

# ILLUMINATION NATION

THE UNIVERSITY OF VIRGINIA'S MILLER CENTER

FALL 2023



A PRESIDENCY  
RECONSIDERED

CABINET REPORT p. 18



## NEW CURRICULUM ENCOURAGES TEACHING ABOUT DEMOCRACY

Educators nationwide can improve how they teach middle and high school students the fundamentals of American democracy using groundbreaking civics materials, thanks to the Miller Center's Democracy Biennial Fellows and the University of Virginia Center for the Liberal Arts. The Miller Center's five Democracy Biennial Fellows are high school teachers from across Virginia who were chosen in a competitive search process in 2021. The fellows then attended the virtual UVA Democracy Biennial in September 2021 and worked with Miller Center Director of Presidential Studies Marc Selverstone and UVA Karsh Institute of Democracy Programming Director Stefanie Georgakis Abbott to develop an innovative curriculum that aims to enrich the teaching of democracy across the state.

Featuring books, videos, slideshows, discussion questions, projects, and other materials, the curriculum was completed earlier this year and explores an array of crucial topics, including the history, meaning, and practice of democracy; the roles and responsibilities of citizens in advancing democracy; the establishment and evolution of executive power; and the workings of Congress, the Electoral College, and the judiciary.

## CAPTURING THE STORY BEHIND THE AFFORDABLE CARE ACT



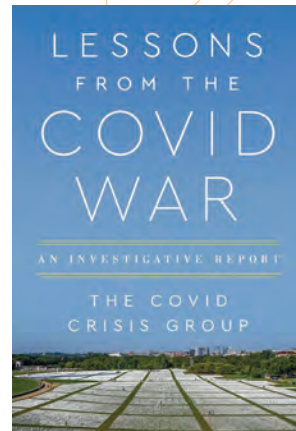
Ten former public officials visited the Miller Center in April 2023 to participate in a group oral history interview centered around one of the Obama administration's greatest achievements: the Affordable Care Act. Led by Russell Riley (co-chair of the Miller Center's Presidential Oral History program), the confidential six-hour recorded conversation featured White House officials, senior congressional aides, and other executive

branch staff who were instrumental in developing, passing, and implementing the landmark health care reform legislation. Key participants included Jeanne Lambrew, former deputy director of the White House Office of Health Reform; Nancy-Ann DeParle, former deputy chief of staff for policy; and Wendell Primus, former senior policy advisor on budget and health issues to former House Speaker Nancy Pelosi. Miller Center faculty members Barbara Perry, Guian McKee, and Margaret Foster Riley helped facilitate the group interview. The transcript will eventually be published as a critical facet of the Center's forthcoming Barack Obama Presidential Oral History Project.



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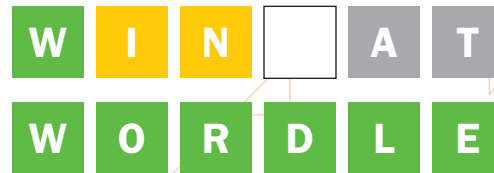
## COVID CRISIS GROUP LAUNCHES DEFINITIVE ACCOUNT OF THE PANDEMIC



In April, the Covid Crisis Group, led by Miller Center Professor Philip Zelikow, released its comprehensive investigative report, *Lessons from the Covid War*, analyzing the U.S. response to the devastating COVID-19 pandemic. After holding listening sessions with nearly 300 experts, including epidemiologists, virologists, public health experts, clinicians, and government officials from around the world, the Covid Crisis Group analyzed the successes and failures of the U.S. response and offered critical recommendations on how the country can better prepare for the inevitable next public health emergency.

In 2021, the Miller Center helped Zelikow stand up a planning group—an 18-month exercise that involved considerable initial research and groundwork for the Covid Crisis Group. Zelikow brought to bear his experiences as a historian, former government official, executive director of the 9/11 Commission, and former director and CEO of the Miller Center. When the White House and Congress could not agree to assemble a national Covid commission, the planning group felt a duty to share its vital research with the world. The Covid Crisis Group's ability to act independently could not have happened without the generous support of Schmidt Futures, the Skoll Foundation, Stand Together, and the Rockefeller Foundation.

## DATA SCIENTIST USES MILLER CENTER PRESIDENTIAL SPEECH ARCHIVE TO



Keep up your Wordle streak with . . . presidential speeches?

While examining the popular web game, Naresh Ram, chief technology officer at digital commerce firm AAXIS, analyzed word lengths and frequencies in speeches from the last four U.S. presidents by utilizing the Miller Center's new presidential speech data archive, [data.millercenter.org](https://data.millercenter.org). Five-letter words—the focus of the Wordle game—compose a high percentage of words in the speeches, as they do, on average, in English diction. By crunching the Miller Center's "big data" presidential speech archive, Ram found he could make better-informed five-letter word guesses in the game.

The Miller Center data set was spearheaded by the Center's assistant director of information technology, Miles Efron. Launched in 2022, the data archive features machine-readable content, making it easier for data scientists to use artificial intelligence to research the Center's archives. It will expand to include additional materials in the future, including oral history transcripts.



# A LETTER FROM THE DIRECTOR

By BILL ANTHOLIS *Director & CEO*

Given the current challenges facing democracy at home and abroad, I'm regularly reminded of how fortunate we are in the United States. I try never to lose sight of how revolutionary the principles were that Thomas Jefferson and other founders courageously laid out in 1776, creating a nation of free and equal people, capable of self-government. Despite flaws in our democratic institutions—as well as in the lives and philosophies of Jefferson and some other founders and subsequent leaders—nothing reminds me more of our good fortune than hearing from non-Americans how much they appreciate our country. In my own travels in Europe and contacts in Asia in the past year, I fielded questions and concerns about our politics. I also heard, time and again, deep admiration for our historical role and approach to government; our enduring, powerful, and vibrant economic system; and our ongoing leadership in world affairs. As we approach the nation's 250th birthday in 2026, our robust and resilient institutions are worth celebrating.

This is not to whistle past difficulties—past, present, and future. Our nation is coming out of multiple, simultaneous crises. We've weathered a global pandemic, extraordinary economic shocks, a racial justice reckoning, and the political crisis of an incumbent president challenging his failed reelection bid. As we head into the next election, we have the oldest president in American history potentially facing a former president who has been indicted multiple times. We are experiencing deep political polarization, with concerns about inflation, growing inequality, and unsustainable national debt. And American leadership is challenged by a rising China and the biggest land war in Europe in nearly a century.

Where is the Miller Center in our national story? We are the preeminent nonpartisan institution studying the American presidency. We have the capacity and the responsibility to contribute to solutions that will make our shared democracy stronger. And we hope to partner with you to build a better future.

In the past three years, we have launched important work that bridges the partisan divide on the major issues facing the presidency and the nation. That includes projects on democracy and capitalism and on health care policy. It also includes initiatives addressing the war in Ukraine and our complex relationship with China.

In addition, this year, leading up to the Miller Center's 50th anniversary in 2025, we will share new ideas and best practices to support a more responsible and effective presidency by bringing together a select group of government practitioners from both political parties, academic experts, and journalists.

For almost five decades we have been listening closely to presidents, hearing their voices and decisions in the Secret White House Tapes and transcribing the histories of leading officials in our uniquely comprehensive presidential oral histories. We also lean into framing and understanding the lessons of history to inform the future.

An important part of the Miller Center's vision statement is "to inspire America's leaders with unbiased insights, especially on the presidency, that advance democratic institutions and the public good." But Miller Center expertise isn't intended for only a selected few. Our events are free and open to the public. We livestream and offer on-demand video of past events for those unable to attend in person. Our website, [millercenter.org](http://millercenter.org), is visited every year by millions of users, including students and educators, who seek unbiased, accurate information about our nation's politics, history, and presidency.

Please take a look at the rest of this issue of *Illumination* to learn more about past and upcoming research and events. Feel free to peruse our comprehensive archives on [millercenter.org](http://millercenter.org) and, as always, join us for one of our public programs in the Forum Room when you are in Charlottesville.

We all play a role in sustaining our American democracy. Let's work together to improve our nation's future.



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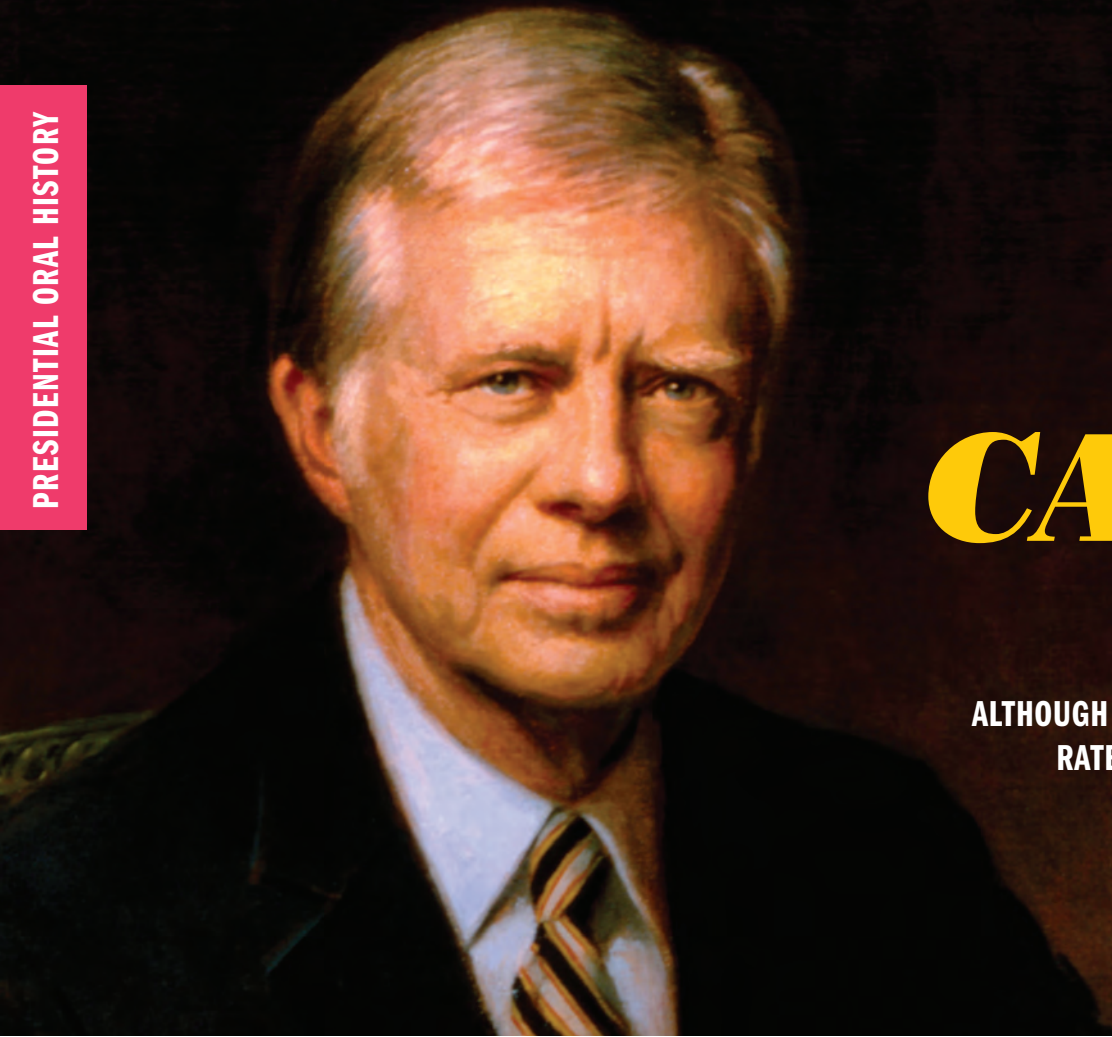
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# RECONSIDERING JIMMY CARTER'S LEGACY

