martin is managing partner of the McGuire Woods's Richmond office. He practices construction, commercial real estate, and local government

law. He has more than 20 years of experience handling construction-related transactions, including joint ventures, public-private partnerships, and project finance transactions. In 2013, Martin became the first African American rector of the University of Virginia, a position first held by Thomas Jefferson. During his tenure, he helped seat a nonvoting faculty member on the board and met with a group of student leaders before every board meeting. He also helped establish a committee focusing on diversity and inclusion.



**HATSY VALLAR**  
Hatsy Vallar is a graduate of Smith College and NYU's Stern School of Business, with a degree in finance. She has spent most of her career in banking and then as a hospital executive in charge

of the hospital's foundation and marketing department. Prior to moving to Charlottesville in 2016, she served on multiple boards and cochaired a \$30 million capital campaign. She currently serves as secretary of the Blue Ridge Area Food Bank Board and chair of the advancement committee, sits on the Martha Jefferson Medical Affairs Board and Foundation Board of Trustees, and is the cofounder of the Friends of the Miller Center.

SCHOLARS  
IN THE MEDIA

In the first eight months of 2019, Miller Center scholars and senior fellows appeared nearly 400 times in articles in print and online, as well as in segments on TV, radio, and podcasts. That's more than once a day. Here is a sampling of some of our experts' incisive op-eds (to find the latest press coverage and opinion pieces, go to [millr.cr/miller-news](http://millr.cr/miller-news)).

““DOUBLE DUTY ACROSS THE MAGISTERIAL BRANCHES,”  
*JOURNAL OF SUPREME COURT HISTORY*, JULY 12

“From our nation's inception, several Justices also have occupied other high offices and taken on other vital responsibilities,” writes faculty senior fellow and UVA Law professor Saikrishna Prakash in an article that considers early examples of “double duty” and the constitutionality of these off-the-bench pastimes.



“ANSWERING THE CALL: LEAVING THE BENCH TO SERVE THE PRESIDENT—JAMES F. BYRNES AND FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT, 1932-1945,” *JOURNAL OF SUPREME COURT HISTORY*, JULY 12

Drawn from his talk at the Supreme Court earlier in the year, Sidney Milkis—who is the White Burkett Miller Professor of Governance and Foreign Affairs—also had an article published in the *Journal of Supreme Court History* (with Nicholas Jacobs). “Byrnes and Roosevelt formed a relationship that, although largely forgotten today, is of immense importance for understanding the scope of



New Deal reform at home and the eventual triumph of American liberalism abroad,” they write.

“A RETURN TO GEOPOLITICS IN THE MEDITERRANEAN,” *NATIONAL INTEREST*, AUGUST 3

“For much of the past three decades, the Eastern Mediterranean has effectively been a backwater for U.S. national security,” writes practitioner senior fellow Eric Edelman, a former U.S. ambassador to Turkey. “But profound geopolitical transformations once again demand U.S. leadership to capitalize on new opportunities and prevent the region from becoming a cauldron of conflict like the South China Sea.”



“OBAMA DIDN'T WANT A 'WHAT NOW' MOMENT IF HE WON. TRUMP DIDN'T PLAN AND NOW WE HAVE CHAOS,” *USA TODAY*, JUNE 26

“In April 2008, then-Sen. Barack Obama tasked me to start planning for a possible presidential transition,” writes practitioner senior fellow Chris Lu, who was



executive director of the Obama-Biden presidential transition in 2008-09. “Even for a politician who had called one of his books *The Audacity of Hope*, this was pretty audacious. At the time, Obama was waging a hard-fought primary contest against Hillary Clinton.”

“BRING ON THE NEGOTIATIONS, BUT NICOLÁS MADURO MUST GO,” *RICHMOND TIMES-DISPATCH*, JUNE 17

“While I champion efforts to negotiate...it's important to remember that such efforts have been attempted before without moving the needle,” writes assistant professor and research director for public and policy programs Cristina Lopez-Gottardi Chao. “That's largely because...the Maduro regime, much like that of the Castros in Cuba, sees little value in compromise and collaboration. Instead, they are driven by a central desire to hold on to power by whatever means necessary.”



