

ILLUMINATION

FIFTY

SHINING A LIGHT ON THE PRESIDENCY FOR HALF A CENTURY

YEARS

CABINET REPORT p. 18

HEALTHY REFLECTIONS

MAJOR CROSS-GROUNDS CONFERENCE EXAMINES LESSONS LEARNED FROM THE AFFORDABLE CARE ACT

By GUIAN MCKEE and KELSEY MILLAY

Health care policy has become one of the signature issues faced by presidents of both parties—from the passage of Medicare and Medicaid in the Johnson administration through the implementation of the Affordable Care Act in the Obama presidency to the response to COVID-19 by Presidents Donald Trump and Joe Biden.

To mark the 10th anniversary of the Affordable Care Act's implementation and the 14th anniversary of its passage, the Miller Center's Health Care Policy Project cohosted a major conference on the law, also known as "Obamacare." The March 2024 conference, held at Darden's Sands Family Grounds in Rosslyn, Virginia, was a cross-UVA collaboration among the Miller Center, the School of Law, the Darden School of Business, and the Jefferson Scholars Foundation.

Love it or hate it, the Affordable Care Act remains one of the most significant pieces of federal legislation in U.S. history, and health care spending comprises the largest share of the federal budget.

The conference discussed the law's greatest accomplishment: coverage. Millions of Americans have come to rely on the act to access affordable health insurance. Tens of millions more benefit from other provisions of the health law, such as protection for patients with preexisting conditions.

Americans today may take Obamacare for granted, but the road toward passage of the landmark legislation in 2010 was never smooth and its successful implementation was not assured.

Moreover, a 2012 Supreme Court ruling created room for variation among the states by allowing them to choose whether to expand Medicaid under the law.

The conference commenced with a keynote address by Nancy-Ann DeParle, former deputy chief of staff for policy for President Barack Obama and former director of the White House Office of Health Reform. It also featured Peter Orszag, former director of the Office of Management and Budget. Panel discussions included key figures from the White House,



KEYNOTE SPEAKER NANCY-ANN DEPARLE, FORMER DEPUTY CHIEF OF STAFF FOR POLICY FOR PRESIDENT OBAMA, OPENS THE CONFERENCE



PRESIDENT BARACK OBAMA SIGNS HEALTH INSURANCE LEGISLATION INTO LAW

Congress, the Centers for Medicare and Medicaid Services, the Department of Health and Human Services, and the health insurance and hospital industries. President Obama himself sent a personal letter welcoming attendees.

An opening session examined the "strange bedfellows" coalition: a group of insurers, hospitals, pharmaceutical interests, reform advocates, and foundations that quietly met during the mid-2000s to probe the limits of what health care reform could accomplish and to build trust among key players.

As for passing the legislation, conference participants emphasized the importance of leadership, particularly from the president but also from key figures in Congress and the interest groups.

The necessity of planning for and funding implementation of the legislation represented perhaps the most important lesson of the conference. Problems such as the repeated crashing of the healthcare.gov website during the initial public launch might have been avoided with adequate testing and learning from the experience of states that had implemented health insurance exchanges.

Finally, most participants agreed that the Affordable Care Act is likely here to stay. Neither "repeal and replace" efforts promoted by some Republicans nor "Medicare for all" drives favored by some Democrats are likely to overcome interest group support for the existing framework or public reliance on its key features. One participant even argued that private insurance companies are evolving into a role analogous to that of public utilities that are privately held but that deliver critical public services.

These and other insights from the conference will be synthesized and published to share with key government officials, health industry leaders, and the public.

The conference provides a launching point for further development of the Miller Center's Health Care Policy Project—in particular, focusing on how to address the rising costs of health care spending, even if the rate of growth has slowed. The ongoing policy project is coled by Guian McKee, White Burkett Miller Professor of Public Affairs, and Margaret "Mimi" Foster Riley, Dorothy Danforth Compton Professor at the Center and professor at the School of Law, with assistance from Vivian Riefberg, Darden professor of practice and David C. Walentas Jefferson Scholars Chair, who is also a Miller Center faculty senior fellow.