ALTHOUGH AMERICANS DID NOT REELECT HIM, HE'S LONG BEEN RATED AS ONE OF THE NATION'S MOST ADMIRED FIGURES

By RUSSELL RILEY

Jimmy Carter won only 41 percent of the popular vote in his losing bid for reelection to the presidency in 1980. But in the ensuing years, he was routinely rated among America's most admired figures, finishing in the top 10 of Gallup's rankings 29 times. (Only Billy Graham and Ronald Reagan fared better.) How is it that a man so thoroughly dismissed when he last faced the voters can be thought of today as one of our greatest American leaders?

The conventional answer is that Carter led an exemplary postpresidential life. He made the admirable decision after leaving the White House that, rather than cashing in on his status as a former president, he would continue his public service in other ways.

With characteristic determination, he immersed himself in solving neglected global health problems. In 2015, remarking on one particularly nasty parasite, he claimed that he wanted "the last Guinea worm to die before I do." Today that pest is nearly eradicated from the planet.

That "nearly" may explain Carter's perseverance during a protracted period of hospice care at the very end of his life. Few people could be better prepared to meet St. Peter than a longtime Sunday school teacher who spent his spare time building houses for the poor. So perhaps Carter's famous competitive streak kept him clinging to life, in hopes of outlasting a foe he spent decades battling.

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IN SOLVING  
NEGLECTED GLOBAL  
HEALTH PROBLEMS**

But there is another explanation for Carter's revived standing at work here, too. Over time, his presidency has looked better than it did when he left the Oval Office. And, not coincidentally, the Miller Center played a prominent role in this reassessment.

"Each presidency nowadays gets studied in two rounds," observed Professor James Sterling Young, who for decades was the director of the Center's Program on the Presidency and the creator of the Presidential Oral History Program. The initial evaluation of each president is heavily reliant on

contemporaneous journalistic accounts. And this first rough draft of history "tends to become the accepted portrait," Young observed in 1988.

That initial image of President Carter was decidedly unflattering. To be sure, voters were aware of the most prominent of Carter's successes: the Camp David Accords, which remain the measuring stick for diplomatic achievement; a record of advancing a more inclusive judiciary; and significant accomplishments on the environment and the expansion of national parks. But these wins were overwhelmed by catastrophic economic news. Gas prices doubled on Carter's watch. And

both inflation and unemployment skyrocketed, leading his opponents to promote a newly invented "misery index," which rose to the highest levels on record during Carter's years.

His foreign policy was equally troubled. The Soviet Union invaded Afghanistan, leading Carter to withdraw U.S. participation from the 1980 Summer Olympics in Moscow. And he suffered the humiliation of hostages being taken from the American embassy in Iran, initiating

a nightly *ABC News* report headlined “America Held Hostage: Day X.” Journalist Ted Koppel gave Americans an empirical reminder each day of the president’s mounting failure, reversed by the hostage takers only at the moment Carter turned the office over to Reagan in January 1981.

This was the Jimmy Carter who first entered the pantheon of former presidents—consigned to the wing populated by the Herbert Hoovers and Martin Van Burens of our collective memory.

But, as Young noted, there is a second round of study. When further evidence about the inner life of an administration becomes available, normally through the long-delayed release of a president’s papers, reassessments become possible, even inevitable. And this is where the Miller Center has been central to Carter’s reevaluation.

Young was not content to await the opening of the presidential documents to begin thinking about Carter’s place in history. He believed in the promise of another resource: in-depth interviews with the people who serve with a president, to create a candid record of their recollections to inform later generations about what life within a given White House was like.

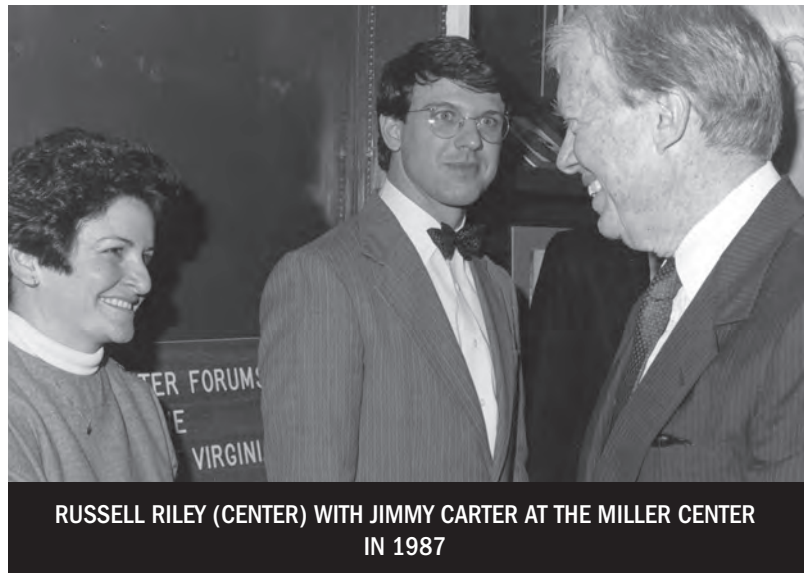
He was also mindful of the great value of the Center’s first excursion into oral history: a confidential group interview with Ford administration alumni (including a very young Dick Cheney and Donald Rumsfeld) recorded just months after they had left the White House in April 1977.

Young wandered the halls of the Old Executive Office Building in the final weeks of Carter’s term, persuading a critical mass of people to agree to participate in such a project. Less than a month after Carter left Washington, a team of people who worked in his Office of Public Liaison under Anne Wexler quietly reassembled in Charlottesville to reflect privately, into a tape recorder, on their ups and downs. Carter himself would host a team of senior scholars less than two years later, in Plains, Georgia, to answer questions for a full day on his own firsthand experiences as president.

The Jimmy Carter Presidential Oral History Project played a meaningful role in creating a second, and more nuanced, portrait of Jimmy Carter and his White House. The caricatures of Carter that sometimes dominated the press accounts—a president obsessed with scheduling the White House tennis courts or under attack by a “killer rabbit” (look it up!)—gave way in these interviews to a serious-minded, honor-driven leader committed to the public good but who had little tolerance for arguments about what was politically viable. By 1990, scholarly reviewers for the journal *Polity* could assert that the Miller Center’s work had “contributed to the rehabilitation of a president who had been all but left for dead after the election of 1980.”

There were two main components to this revised understanding of Carter. The first was a full recognition of the extraordinarily difficult governing circumstances of his time. Carter was elected to the presidency largely because he was a newcomer to the national scene at a moment when the country was exhausted by scandal and political turmoil.

In a secret cable back to London in 1977, British Ambassador Peter Jay described the national mood as “recuperative.” He wrote, “It would be hard to exaggerate the blows to American self-confidence suffered over the dozen years between [John] Kennedy’s assassination and Nixon’s resignation. The pillars of American self-esteem—morality, invincibility, stability, and growth—were all shaken profoundly by the successive shocks of Kennedy’s death, the race riots, the generation gap, the deaths of Robert Kennedy and Martin Luther King, the Vietnam failure, the energy crisis, the supposed amorality of [Henry] Kissinger’s foreign policy and the steady rise of Soviet power. The election of Jimmy Carter, the clean pragmatist with a moral purpose, expressed as clearly as anything the yearning of the American people for a fresh start.”



RUSSELL RILEY (CENTER) WITH JIMMY CARTER AT THE MILLER CENTER IN 1987

But newness never lasts. And a corollary of that “fresh start” was a constitutional reset: After a decade of executive excess, Americans were weary of the presidency. A class of particularly independent legislators was sent to Congress in 1975—the so-called “Watergate babies”—and so even the president’s own party was resistant to taking direction from a Democratic chief executive. What’s more, every journalist on the White House beat wanted to be the next Bob Woodward and Carl Bernstein to bring down a president.



Carter’s institutional problems, however, were compounded by a second factor: his own operating style. Jimmy Carter was—for better and for worse—a president who eschewed conventional politics. Indeed, he was not a politician in the classic sense of that term, with its focus on kissing babies, airy rhetoric, and the oily give-and-take of bartering for votes. His indifference to politics-as-usual helped Carter get elected in the first place. But it made for endless trouble once he got into the Oval Office.

Carter lived for substance. He holed up for almost two weeks, nonstop, with Anwar Sadat and Menachem Begin at Camp David in 1978 to negotiate the minute details of a peace plan for the Middle East. Yet nobody abhorred political small talk more. When congressional liaison Frank Moore made arrangements for the president to woo a powerful Kentucky senator by having him greet a constituent who had painted a portrait of Carter using the distinctive medium of peanut butter, the president bristled: “Well, I gave you the time, and I see you’re going to waste it.” A common thread in the oral histories was that the quickest way to get on Carter’s bad side was to present

Continued next page

arguments about the political consequences of the choices before him. His job as he saw it was to enact the right policy, and voters would reward him accordingly.