EXPANDING THE MILLER CENTER CIRCLE

TAKING EVENTS INTO THE COMMUNITY

FRIENDS of the MILLER CENTER

How do you introduce the Miller Center to Charlottesville's active professionals when most events happen during the workday? Hatsy Vallar and Maya Ghaemmaghami valued the work of the Center but noticed that a lot of their friends couldn't get over to Old Ivy Road—despite the easy parking. So they put together a plan to take the Center to them. And a new group, the **Friends of the Miller Center**, was born.

Working with advancement staff and practitioner senior fellow Chris Lu, they brought evening programming into the community, starting with a November 2018 look at politics and the media—especially social media. They followed up their success with panel discussion about the opioid crisis in America, which generated so much interest that there are plans for a follow-up event. Both panels were moderated by Lu, who served as deputy secretary of labor for President Obama. Lu will also moderate the next conversation on the future of work in America.

For more information on what the Friends of the Miller Center are up to and how you can get involved, contact Karen McGrath at 434-924-0775 or [karenmcgrath@virginia.edu](mailto:karenmcgrath@virginia.edu).

GIVING TO  
DEMOCRACY

TO GIVE A GIFT  
TO THE MILLER CENTER,  
VISIT  
[millercenter.org/support](http://millercenter.org/support)



KELLY McCASKILL  
CHIEF ADVANCEMENT OFFICER

In June, the Miller Center welcomed Kelly McCaskill as its new chief advancement officer. McCaskill will run the fundraising arm of the Center. She previously was the executive director of development at UVA's School of Nursing. *IllumiNation* sat down with her to talk about her new role.

BEFORE THE SCHOOL OF NURSING, YOU WORKED AT THE GEORGE WASHINGTON UNIVERSITY'S ELLIOTT SCHOOL OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS. HOW DID THAT EXPERIENCE PREPARE YOU FOR THE MILLER CENTER? I loved my time in Washington, DC. Living there, I found that politics affects everything. Right now is such an important time in our country and society. Being part of constructive conversations and analysis—which is a critical part of the Miller Center's mission—is personally exciting and important.

WHAT ASPECT OF THE WORK APPEALS TO YOU MOST? When I first applied for this job, I was struck when I read the history of the Miller Center: that it was founded during the Vietnam era because Burkett Miller saw a need to restore civil discourse. Here we are once again in another fraught time. It's reassuring to know we have been through difficult times before, and we have emerged stronger. I hope we can learn to move forward together again, and I want to be a part of that in a small way.

As a regular citizen, sometimes you feel that the only thing you can do is vote. So I'm thrilled to be part of the solution in another meaningful way. As a fundraiser, I think it's critical to believe in the mission for which you are raising funds. It's a prerequisite for me. I'm passionate about history and examining the past so that we can better solve the problems of today. And that's exactly what the Miller Center does.

