

ILLUMINATION

THE UNIVERSITY OF VIRGINIA'S MILLER CENTER

FALL 2020

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**SPECIAL
INSERT**
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CABINET REPORT
p. 16

**MOMENTS
IN CRISIS**

TACKLING THE PANDEMIC: MILLER CENTER EVENTS MOVE ONLINE

The COVID-19 health crisis introduced challenges for people around the world. Here at the Miller Center, we had to forgo our usual in-person events and quickly pivot to take those important conversations to a (socially distant) online forum.

In our well-received COVID-19 series of webinars, we covered a variety of topics related to the pandemic—from national security and economics to education and leadership—and we drew some of our largest audiences ever.

Here is a sampling of the events we presented last spring and a preview of upcoming programming, all offered as online-only webinars. You can see the full schedule of upcoming events, register to watch, and review video of past events at millercenter.org/events

RECENT WEBINARS

TRUMP IN 2020: HISTORY LESSONS IN AN ELECTION YEAR

A deep-dive look at the first three years of the Trump presidency, how it compares to the past five administrations in various dimensions, and what it all means for November.

THE DEVELOPING ECONOMIC CRISIS AND THE PANDEMIC

A discussion about the economic consequences of the COVID-19 crisis, as well as possible policy responses.

DIPLOMACY ON TRIAL: AMBASSADOR WILLIAM TAYLOR

An in-depth conversation about Ukraine, Russia, corruption, and the state of U.S. political institutions.

POLICY-MAKING IN THE PANDEMIC

How does one navigate the policy implications of a worldwide epidemic? And what does that look like?

THE HEALTH CARE SYSTEM AND COVID-19

How the U.S. health care system is managing the coronavirus, how the history of the system has shaped that response, and what we can learn from other countries.

"ASK NOT": NATIONAL SERVICE IN TIMES OF CRISIS

An exploration of civic responsibility and presidential leadership in light of the coronavirus challenge.

PRESSURE COOKER: LEADERSHIP LESSONS FROM

THE SECRET WHITE HOUSE TAPES

Listen to recordings of past U.S. presidents to provide insight into the human dimension that has led to success or failure.

U.S.-CHINA RELATIONS IN A TURBULENT TIME: CAN RIVALS COOPERATE?

Esteemed scholars and policymakers discuss how to navigate this important relationship during a global upheaval.

THE PANDEMIC'S LASTING EFFECT ON EDUCATION

What happens when millions of students are out of school for months on end? What will the repercussions be, and how are inequalities exacerbated?

CONTAINING COVID-19: GREECE'S SUCCESSES AND CHALLENGES AHEAD

A joint event with the Brookings Institution, featuring Greek Prime Minister Kyriakos Mitsotakis.

FALL 2020 ONLINE EVENTS

OCTOBER

DEMOCRACY & STRATEGY: AMERICAN STATECRAFT IN THE 21ST CENTURY

DEMOCRACY INITIATIVE STATECRAFT LAB LAUNCE **OCTOBER 8, 2020**

A program with Steve Walt, Anne Marie Slaughter (New America Foundation), Mary Louise Kelly (NPR's *All Things Considered*, and Michael McFaul (Stanford University).

CLINTON'S ELECTIONS: 1992, 1996, AND THE BIRTH OF A NEW ERA

OF GOVERNANCE **OCTOBER 14, 2020**

A book talk with Mike Nelson (Rhodes College/Miller Center), moderated by Russell Riley (Miller Center).

AMERICA IN THE WORLD: A HISTORY OF U.S. DIPLOMACY AND FOREIGN POLICY

OCTOBER 19, 2020

A book talk with Robert Zoellick (former president of the World Bank), moderated by William Antholis (Miller Center).

STATECRAFT: THE BUSH 41 TEAM **OCTOBER 21-25, 2020**

Documentary about George H. W. Bush showing at the Virginia Film Festival (online).

THE UPSWING: HOW AMERICA CAME TOGETHER A CENTURY AGO AND HOW WE CAN

DO IT AGAIN **OCTOBER 22, 2020**

A book talk with Robert Putnam (Harvard University), moderated by John Bridgeland (Miller Center).

IMMIGRATION, ASYLUM, AND NATIONAL SECURITY: A COMPARATIVE PERSPECTIVE

AMBASSADOR WILLIAM C. BATTLE SYMPOSIUM **OCTOBER 26, 2020**

NOVEMBER

POSTELECTION ANALYSIS **NOVEMBER 4, 2020**

A moderated conversation with Jennifer Lawless (Miller Center/UVA's Democracy Initiative) and Mary Kate Cary (Miller Center); moderated by William Antholis (Miller Center).

STATECRAFT: THE BUSH 41 TEAM **NOVEMBER 12, 2020**

A film screening with Barbara Pery (Miller Center) and Jeff Engel (Southern Methodist University), moderated by William Antholis (Miller Center). Cosponsored by Southern Methodist University.

HOME RULE IN VIRGINIA AND BEYOND **NOVEMBER 19, 2020**

A conference in partnership with UVA Law, Lake-Sumter State College, and UVA's Democracy Initiative.

DECEMBER

A WORLD IN DISARRAY: AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY AND THE CRISIS OF

THE OLD ORDER **DECEMBER 1, 2020**

A book talk with Richard Haass (president, Council on Foreign Relations), moderated by Todd Sechser (Politics/DI/Miller Center). Cosponsored by the Democracy Initiative's Statecraft Lab at UVA.

FOUR THREATS: THE RECURRING CRISES OF AMERICAN DEMOCRACY"

DECEMBER 11, 2020

A book talk with Susan Mettler (Cornell) and Robert Lieberman (Johns Hopkins); moderated by Sid Milkis (Miller Center/UVA politics department). Cosponsored by UVA's Democracy Initiative.

TO WATCH THESE CONVERSATIONS, GO TO [MILLERCENTER.ORG/EVENTS](https://millercenter.org/events)



A LETTER FROM THE DIRECTOR

Welcome to our “crisis issue.” Not a very welcoming concept, I’ll admit.

But as our nation simultaneously grapples with three crossroad moments—a pandemic, a “self-induced economic coma” (as former George W. Bush advisor Keith Hennessey said at a recent Miller Center event), and a reckoning of racial justice—we are living through crisis management of the first order.

And do I need to mention there’s a presidential election?

Like it or not, for President Donald Trump, these three crises could define this presidential election.

Vice President Biden aims to make this a referendum on the president’s handling of the crises, and to urge a return to a normal presidency. Indeed, there will be much ammunition, as President Trump and his allies have embraced his reputation as the Disruptor in Chief, overturning conventional wisdom on a variety of issues: domestic governing institutions and norms, racial politics, immigration, tariffs, international alliances, and nation building around the globe.

Many scholars would agree. In the 2018 Presidents and Executive Politics Presidential Greatness survey (from the American Political Science Association), Trump was deemed the United States’ most polarizing president by the nation’s top political scientists, followed by Abraham Lincoln, James K. Polk, and James Buchanan.

This reputation is in large part because of President Trump’s combative handling of previous crises, many of which were his own doing. Even before the coronavirus pandemic, he had survived a number of controversies, including the firing of former FBI director James Comey; the Russia investigation; his woeful response to the far-right rally in Charlottesville; the failed vote to repeal ObamaCare; tax cuts; Stormy Daniels; the 2018 midterms; Gen. James Mattis’s resignation as defense secretary; the crime reform bill; the government shutdown; the Mueller report; the Ukraine whistleblower; NAFTA and USMCA; impeachment; the assassination of Iran’s Gen. Qassem Soleimani.

And yet, the president and his base of supporters would argue that regardless of how well or poorly he has managed these crises, he has done exactly what he was hired to do: shake up the old normal. Indeed, in their telling, the recent past was not so great. Continuous disruption is the only path forward. They’ll argue that Trump’s prepandemic track record of economic success at home, a return to traditional cultural values, and tough negotiations abroad delivered more for Americans than any predecessor. As a conservative gadfly of a different era once said, the president offers a choice, not an echo.

Perhaps because both sides agree that the nation is divided, it will likely remain so after the election.

As these crises have unfolded over the past several years, we at the Miller Center have stayed true to our nonpartisan agenda while still bringing a diverse set of views from across the spectrum. We have remained focused on the following:

- the presidency in a constitutional system—with an emphasis on executive powers and the legislature—and the upcoming transition to either a second Trump term or a first term for Biden
- the economy, with an emphasis on health care and financial crises
- national security, with an emphasis on democracy and on China
- national identity, with an emphasis on immigration and race

As an organization, we’ve also pivoted this year to adapt to the pandemic, the economic crisis, and issues of racial justice. Our scholars and practitioners were well positioned to provide insights that demonstrated our depth and breadth.