The best manifestation of Carter's style in operation was the Panama Canal treaties in 1977–78. Carter organized an extraordinary lobbying campaign on the merits of the initiative, including a highly successful effort with state politicians and interest groups to win congressional support for a policy with almost no native constituency. It was a tour-de-force of public pressure. By the account in Jonathan Alter's book *His Very Best: Jimmy Carter, a Life*, the return of control to the Panamanians avoided a major Central American war. But it also sparked high controversy domestically among those who saw it as a "giveaway." This provided Governor Ronald Reagan, who at that moment was perilously close to has-been status, precisely the kind of hot-button issue he needed to energize a conservative base against Carter.

The presidency can be a brutal place, and it surely was for Carter. He found himself owning a host of intractable problems at a time when the institution was enfeebled. And the best policy fixes available to him did not respect the electoral calendar. When, for example, Carter appointed Paul Volcker to chair the Federal Reserve in 1979, he knew two things: (1) that Volcker could only be successful in bringing down inflation by imposing excruciatingly high interest rates and (2) that the benefits of that pain wouldn't be experienced until after the next election. He named Volcker anyway.

Piled on top of these troubles was the hostage crisis, which Carter ruefully helped set in motion by conceding, reluctantly, to allow the ailing Shah of Iran into the United States for medical care. In his oral history, Carter likened this experience to the relentless specter of personal bankruptcy that haunted him once earlier in life.

"No matter what happened," Carter recounted, "if it was a beautiful day or if my older son made all A's on his report card or if Rosalynn was especially nice to me or something, underneath it was gnawing away because I owed \$12,000 and didn't know how I was going to pay it. . . . It was a gnawing away at your guts no matter what. . . . Well, that's the way the hostage thing was for me for 14 months. No matter what else happened, it was always there."

When an April 1980 rescue mission crashed in the Iranian desert, Carter surely knew that his chances for reelection had cratered too. But he quickly went on nationwide television to take full blame for the failure. "It was my decision to attempt the rescue operation," Carter said. "It was my decision to cancel it when problems developed in the placement of our rescue team for a future rescue operation. The responsibility is fully my own."

Jimmy Carter erred. But he did not flinch.

#### READ THE JIMMY CARTER PRESIDENTIAL ORAL HISTORY AT

[millercenter.org/jimmy-carter](https://millercenter.org/jimmy-carter)



**Russell Riley** is the White Burkett Miller Center Professor of Ethics and Institutions at the University of Virginia's Miller Center of Public Affairs and co-chair of the Presidential Oral History Program.



## CARTER'S VISITS TO THE MILLER CENTER

It is hard to overstate Jimmy Carter's contribution to the emergence of the Miller Center as a national institution. He hosted teams of our oral history interviewers twice in Georgia. He came to Charlottesville on two separate occasions to make appearances at the Miller Center, and he participated directly in a Miller Center project aiming to strengthen our democracy: The Center's 2001 National Commission on Federal Election Reform.



The first visit was in February 1987, when Carter met in what was then the main Miller Center event space—now the Fife Council Room—with about 60 people to answer questions about his presidency and the prevailing state of American politics. Carter then personally greeted a handful of the Center's graduate students who lined the halls on his way out of the building. Almost exactly two years later, his wife Rosalynn followed up with her own speaking appearance at the Center.

Carter's second visit came in September 2002, when he returned to address a large audience seated under tents on the front lawn of Faulkner House. The occasion this time was the formal opening of the new east wing of the building, containing the Scripps Library. Although several other presidents sent video messages, Carter traveled from Georgia to appear in person. He addressed that audience for almost 20 minutes, reflecting on the theme of American greatness and—recalling his own experience with the Jimmy Carter Presidential Oral History Project—lauding the Center for its nonpartisan work to advance understanding of the presidency.

# HAS **DEMOCRACY** MET ITS MATCH?

EXPERTS EXAMINE THE FIERCE TECHNOLOGY COMPETITION BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND CHINA

By BRIELLE ENTZMINGER

In April 2023, the Miller Center's biennial William and Carol Stevenson Conference scrutinized critical aspects of the technology competition between the United States and China. Scholars and experts with wide-ranging experience in government, journalism, academia, and the private sector discussed tensions over issues ranging from artificial intelligence (AI) and climate action to democracy.

Front and center was the popular social media app TikTok. Even as countries, states, and cities ban TikTok because of data security concerns, the technology continues to play a dynamic role in relations between the United States and China. Criticizing the censorship, misinformation, and Chinese Communist Party (CCP) propaganda on TikTok, the conference's first panel examined the national security issues surrounding the social media platform and the threats that technological advancements like AI pose to human rights worldwide.

"Do we want to cede the information environment totally to [TikTok], something that is CCP-owned and controlled? I would say no," said Kara Frederick, director of the Tech Policy Center at the Heritage Foundation. She warned of the video-sharing app's effect on its hundreds of millions of young users.

Data trafficking concerns also surround U.S.-based apps, noted Shanthi Kalathil, who until recently worked at the White House National Security Council, where she managed the democracy and human rights portfolio. Josh Chin, *Wall Street Journal* deputy China bureau chief, stressed the need for the United States to enact data privacy laws—which Europe and China already have—and suggested that the controversy surrounding TikTok could be used to propel such measures.

Discussing the role that China's financial technologies play in U.S.-Chinese tech competition, the second round of panelists emphasized the power of the American dollar, which is used in 88 percent of global foreign exchange transactions. Martin Chorzempa, senior fellow at the Peterson Institute for International Economics, asserted that it is unlikely that U.S. financial giants will face major competition from Chinese "superapps" like WeChat on a global scale.

"If we can keep improving existing financial infrastructure," said Chorzempa, "then there's not going to be that much room for China to come in and say, 'We have something that's much better.'"

Sebastian Mallaby, the Paul A. Volcker senior fellow for international economics at the Council on Foreign Relations, critiqued the Chinese government's restrictions on investors and regulatory crackdowns on tech leaders. "The momentum in the China tech ecosystem will continue for the moment," Mallaby said, but it "will peter out" as younger generations are discouraged from entrepreneurship.



(L TO R) SHANTHI KALATHIL, JOSH CHIN, KARA FREDERICK

Anna Ashton, director of China corporate affairs and U.S.-China at the Eurasia Group, worried about the "spillover effects" of tech commerce restrictions. She pointed to American companies that have lost revenue—and, in turn, research and development funding—as a result of the Biden administration's limitations on sales of advanced computer chips to China.

During the conference's final panel, experts stressed China's critical role in combating climate change, as the country accounts for one-third of global greenhouse gas emissions. While China aims to reach carbon neutrality by 2060, it continues to build coal-fired power plants and relies on fossil fuels to generate the majority of its energy.

At the same time, China is the biggest global deployer of low-carbon technologies and has made them more affordable globally, noted Georgetown University Professor Joanna Lewis. In particular, the electrification of Chinese transport could serve as a model for the United States, added University of North Carolina Professor Angel Hsu.

Scott Moore, director of China programs and strategic initiatives at the University of Pennsylvania, asserted that the United States should not aim to hurt China in the clean tech competition. Decarbonizing China is "going to generate a ton of innovation and investment in clean technology," he said. "Barriers that we've erected will prevent that technology from being deployed [efficiently] outside China."

Achieving the Paris Agreement's goal of keeping the Earth's temperature from rising more than 1.5 degrees Celsius above preindustrial levels is not a "zero-sum" game, concluded Hsu. "We need everybody to be ramping up their investments in clean energy."

**WATCH THE STEVENSON CONFERENCE AT**  
[millercenter.org/stevenson](https://millercenter.org/stevenson)

# WHY I GIVE

TRICIA A. HOEFLING, A MEMBER OF THE MILLER CENTER'S GOVERNING COUNCIL, IS A FACULTY MEMBER AT GEORGETOWN UNIVERSITY, WHERE SHE TEACHES COURSES ON LAW, GENDER, AND THE CONSTITUTION



TRICIA A. HOEFLING

## WHY DOES THE MILLER CENTER'S WORK MATTER RIGHT NOW?

The Miller Center sustains American democracy. Through the work of its scholars, public events, and convenings of experts, the Miller Center provides a forum for deep dives into issues, instead of offering news flashes. There aren't many comparable institutions that bring substantive, nonpartisan ideas to the public and to policymakers. The Miller Center stands alone.

## WHAT PROJECTS AT THE MILLER CENTER MEAN THE MOST TO YOU?

The Miller Center's presidential oral histories give us unparalleled access to data and information about past presidents and the conflicts they faced. Scholars, experts, policymakers, and teachers across the country use that Miller Center research to protect and improve the presidency moving forward.

I really admire Barbara Perry's work as one of the leading nonpartisan Supreme Court experts. Barbara's writings connect her observations about current events to the history and past practice of the Court. Moreover, her research and work show that our democratic institutions are organisms that change and develop over time while also trying to hold true to important democratic ideals.

The new Health Care Policy Project is another favorite. Instead of presenting a polarized, politicized view of health care, Guian McKee provides deep analysis of what matters in our health care system and offers ideas to improve it. I'm drawn to the in-depth research of these and other Miller Center scholars.

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

## HOW DO YOU HOPE YOUR SUPPORT WILL MAKE A DIFFERENCE?

I teach law students and undergraduates, and I have children who are old enough to vote. As a result, I spend a considerable amount of time thinking about how democracy has changed over the years and how it might change for future generations. I am proud to support an organization that takes a long view of history and offers insight about how to continue to improve our democratic institutions.

# THANK YOU, DONORS!

Thank you to the **1,063** friends, alumni, parents, and foundations that supported the Miller Center in fiscal year 2023. Together you committed **\$3,926,821** to our annual fund, endowments, and special projects.

The Miller Center is part of UVA's ambitious Honor the Future Campaign. We have now raised **\$32.8 million** toward our campaign goal of \$40 million before June 30, 2025. We are deeply grateful to the thousands of donors who have brought us to this point.