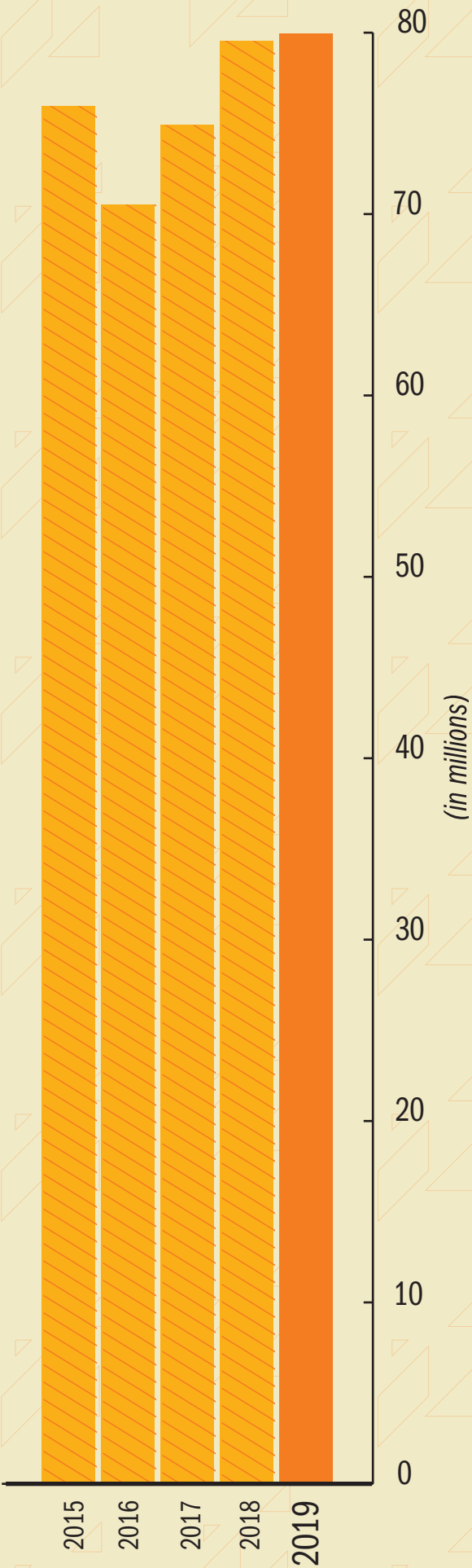
HOW DO YOU SEE YOUR WORK AT THE MILLER CENTER FITTING IN WITH THE BROADER UVA COMMUNITY? I'm an alumnus of the University and so is my husband. And I come from a long line of Hoos. Charlottesville and UVA hold very special places in my heart and mind. I've developed some wonderful relationships working here over the past five years, and I am eager to explore the many cross-Grounds collaborations the Miller Center has and continues to grow. I'm particularly energized by the Institute of Democracy and am looking forward to considering all of the ways UVA as an institution can address democracy internationally. I also look forward to collaborating with development teams University-wide, for an even greater impact.





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

As of June 30 each year



MILLER CENTER AND MILLER CENTER FOUNDATION  
SUMMARY OF FINANCIAL ACTIVITIES

INCOME FOR PROGRAMS/OPERATIONS	FY 2019	FY 2018
Endowment Distribution	\$3,167,924	\$3,207,071
Gifts & Grants	2,205,294	2,792,130
University of Virginia	1,200,629	609,549
Other	7,285	931
TOTAL	\$6,581,133	\$6,609,680

EXPENSE FOR PROGRAMS/OPERATIONS	FY 2019	FY 2018
Presidential Studies	\$2,707,863	\$1,773,553
Other Faculty & Chairs	751,702	617,528
American Forum	-	659,077
Policy Conferences & Programs	-	15,008
Library & Information Services	244,562	183,622
Marketing & Communications	1,207,875	1,006,450
Executive Office & Governing Council	897,152	859,018
Administration & Operations	689,722	623,652
Advancement	180,489	-
Miller Center Foundation	422,066	909,953
TOTAL	\$7,101,432	\$6,647,861

Net	\$(520,299)	\$(38,181)
Deferred Revenue, Recognized	559,794	201,732
NET INCOME FOR PROGRAMS/OPERATIONS	\$39,495	\$163,551

[Plus] Sublease Income	\$230,963	\$222,080
[Less] Lease Obligation	353,351	343,410
[Plus] University of Virginia Central Services Allocation	962,280	891,135
[Less] University of Virginia Central Services Assessment	1,093,295	1,016,032
[Plus] New Contributions Designated for Endowment	105,000	271,689
[Less] Transfers of Contributions Designated for Endowment	105,000	271,689
TOTAL NET INCOME	\$(213,908)	\$(82,676)