Our events in spring and fall 2020 reflect this. And we will continue to cover the most important executive-branch challenges—topics that strikingly match the current moment. Our fall programming focuses heavily on the presidential election, emphasizing respectful discourse across the spectrum of viewpoints. (See *a roundup of spring and fall programming at left.*)

In these efforts, we have collaborated with other schools and centers across the University of Virginia, including the Democracy Initiative, the Frank Batten School for Leadership and Public Policy, the Center for Politics, the College of Arts & Sciences, the Curry School of Education, the Darden Business School, UVA Law, the McIntire School of Commerce, and the Weldon Cooper Center.

We take only two positions on the election: Vote and stay safe. Beyond that, no matter who wins, the Miller Center stands ready, committed to the work that hopefully can bring this divided country back together again.

Bill Antholis
Director and CEO
UVA’s Miller Center



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COVID-19: HOW TO FIGHT A PANDEMIC

GREEK PRIME MINISTER KYRIAKOS MITSOTAKIS OUTLINED HIS STRATEGIES FOR SUCCESS

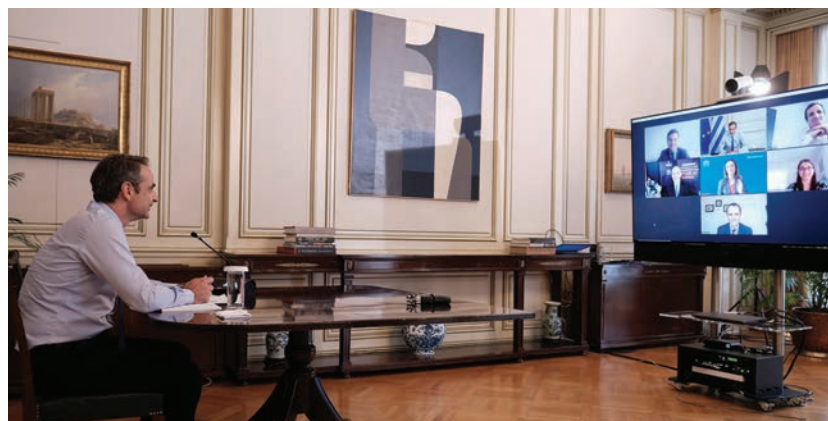
On May 27, the Miller Center joined with the Brookings Institution to welcome the leader of Greece to a virtual town hall to discuss his small nation's early success in containing the pandemic. Miller Center Director Bill Antholis, during his 10 years as managing director at the Brookings Institution, had come to know Prime Minister Mitsotakis through the nonprofit's research on the 2008 financial crisis. Mitsotakis's remarks below are taken from their conversation in May. To watch the entire event, visit millercenter.org/greek

I feel particularly proud that we have used this crisis to actually change the image of the country. We were just coming out of a 10-year crisis, with a national health system that was put under a lot of pressure and an older population. And we were perceived as not being capable of managing big tasks. But we have managed to perform quite well overall.

How did we do it? Four points in retrospect. With hindsight, they may seem rather obvious, but trust me, that was not the case when we actually took those decisions.

First, very early, it was obvious to me after consulting with our public health experts that we would be moving into some sort of lockdown. It was inevitable in my mind, so I decided to **do it early rather than late**. Our models tell us that had we delayed even by a week or a couple of weeks, the trajectory of the epidemic would have been completely different.

Just to give you one example, we decided not to have our annual carnival celebrations [scheduled to begin on January 17] in the third largest city in Greece, Patras, even before



GREEK PRIME MINISTER MITSOTAKIS JOINS THE UVA/ MILLER CENTER TEAM VIA ZOOM.



we had our first COVID case. We were looking at what was happening in Italy at the time, and although a lot of people were critical, citing the dramatic economic impact, it was obvious to me then what is probably even more obvious now: There is no inverse relationship between taking drastic measures and suffering a very deep recession. If anything, what we see now is that the countries that have done better in containing the epidemic are invariably the countries that took measures earlier. And they may actually be in a better position to recover faster. The jury's still out on that, but that is my expectation of what will happen.

The second thing we did is to **communicate very clearly to build trust** among the Greek population. I didn't do any daily press briefings. I outsourced the communication job to our top epidemiologist and the head of our Civil Protection Agency, and we essentially tried to convince people that it was the right thing to do to stay at home and follow the basic rules of social distancing. And surprisingly, Greeks followed our advice!

Of course, there were fines for people breaking lockdown, but this was not a coercive exercise; it was an exercise in collective behavior for the common good. It was very surprising to many that a people not prone to actually sticking to rules obeyed the basic guidelines. And I am very grateful to the Greek population for actually doing what the experts told us to do.

The third thing we did was to quickly **strengthen our National Health Service**. We repurposed hospital beds. We essentially doubled the number of ICU units. Within weeks we managed to get enough personal protective equipment for our health care personnel—and they did a fantastic job.

The last thing we did well, I think, was to **protect the more vulnerable** from day one. In Greece we have families three generations old that frequently live together, and we made a very clear decision to focus on the more vulnerable parts of our population, people with underlying health conditions and, in particular, our older population. We also managed to protect our nursing homes: We didn't have a single fatality in publicly run nursing facilities for elderly care in the country.

WHY WE GIVE

"THE MILLER CENTER OFFERS US ACCESS THAT WE'D NORMALLY HAVE ONLY THROUGH TELEVISION."



KIP ACHESON, RETIRED FROM THE FINANCIAL SERVICES INDUSTRY, AND ELIZABETH CARR, A RETIRED PEDIATRICIAN.

HOW LONG HAVE YOU BEEN INVOLVED WITH THE MILLER CENTER?

Three years. When we retired to Charlottesville from Portland, Oregon.

WHAT FIRST DREW YOU TO THE WORK OF THE MILLER CENTER?

KIP: When we were in Portland, I joined the board of the World Affairs Council, whose mission is education on global affairs. When we came to Charlottesville, I was looking to replicate that experience. I wanted something interactive and personal, where I could keep learning. The Miller Center offers that. And the fact that the Center attracts speakers from D.C. and elsewhere—that's a plus for us. It's access that we'd normally have only through television.

ELIZABETH: We'd also seen some of the Miller Center's work on C-SPAN. And the Center's connection with Jim Lehrer [a board member and legendary journalist who passed away earlier this year] was also appealing. And we're drawn to the Center's commitment to be nonpartisan.

WHY HAVE YOU REMAINED LOYAL SUPPORTERS?

KIP: We go to as many Miller Center events as possible. It's important to us that the Center organizes and provides these lectures, interviews, and symposia at no charge for the community and students. We want to support that. The Center's work to challenge the political system and analyze the presidency is also so important, especially during a crisis like we've had this year.

ELIZABETH: Yes, it was terrific that the Miller Center continued lectures, even though everything has to be done remotely. We still get a lot out of the online webinars and appreciate the efforts to keep programming going.

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millercenter.org/donate

**"THE CENTER'S WORK TO
CHALLENGE
THE POLITICAL SYSTEM AND
ANALYZE THE PRESIDENCY
IS SO IMPORTANT."**

EMPLOYEE SPOTLIGHT



DAVID H. COURTNEY
Senior Art Director

HOW LONG HAVE YOU WORKED AT THE MILLER CENTER? Three years.

WHAT IS YOUR FAVORITE PART OF YOUR JOB?

Collaborating with the communications team to develop concepts and seeing our colleagues react to the work.

WHAT HAS BEEN YOUR FAVORITE PROJECT?

That's a toss-up between a branded folder that I created for Miller Center promotional materials—there were unique printing challenges and it looks beautiful—and the overall branding campaign work we did for the Presidential Ideas Festival (PrezFest) that took place at UVA in May 2019.

WHAT ARE YOU WORKING ON NOW?

You're reading it!

WHAT MAKES THE MILLER CENTER IMPORTANT?

The Miller Center is a vital source for learning and discussing the issues facing our nation—especially today. I find these discussions critical to whether our democracy thrives or dies. It's an honor to be able to enhance the stories the Miller Center tells.

MILLER CENTER, **BY THE NUMBERS** FROM THE SPRING 2020 SERIES OF WEBINARS

36,685
YOUTUBE VIEWS

5,888
TOTAL LIVE ZOOM VIEWS

848
HIGHEST ATTENDANCE FOR A SINGLE EVENT

10
GREATEST NUMBER OF PANELISTS


'A FULL-SCALE RACE WAR CAN DEVELOP HERE'

WHITE HOUSE PHONE CALLS FROM THE 1960S PAINT AN ALL-TOO-FAMILIAR PICTURE OF POLICE VIOLENCE AGAINST BLACK AMERICANS

More than 55 years ago, the civil rights movement was in full swing during the administration of President Lyndon B. Johnson. Black Americans were demanding equal rights and President Johnson viewed himself as an ally and advocate. He attributed the urban riots of the 1960s and the outrage within the Black community to poverty and idleness. He saw the rampant police violence as merely a trigger, and these other social problems as the root cause.