OUR COMPLETE HONOR ROLL OF DONORS WHO GAVE \$1,000+ IN FISCAL YEAR 2023 CAN BE FOUND AT [millercenter.org/honor-roll23](https://millercenter.org/honor-roll23)

THANK YOU FOR HELPING US PROVIDE HIGH-QUALITY PROGRAMMING AND EXPERT RESEARCH TO POLICYMAKERS, STUDENTS, TEACHERS, AND CITIZENS ACROSS THE UNITED STATES AND THE WORLD



CHOOSE YOUR OWN

# BIG DATA ADVENTURE

NEW DEMCAP ANALYTICS SITE LETS USERS COMPARE DEMOCRACY AND CAPITALISM AROUND THE WORLD

By HALLIE RICHMOND

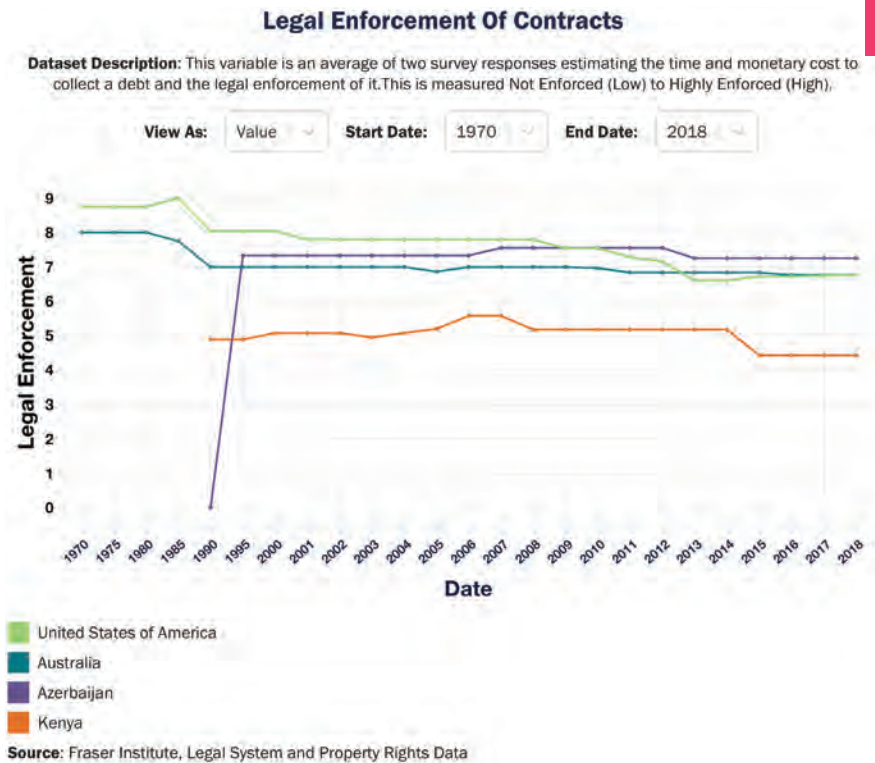
Have you ever tried to state your beliefs about capitalism or democracy or how they intersect? Is the United States a beacon of civic participation and freedom of enterprise or a hotbed of political polarization and inequality? How do you think we stack up against other countries?

The Miller Center's Project on Democracy and Capitalism recently launched DemCap Analytics, a free web-based platform that guides users to interact with data sets that can shed light on questions like these. The research on that data can, in turn, help unlock the complex relationship between a healthy democracy and a capitalist economic system.

Created in response to feedback from educators from middle school through graduate school, DemCap Analytics provides new analytical tools and a conceptual framework that instructors can use to guide fruitful conversations about contentious topics related to democracy and capitalism. The platform empowers not only students but any user to dig deeper into assumptions and preconceptions about these two fundamental American institutions.

Currently, the platform offers 400 data sets drawn from a variety of sources, including the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund, the Federal Reserve, and think tanks. Special integrated tools help users visualize and understand different metrics related to democracy and capitalism. A series of articles provides definitions of relevant terms. Embedded videos feature experts explaining important concepts. And a suite of case studies walks students and instructors through use of the data sets and website tools in a classroom setting.

Check out [demcapanalytics.com](https://demcapanalytics.com) to explore your own assumptions about how democracy and capitalism interact. Surprising insights await regarding how the two institutions clash but frequently coexist in unexpected and mutually productive ways.



TRY OUT DEMCAP ANALYTICS AT [demcapanalytics.com](https://demcapanalytics.com)

## MEET NEW ACADEMIC DIRECTOR MICHAEL LENOX



Michael Lenox is as comfortable discussing how artificial intelligence can mimic Beethoven's musical style as he is explaining how clean technologies could help decarbonize the U.S. electrical grid. The common thread in Lenox's areas of expertise? The power of "Good Disruption"—the title of his podcast for the University of Virginia Darden School of Business and a fair summary of his own career so far.

Lenox is the new academic director of the Center's Project on Democracy and Capitalism while continuing to serve as the Tayloe Murphy Professor of Business Administration at Darden. He focuses on innovative technologies and business practices that challenge the status quo. His work is widely credited with bridging the gap between business strategy and environmental sustainability.

Project Director Scott Miller describes Lenox as "the rare academic who can see the intricate details but also identify the big picture and ask big

questions." Miller adds that "when the team first learned that Bob Bruner [the project's founder] planned to retire, we asked, 'Suppose we could get anyone we wanted, without constraint, who would it be?' The response around the table was Mike Lenox. Mike is in high demand across the University and beyond, and we are so pleased that he is joining us."

From 2008 to 2016, Lenox was the associate dean of innovation programs and academic director of Darden's Batten Institute for Entrepreneurship and Innovation. From 2016 to 2023, he served as Darden's senior associate dean and chief strategy officer and is currently special advisor to the dean for strategic initiatives. He helped found and served as the inaugural president of the multiple-university Alliance for Research on Corporate Sustainability and has helped organizations as diverse as General Motors, Dominion Energy, NASA, and the NCAA harness the competitive advantages of environmental sustainability. Lenox is also a double Hoo, with BA and MS degrees in systems engineering from the University of Virginia. He earned his PhD in technology management and policy from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

LEARN MORE ABOUT THE PROJECT ON DEMOCRACY AND CAPITALISM AT [millercenter.org/demcap](https://millercenter.org/demcap)

# WELCOME TO THE MILLER CENTER

OUR NEW CLASS OF PROFESSORS, FELLOWS, AND BOARD MEMBERS

## ENDOWED PROFESSORSHIPS

Endowed professorships provide resources to conduct extensive research or supervise projects that support the Center's academic mission.



**Admiral Charles Richard**, who holds one of the two James R. Schlesinger Distinguished Professorships, served in the U.S. Navy for four decades. From 2019 to 2022, he served as the 11th commander of the U.S. Strategic Command, providing a broad range of strategic capabilities and options for the president and secretary of defense. Richard held numerous leadership positions in the Navy before retiring in 2022, including commander of submarine forces and director of undersea warfare.



**Mara Rudman**, also a James R. Schlesinger Distinguished Professor, is a senior counselor and former executive vice president for policy at the Center for American Progress. She served in the Obama and

Clinton administrations, including as deputy assistant to the president for national security affairs. Previously, Rudman was senior vice president for policy/projects at Business Executives for National Security and led Quorum Strategies. She was deputy envoy for the Office of the Special Envoy for Middle East Peace at the U.S. Department of State and assistant administrator for the Middle East at the U.S. Agency for International Development.

## FACULTY



**Marc Selverstone** is the new director of presidential studies at the Miller Center, succeeding Barbara Perry, who led the department for nine years. An expert on the Kennedy presidency and the Vietnam War, Selverstone also serves as the co-chair of the Center's Presidential Recordings Program, improving the public accessibility of

the Center's vast collection of once-secret White House tapes. Selverstone was recently promoted to full professor in presidential studies.



**Guian McKee** has been promoted to full professor in presidential studies at the Miller Center after serving as an assistant professor and associate professor for more than two decades. Drawing on his expertise on Lyndon Johnson and the Great Society, McKee co-directs the Center's Health Care Policy Project and serves as co-chair of the Presidential Recordings Program.

## SENIOR FELLOWS

These scholars and practitioners contribute to the Center's research, engage with UVA students and faculty, and help design and deliver public discussions on the challenges facing our nation.



**Michael Lenox**, the academic director of the Project on Democracy and Capitalism and a senior fellow at the Miller Center, is the Tayloe Murphy Professor of Business Administration at the University of Virginia Darden School of Business, where he serves as senior advisor to the dean. He helped found and served as the inaugural president of the multiple-university Alliance for Research on Corporate Sustainability. Lenox's work focuses on technology strategy and policy, with a long-standing interest in how business strategy and public policy relate to the natural environment.



**Robert Strong**, faculty senior fellow, is the William Lyne Wilson Professor in Political Economy at Washington and Lee University. He previously served as a Fulbright Scholar at University College Dublin and taught at Oxford University, Tulane University, and the University College of Wales. At the Miller Center, he was assistant director

of the Jimmy Carter Presidential Oral History Project. Specializing in national security issues and presidential foreign policy decisions in the modern era, Strong has authored several books, including *Working in the World: Jimmy Carter and the Making of American Foreign Policy*.



**Ambassador William B. Taylor**, practitioner senior fellow, is vice president, Europe and Russia, at the U.S. Institute of Peace. He served as chargé d'affaires at the U.S. embassy in Kyiv in 2019 and

as the U.S. ambassador to Ukraine from 2006 to 2009. During the Arab Spring, he oversaw U.S. assistance and support to Egypt, Tunisia, Libya, and Syria. He has represented the U.S. government on the Middle East Quartet, assisting with facilitating the Israeli disengagement from Gaza and parts of the West Bank. A decorated war veteran, Taylor served as an infantry platoon leader and combat company commander in the U.S. Army in Vietnam and Germany.

## MILLER CENTER GOVERNING COUNCIL

The Governing Council exercises oversight of the Center's work and mission.