Cash Balance, Beginning	\$2,316,370	\$2,099,316
[Plus] Deferred Revenue, Unrecognized	1,269,701	501,462
[Less] Deferred Revenue, Recognized	559,794	201,732

CASH BALANCE, ENDING	\$2,812,370	\$2,316,370
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# FINANCIAL ACTIVITIES AND ASSETS

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

Endowments form the largest financial asset for both the Miller Center and the Miller Center Foundation. Distributions from these endowments provide significant support for Center programs and activities. For fiscal year 2019, these distributions, including some in the deferred revenue, unrecognized line, constituted 40 percent of total income. All endowments are managed by the University of Virginia Investment Management Company (UVIMCO) in its long-term pool, which had a 5.8 percent rate of return for the fiscal year ending June 30, 2019, a three-year annualized rate of return of 9.8 percent, and a five-year annualized rate of return of 7.0 percent. Endowment distribution rates follow those set by the University's Board of Visitors; the rate for fiscal year 2019 was 4.85 percent. Total market value for Center and Foundation endowments increased from \$79.6 million on June 30, 2018, to \$79.9 million on June 30, 2019. This represents new contributions of \$105 thousand and market performance, less distributions and other expenses.

Generous funding from donors, including the University of Virginia, supports the Miller Center's programs and operations. Funding received in one fiscal year but intended for use in another fiscal year is deferred until the year of its use and is

recognized in that year. Beginning and ending cash balances, therefore, include funds that are restricted by program or time and are not necessarily available for use in a given fiscal year.

The University of Virginia allocates central services costs to its individual units and also charges those units for the actual costs of their utilities usage. In some cases, the University partially offsets these costs with a subvention. The central services and utilities costs totaled \$1.09 million for the Miller Center in fiscal year 2019. The subvention totaled \$962 thousand.

The Miller Center experienced a 50 percent increase in expenses within its Presidential Studies programs in fiscal year 2019, primarily in conjunction with the Presidential Ideas Festival held in May 2019. In addition, Presidential Studies absorbed the Center's costs for public programming following the discontinuation of American Forum at the end of fiscal year 2018.

The Miller Center also began incurring expenses for Advancement in fiscal year 2019, when the fundraising responsibilities, previously held within the Miller Center Foundation, were transferred to the Center.

The Miller Center and Miller Center Foundation ended fiscal year 2019 with positive net income for programs/operations and with a higher ending cash balance than for the prior year, primarily due to an increase in unrecognized deferred revenue.

The Miller Center Foundation holds a long-term commercial lease in Washington, DC, for an office the Miller Center formerly used. This space is now subleased.

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



# PHILANTHROPIC SUPPORT

The Miller Center and the Miller Center Foundation received over \$4,189,286 in philanthropic support in fiscal year 2019. We are especially grateful for the generosity of members of the Miller Center Governing Council and the Miller Center Foundation Board of Directors for their support of the Presidential Ideas Festival: Democracy in Dialogue (PrezFest 2019), the Miller Center Annual Fund, and the many other important projects and programs of the Center.

We simply couldn't do this work without each and every donor. Thank you for expressing your commitment to the study of the presidency, democratic ideas, and civil discourse through your support of the Miller Center.

## THE MILLER CENTER FUND

The Miller Center Foundation is grateful to its generous donors for having made contributions to benefit the Miller Center during fiscal year 2019 (July 1, 2018–June 30, 2019).

## SPONSORED PROGRAMS & OTHER SUPPORT

*The Miller Center thanks the following benefactors for their restricted leadership gifts. Significant investments such as these allow Miller Center programs to have a lasting impact.*

Act for Alexandria	Northern Trust Charitable Giving Program
Carnegie Corporation of New York	UVA Office of the President
The Johns Hopkins University	University of Virginia
Leonard D. Schaeffer Fellows in Government Service	Virginia Foundation For Public Media

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*The Miller Center thanks the following for their matching support.*

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Because we take special effort to ensure the accuracy of this list, we do wish to be informed of any errors. Please contact Karen McGrath at the Miller Center Foundation at 434-924-0775 or karenmcgrath@virginia.edu.