"LBJ underplays the role of police violence as a contributing factor to the ongoing civil unrest," says Marc Selverstone, chair of the Miller Center's Presidential Recordings Program, which transcribes and analyzes thousands of hours of conversations recorded in the White House, from the administrations of Franklin Delano Roosevelt through Richard Nixon. "It's a posture LBJ adopts more forcefully over the years—aided and abetted by those who see political motives behind the challenges to entrenched power. His focus on the systemic problems rooted in unemployment, poor housing, and educational deficits makes good sense for his reform agenda. But it also comes at the expense of looking more closely at systemic problems rooted in policing."

By listening to and analyzing telephone exchanges among LBJ, government officials, and political confidantes, Selverstone and his Miller Center colleagues are able to provide context for the Black Lives Matter movement and its search for social justice. Here are three excerpts from White House calls in 1964, 1965, and 1967.



Listen to these conversations and more at millr.cr/LBJ-tapes. They are part of the Presidential Recordings Digital Edition, published by Rotunda, the electronic imprint of the University of Virginia Press, in collaboration with the Miller Center, funded in part by the National Historical Publications & Records Commission.



June 20,

1964

In this call, President Johnson telephones Frank Smith, the chairman of Philadelphia's Democratic Party, to solicit support for Johnson's antipoverty legislation. After reviewing the results of a recent voter registration drive, Smith tells the president about the shooting of an unarmed 16-year-old Black boy by a Philadelphia police officer.

PRESIDENT JOHNSON

Now, they tell me that we're not going to do as well there as [President] Kennedy did in '60. Is there anything to that?

FRANK SMITH

Well, you've got to be a stargazer to figure that one. If you can get them to do something beyond parading and rebelling and put their talents to work, we'll do equally as good.

JOHNSON

Mm-hmm.

SMITH

My big—my problem is just one thing.

JOHNSON

Mm-hmm.

SMITH

That's the racial disturbances.

JOHNSON

Mm-hmm.

SMITH

If we can keep that under control and avoid the so-called white backlash, we're in great shape.

JOHNSON

Mm-hmm. Are you having any disturbances in Philadelphia?

SMITH

We had a shooting yesterday of a young 16-year-old boy by a policeman that was no good.

JOHNSON

Mmm.

SMITH

But they've kept calm about it. And I'm hopeful that nothing breaks out today and will be handled in an orderly fashion. Now, we did have disturbances....

JOHNSON

Mm-hmm.

SMITH

But we've had sensible people. Now, I had a meeting yesterday with 15 of the outstanding Negroes, and they speak just as vigorously as you or I do about retaining order.

JOHNSON

Mm-hmm.

SMITH

And using intelligence and getting their people registered. They want to voice it through the ballot box, and that's what I want them to do.

JOHNSON

Did the policeman just lose his head?

SMITH

[sadly] Yes. Quick.

JOHNSON

Mmm.

SMITH

Quick with the revolver.

JOHNSON

Kill him?

SMITH

Yeah. Right through the chest. Right through the heart.

JOHNSON

What was the boy doing?

SMITH

Larceny, robbery. Sixteen-year-old, unarmed. It's just a terrible thing.

JOHNSON

Did he threaten him or anything?

SMITH

No. He hollered to him to stop, and the boy ran, and he fired. Killed him.

Johnson follows this exchange with a request for Smith's help in mobilizing congressional support for his poverty program and expanding the Democratic voter pool for the general election that November. Party gains, he believes, would allow him to push for more sweeping legislation to address the social injustices afflicting Black Americans.



August 20,

1965

By the summer of 1965, it is clear that neither the Economic Opportunity Act, nor the Civil Rights Act of 1964, nor the Voting Rights Act of 1965 are going to address the pressing concerns of urban America, particularly the matter of police violence against Black Americans. In a conversation with Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., President Johnson discusses the “Watts riots” (August 11 to August 16). King’s attempts to quell the situation brought hostility from both Black Americans and city officials. This call highlights the result of that continuing violence, King’s fear of a coming race war, and Johnson’s desire to expand his programs to head off the recurrent racial strife.

MARTIN LUTHER KING JR.

Hello?

PRESIDENT JOHNSON

Yes, Dr. King.

KING

Yes, Mr. President, how are you today?

JOHNSON

Oh, I’m doing pretty good. I’ve been—I thought you made a mighty good statement yesterday that I saw on . . . last night.

KING

Yes, well, we’re dealing with a difficult situation here.

JOHNSON

Well, it’s difficult all over the country. I met with about 6[00] or 700 of them today and—here on equal employment, and it’s . . . we just got so much—we’ve got just so much to do, as I told you the other day, that I don’t know how we’ll ever do it, but we got to get ahead with it.

...

KING

Well, I’ll tell you, Mr. President, I have met with . . . oh, all levels of leadership here and I’ve talked with people in the Watts area. Now, this is really what concerns me very much. I’m not optimistic at this point about the possible outcome of [unclear]. Because in talking—now, [California’s Democratic] Governor [Edmund G. “Pat”] Brown has been marvelous in his statements and the moves that he’s made. I had a long talk with him.

JOHNSON

By the way, I made—you might—you might misunderstand it, but I took your statement you made the other day and one or two others made, about we pass laws to help people and we got to all obey the law, and we can’t violate it either as a Klansman or with a Molotov cocktail, that we ought to obey the law. I made that to the equal employment people today and made it pretty strong.

During his remarks earlier that day at the White House Conference on Equal Employment Opportunities, Johnson states that “a rioter with a Molotov cocktail in his hands is not fighting for civil rights any more than a Klansman with a sheet on his back and a mask on his face. They are both more or less what the law declares them: lawbreakers, destroyers of constitutional rights and liberties, and ultimately destroyers of a free America. They must be exposed and they must be dealt with.”

But I wound up—I said, “What we’ve got to do is take the—find a cure and go in and correct these conditions, where the housing, and the ghettos, and the rats are eating the children, and the schools, and the hunger, and the unemployment,” and so forth.

KING

Yes.

JOHNSON

And they’re all God’s children and we better get at it.

...

KING

Now, what is frightening about it is that you hear all of these tones of violence. The people out there in the Watts area, they’d assumed the National Guard indeed were going back in. The minute that happens there will be retaliation in the white community this time. Last time there was not, which was wonderful. But the people have bought up guns and [Los Angeles Police] Chief [William] Parker went on television the other day, “They need to do an anti-riot crew,” and all of that.

So that I’m fearful that if something isn’t done to give a new sense of hope to the people in that area, and they are poverty-stricken—that a full-scale race war can develop here. And I’m concerned about it, naturally, because I know that violence—a riot at the end of the day wouldn’t—doesn’t help.

JOHNSON

That’s right. Now, what should we do about it? What’s your recommendation?

KING

Well, the problem is I think that poverty—if they could get, in the next few days, this poverty program going in Los Angeles, I believe that it would help a great deal.



Over the next two years, Johnson would come to believe that the ongoing unrest in the country and its cities was the work of left-wing agitators. A July 1967 call with FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover highlights Johnson's conviction that the recent disturbances in Detroit and Newark are rooted at least as much in anti-American activities as in the pent-up frustrations of marginalized Black communities. During the call, Johnson expresses satisfaction at the conduct of the U.S. Army troops he had sent in the day before, while Hoover casts suspicion on Martin Luther King Jr.

J. EDGAR HOOVER

Mr. President. I just got word that Martin Luther King [Jr.] will give a press conference at 11:00 this morning in Atlanta. Now, the statement King is to make will differ very greatly from what Roy [O.] Wilkins has said and what Whitney [M.] Young [Jr.] has said and will, in a sense, condone the national result from the inhuman conditions that the Negroes are forced to exist in the country.

King has . . . was told by [Stanley D.] Levison, who is his principal advisor—and who's a secret Communist—that he has more to gain nationally by agreeing with the violence [than] coming out against it, as the president is afraid at this time and is willing to make concessions for it.

King said that the worst has not yet happened in this country in such places as Cleveland, Oakland, and Philadelphia. King referred specifically to Chicago and said, "They gave me the plan today in Chicago. They don't plan to burn down the West side; they are planning to get the Loop in Chicago." That's the substance of information. We got that highly confidentially over the technicals.

PRESIDENT JOHNSON

Mm-hmm, mm-hmm, mm-hmm. Well, I hope you'll communicate that to [Chicago Mayor Richard J. "Dick"] Daley, so that his people will know. I'd let your man—

HOOVER

We will.

JOHNSON

—in Chicago tell him that they're saying this, and the president asked he be told.