**Dwight Holton**, former U.S. attorney for Oregon, is the chief executive officer at Lines for Life, a nonprofit dedicated to preventing substance abuse and suicide and promoting mental wellness in

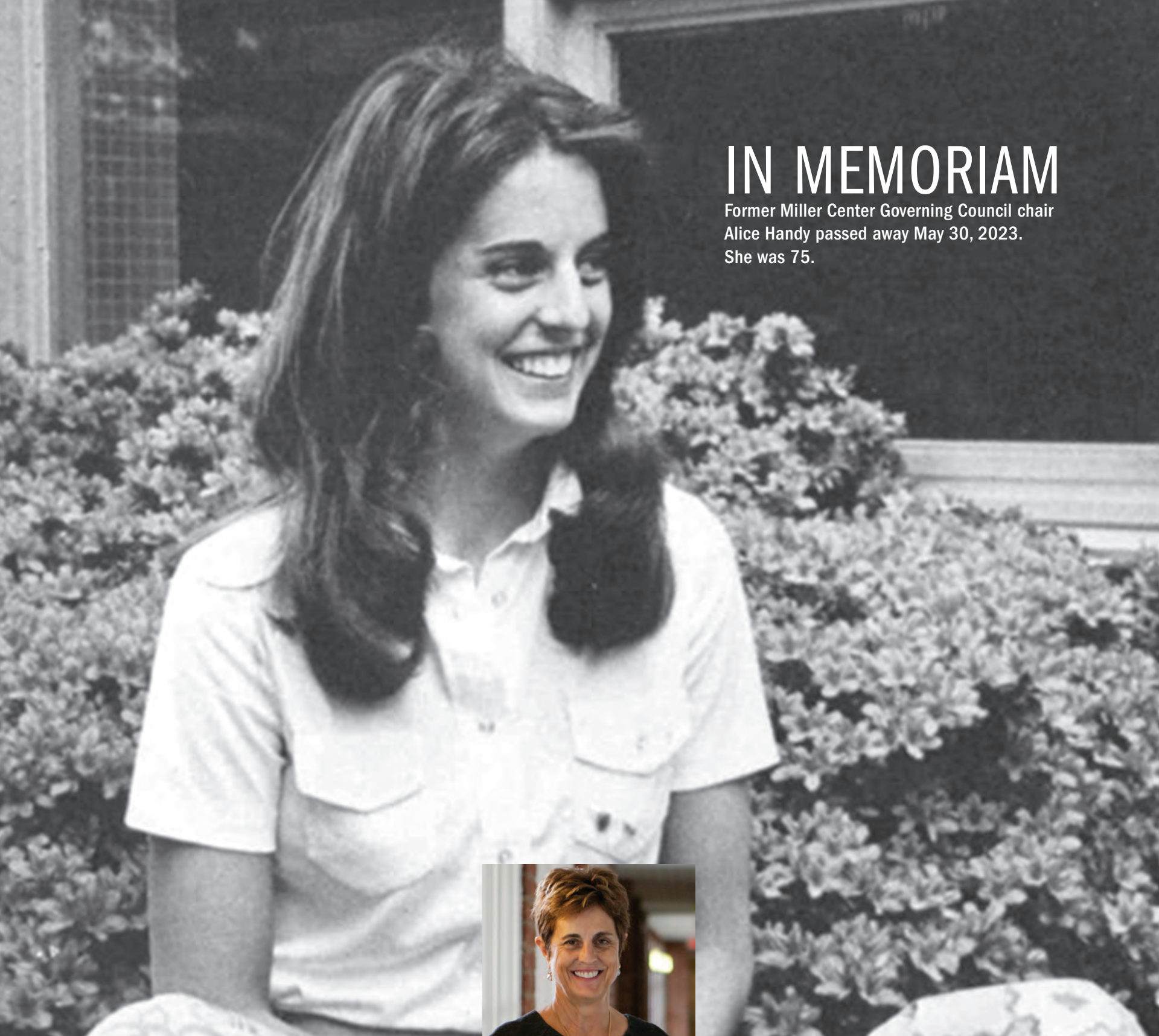
Oregon. In addition to serving as a manager for Bill Clinton's presidential campaign and on the presidential transition team, he served as a special assistant to White House Chief of Staff Mack McLarty and Deputy Chief of Staff Harold Ickes. As an assistant U.S. attorney, Holton spent more than a decade prosecuting cases in New York and Oregon. He is the son of former Virginia governor Linwood Holton, who helped found the Miller Center in 1975 and served for many years as chair of the Governing Council.



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MILLER CENTER, VISIT  
[millercenter.org/donate](https://millercenter.org/donate)

# IN MEMORIAM

Former Miller Center Governing Council chair  
Alice Handy passed away May 30, 2023.  
She was 75.



Handy, a pioneer in modern endowment portfolio investing, spent nearly three decades at the University of Virginia. As UVA's first investment officer, Handy propelled the university's endowment from \$60 million when she was hired in 1974 to nearly \$2 billion when she left in 2003—one of the largest among U.S. public universities. In 1988, Governor Jerry Baliles appointed her to be state treasurer of Virginia—the first woman to hold that position. She later became UVA's assistant vice president and treasurer, as well as the first president of the school's investment management company. After departing UVA, Handy founded Investure, revolutionizing investment services for nonprofit organizations.

From 2014 to 2022, Handy served on the Miller Center Governing Council, refining the Center's numerous strengths and abilities. As chair

from 2018 to 2020, she oversaw the development of the Center's 2020 Strategic Plan and, along with her husband Peter Stoudt, helped endow the James C. Lehrer Lecture.

She also chaired the Center's Foundation Board and was elected to the Holton Society.

Throughout her decades of investment, philanthropic, and community achievements, Handy contributed to and served on boards for numerous national and local nonprofits, including the Thomas Jefferson Foundation, United Way of Greater Charlottesville, and the Charlottesville Area Community Foundation. She is survived by her husband, Peter, and her three children, Nick, Jenny, and Abby.



# 'NOT A SINGLE WORD OF TRUTH IN WHAT THE SENATOR SAID'

MORE THAN 70 YEARS AGO, SENATOR JOSEPH MCCARTHY LAUNCHED A CAMPAIGN TO RID THE COUNTRY OF SUBVERSIVE COMMUNIST INFLUENCE

By ALONZO L. HAMBY

In 1945, tensions between the United States and the Soviet Union intensified. Fear of—and opposition to—communism became central to American politics and culture. Politicians and the public were concerned that American communists or foreign agents might infiltrate the government.

Two spectacular spy cases intensified those concerns. In 1948, Whittaker Chambers, a former communist and editor of *Time* magazine, accused Alger Hiss of being a Soviet spy. Hiss was a former aide to President Franklin Delano Roosevelt and a State Department official. The House Un-American Activities Committee investigated these charges, complete with dramatic testimony from Hiss and Chambers.

Less than a month after Hiss was convicted of perjury in January 1950, the British government arrested Klaus Fuchs, a German émigré scientist who had worked on the Manhattan Project that developed the atomic bomb.

Fuchs was convicted of passing A-bomb secrets to the Soviets with the help of American citizens Julius and Ethel Rosenberg and David Greenglass, who was the brother of Ethel. Fuchs served 9 years of a 14-year sentence in Britain.

Based on Greenglass's testimony against his sister and brother-in-law, the U.S. government executed the Rosenbergs in 1953.

The Truman administration supported programs to root out communists from the government, but both Republicans and Democrats accused officials of failing to protect the United States.

Easily the most fabulous of these accusations came from Republican Senator Joseph McCarthy of Wisconsin, who charged that the State Department was riddled with communist agents. McCarthy's fantastic allegations called into question the loyalties of American citizens and insinuated that Truman's loyalty program had failed miserably. McCarthy spent the rest of the Truman administration and the first years of the Eisenhower administration on a quest to expose communists in the State Department and the U.S. Army.

Truman did his best to calm the hysteria, which by the spring of 1950 had been dubbed "McCarthyism"—not just an accusation of disloyalty, but one with little to no evidence.

Truman stated publicly that "there was not a single word of truth in what the senator said." Senate Democrats organized a special subcommittee to investigate McCarthy's claims in the hope of proving them baseless. But McCarthy—with the tacit support of most Republicans in Congress—continued to make his reckless charges. Military defeats in Korea only strengthened his hand.

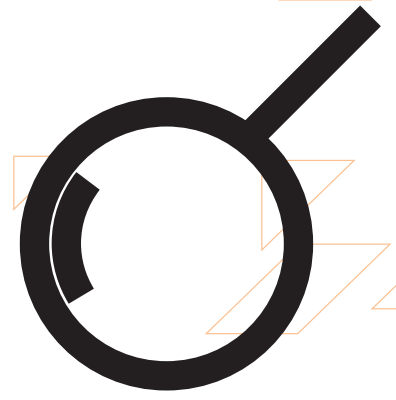
McCarthy was not alone in his pursuit of "un-American" activities. Senator Patrick McCarran, a Democrat from Nevada, guided the 1950 Internal Security Act, which placed severe restrictions on communists in the United States. Truman vetoed the bill, claiming that it violated civil liberties; Congress easily overrode the veto. Two years later, Truman vetoed—on the same grounds—a McCarran-sponsored immigration bill restricting the political activities of recent immigrants to the United States. Congress again overturned Truman's veto.

Truman could do little to counter McCarran and McCarthy. The political damage was immense. Against the backdrop of the Korean War, Moscow's development of an A-bomb, China's turn to communism, and news reports of espionage, the accusation that Truman was "soft on communism" resonated with a jittery American public.

Alonzo L. Hamby is Distinguished Professor Emeritus of History at Ohio University.

EXCERPTED FROM THE "PRESIDENCY" SECTION OF MILLERCENTER.ORG. EXPLORE MORE ABOUT MCCARTHYISM AT [millercenter.org/mccarthy](https://millercenter.org/mccarthy)

# NEW SECTIONS ON [millercenter.org](http://millercenter.org) MAKE FINDING MATERIALS EASIER



Many of the nearly 6 million annual visitors to the Miller Center's website, [www.millercenter.org](http://www.millercenter.org), know it as a one-stop shop on the presidency. The website offers comprehensive biographies of every president, oral history interviews with recent presidents and senior administration officials, a vast archive of presidential speeches, and the transcripts of thousands of hours of White House conversations secretly recorded by presidents from Roosevelt through Nixon.

custom Haggard pants, hundreds of subtitled recordings make the once-secret White House audio tapes easy to follow. And key excerpts from the Center's Presidential Oral History Program bring to life senior decision-makers reflecting on their White House experiences.

Yet often lost in that ocean of presidential materials are hundreds of stories, multimedia exhibits, short videos, and animations that dive deeper into important historical episodes and that shed new light on historical moments and today's challenging political landscape.