## BURKETT MILLER SOCIETY

*The Burkett Miller Society honors those donors who have arranged planned gifts such as bequests, gift annuities, charitable trusts, gifts of insurance, and real property for the benefit of the Miller Center.*

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## WITH GRATITUDE

We are grateful for the commitment of Burkett Miller Society members who died during the past year.

<b>Dr. Philip H. Cooper</b>	<b>Mr. Shao-Chuan Leng</b>
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<b>Dr. &amp; Mrs. Milton T. Edgerton Jr.</b>	<b>Mr. H. Gordon Smyth</b>
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The Miller Center appreciates and recognizes gifts in memory of the following Miller Center friends:

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Mr. Matthew Seth Mendelsohn & Mrs. Elizabeth Mitchell	Mr. Robert N. Saylor & Mrs. Martha Saylor
Ms. Elizabeth D. Merrill	Mr. Charles R. Schreck & Mrs. Christine B. Schreck
Mr. Richard J. Murray & Mrs. Sara Murray	Mrs. Betty Cox Scott & Mr. John E. Scott Jr.
NIHCM Foundation	Mr. William G. Shenkir & Mrs. Leila S. Shenkir
Mr. Paul B. Nolan & Mrs. Janet S. Nolan	Mr. Robert T. Smith & Mrs. Joan K. Smith
Mr. J. Christopher Oates & Mrs. Cynthia G. Oates	Dr. M. Ron Sorrell & Mrs. Ginny O. Sorrell*
Mr. Ralph Partlow & Mrs. Jeanette G. Partlow	Mr. Warwick F. M. Spencer & Mrs. Sarah Johnston Spencer
Mr. Christopher Du Pont Roosevelt & Mrs. Rosalind H. Roosevelt	Mr. Alfred B. Strickler, Jr.
Mr. Michael C. Ross & Mrs. Virginia L. F. Ross	Mr. William G. Taylor III & Mrs. Patricia Taylor
Mr. Leonard W. Sandridge Jr. & Mrs. Jerry S. Sandridge	Mrs. Mildred N. Thayer & Mr. Bradley R. Thayer
Mr. Charles Holdon Smith Jr.	Mr. Shrikant Ramamurthy & Ms. Malathi Veeraraghavan
Mr. George B. Telford Jr.* & Mrs. Sally S. Telford	The Watterson Foundation
Mr. James C. Walker	Mr. John S. Watterson III & Mrs. Yvonne Guy Watterson
Mr. Tedd J. Winter & Mrs. Genevieve M. Winter	Mr. Stuart G. Watterson & Mrs. Kay A. Watterson
Mr. Robert Yuan-che Yeh & Mrs. Dara M. Yeh	West Wind Foundation
	Whitney & Anne M. Stone Foundation
	Mr. Tedd J. Winter & Mrs. Genevieve M. Winter
	Mrs. Joan Wolowiec & Mr. Len Wolowiec
	Mr. David J. Wood Jr. & Mrs. Maxine E. Wood