HOOVER

Yes. I'll take care of that right away.

JOHNSON

And I gather that things went pretty good after our statement last night. All agreed at the same time. No divisions among them and that they insisted the troops be told what the situation was and be given good orders. And if they were fired upon, to fire back, but—

HOOVER

But they didn't have to do it.

JOHNSON

—they didn't kill anybody.

HOOVER

No.

JOHNSON

The federal troops didn't, and they didn't get any of them shot at.

...

HOOVER

Now, over at Cambridge [Maryland] this man [H. Rap] Brown, who is one of the worst in the country—Governor [Spiro T. "Ted"] Agnew has ordered his arrest for inciting the riot over there.

Brown was chair of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) and a member of the Black Panther Party. Spiro T. "Ted" Agnew was the Republican governor of Maryland. On July 24, a civil disorder had occurred in Cambridge, Maryland. Brown had given a speech that Governor Agnew believed encouraged Black residents to burn the town. The FBI took Brown into custody on July 26, the day after this call.

They burned down, I think, two squares of the Negro ghetto. [W]hat is significant is that both in Detroit and in Cambridge the Negro homes have been burned and destroyed, [President Johnson acknowledges] so it hasn't been limited solely to the white merchants and the white homes.

JOHNSON

Mm-hmm, mm-hmm.

HOOVER

Which I think is very significant.

何以至此

HOW DID THIS HAPPEN?

U.S.-China rivalry in a time of turmoil

Like so much in the final months of President Trump's first term, the U.S. relationship with China is changing rapidly. Trump trade advisor Peter Navarro accused the Chinese of "using the chaos of the [COVID-19] pandemic to sink Vietnamese ships, invade India, steal America's intellectual property for a vaccine, and grind its jackboots into Hong Kong's democracy" in an op-ed for Fox News. Later, Trump added that China has "ripped off the United States like no one has ever done before," as he announced that Hong Kong would no longer receive special treatment on trade, travel, and other matters, after Beijing curtailed the former British territory's political freedoms.

China has made similar attacks, homing in on protests after the police killing of George Floyd to label the president a hypocrite on human rights.

The United States, said China, was the world's coronavirus culprit, fumbling its response despite a detailed January 4 briefing on the disease given by the Chinese government. As the United States pulled out of the World Health Organization, China increased its support. And China may retaliate in Hong Kong, where U.S. businesses send more than \$30 billion worth of goods annually.

The feud continues against a background of a "phase 1" trade deal the two nations signed on January 15 in Washington. The deal is still in place, but China already seems highly unlikely to meet agreed-on targets for the purchase of energy, agricultural goods, manufactured products, energy, and services—a total of \$200 billion over two years. And the U.S. trade deficit with China continues to grow.

As these disquieting events unfolded in late spring, two key Miller Center faculty members helped design and build the Center's annual **AMBASSADOR WILLIAM C. BATTLE SYMPOSIUM ON AMERICAN DIPLOMACY**. This year's topic was



MATTHEW POTTINGER
U.S. Deputy National Security Advisor

U.S.-China Relations In A Turbulent Time: Can Rivals Cooperate?

Compton Visiting Professor Shirley Lin and Senior Fellow Harry Harding (also a professor and founding dean at UVA's Frank Batten School of Leadership and Public Policy) kicked off the symposium by welcoming **Matthew Pottinger**, who serves as President Trump's deputy national security advisor. Pottinger took advantage of the conference's date to reflect on the May Fourth movement of 1919, comparing Chinese resistance to the Versailles Treaty then to the "populism" of today. The symposium included 10 other esteemed panelists and a global audience of more than 800 people from 29 countries, including 93 journalists. More than 31,000 people have watched the event since then on YouTube.

The current moment is decades in the making, James Steinberg told the symposium. Steinberg should know, having served as deputy secretary of state in the Obama administration and deputy national security advisor to President Clinton. Since President Richard Nixon's paradigm-shifting 1972 visit, China has changed dramatically, and both nations have failed to deal with China's rise as a power capable of challenging the United States, both militarily and economically. The political differences are vast, but moving into a Cold War framework is dangerous for both countries because of global challenges such as COVID-19, climate change, and the unforeseeable events of the future. Steinberg said he was "disturbed" by the Chinese tendency to use its growing power to "coerce and intimidate" other countries.

This struggle to define a new relationship is nowhere more evident than in the tension surrounding science and technology. But national security concepts have begun to infiltrate that realm and others, said Evan Feigenbaum, the Miller Center's James R. Schlesinger Professor and vice president for studies at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. Despite enormous economic integration, the nations find themselves increasingly at odds, creating a fertile ground for "techno-nationalism" to thrive. As a result, U.S. policy makers increasingly look to slow Chinese progress and reduce the number of Sino-American partnerships. And China seeks to exploit the advantages of its closed, single-party state.

As both countries, and the world at large, faced the novel coronavirus, the costs of this rivalry became evident. There has been a long-standing and effective tradition of international cooperation in public health, especially the development of flu

and HIV diagnostic tests and treatments, said panelist Yen Pottinger, the former HIV Incidence Team lead at the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, now with Columbia University. That attitude appeared in the early days of COVID-19. But now, although unfettered access to data about the virus is critical, the finger-pointing and level of secrecy have increased dramatically, in stark contrast to previous efforts to confront SARS and the Ebola virus.

Managing the balance between cooperation and competition in the area of basic scientific research is also critical to the productivity of the U.S. economy. Despite legitimate concerns about China exploiting American openness, cooperation in basic science remains strong and ultimately benefits the United States, said Ram Ramasubramanian, UVA's vice president for research. But America is losing ground in areas where competition is key, especially in developing scientists and shepherding

in basic research findings forward to become innovative products. U.S. companies that depend on this flow see their market share declining.

The contrast between the American and Chinese political systems may be clearest in data security. Where the United States has a multistakeholder model, letting corporations take the lead in managing sensitive consumer data with few national regulations, China sees data as the property of the state, said Aynne Kokas, assistant professor of media studies at UVA and a Miller Center senior fellow. With much information on American citizens now sitting on Chinese servers, and with many corporations owned in whole or in part by Chinese entities, the United States has difficult choices to make. Our current system, without a thoughtful and comprehensive set of national policies, may be as ripe for exploitation as it is for innovation.

Watch the event at [miller.cr/US-china](https://millercenter.org/us-china)

PLANNING AN ACADEMIC CONFERENCE IN THE MIDDLE OF A PANDEMIC

We sat down (virtually) with Syaru Shirley Lin, who is the Compton Visiting Professor in World Politics at the Miller Center and who teaches at the Chinese University of Hong Kong, Tsinghua University in Beijing, and National Chengchi University in Taipei. How were she and her husband, Harry Harding (a Miller Center faculty senior fellow), able to pull together an event during a health crisis and draw a record-breaking viewership of more than 31,000 via Zoom and YouTube? Here, she explains.



SYARU SHIRLEY LIN
Compton Visiting Professor
in World Politics

With regard to China, everyone was focused on the rising tensions between China and the United States, but we wanted to explore whether rivals could still cooperate. We wanted to do something different for the Miller Center's annual **Ambassador William C. Battle Symposium on American Diplomacy**. We thought about health care, the environment, popular culture. In each of these areas, we had scholars in the Miller Center that we could highlight, as well as scholars from around the world.

But there was no pandemic when we started planning.

Matt Pottinger, deputy national security advisor for President Trump, and his wife, Yen, visited Charlottesville [home to the University of Virginia and the Miller Center] in October 2019. He is not just a foreign policy expert; he also worked in Beijing as a journalist for eight years. He said how wonderful it would be to speak in the University of Virginia's historic Rotunda. That became our plan for this conference.

We started to map it out. We chose May 4 because we knew Matt was very interested in the May Fourth Movement. In January, we began to invite different speakers—at least 12 people for a one-day event. Everyone had confirmed by the end of the month.

Then I came to Taiwan, thinking it'd be temporary. I came to observe the Taiwanese election. Harry joined me March 7.

Overnight we were stuck in Taipei. I came for the election, but my mother, who lives in Taiwan, became ill, so I needed to stay. And travel became difficult with the pandemic.

We were suddenly realizing there was no way we'd have the event in person.

We appreciated that every one of our speakers agreed to participate via Zoom. We were also teaching online. During our spare time, we were trying to change the agenda so that it'd be a four-hour conference instead of eight hours. The whole thing came together in three weeks, thanks in large part to Miller Center Director Bill Antholis, Associate Director of Presidential Studies Stefanie Georgakis Abbott, and the entire Miller Center events team.

We had rehearsal meetings, but we had no idea how well it would go. We were just doing this with no sense of time and place. By April, it was all confirmed.