LEARN MORE ABOUT THE HEALTH CARE POLICY PROJECT AT
millercenter.org/healthcare



A LETTER FROM THE DIRECTOR

By BILL ANTHOLIS *Director & CEO*

This edition of *Illumination* is being published prior to the election of our 47th president. We don't yet know whether we are preparing for President-elect Kamala Harris or President-elect Donald Trump. But regardless of who wins, a transition is coming: an inauguration, the naming and confirming of a cabinet, presidential executive actions, and the start of a legislative cycle.

The last transfer of power in 2020–21 was marked by controversy and intense division. Trump contested his 2020 election defeat, and the ensuing assault on the Capitol on January 6, 2021, led to his second impeachment (and acquittal) and to two of his four sets of indictments.

President Joe Biden pledged to unify the country in his 2021 inaugural address and embarked on major legislation and executive actions. Yet despite bipartisan accomplishments—from infrastructure to high-tech industrial policy to support for Ukraine, Israel, and Taiwan—the country appears as divided as it was four years ago.

The newly elected president will struggle to reunite the country.

And yet, it has seemed this way before. The difficult issues facing the presidency today echo the challenges facing the institution 50 years ago, when the Miller Center was founded. President Richard Nixon had recently resigned in the face of the looming Watergate impeachment. President Gerald Ford pardoned him shortly thereafter, hoping to unify the country by avoiding the prospect of a deeply divisive investigation and public trial of a former president. Instead, Ford's popularity suffered, and he subsequently lost his reelection campaign.

Lately I've been imagining what the Miller Center's founders would think of the current moment. That's because this year, the Center began celebrating an important milestone—the 50th anniversary of our founding in 1975. You can see some of the Center's early documentation and photographs on the back cover of this issue.

It all began in 1966 when Burkett Miller wrote to UVA President Edgar Shannon, inquiring whether UVA would consider establishing a school of public policy. After multiple conversations over several years, it took a newly elected Virginia governor, Linwood Holton, to help close the deal.

Rather than launch a new public policy school, they settled on a free-standing “non-political forum where recognized authorities can assemble, consider matters of national importance, and provide facilities for research, teaching, and dissemination of knowledge.” The Center would be an integral part of the University of Virginia but retain maximal independence to frame its own research agenda, overseen by an independent Governing Council.

The Center's founding memorandum of understanding was signed in November 1973, and the doors opened September 1, 1975. After his term in office, Governor Holton went on to serve as the chair of the Center's Governing Council for more than 20 years, from 1977 to 1999. [You can read more at millercenter.org/linwood-holton]

Miller, Shannon, and Holton were of a hopeful disposition. I think they would be thrilled to see that the Center continues to fill the national need that they envisioned. In each of the past five decades, we have evolved to meet the moment. In fall 2023, we convened a bipartisan group of 70 government practitioners, policy experts, and journalists to accelerate the Center's latest work toward a more responsible and effective American presidency. The trio that brought the Miller Center into existence would have been at home in this group of well-informed, pragmatic people dedicated to civil discussions about difficult topics.

In honor of the Center's golden anniversary, I invite you to consider supporting our distinctive and nonpartisan approach with a financial gift. We are working hard to complete a presidential studies endowment that would ensure funding for the Center's signature oral history work into the future.

Presidents come and go every four or eight years, but we promise that the Miller Center will keep our important work going for another half-century and beyond.