The new **HISTORICAL MOMENTS** section offers scores of in-depth multimedia exhibits on significant events, from the global fight against HIV to the September 11 attacks, McCarthyism, the space race, Watergate, and the role of the first U.S. presidents in sustaining slavery, among many other topics.

Three new sections of the Center's website, plus a redesigned search function, aim to make that compelling content much easier to find.

Educators will find a variety of useful materials in the **TEACHER RESOURCES** section, from a new "Teaching Democracy" high school civics curriculum to recommended college-level syllabi and a curated list of videos and exhibits to enhance the teaching of presidential history in the classroom.

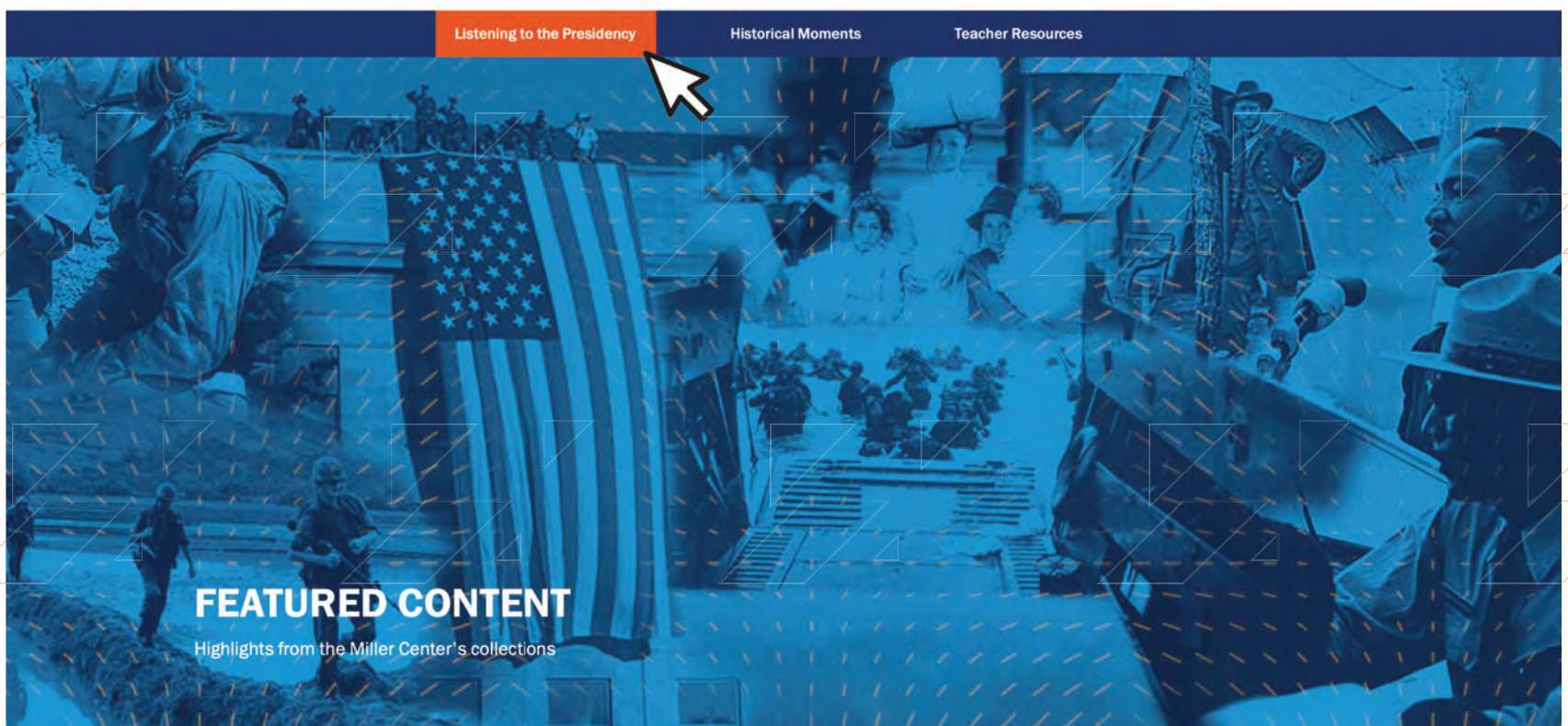
Housed in "The Presidency" section of the site, under a new heading titled "Featured Content," special highlights from the Center's vast collection are now available to browse under three new categories: "Listening to the Presidency," "Historical Moments," and "Teacher Resources."

The website's improved search function will also help users find relevant materials, allowing them to narrow queries according to content type—for example, to search across all the presidential oral history transcripts for references to "health care"—or employ Boolean search operators to tailor searches for specific content.

In the **LISTENING TO THE PRESIDENCY** section, users can explore audio recordings along with contextual materials from several presidential administrations, curated by Miller Center scholars to offer unique insights into the presidency.

From JFK's most acute Oval Office moments during the Cuban Missile Crisis to Nixon's Watergate scheming and LBJ's amusing order for some

**FIND THESE NEW WEBSITE FEATURES AT** [millercenter.org/featured-content](http://millercenter.org/featured-content)



SOUNDING AN

# ALARM

ABOUT DEMOCRACY

LEADING CONSERVATIVE JURIST SAYS THE RULE OF LAW IS UNDER 'UNENDURABLE ATTACK—FROM WITHIN'

By BRIELLE ENTZMINGER

J. Michael Luttig, a widely respected former federal judge who was short-listed by President George W. Bush for a Supreme Court nomination, sounded a sober warning during a lecture at the Miller Center: American democracy and the rule of law are under “vicious, unsustainable, and unendurable attack—from within.”

Luttig served on the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Fourth Circuit from 1991 until 2006 and gave the 23rd annual Henry J. Abraham Distinguished Lecture in May 2023. The lecture honors the late Henry J. Abraham, a renowned constitutional law scholar and University of Virginia professor.

Luttig expressed concern about the dangers posed by America’s growing political divide. He noted that polls indicate both Democrats and Republicans fear that American democracy is in danger of collapse, putting the nation at a “perilous crossroads.”

The January 6, 2021, attack on the U.S. Capitol was a paramount example of the relentless assaults on American democracy from within, said Luttig, who testified before the House Select Committee investigating the attack. According to a recent poll, around one in four Republicans approved of the insurrection—a “stunning and grim” admission of what “Americans believe today about our democracy and rule of law.”

“IT IS OBVIOUS THAT WE CANNOT HOBBLE ALONG MUCH LONGER, HOPELESSLY DIVIDED”



J. MICHAEL LUTTIG SPEAKING AT THE ABRAHAM LECTURE

“America is adrift,” Luttig said. “We Americans have lost our moral compass that has pointed us true north since the founding. This is not who we Americans are or who we want to be.”

A leading conservative thinker, Luttig criticized the politicization of the Supreme Court nomination process, for which he asserted all three branches of government are to blame. For years, he said, presidents have “cynically appointed to judicial positions not those who they are assured will uphold the law” but rather “those who they are assured share their own political, social, and policy views—and will enshrine those views in the Constitution, once appointed.”

Meanwhile, Luttig continued, Congress “attempts to withhold confirmation from those who do not share its own social policy and political views and pledge to constitutionalize those views.”

The Supreme Court has also forsaken its constitutional duties, Luttig said, increasingly basing its judicial decisions on politics and partisanship and failing to subject itself to standards of ethical conduct. Consequently, Americans’ approval of the Supreme Court has dropped to a historic low, according to recent polls.

The judge ultimately blamed the nation’s leaders on both sides of the aisle for inciting division and failing to bridge the country’s differences.

“As of this particular moment, our Republican leaders have especially failed us—and reprehensibly so,” Luttig said. “It is obvious that we cannot hobble along much longer, hopelessly divided, politically and governmentally paralyzed.”

To save the nation’s democracy, Luttig called on Americans to “purge the ranks of our political leaders who have betrayed us” and elect leaders who exhibit honor, humility, and courage, representing the interests of both the people and the country.

“Once we have reclaimed our country, our democracy, and our Constitution from the political demagogues and charlatans,” Luttig said, then Americans must decide “who it is that we want to be and what it is that we want America to be.” In addition to refocusing on matters that “we agree upon and that unite us,” Americans must rediscover and reexamine “the ideals, the truths, the values, and the principles upon which our country was founded.”

WATCH THE ABRAHAM LECTURE AT [millercenter.org/luttig](https://millercenter.org/luttig)

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# 'WE'RE PAST THE PEAK OF TURMOIL AND HATRED'

NEW YORK TIMES COLUMNIST DAVID BROOKS  
DELIVERS THE 2023 LEHRER LECTURE

By BRIELLE ENTZMINGER

Lamenting the rise of hyperindividualism in recent decades, *New York Times* columnist David Brooks told an overflow crowd at the Miller Center that such individualistic thinking isolates people from each other by centering individual happiness and boosting narcissism.

In lieu of a shared morality, Brooks continued, many Americans have turned to national politics to build community because it appears to offer “a moral landscape” to individuals who are isolated from one another. But, he warned, “it’s not a real moral landscape,” which involves human-to-human connection.

“The overpoliticization of life is our attempt to self-cure from the undermoralization of life,” he said.

Brooks, who is also a commentator on the PBS *NewsHour*, joined Miller Center Director and CEO William Antholis in May 2023 for the second annual James C. Lehrer Lecture to discuss the late journalist’s impact and legacy, as well as the moral and social foundations of American democracy. Those themes are woven into Brooks’s most recent book, *The Second Mountain: The Quest for a Moral Life*.

One of America’s most prominent and trusted journalists, Lehrer coanchored the nightly *NewsHour* program for nearly four decades and was also a member of the Miller Center’s Governing Council. He embodied moral leadership and prioritized integrity, civility, and respect, crafting a standard of excellence—a “moral ecology”—that lives on today.

In his book, Brooks reviews the fundamentals of Greek, Judaic, Christian, and Enlightenment beliefs as presenting a composite foundation for modern society. Antholis asked Brooks to characterize the unique moral ecology—what Brooks described as “a standard and way of doing things”—that emerged in the United States.

“Our founders thought two things about human beings: one, that they are gloriously made, and two, that they are deeply broken,” replied Brooks. To create a democracy, the founders believed that “the institutions of society have to make people a little better.”

But American society no longer prioritizes moral formation, Brooks argued. Throughout U.S. history, morally formative institutions, such as schools and

places of worship, helped Americans learn to be “considerate toward others” and “have an ultimate purpose and aim in life”—but Brooks said “that went away” after the Second World War.