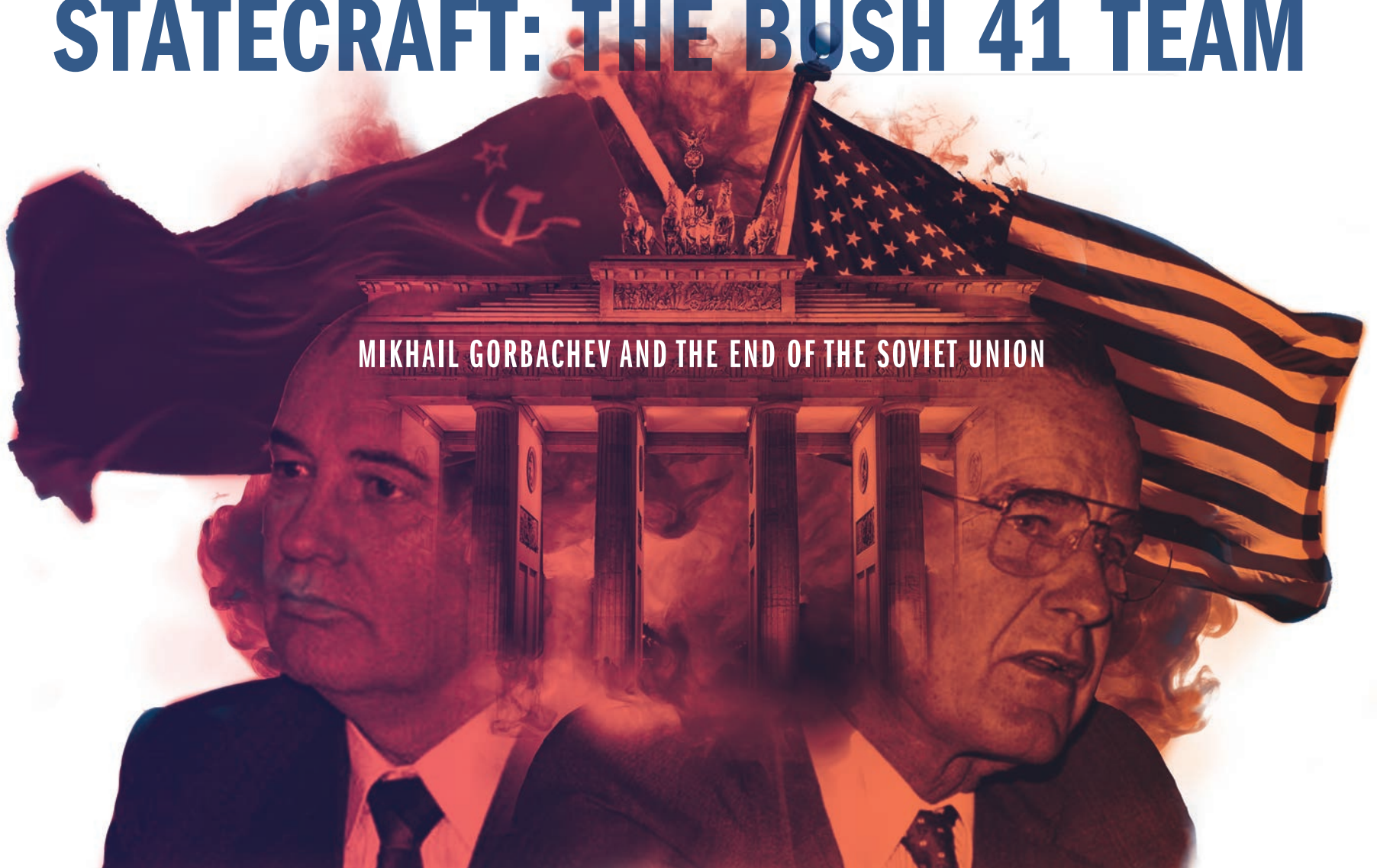
On the day of the event, Matt gave a speech in Chinese that he wrote himself. Not only is his Chinese good, but so is his understanding of Chinese society and the history of the May Fourth Movement [a 1919 nationwide protest in China against imperialism].

The result is so impressive—whether you agree with him or not. He and his team worked all night. They didn't sleep.

I've been tracking the aftermath of this event. In China, you cannot watch the event on YouTube or on millercenter.org due to censorship. But because Chinese official media criticized Matt's speech, the Chinese audience found ways to watch and discuss it online energetically. There was great interest because Matt's speech was in Chinese and because he discussed the importance of the May Fourth Movement, especially in terms of democracy. Many people in China wrote us to tell us they used VPN to watch it later in the week. We're up to more than 30,000 views on YouTube. It really struck a chord.

STORIES FROM THE MILLER CENTER'S LATEST DOCUMENTARY

STATECRAFT: THE BUSH 41 TEAM



MIKHAIL GORBACHEV AND THE END OF THE SOVIET UNION

Statecraft—directed by Lori Shinseki and produced by the Miller Center and VPM, Virginia’s Home for Public Media—looks at the critical decisions made by the foreign policy team of President George H. W. Bush at the end of the Cold War. Based on a series of exclusive interviews that expand on the Miller Center’s George H. W. Bush Presidential Oral History Project, the film explores how the administration navigated the nation through a series of unexpected crises, and it considers the legacy of this consequential American presidency. For more information, visit millercenter.org/statecraftmovie

Though president-elect George H. W. Bush was still Ronald Reagan’s vice president when Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev journeyed to New York’s Governor’s Island in December 1988, Bush, skeptical of what the Russian reformer could truly accomplish, decided to stay mostly in the background. But he did ask Gorbachev what investors could expect from the USSR. “Even Jesus Christ,” replied Gorbachev, “couldn’t answer that question.”

The head of an officially atheistic nation, Gorbachev would likely not have liked the answer in any case: Three years later, on Christmas Day in 1991, he would resign, the final leader of America’s erstwhile superpower rival. Less than a year later, Bush himself would fail to win a second term as president.

THE PAUSE

President Bush and his team, notably National Security Advisor Brent Scowcroft, entered office wary of Gorbachev and critical of Reagan’s embrace of him. A month and a half before Bush took office, Gorbachev had announced major troop withdrawals from Eastern Europe.

But Bush and his advisors, all Cold War veterans, had seen much of this before. Were these overtures simply a way to take advantage of the United States? And if Gorbachev himself was serious about *glasnost* (political openness) and *perestroika* (economic restructuring), what was to prevent Communist hardliners from reasserting dominance and returning to a more confrontational stance, much as they had done with previous reformer, and Stalin’s successor, Nikita Khrushchev?

The administration decided to pause and move no further on substantive talks until completing a review of the entire relationship.

MALTA

A trip to Eastern Europe in July 1989 changed the president’s perspective. Bush saw the great rush of events in the region with his own eyes. And national leaders, particularly in Poland and Hungary, where reforms were underway, asked him to work with Gorbachev to create stability.

The Miller Center hosted a series of conversations around the film, with the generous support of the **George and Judy Marcus Democracy Praxis Fund**. Events featured Bush administration alumni, including John Sununu, former chief of staff; Robert Zoellick, former Bush official and later World Bank president; Richard Haass, president of the Council on Foreign Relations; Ann Compton, ABC News White House correspondent; Peter Baker, *New York Times*; Susan Glasser, *New Yorker*; Miller Center scholars Barbara Perry and Philip Zelickow; and the filmmaker, Lori Shinseki.

"I realized that to put off a meeting with Gorbachev was becoming dangerous," wrote the president almost a decade later in the book *A World Transformed*, which he wrote with Scowcroft. "Too much was happening in the East—I had seen it myself—and if the superpowers did not begin to manage events, those very events could destabilize Eastern Europe and Soviet-American relations." The two sides eventually agreed to convene at Malta, an independent island nation in the center of the Mediterranean Sea, in December 1989.

There was little of substance decided at the Malta Summit. The more important moments were symbolic. Gorbachev spoke of "the beginning of a long road to a lasting, peaceful era," while Bush envisioned the transformation of "the East-West relationship to one of enduring cooperation."

Scholars continue to debate whether the conference was a critical step in the peaceful resolution of the Cold War or a missed opportunity in the quest for democratic values to take hold in the former Soviet Union.

1990: GERMANY, THE BALTIC STATES, AND NATO

When Bush welcomed Gorbachev to Washington in late May 1990, Europe had undergone dramatic changes. The Soviet republics of Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia had all declared their independence. And a united Germany sitting at the heart of Europe—unimaginable at the end of World War II—now appeared inevitable. The real question was the role of NATO, and in particular, would a united German state be a part of the organization?