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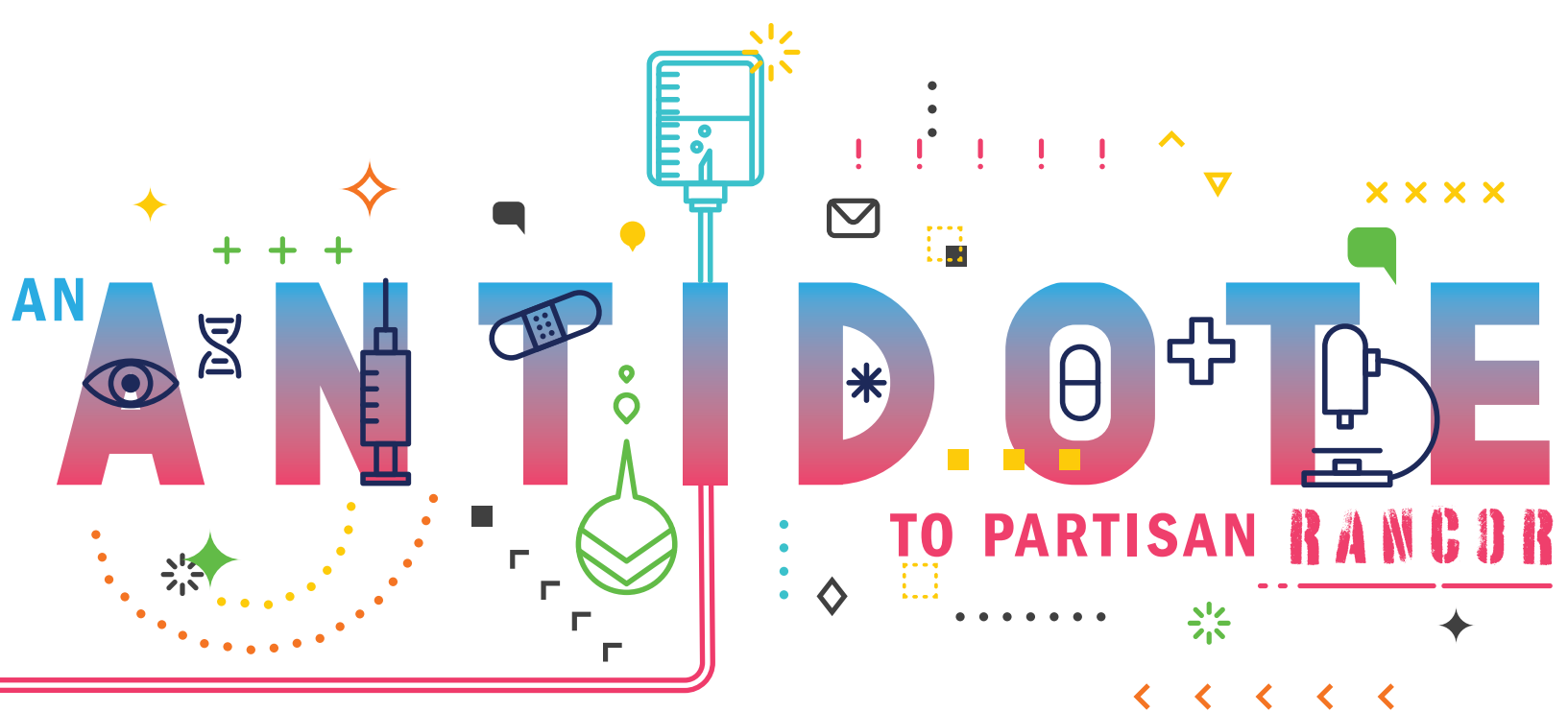
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University of Virginia's
Miller Center





FOR HALF A CENTURY, THE MILLER CENTER HAS SHONE A LIGHT ON THE PRESIDENCY

By HALLIE RICHMOND

University campuses roiled by student demonstrations over a distant and controversial war. A president accused of committing crimes to try to stay in office. A nation split by bitter political polarization and social and cultural fractures.

It may sound like today. But it also describes the turbulent years leading to the Miller Center of Public Affairs opening in 1975. Burkett Miller, a graduate of the University of Virginia School of Law, donated the funds to create the Miller Center of Public Affairs in response to the partisan rancor he saw developing across the nation.

Miller envisioned a place where government leaders, scholars, and the public could come together for discussions grounded in history to find consensus solutions. Even as his concerns about polarization still resonate five decades later, his vision for a national meeting place has flourished.

Today, the Miller Center provides the nation's most complete understanding of the U.S. presidency and offers a nonpartisan space for civil debate on topics of national importance.

The Center's unique historical resources offer insights into how previous presidential administrations dealt with complex issues. Public events convene scholars, government officials, journalists, and thought leaders to encourage dialogue across differences about the most important issues facing the presidency, and the nation. And the Center's digital headquarters, millercenter.org, is the leading online resource for information about the American presidency. Millions of users visit every year for in-depth research and rich archival materials.

As we embark on a year-long celebration culminating in the Center's 50th anniversary in September 2025, we share some of the major milestones from the Center's past five decades.