“Somehow a philosophy arose that said people are not deeply sinful” and do not need reformation, Brooks said. Pointing to the dwindling usage of words like “honesty” and “virtue” in common parlance, Brooks added, “morality is just not on people’s minds.”

Discussing the nation’s growing political divide, Brooks criticized the immense political misunderstanding between Republicans and Democrats—a crisis fueled by the media, which he asserted has exiled the working class. Cultural and media power remains largely in the hands of elites.

“If you tell 50 percent of the country that their voice is not worth hearing, they’re going to react badly,” Brooks added, pointing to the spike in populism.

To reduce political polarization, Americans must prioritize deep relationships, relational culture, and communal success—the mission of Brooks’s organization, Weave. Brooks also aims to help others form strong human connections with his forthcoming book, *How to Know a Person*.

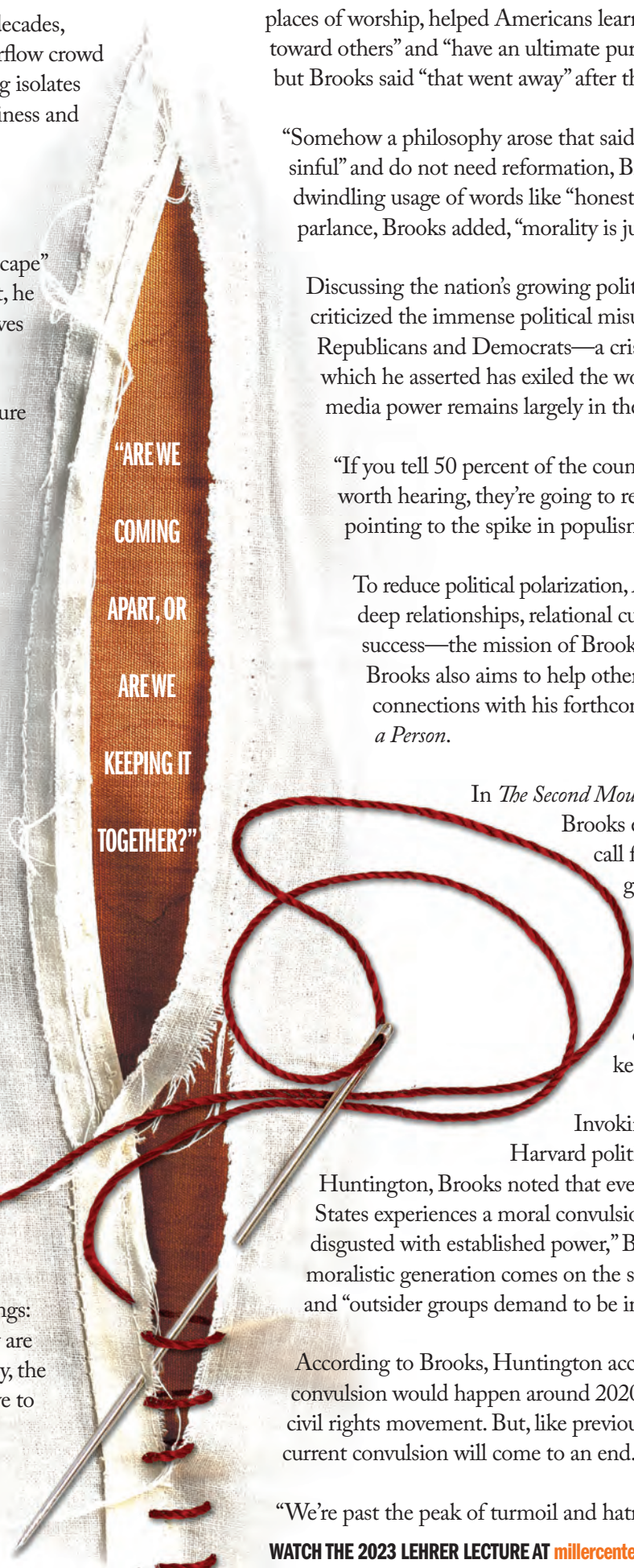
In *The Second Mountain*, published in 2019, Brooks ends with an optimistic call for unity, but “then we get a pandemic, the 2020 election, and debates about war in Ukraine,” Antholis noted. In 2023, Brooks asked, “Are we coming apart, or are we keeping it together?”

Invoking the work of the late Harvard political scientist Samuel Huntington, Brooks noted that every 60 years, the United States experiences a moral convulsion: “When people get disgusted with established power,” Brooks said, “a highly moralistic generation comes on the scene demanding change,” and “outsider groups demand to be included.”

According to Brooks, Huntington accurately predicted another convulsion would happen around 2020, six decades after the civil rights movement. But, like previous ones, Brooks said, this current convulsion will come to an end.

“We’re past the peak of turmoil and hatred,” he declared.

WATCH THE 2023 LEHRER LECTURE AT [millercenter.org/brooks](https://millercenter.org/brooks)



# CHARTING THE ‘PEACEFUL TRANSFER OF POWER’

Laurin Henry’s advice has helped shape presidential administrations since JFK

By HALLIE RICHMOND

At the Miller Center, presidential transition scholar and centenarian Laurin Henry, 102, is regarded as a venerated ancestor. Measured according to the Miller Center’s unit of currency—presidential terms—Henry’s remarkable lifetime spans from Republican Warren Harding to Democrat Joseph Biden.

Before Henry, no one had produced a comprehensive study of why some presidential transitions were successful and why others failed. He analyzed the strained Truman-Eisenhower turnover of 1952–53 as part of an informal project at the Public Administration Clearing House. When he joined the Brookings Institution in the late 1950s, he expanded his study from an analysis of the most recent presidential transition into a thorough investigation of patterns from the past to help improve transitions moving forward.

In his seminal 1960 study, *Presidential Transitions*, Henry demonstrated that the peaceful transfer of power—a central tenet of American democracy—had often boiled down to all parties agreeing to abide by the concept. Most American presidents have, even if sometimes grudgingly, allowed a rational approach focused on logistics to triumph over partisan politics.

Until the transition from Donald Trump to Biden in 2020–21, the closest most Americans had ever experienced to a truly disruptive presidential handoff was in 2000–2001, when the outcome in Florida remained uncertain for more than a month until the Supreme Court ruled that the counting should end. Trump’s challenge to the 2020 election results went beyond that, as he denied the election’s outcome, refused to cooperate with the Biden transition team, and tried to overturn the election results. The violence on January 6th revealed that a peaceful transfer of power between presidents is not foreordained.

Henry’s research traced numerous detrimental effects of unprepared presidents-elect. He focused on four presidential transitions in the 20th century in which the incumbent party had been overturned, considering that cross-party transitions would highlight potential problems in sharpest relief. He wrote about lessons from the transitions of Taft to Wilson (1912–13), Wilson to Harding (1920–21), Hoover to Roosevelt (1932–33), and Truman to Eisenhower (1952–53), with the last example serving, generally, as a model to avoid.

A longtime Miller Center supporter, Henry helped shape the Center. He left Brookings to join the University of Virginia faculty in 1964 as a professor of government and foreign affairs. A few years later,



Henry was asked to draft the initial proposal for a “Center of Public Affairs.” After some revision and several years, Burkett Miller agreed to the plan, and the Miller Center officially came into existence on September 1, 1975. Henry was also present at the creation of the Center’s Presidential Oral History Program.

Speaking in his apartment in Charlottesville—by happy chance, very close to the Miller Center—Henry noted that the presidential transition period has always been called, justifiably, a “problem,” but one that can be navigated successfully when government officials are guided by history and best practices.

Perhaps because of its practical nature, *Presidential Transitions* was among the weekend reading materials that traveled with John F. Kennedy to Palm Beach, Florida, in late November 1960, two weeks after he was elected president. Unfortunately, as Henry wrote in an unpublished memoir, this was the same weekend when “Jacqueline Kennedy gave birth prematurely to John F. Kennedy Jr. The president-elect rushed back to Georgetown and all about him was disrupted for a few days, so whether he ever read or even saw the book, I cannot say.”

“I did get a little satisfaction later,” Henry continued, “when it was included in the select library assembled at the White House for Jacqueline Kennedy by a committee of distinguished librarians and historians.”

A number of the book’s recommendations were fully realized in public policy, along with Henry’s later suggestions to offer publicly funded support of transition teams. The Presidential Transition Act of 1963 is still the basis for modern presidential transitions, with protocols for an orderly transition and provisions for funding a new administration’s transition team.

“I feel so honored to have a career that moved forward in the wake of Laurin’s truly original professional voyage,” said Miller Center Director and CEO William Antholis. “I’ve been lucky to work on transition projects at Brookings and the Miller Center, as well as on our oral history interview teams. None of those opportunities would have been available to me, or any of us, had it not been for Laurin.”

Henry counsels the Center to continue its nonpartisan work and encourages young people to “find a way to participate in public service.” And he offers timeless advice to all citizens, suggesting that “each of us try to develop a worldview of being sufficiently grounded in the details of our democracy so that we’re not prone to overly simplistic generalizations about complex processes.”





# A PATH TO PUBLIC SERVICE

ANSELMI FAMILY SUMMER INTERNS REFLECT ON HOW THE EXPERIENCE INFLUENCED THEIR CAREER PATHS

By BRIELLE ENTZMINGER

Eva Surovell envisions herself pursuing a variety of career paths, but thanks to her internship at the Miller Center, the University of Virginia alumna is confident that she wants to dedicate herself to public service. Working directly with Miller Center Director and CEO William Antholis as the Anselmi Family Intern in summer 2021, Surovell conducted in-depth historical research on the American presidency and contributed to a comprehensive examination of the crises facing presidential power. The following summer, 2022 Anselmi Family Intern Grady Martin helped complete the research, which led to a major Miller Center conference on the presidency in October 2023.

A native of Alexandria, Virginia, Surovell also served as a research assistant for the Center's Project on Democracy and Capitalism. In addition, she assisted Antholis and Miller Center Governing Council member David Burke with delivering a UVA January-term course, "President Biden's First Year," in 2022. The class afforded a dozen fourth-year students the opportunity to interview White House officials, members of Congress, and other prominent leaders. After soliciting applications for the course, Surovell—who graduated in May 2023 with a BA in English and French—established a committee to review applications, conduct interviews, and select participants.