In March 1990, Gorbachev had unequivocally said no: "We cannot agree to a united Germany being part of NATO. It is absolutely ruled out." But sitting with Bush two months later, he agreed to the principle that Germany could choose for itself which international organizations to join. Bush's staff was so surprised that they asked Bush to get Gorbachev to confirm the commitment. He did. It was a major triumph for the Americans. But for Gorbachev, the meeting yielded little.

"Gorbachev looks less a man in control and more an embattled leader."

—Jack Matlock, U.S. Ambassador to the Soviet Union, May 11, 1990

Despite concessions on German reunification, which ultimately took place in October 1990, the Soviet Union was still a vast nuclear superpower, and Gorbachev was determined not to let his own nation fall apart. In January 1991, he sent tanks into both Lithuania and Latvia to halt democratic uprisings. But he faced significant internal pressure from both Communist hardliners and advocates of faster democratic and economic reforms, especially Russian Soviet Republic President Boris Yeltsin. It was clear Gorbachev's power was waning.

As the summer of 1991 drew to a close, Gorbachev was in the midst of a final push to save the Soviet Union from total collapse. He proposed a new union treaty to give republics increased independence as part of a renamed federation to be called the Union of Sovereign States. Notably, the proposed new nation would be neither Socialist nor Soviet. On August 19, Communist hardliners reacted with a coup attempt, sending tanks into the streets of Moscow while detaining Gorbachev and other key leaders.

But the coup plotters were no more powerful than the man they were attempting to replace. Yeltsin promptly issued a declaration calling for a general strike. When he climbed atop a Soviet Army tank to address crowds in the streets, it became clear that the coup was destined to fail. Though Gorbachev returned to office on August 22, his power, too, was at an end, and he swiftly resigned as the general secretary of the Communist Party.

One by one, Soviet republics began to declare their independence. This time, there was no response from Gorbachev. On December 26, 1991, he resigned as the president of the USSR. The following day, the Supreme Soviet's Council of Republics voted the nation itself out of existence.

Statecraft will be screened at the 2020 Virginia Film Festival (October 21–25), which will be online this year. Find details at virginiafilmfestival.org

WHAT WOULD GHWB SAY? GEORGE & BARBARA BUSH FOUNDATION ON THE FILM *STATECRAFT*

Jim McGrath, Vice President of the George & Barbara Bush Foundation, gives his own assessment of the film.

Every member of George H. W. Bush's national security team was enthusiastic about participating in the film *Statecraft* because they felt so positive about the president and what they achieved in those four years. When you look at everything President Bush tackled during the four years he was president—our world changed in dramatic fashion. There were tremendous global developments, from Tiananmen Square in China to the fall of the Berlin Wall and the Malta Summit in Europe leading to the unification of Germany within NATO. Every day, it seemed the world map was being redrawn.

In managing this change, President Bush was always quick and indeed eager to give credit to his superb team. He trusted and encouraged them, and that loyalty ran both ways. Many people say that the Bush 41 foreign policy team was the finest since the Truman administration. Watching this program, you can understand why.

In 1989, the United States was in a bit of a PR war with the Soviet Union and its leader, Mikhail Gorbachev. Elevated in 1985, Gorbachev was a charismatic and new kind of leader. When the Cold War ended and freedom's victory was secured, there was no superpower conflagration. As the Chinese proverb goes: The acme of skill is not to fight and win a hundred battles; the acme of skill is not to fight in the first place. President Bush tried to walk that fine line. And I think the film captures that.

President and Mrs. Bush had an unshakable faith in our country and our democratic system. Is it perfect? No. Is change still necessary? Absolutely. I heard him on numerous occasions after 9/11 say, "We're going to be okay." He knew we already had faced so many substantial challenges as a nation. He was a congressman during the turmoil of the 1960s when Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. and Robert Kennedy were assassinated, for example. He had seen our system and the ingenuity of our people come through these types of challenges in the past. If he were with us still today, he would see the pandemic and the racism and acknowledge we still have big problems, but George Bush would have confidence in the United States and our institutions.

To learn more about *Statecraft* and watch experts discuss the film, visit millercenter.org/statecraftmovie



MOST RECENT CLASS OF SENIOR FELLOWS

RON CHRISTIE

Christie is founder and CEO of Christie Strategies LLC, a full-service communications and issues-management firm in Washington, D.C. From 2002 to 2004, he was acting director of USA Freedom Corps and special assistant to President George W. Bush. He began service at the White House as deputy assistant to Vice President Dick Cheney for domestic policy and also served as counsel to U.S. Senator George Allen (R-VA) and as senior advisor to former House Budget Committee Chairman John Kasich (R-OH).



KEVIN GAINES

Gaines is the Julian Bond Professor of Civil Rights and Social Justice, with a joint appointment in UVA's Corcoran Department of History and the Carter G. Woodson Institute for African American and African Studies. Gaines's current research focuses on the problems and projects of racial integration in the United States during and after the civil rights movement. He is author of *Uplifting the Race: Black Leadership, Politics, and Culture in the Twentieth Century*, which was awarded the American Studies Association's John Hope Franklin Book Prize.



STEVE GILLON

Gillon is the scholar-in-residence at the History Channel and a professor of history at the University of Oklahoma. He has written or edited nearly a dozen books, including the *New York Times* e-book bestseller *The Pact: Bill Clinton, Newt Gingrich, and the Rivalry that Defined a Generation*. He spent several years at Yale University and Oxford University before being recruited to be the founding dean of a new honors college at the University of Oklahoma.



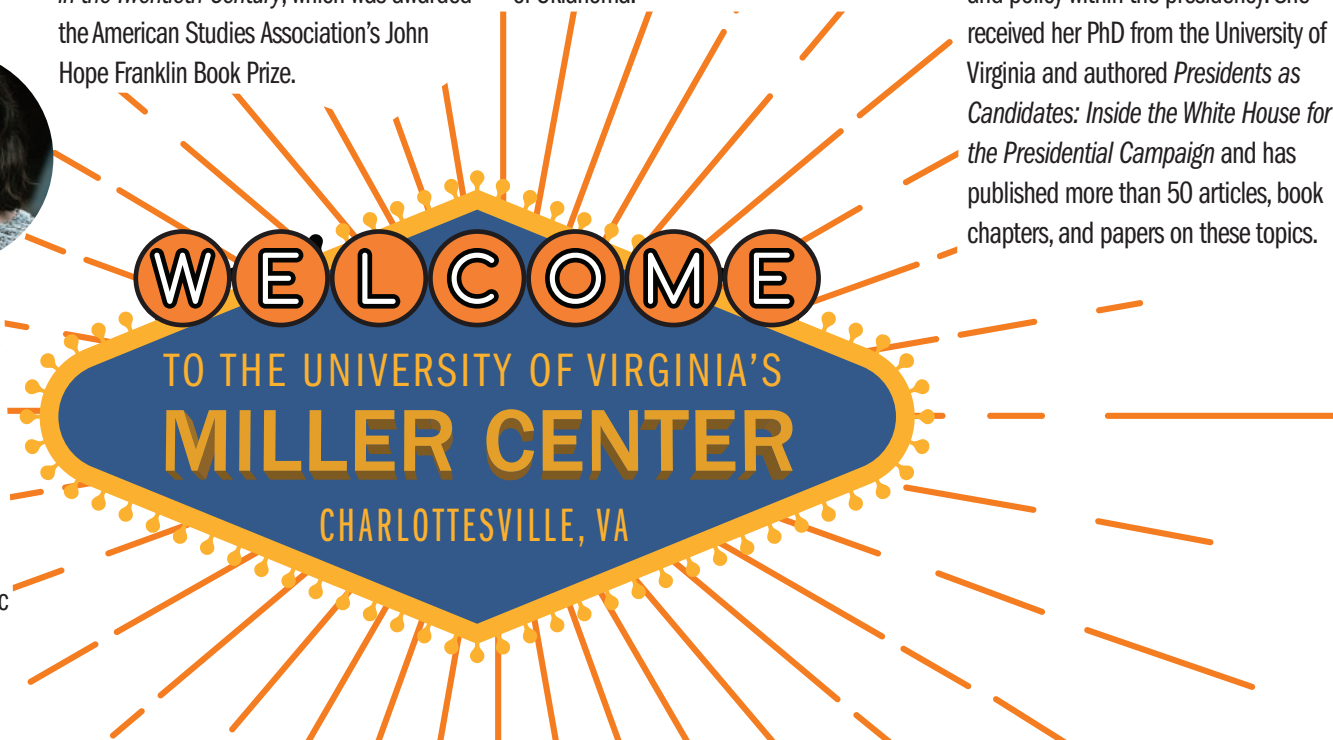
KATHRYN DUNN TENPAS

Tenpas is a nonresident senior fellow with governance studies at the Brookings Institution, senior research director for the White House Transition Project, a fellow with the Center for Presidential Transition at the Partnership for Public Service, and secretary of the Governance Institute. She is a scholar of the American presidency, focusing on White House staffing, presidential transitions, and more broadly, the intersection of politics and policy within the presidency. She received her PhD from the University of Virginia and authored *Presidents as Candidates: Inside the White House for the Presidential Campaign* and has published more than 50 articles, book chapters, and papers on these topics.