1975



After several years of discussion with the University of Virginia, Burkett Miller, a 1914 graduate of the UVA School of Law, founds the Miller Center in memory of his father, White Burkett Miller.

The location chosen for the Miller Center is the historic Faulkner House, completed in 1856 and located just west of the University of Virginia's Central Grounds.

Frederick E. Nolting Jr., ambassador to South Vietnam from 1961 to 1963 under President John F. Kennedy, serves as the Center's first director from 1975 to 1977.

1977



Kenneth W. Thompson, a scholar of international relations and the presidency, serves as the Center's director for the next 21 years, until 1998. Under Thompson's leadership, key initiatives come to fruition, including the Forum Program (a series of public events featuring public officials, journalists, and scholars) and numerous bipartisan national commissions examining key contemporary issues.

In April 1977, Miller Center faculty and other University of Virginia scholars record a day-long symposium with senior Ford administration staffers, including Richard Cheney, Donald Rumsfeld, and Brent Scowcroft. The success of this "unusually frank and serious discussion" inspires the Center to launch the Presidential Oral History Program. To date, the oral history program has conducted in-depth interviews with more than 800 members of former presidential administrations and published oral history projects for every president from Ford through George W. Bush, with Barack Obama and Donald Trump projects underway. The Center has also published a special oral history project focused on Senator Edward Kennedy and is completing a project on Hillary Rodham Clinton's term as secretary of state.

1981



The Center's first national bipartisan commission focuses on presidential press conferences, recommending ways to increase public understanding. The Center's second national commission, on improving the presidential nominating process, takes place in 1982. The Center also begins an oral history project on the **Jimmy Carter** presidency, including five hours of interviews with the former president himself.

1989



The Center begins a 13-month project to build the Newman Pavilion, honoring J. Wilson Newman, a longtime Governing Council member. The Newman Pavilion houses an expanded public event space, the

Forum Room, modeled on the architecture of Virginia's House of Burgesses in Williamsburg.

National commissions address presidential disability and the 25th Amendment (1988), the relationship between science and government (1989), the role of vice presidents (1992), the selection of federal judges (1996), and the separation of powers (1998).

1999

Philip Zelikow, a former National Security Council and State Department official and professor at Harvard's Kennedy School of Government, is recruited to become the Center's third director. Zelikow expands the Presidential Oral History Program and creates the Presidential Recordings Program.

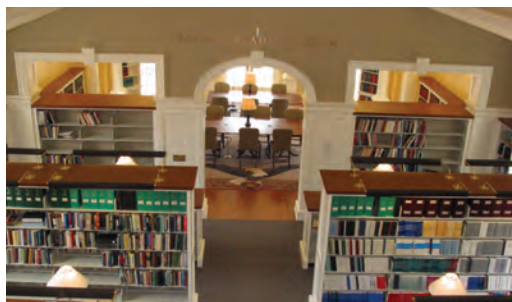


2001

Zelikow leads the bipartisan National Commission on Federal Election Reform, cochaired by Presidents Carter and Ford, following the contested 2000 election. Proposed election reforms are adopted in landmark election reform legislation, the Help America Vote Act of 2002.

2003

Zelikow takes a public service leave from the Center to serve as executive director of the National Commission on Terrorist Attacks Upon the United States, commonly known as the 9/11 Commission. He resumes his directorship in 2004 on completion of *The 9/11 Commission Report*.



The Kenneth W. Thompson Pavilion and the Scripps Library, honoring the generosity of the Edward W. and Betty Knight Scripps Foundation, are added to Faulkner House.

2004

George Gilliam, a former attorney and UVA historian, becomes chair of the Forum Program. The Center's public programs are broadcast on numerous PBS stations, featuring prominent government officials, journalists, and other public figures.

2006



Former Virginia Governor **Gerald L. Baliles** serves as the fourth director of the Miller Center, designing conferences and programs that emphasize foreign and domestic economic policy.

Former Secretaries of State James A. Baker III and Warren Christopher cochair the Miller Center's bipartisan National War Powers Commission. The commission's 2008 report calls for the repeal and replacement of the 1973 War Powers Resolution.

Additional national commissions make bipartisan recommendations for lawmakers on American manufacturing (2013), immigration reform (2014), and health care cost containment (2014).