\*deceased



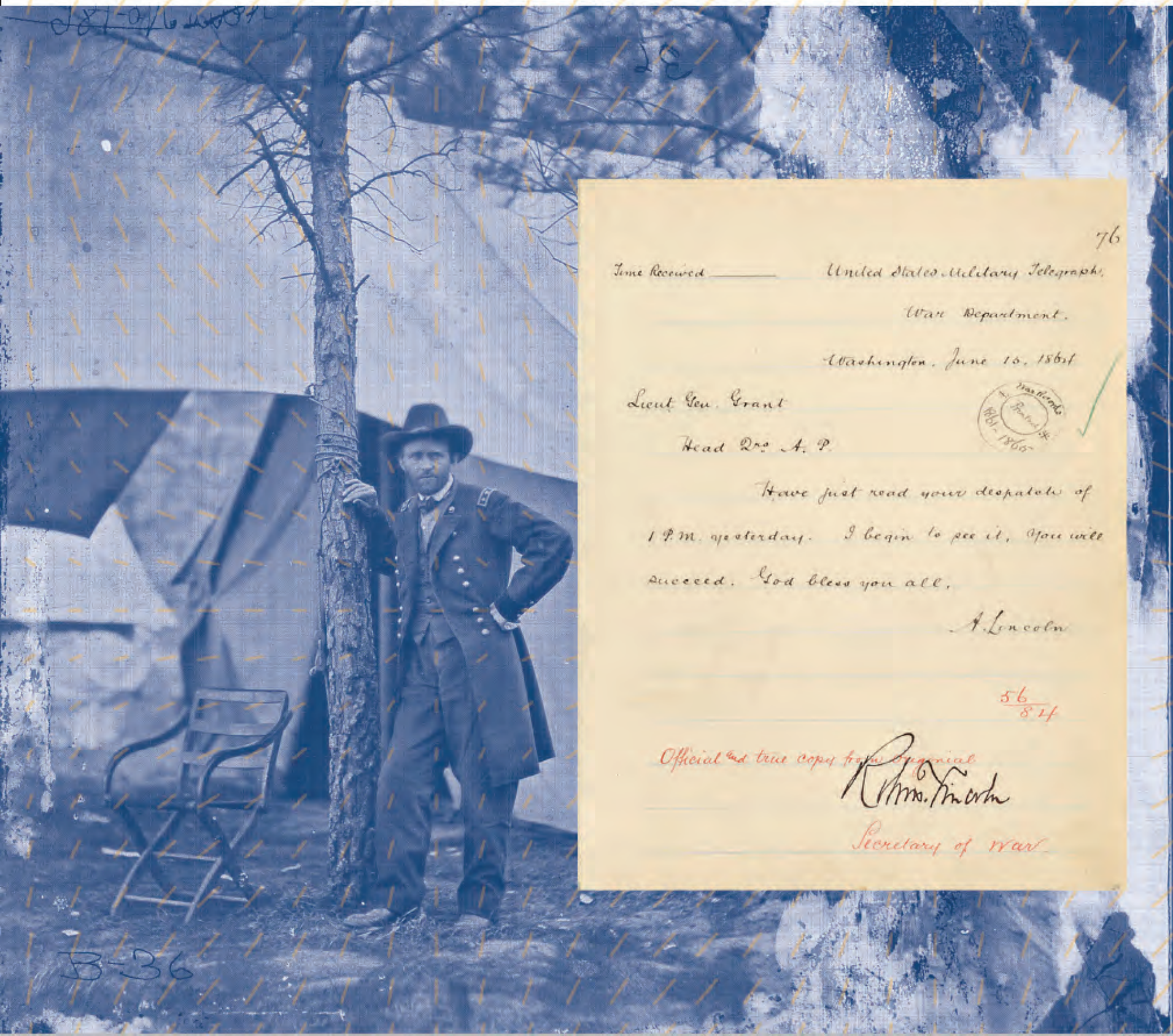
# NOTES FROM THE PRESIDENCY



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The bloodiest six weeks on American soil was nearing an end in June 1864. The Overland Campaign saw a confrontation between the armies of Ulysses S. Grant and Robert E. Lee. More than 80,000 Americans were left dead, wounded, or missing. On June 14, Grant withdrew from a disastrous encounter at Cold Harbor near the Confederate capital and moved his army to assault the rail junction at Petersburg. The following day he received this telegram from President Lincoln.



Time Received \_\_\_\_\_ United States Military Telegraph,  
War Department.

Washington, June 15, 1864

Lieut. Gen. Grant

Head Qrs. A. P.



Have just read your despatch of  
1 P.M. yesterday. I begin to see it. You will  
succeed. God bless you all.

A. Lincoln

56  
814

Official and true copy from original

*R. M. Smith*

Secretary of War