Martin, a native of Chantilly, Virginia, worked as a Miller Center administrative and research assistant from fall 2022 to spring 2023. Following Russia's invasion of Ukraine, he coordinated weekly roundtable discussions about the war with foreign policy experts from across Grounds. Martin, who graduated in May 2023 with a BA in philosophy as well as political and social thought, also assisted with planning the Miller Center's conference on the presidency.



*"It was fulfilling to see a different side of UVA"*

The Miller Center emphasizes "the power of building trust in relationships," said Surovell. "It's really powerful to see right in front of you what can be produced by a long-standing relationship with trust between the Center and policymakers, changemakers, and politicians."

"It was fulfilling to see a different side of UVA," added Martin, who is now working as a paralegal and plans to attend law school in the future.

Each year, the Anselmi Family Internship Program affords one UVA undergraduate the opportunity to serve as a paid research assistant for Antholis. The program was founded in 2019 thanks to a generous gift from the Anselmi family, whose twin sons, Nick and Luke, each spent a summer as a Miller Center intern.

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

## BY THE NUMBERS

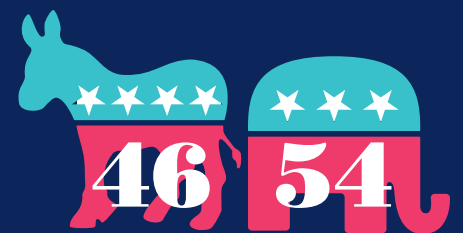
### PRESIDENTIAL ORAL HISTORY



The Miller Center's archive of presidential oral history interviews is the single largest such archive in existence



The number of hours of recorded interviews for the George H. W. Bush Presidential Oral History Project (including cabinet officials, top-level staffers, transition aides, and campaign advisors)



46% of the Miller Center's published oral history interviews are from Democratic administrations and 54% are from Republican administrations



The number of published interviews in the William J. Clinton Presidential History Project, the most visited oral history project at [millercenter.org](https://millercenter.org) (George W. Bush comes in a close second)

The number of oral history projects currently published online (Jimmy Carter, Ronald Reagan, George H. W. Bush, William J. Clinton, George W. Bush, and Sen. Edward Kennedy). Interviews for the Barack Obama Presidential Oral History Project are underway, with plans being made for Donald Trump and Joe Biden projects



DISCOVER MORE AT [millercenter.org/presidential-oral-histories](https://millercenter.org/presidential-oral-histories)

FISCAL YEAR 2022-23

# FINANCIAL ACTIVITIES AND ASSETS

CABINET REPORT



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 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 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 2023, the Center recognized \$1.5 million of revenue secured in previous years and secured \$1.8 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 2023, endowment distributions constituted 53.2 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 2023 was 3.62 percent.

UVIMCO realized an overall rate of return for the fiscal year ending June 30, 2023, of 2.0 percent, a three-year annualized rate of return of 13.1 percent, and a five-year annualized rate of return of 10.1 percent. Total market value for Center and Foundation endowments decreased from \$107.2 million on June 30, 2022, to \$104.4 million on June 30, 2023. This decrease includes new contributions of \$370,000 and market performance, less distributions and other expenses.

In past years, the University of Virginia allocated central services costs to its individual units and partially offset those costs with operating support. Effective July 1, 2022, the University implemented a new model in which it imposes a tax on each unit on its direct expenses and in which it also charges each unit a facilities fee. The University tax and facilities fee totaled \$1.81 million for the Miller Center in fiscal year 2023. The operating support totaled \$1.25 million.

The Miller Center and Miller Center Foundation ended fiscal year 2023 with net income for programs and operations of \$95,000, total net income of negative \$467,000, and cash balances exceeding \$5 million.

For the past decade, the Miller Center Foundation held a long-term commercial lease in Washington, D.C., for an office that the Miller Center formerly used. The space was subleased for much of that time. That lease obligation was fulfilled in December 2021.

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  
MARKET VALUE

As of June 30 each year

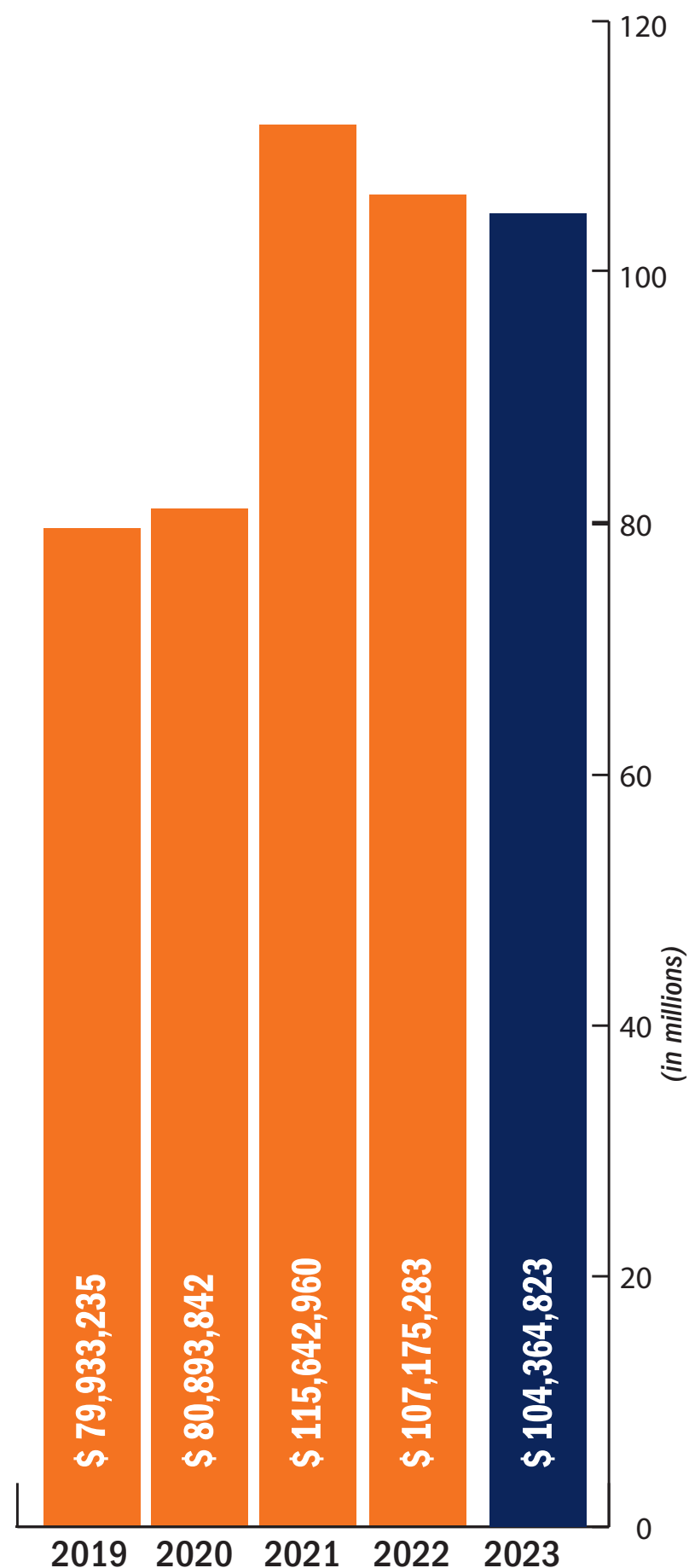
INCOME FOR PROGRAMS/OPERATIONS	FY2023	FY2022
Endowment Distribution	\$ 3,925,145	\$ 3,902,949
Gifts & Grants	3,200,615	3,433,016
University of Virginia	535,243	514,691
Other	5,699	8,618
Deferred Revenue, Recognized	1,545,726	2,775,966
Deferred Revenue, Unrecognized	(1,838,345)	(2,599,042)
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>\$ 7,374,082</b>	<b>\$ 8,036,199</b>

EXPENSE FOR PROGRAMS/OPERATIONS	FY2023	FY2022
Presidential Studies	\$ 2,201,446	\$ 2,047,066
Democracy & Governance Studies	1,321,591	2,199,832
Library & Information Services	235,250	238,034
Marketing & Communications	1,232,978	1,008,080
Executive Office & Governing Council	893,418	815,076
Administration & Operations	822,427	645,269
Advancement	494,524	539,285
Foundation Operations	77,116	77,853
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>\$ 7,278,750</b>	<b>\$ 7,570,495</b>

NET INCOME FOR PROGRAMS/OPERATIONS	FY2023	FY2022
	\$ 95,332	\$ 465,704

[Plus] Additional Deferred Revenue, Recognized	\$ -	\$ 50,161
[Plus] Sublease Income	-	(9,213)
[Less] Lease Obligation	-	151,198
[Plus] UVA Operating Support	1,250,946	1,019,710
[Less] UVA Central Services Charges/University Tax & Facilities Fee	1,813,003	1,281,848
[Plus] New Contributions Designated for Endowment	369,989	1,395,487
[Less] Transfers of Contributions Designated for Endowment	369,989	1,495,487
<b>TOTAL NET INCOME</b>	<b>\$ (466,724)</b>	<b>\$ (6,684)</b>

Cash Balance, Beginning	\$ 5,315,252	\$ 5,549,022
[Less] Deferred Revenue, Recognized	1,545,726	2,826,127
[Plus] Deferred Revenue, Unrecognized	1,838,345	2,599,042
<b>CASH BALANCE, ENDING</b>	<b>\$ 5,141,146</b>	<b>\$ 5,315,252</b>



# NOTES FROM THE PRESIDENCY

In the late 18th century, a “ship’s passport,” signed by the president, helped ensure safe passage for American ships through international waters, where they were frequently subjected to opportunistic attacks. This document, issued in three languages, permits the *Eagle* to travel to France carrying flour and was signed June 9, 1794, by President George Washington and countersigned by Secretary of State Thomas Jefferson.

On the reverse side of the document (not pictured), a handwritten report indicated that upon arrival, the *Eagle* was chartered to transport cargo and French prisoners of war, but the ship was detained at Roscoff and its crew arrested. The ship was not permitted to leave France until May 1795.



IMAGE COURTESY OF UVA DARDEN SCHOOL OF BUSINESS ALUMNUS SCOTT PRICE