2012

Douglas Blackmon, a *Wall Street Journal* correspondent and Pulitzer Prize winner, takes over as director of public programs. He produces and hosts *American Forum*, a weekly public affairs television show that extends the reach of the Center's programs to 85 percent of PBS stations in the United States.

2014

Senators John McCain (R-AZ) and Tim Kaine (D-VA) introduce the War Powers Consultation Act, based on the 2008 recommendations from the Miller Center's National War Powers Commission. Although never enacted, the commission's recommendations become the basis for multiple successive Authorizations for the Use of Military Force passed by successive sessions of Congress for ongoing wars in the Middle East.

2015

William J. Antholis, a former State Department and National Security Council official and managing director of the Brookings Institution, joins the Center as director and CEO. The Center embarks on a major undertaking to understand the history and dynamics of presidential transitions, called the First Year Project 2017, with a goal of helping guide an incoming administration of either party. The project produces more than 60 essays and hosts dozens of events at the Miller Center and across the country. Officials of both major party campaigns share best practices for presidential transitions.



2016

The Center begins regularly promoting its experts to provide important context and commentary to national journalists who cover the presidency, politics, and foreign policy. Today, Miller Center experts and scholars are on "speed dial" in the nation's most important newsrooms. They appear in major media outlets on average more than 40 times every month.

Continued next page



2018

The Miller Center engages with the UVA College of Arts and Sciences Democracy Initiative, eventually helping to shape the Karsh Institute of Democracy. The institute's executive director, **Melody Barnes**, is a professor of practice at the Miller Center.

The Center establishes a senior fellows program to expand its areas of expertise by recruiting both faculty and government practitioners.

2019

In celebration of the bicentennial of the founding of the University of Virginia, the Center hosts the Presidential Ideas Festival. This three-day series of public events features former cabinet officials and White House officials from Democratic and Republican administrations as well as journalists, academics, and other public figures. Taking place in Old Cabell Hall and across the University, it culminates with a 90-minute lecture by former President Bill Clinton. Later in the year, the Center releases transcripts from the George W. Bush oral history project.



The Center launches an oral history project on the Barack Obama administration.

2020

When the COVID pandemic forces the shutdown of in-person public events in the spring, the Center is among the first think tanks and public institutions in the nation to pivot to presenting events as online webinars. The success of this initiative prompts the Center to make webinar and YouTube broadcasts a permanent feature of all public events. The Center also helps establish a COVID Commission Planning Group, which produces an exhaustive study of the government's response to the pandemic.

The Center and VPM coproduce the PBS documentary *Statecraft: The Bush 41 Team*. The Center also partners with the Lyndon Baines Johnson Presidential Library and Foundation to create the LBJ Telephone Tapes website, lbjtapes.org

Anticipating a contested presidential election in 2020, the Center and UVA's Institute of Democracy cohost the "Election and Its Aftermath" blog and event series that help journalists and the general public make sense of the most divisive election since 1860.

2021

The Center establishes two new academic research projects. The Democracy and Capitalism Project examines the intersection of free markets, free peoples, and free societies. The Health Care Policy Project is focused on domestic health policy and global health security.

2022

As Russia launches an invasion into Ukraine, the Center begins to host a series of private and public seminars on the changing geopolitical landscape. The Ukraine War Room becomes a signature offering, bringing together senior policymakers, academics, and journalists trying to assess the new cold wars.

The Center launches an annual James C. Lehrer Lecture in honor of the late *PBS NewsHour* cofounder and anchor and former member of the Miller Center Governing Council. *PBS NewsHour* anchor Judy Woodruff is the inaugural speaker, launching a partnership with the *NewsHour* each year.

2023



THE MILLER CENTER CONVENED NEARLY 60 LEADING EXPERTS ON THE AMERICAN PRESIDENCY FOR A TWO-DAY CONFERENCE TO DISCUSS CHALLENGES FACING AMERICA'S HIGHEST OFFICE

The Center holds a major conference, "Toward a More Responsible and Effective Presidency," featuring a bipartisan group of scholars, government practitioners, journalists, and engaged citizens who examine potential areas for presidential reform.

The Center also launches an initiative to post video "shorts" from every event on social media, generating nearly 1 million total views so far on YouTube and Instagram.