ELIZABETH ELLCESSOR

Ellcessor is an associate professor and director of graduate studies in UVA's department of media studies. She conducts research on access to digital media technologies and cultures, particularly with respect to disability and bodily difference. She is the author of *Restricted Access: Media, Disability, and the Politics of Participation* and co-editor of *Disability Media Studies*. Her current work explores how digital technologies are changing the conditions of access and civic engagement for emergency services such as 9-1-1.



GETTING ON BOARD MILLER CENTER GOVERNING COUNCIL WELCOMES FOUR NEW MEMBERS

TOM BECHERER

Becherer has more than 30 years of experience in the private and public sectors. He is currently the founder, president, and CEO of Delta Bridge, a global communication services firms. In government, he led two public-private partnerships. He served in the Clinton administration's Department of Defense and for Senators David Pryor of Arkansas and Daniel Patrick Moynihan of New York. He has served as chairman of the University of Colorado-Boulder Chancellor's Parent Leadership Society board and is currently chairman of the political science department advisory board at his alma mater, the University of Mississippi.



DAVID CROWE

Crowe owns and operates several farms in the Piedmont region of Virginia, where he is active in preserving farmland and open space. He moved to the Piedmont from London, where he worked for 13 years in the investment banking industry. Before that, he was a partner at Caplin and Drysdale in Washington, D.C., and served as associate international tax counsel at the U.S. Treasury Department. He has served on the boards of the College Foundation at the University of Virginia, the Virginia League of Conservation Voters, and the Piedmont Environmental Council, where he was a vice chairman.



JOHN GEORGES

Georges serves as CEO of Georges Enterprises, headquartered in New Orleans. In 2013, he and his wife, Dathel, completed the purchase of *The Advocate*, the largest daily newspaper in Louisiana. In 2018, the Georges added *The Gambit*, a weekly entertainment publication, and then acquired *The Times-Picayune* and merged it with the New Orleans edition of *The Advocate*. Georges is a trustee for the National World War II Museum, among other philanthropic organizations. He also established the Galatoire Foundation, named after the restaurant he owns, to expand local cultural programs.



MAYA GHAEMMAGHAMI

Ghaemmaghani is a retired hematologist and oncologist residing in Charlottesville. She completed her residency in internal medicine at Allegheny General Hospital in Pittsburgh and her fellowship in hematology and oncology at the University of Pittsburgh Medical Center. She served as a hematologist and oncologist for more than 20 years. Ghaemmaghani was an associate professor of medicine at the University of Virginia from 2011 to 2016 in a community-based academic hematology and oncology practice. She has served on the Martha Jefferson Hospital Foundation Board and on the Hospice of the Piedmont Board.





THE MILLER CENTER AND UVA'S DEMOCRACY INITIATIVE LAUNCH NEW PROGRAMS TO HELP SHAPE FUTURE LEADERS

SUMMER INTERNS @ THE MILLER CENTER

This past summer, the Miller Center participated in two important programs to offer internships to University of Virginia students.

First, we teamed with partners across UVA on the **22nd-Century Scholars Program**, offering “virtual” internships to those students who had lost in-person work opportunities because of the coronavirus pandemic.

“I wanted to give students some encouragement, some opportunity to stay involved in the public sector, serve their communities, and find some stimulating work,” said Larry Sabato, who directs UVA’s Center for Politics and came up with the idea.

In addition to the Center for Politics and the Miller Center, partners included the Weldon Cooper Center/Sorensen Institute, the Democracy Initiative, the Frank Batten School of Leadership and Public Policy, and the Career Center. Fifty-six students were selected for the five-week program, working across the participating units to tackle—individually and collectively—some of the biggest problems facing the country and the world in light of the global pandemic crisis.

The second program was the **Leonard Schaeffer Fellows in Government Service**, which exposes 10 undergraduate students (out of 100 applicants) to government work and its impact through 10-week, high-level internships with elected officials and agencies at the federal, state, and local levels—from the Virginia State Capitol in Richmond to the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services. “This unique collaboration between UVA’s Miller Center and the Career Center is a commitment to advancing democratic institutions by identifying fellows with leadership potential,” said Leonard Schaeffer, founding chairman and CEO of Anthem. “These are internship opportunities that inspire an interest in public service, better public policy, and engaged citizenship.”

“Students in both programs clearly learned a lot and it was exciting to see them engage with various aspects of government and public service,” said Stefanie Georgakis Abbott, the Miller Center’s associate director of presidential studies. “They’re an impressive group and the newest set of fans of and ambassadors for the Miller Center.”

DEMOCRACY INITIATIVE TAPS INTO STUDENT PASSION

What do you get when you gather 17 civic-minded students from various backgrounds, interests, and schools of thought? UVA’s Democracy Initiative Student Advisory Council (SAC).

In its inaugural academic year (2020–21), the SAC is bringing an undergraduate perspective to the work of the Democracy Initiative, facilitating programming that connects the Initiative with the interests and passions of the UVA student population.

“Diverse perspectives are central to the objectives of the Democracy Initiative,” said Melody Barnes, codirector for policy and public affairs. “This is reflected in the SAC selections—students in any and all fields of study at the University, from a range of backgrounds and beliefs.”

Led by UVA’s College and Graduate School of Arts & Sciences, in partnership with the Miller Center and in collaboration with colleagues from across the University, the Democracy Initiative was designed to engage a wide audience—from undergraduates to world leaders—in examining the challenges confronting democracies today.

The benefits of a program like this run in both directions. “In my opinion, the backbone of a functioning democracy is the cultivation of multiple perspectives,” said SAC member Lauren Cochran, who is in the Frank Batten School of Leadership and Public Policy (class of 2022). “A plethora of experiences, backgrounds, and thought not only foster multifaceted leadership but also produce comprehensive solutions to the most pressing democratic issues. I was drawn to the idea that the Democracy Initiative brings scholars together to create student-facing campaigns aimed to improve student engagement on Grounds.”

For more information, go to democracyinitiative.virginia.edu

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

FINANCIAL ACTIVITIES AND ASSETS



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

Generous funding from donors and vital support from the University of Virginia bolster the Miller Center's programs/operations. Funding received in one fiscal year but intended for use in another fiscal year is deferred until the year of its use and is recognized as revenue in that year. Beginning and ending cash balances, therefore, include funds that are restricted by program or time and are not necessarily available for use in a given fiscal year. In fiscal year 2020, the Center recognized \$1.2 million of revenue secured in previous years and secured \$2.7 million in revenue to be recognized in future years.

Endowments comprise the largest financial asset for both the Miller Center and the Miller Center Foundation. For fiscal year 2020, endowment distributions constituted more than 50 percent of total income for programs and operations. All endowments are managed by the University of Virginia Investment Management Company (UVIMCO) in its long-term pool. Endowment distribution rates follow those set by the University's Board of Visitors; the rate for fiscal year 2020 was 4.72 percent.

Economic and financial market volatility from the global pandemic decreased the market value of endowments in early 2020, followed by some recovery by

the end of the fiscal year. UVIMCO realized an overall rate of return for the fiscal year ending June 30, 2020, of 5.3 percent, a three-year annualized rate of return of 7.5 percent, and a five-year annualized rate of return of 6.6 percent. Total market value for Center and Foundation endowments increased from \$79.9 million on June 30, 2019, to \$80.9 million on June 30, 2020. This increase represents new contributions of \$1.5 million (primarily from realized bequests) and market performance, less distributions and other expenses.

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 \$1.22 million for the Miller Center in fiscal year 2020. The subvention offset totaled \$1.15 million.

The Miller Center Foundation held responsibility for fundraising for the Miller Center for many years until transferring the fundraising staff and its accompanying costs to the Center in February 2019.

The Miller Center and Miller Center Foundation ended fiscal year 2020 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, D.C., 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.

