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.

**Miller Center Values**

**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 fostering debate, focused on scholarly inquiry and constructive response. 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.

**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._

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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.

**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 failures—correct 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. 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.

If you’d like to watch any of the discussions you missed (or even rewatch ones you saw), go to prezfest.org.
THE FOCUS IS ON MEDIA AND STATECRAFT

This fall, Miller Center’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, director of the program.

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.

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 Berkman Klein Center 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.

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

OBAMA ORAL HISTORY PROJECT BREAKS GROUND

THE FOCUS IS ON MEDIA AND STATECRAFT

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. As responses 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 Arthurs.

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, in an anxious effort, 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.

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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.

“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


KAHL ROVE, SENIOR ADVISOR, GEORGE W. BUSH

“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

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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. UN 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 she 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 minimalist, 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, “he says. “These are people who could say no to anything they work. But they were all nice and agreeable.”

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See more of “Where Do I Stand?” at millr.cr/where-do-i-stand

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

“WHEN I TALK TO WOMEN, WHATEVER FIELD THEY’RE IN, I SAY, ‘LOOK, THINK ABOUT WHAT’S GOING TO HAPPEN TO YOU WHEN YOU ENCOUNTER A MOMENT [WHEN MEN CAN’T RELATE], BECAUSE YOU’RE GOING TO ENCOUNTER A MOMENT LIKE THAT. . . . HAVE THAT LITTLE CHEAT SHEET IN THE BACK OF YOUR MIND THAT SAYS, ‘WHEN I’M IN THIS POSITION . . . THIS IS HOW I’M GOING TO RESPOND.’”

MARiaT BRENNAN, MODERATOR OF FACE THE NATION

“I’D PROBABLY SAY THE SINGULAR FORM OF RACISM IN THIS COUNTRY EXISTS WITHIN HEALTH CARE: HEALTH DISPARITIES FOR PEOPLE WHO, BECAUSE THEY’RE BLACK, DIE EVERY YEAR. . . . THAT’S THE MOST SERIOUS FORM OF RACISM, WHO LIVES AND WHO DIES IS BASED ON RACE IN THIS COUNTRY AND IT ALWAYS HAS BEEN.”

IBRAM X. KENDI, PROFESSOR, AMERICAN UNIVERSITY
ON THE OTHER SIDE OF THE WALL

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. Anti-government 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 oral history interviews that Bush’s main concern was what to do about the crumbling of the Berlin Wall. His administration—roughly 425 hours’ worth—add clarity to the events that followed. Hundreds of hours of preparation and in-depth interviews offer a unique perspective on our government’s role in the eventful era.

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“[Gorbachev] looked benign, or at least indifferent, to what we were doing, and so it was happening inside Eastern Europe until the wall fell. Then he got scared. But up till then, he was very relaxed. In fact, he was helping us—he 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.”

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“This Wall 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.”

“[Gorbachev] looked benign, or at least indifferently, to what the wall had to come down, and he said, ‘Wait a minute. We’re going to have to unwind this thing.’”

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 Shireski, 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.”

Shireski 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 published 40 YEARS: GEORGE H. W. BUSH AND THE END OF THE COLD WAR, a portfolio of modern presidencies.

With substantial archival and content research from Miller Center librarian Sheila Blackford, and video editing work by the Center’s Woody Sherman and Kevin Baldwin, Shireski 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.

ON FILM

THE MILLER CENTER TEAMS UP WITH AWARD-WINNING FILMMAKER

Award-winning filmmaker Lori Shireski, the best of whom served in the first Bush administration with Rice on the National Security Council.

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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 world 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 trends 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 released 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
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?”

“Yes sir,” 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?”

“Sure,” replied the chief of staff.

“Have we 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.”

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“Then we’ve got to get 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 Haldeman. “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 take this—We’re not going to turn around here in this town, Nixon said. “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 millercenter.org/kill-a-few.
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, Alhambra. 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.

Adi Choudhury
Adi 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 Litvak, an outsourced investment office for colleges and foundations, where he supports investment diligence and portfolio management. Prior to Litvak, 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 council, as a tour guide for the University Guide Service, and as an intern for the Jefferson Trust.

Stephanie Inggrassia
Stephanie Inggrassia is the vice chairperson of the Brooklyn Museum. Over her career, she has worked as a graphic designer and currently 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. Inggrassia received a BS 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’ 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 nector 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.

Haffi Valler
Haffi Valler is a graduate of Smith College and UVa’s Stern School of Business, with a degree in finance. She has spent most of her career in banking and is now 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 chaired 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.

**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 pastorals.

**Chairing the Church to Serve the President**, 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 professor Saikrishna Prakash in an article that considers early examples of “double duty” and the constitutionality of these off-the-bench pastorals.

**“A RETURN TO GEOPOLITICS IN THE MEDITERRANEAN,” National Interest, August 3**

“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."

**“Don’t Have a What Now Moment if He Won’t Do the Right Thing,” USA Today, June 26**

“In April 2010, then-Sen. Barack Obama tasked me to start planning for a possible presidential transition,” writes practicing 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, it was pretty audacious. At the time, Obama was waging a hard-fought primary contest against Hillary Clinton.”

**“Draining the Daniels,” But Nichols Maddox Must Go,” Richmond Times-Dispatch, June 7**

“While 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 Madison model, like many that of the Cartels in Cuba, seem little viable in compromise and collaboration. Instead, they are driven by a central desire to hold on to power by whatever means necessary.”

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. McCaskill 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 lived my life 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 shocked when I read the history of the Miller Center—that it was founded during the Vietnam era because Burket 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 empowered 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 alumna of the University and my husband is. And I come from a long line of Mos, 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 exploit the many cross-platform 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, an institution can address democracy internationally. I also look forward to collaborating with development teams University-wide, for an even greater impact.”

Visit Millercenter.org
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. Distribution 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 4.8 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 $110 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, which were absorbed by Miller Center operations and also charged 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 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.
The Miller Center thanks the following for their matching support.

MATCHING GIFTS

PHILANTHROPIC SUPPORT

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Benevity on behalf of Fannie Mae
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AGL Resources

contribution to benefit the Miller Center during fiscal year 2019
THE MILLER CENTER FUND
for expressing your commitment to the study of the presidency, democratic programs of the Center.

The Miller Center and the Miller Center Foundation received over $2.5 million in significant gifts during fiscal year 2019. These gifts were received from over 5,000 donors, including corporations, foundations, individuals, and organizations. These gifts are tax-deductible and will be used to support the Miller Center’s mission.

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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.

Because we take special effort to ensure the accuracy of this list, we do not hallucinate.

Prezident gifts. These match the thanks for the following gifts.

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.

 Match the Miller Center to your annual fund, charitable gift, gifts of insurance, and real property for the benefit of the Miller Center.

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George Washington Street gift. These match the thanks for the following gifts.
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.

United States Military Telegraph

Washington, June 15, 1864

Lt. Gen. Grant

Head Dep. A. P.

Have just read your dispatch of
14th, yesterday. I began to fear you were
succeeded. God bless you all.

A. Lincoln

Official copy true copy from original

Secretary of War