2024

The Center launches the Ripples of Hope Project to identify and utilize tools that can make the U.S. president and other democratic leaders more effective and contribute to an America that can better compete and cooperate around the world.



1975-2025

AI AT THE MC

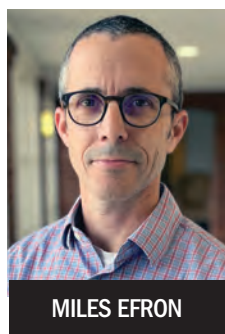
ARTIFICIAL INTELLIGENCE OFFERS INNOVATIVE OPPORTUNITIES FOR PRESIDENTIAL SCHOLARSHIP

By BRIELLE ENTZMINGER

What if a future president, faced with a sudden global crisis, natural disaster, or economic meltdown, could instantly draw on the wisdom and lessons learned by previous administrations? And what if those experiences were easily accessed across the full range of policy issues and institutional challenges, no matter how vast or arcane?

That's precisely the kind of research that new artificial intelligence (AI) tools can begin to tackle, as the Miller Center aims the power of AI on its vast presidential studies research collections.

As the Center nears its 50th anniversary, AI technologies offer innovative opportunities. AI has the potential to make the Center's presidential studies data more accessible to policymakers and the public and to project the Center's mission and scholarship into the future.



Miles Efron, the Center's assistant director of information technology, is exploring a variety of AI projects that the Center could undertake in the near and long terms by evaluating their difficulties, risks, costs, and benefits. Efron has been educating the Center's leadership and scholars on the critical background and vocabulary for understanding AI, as well as what it will take to unlock key Miller Center data holdings for AI training and deployment. Efron has worked closely with Marc Selverstone, the

Center's director of presidential studies and co-chair of the Presidential Recordings Program.

Efron has a PhD in information science from the University of North Carolina and is uniquely positioned to spearhead the Center's AI efforts. Before joining the Center, he researched large language models and search engines and taught computer and information science at the University of Texas and the University of Illinois.

In exploring near-term AI projects, Efron has been examining how to expand the search engine index on millercenter.org to improve the quality of search results. Equipped with robust AI tools, such as OpenAI's Whisper audio-to-text model, Center staff may also be able to efficiently transcribe Secret White House tapes and accurately index page content for search purposes.

"It would take a long time to get a human to go through" these transcripts, Efron explained. The Center's collection of audio and video recordings includes 33,098 White House conversations, 1,050 presidential speeches, and more than 650 YouTube videos of Miller Center's extensive event catalogue. "Now AI can go through all that text for you and find the data you need," he said.

Similarly, scholars may be able to use a large language model (LLM), such as GPT-4, to create a "big machine-readable" index of the more than 500 published Presidential Oral History Program interviews and summarize them, Efron said. This LLM could also be instrumental for indexing the Presidential Recordings Program's 4,500 annotated transcripts of White House tapes.

A comprehensive index would enable scholars to effectively "search for and identify key themes and developments" in transcripts, said Selverstone, "so that as scholars we can make greater use of them and derive insights we might not have otherwise—because the materials are just so vast." Furthermore, an index "can help inform not only our understanding of the past but also trend lines in matters of public policy that affect us today."

To address challenges posed by old, noisy White House recordings, the Center also is exploring building an audio classification tool that assists scholars with transcribing inaudible passages and identifying speakers.

While undertaking simpler AI endeavors, the Center could tackle more costly, labor-intensive AI projects in the long term. These might include building a conversational system to support wide-ranging, interactive queries into presidential history and politics, drawing on the Miller Center's unique data to formulate answers.

Efron's exploration of AI technologies considers the different audiences interested in the Miller Center's scholarship. AI can provide a framework to help scholars go deep into data, he said, while helping people who aren't as familiar—whether White House officials, journalists, or students—get a better sense of the Center's resources.



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millercenter.org/donate

HOW TO FIX THE PRESIDENCY

FIVE WAYS TO MOVE FORWARD WITH EXECUTIVE BRANCH REFORM

By HALLIE RICHMOND

In fall 2023, the Miller Center convened more than 70 experts on politics and the presidency—senior officials from Democratic and Republican administrations, top scholars, and journalists—to discuss ideas for building a more responsible and effective American presidency.