MILLER CENTER AND MILLER CENTER FOUNDATION
SUMMARY OF FINANCIAL ACTIVITIES

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

As of June 30 each year

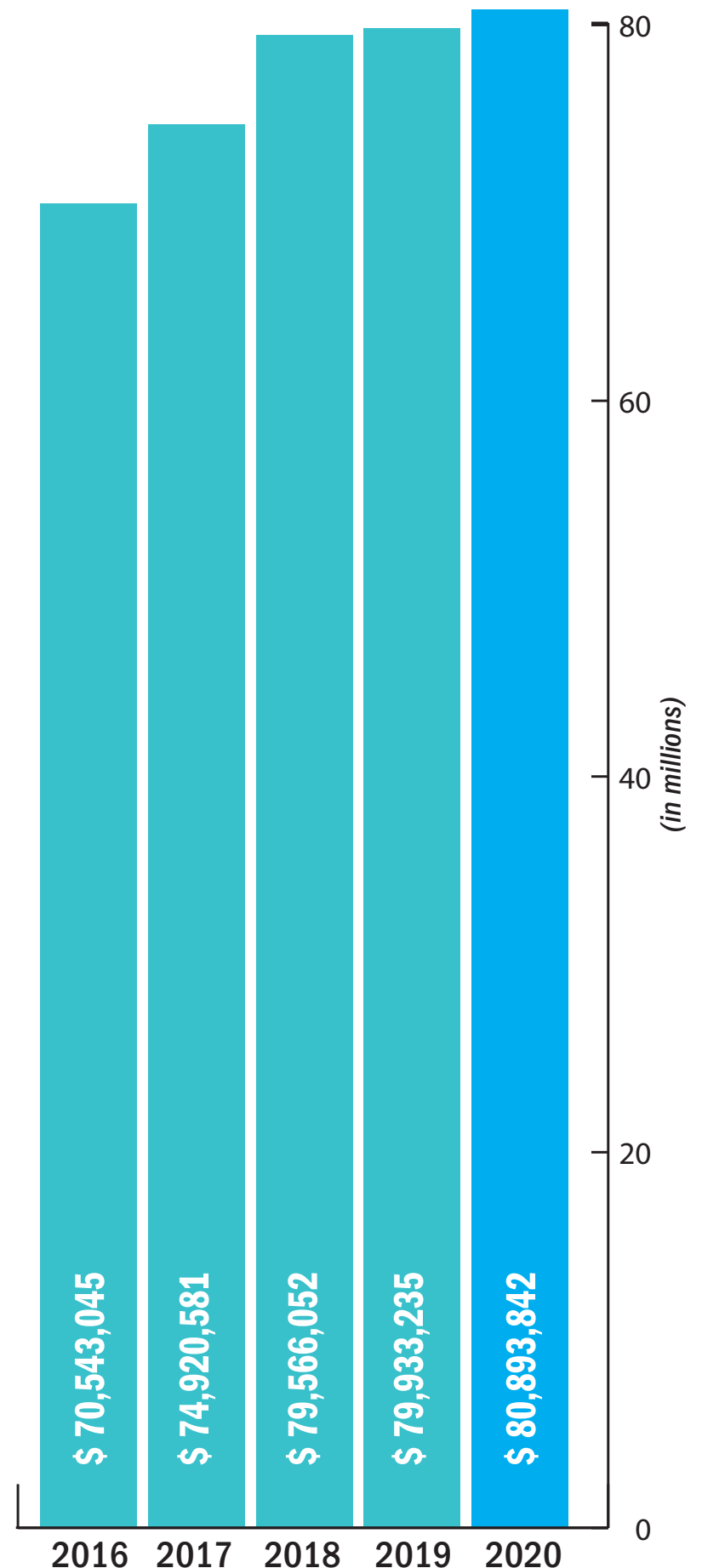
INCOME FOR PROGRAMS/OPERATIONS	FY2020	FY2019
Endowment Distribution	\$ 3,583,604	\$ 3,446,328
Gifts & Grants	3,679,338	2,963,969
University of Virginia	1,176,460	1,430,077
Other	18,062	10,459
Deferred Revenue, Recognized	1,168,105	559,794
Deferred Revenue, Unrecognized	(2,700,604)	(1,269,701)
TOTAL	\$ 6,924,965	\$ 7,140,927

EXPENSE FOR PROGRAMS/OPERATIONS	FY2020	FY2019
Presidential Studies	\$ 2,278,353	\$ 2,707,863
Democracy & Governance Studies	906,856	751,702
Library & Information Services	247,540	244,562
Marketing & Communications	1,172,901	1,207,875
Executive Office & Governing Council	859,153	897,152
Administration & Operations	679,863	689,721
Advancement	525,811	180,489
Foundation Operations	83,130	422,066
TOTAL	\$ 6,753,606	\$ 7,101,432

NET INCOME FOR PROGRAMS/OPERATIONS	\$ 171,359	\$ 39,495
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[Plus] Sublease Income	\$ 240,202	\$ 230,963
[Less] Lease Obligation	361,810	353,351
[Plus] University of Virginia Central Services Allocation	1,147,885	962,280
[Less] University of Virginia Central Services Assessment	1,223,282	1,093,295
[Plus] New Contributions Designated for Endowment	1,539,396	105,000
[Less] Transfers of Contributions Designated for Endowment	1,534,396	105,000
TOTAL NET INCOME	\$ (20,646)	\$ (213,908)

Cash Balance, Beginning	\$ 2,812,370	\$ 2,316,371
[Less] Deferred Revenue, Recognized	1,168,105	559,794
[Plus] Deferred Revenue, Unrecognized	2,700,604	1,269,701
CASH BALANCE, ENDING	\$ 4,324,223	\$ 2,812,370



PHILANTHROPIC SUPPORT

The Miller Center and the Miller Center Foundation received \$3,358,432 in philanthropic commitments in fiscal year 2020, with additional support from special grants and the University of Virginia. We are especially grateful for the generosity of members of the Miller Center Governing Council who have supported the Miller Center Annual Fund and other important Center programs. We also recognize local and national donors with longtime annual commitments and we continue to welcome new donors to our mission. We simply couldn't do this work without each and every one. These gifts allow us to foster unique

collaborations among scholars and public servants, promote dialogue that embraces a wide range of perspectives, and host more than 30 free events each year. As we face the COVID-19 health crisis and the challenges it presents, financial support has been key in helping us shift our usual in-person events to online forums so we can continue to engage our audience in crucial discussions. Thank you for joining our 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 2020 (July 1, 2019–June 30, 2020).

SPECIAL GIFTS

The following donors made gifts of \$10,000 and above to special programs and funds at the Miller Center Foundation, including specific oral history projects, the James C. Lehrer Fund, our A/V upgrade matching opportunity, and other operating and endowment funds. We are grateful for their generosity.

Alice Cary Brown and the
Honorable W. L. Lyons Brown

American Evolution

Anonymous

Susanna S. Brown and W. L. Lyons Brown III

Susie Buell

Carnegie Corporation of New York

Merle Chambers

Anne L. Fife and Eugene V. Fife

George & Judy Marcus Family Foundation

E. Renee Grisham and John R. Grisham

Alice W. Handy and Peter A. Stoudt

Margaret Hager Hart and Andrew D. Hart, Jr. *

Teena Hostovich

The Johns Hopkins University

Robin M. Kreidler and Richard R. Kreidler*

Leonard D. Schaeffer Fellows in
Government Service

Judith A. Marcus and George M. Marcus

Marin Community Foundation

Michael Martinet

Merle Chambers Fund

National Historical Publications &
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The Oakwood Foundation

Sybil Robson Orr

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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.

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NOTES FROM THE PRESIDENCY



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STANDARD PRESORT
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George H. W. Bush dealt with numerous world crises during his eventful four years in office. But the president's time was also taken up by more local matters, as reflected in this April 1992 letter to retired Air Force Major Larry Johnston, marked up with President Bush's edits.



THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Dear Major Johnston:

Thanks so much for writing and for letting me know about the commercial use of an "excerpt" from my May 1990 commencement address at Oklahoma State University.

As you noted in your letter, I certainly did not intend to encourage the consumption of alcohol by underaged youths when I mentioned the suggestion that I "get a beer and some cheese fries" at Eskimo Joe's. Nor did I intend to glamorize drinking among adults of legal age. This Administration remains firmly committed to the fight against substance abuse, and I would be deeply dismayed if I had inadvertently undermined the work of organizations such as the Oklahoma Federation of Parents for Drug Free Youth. In fact, as part of this Administration's efforts to eliminate drug and alcohol abuse in the United States and to promote the well-being of our citizens, Surgeon General Antonia Novello has launched a nationwide campaign to discourage irresponsible drinking and the use of alcohol by underaged youths.

The advertisement that you described in your letter is troubling on a number of grounds, and I have asked the Office of White House Legal Counsel to look into this matter as soon as possible. Thanks again for bringing it to our attention.

Best wishes to you and to your fellow Federation members.

Sincerely,

Major Larry A. Johnston, USAF, Ret.
Executive Director
Oklahoma Federation of Parents
for Drug Free Youth
Suite 103
815 South Denver
Tulsa, Oklahoma 74119

My staff has contacted the owner of Eskimo Joe's and they found him to be very responsive and cooperative. I am sure that such advertisements will not appear again.