When inviting this group to participate, the Center made clear that the event was intended not only to examine these ideas in an academic way but also to advance recommendations to improve the presidency. Building on conference insights, the Miller Center developed a multiyear work plan to promote and accelerate the most promising areas for executive branch reform. In each of five practice areas, a working group will develop solutions and engage with a wider group of committed citizens and organizations.

SHARING POWERS: THE PRESIDENCY AND CONGRESS



Whether because of executive aggrandizement or congressional dysfunction, presidents increasingly go it alone, relying on executive action to pursue policy goals instead of working within the legislative process. The relationship between the executive and legislative branches has always been somewhat contentious—evidence of constitutional checks and balances in action.

Nevertheless, leaders of both political parties are worried about the current state of breakdown. Extreme partisanship is producing congressional gridlock and encouraging presidents to act on their own. For example, confirmations of senior military officials were delayed for almost five months in 2023 because of a hold placed by one member of the Senate. And at the outset of the Israel–Hamas conflict, no confirmed U.S. ambassadors were in place for Israel or Egypt. Opposing confirmations seems to have become a political industry for members of Congress, allowing outside groups to score political points and prevent an administration from accomplishing its agenda. This working group seeks to promote rules reform that would encourage moderation and bipartisan collaboration between the executive and legislative branches, particularly in relation to the broken federal appointment process.

DEMOCRACY AND BUREAUCRACY: EXECUTIVE BRANCH REFORM



President Donald Trump wanted to deconstruct the administrative state; President Joe Biden and Vice President Kamala Harris, whom he sought to boost into the presidency, wanted to build it back better. Despite the political slogans, both parties embrace a variety of attitudes about the federal bureaucracy that shift according to domestic or foreign policy considerations, rulemaking and implementation, or even particular cabinet agencies. Meanwhile, the reality of governing is that, by law, our civil servants hold real responsibilities. Emergencies—terror attacks, economic crises, natural disasters, pandemics—often highlight the need for Congress and the president to work together. The usual problem is not Congress and the president failing to respond during an emergency but rather failing to plan in advance, separately and together. In late 2024 and early 2025, a major focus will be on advance planning and transition to the next presidential administration. The Miller Center has deep expertise in transitions. With partners, this practice area will promote best practices for effective executive branch functioning during the upcoming transition period.



HOLDING PRESIDENTS ACCOUNTABLE

The Center's Conference on the American Presidency was not designed to discuss particular presidents. But the four indictments (including one conviction) against former President Trump raise unavoidable questions about the health of our democratic system and the rule of law. This practice area addresses potential reforms of the Insurrection Act, a 19th-century legal measure that endows the president with emergency powers. Each party worries about a president from the opposing party using and abusing emergency powers. Reforms suggested at the fall conference could provide congressional engagement. Miller Center scholarship and events on this topic can help educate the public about the constitutional and legal issues at stake.

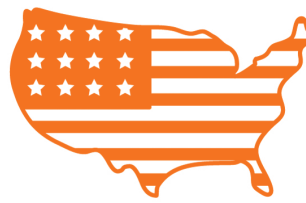
SELECTING RESPONSIBLE AND EFFECTIVE PRESIDENTS



Over the past 60 years, each party's nominating process has increasingly empowered grassroots activists through presidential primaries and caucuses. In addition, the general election process does not grant equal electoral weight to citizens in each state. With the number of swing states reduced to a handful, a smaller and smaller slice of the country decides each presidential election.

This shift likely reinforces the bias of the primaries, which already favor each party's base. This practice area will consider reforms going into the 2028 election.

PRESIDENTS AS NATIONAL UNIFIERS



Presidents have long struggled to unite, and even to define, the nation across geographical and political differences. But the country seems to have stopped believing that a president will pursue the interests of all Americans. While this practice area will not address the root causes of political

polarization, it will call attention to the president's role in communicating a shared, common purpose. Events and scholarship will explore how past presidents sought to define a more perfect union and how contemporary presidents can more effectively communicate their goals, including consideration of how new media technologies and environments can shape a more responsible and effective presidency.

READ MORE ABOUT THE PRESIDENCY CONFERENCE AT
millercenter.org/conference

ON COMPROMISE

JOSHUA BOLTEN'S TAKEAWAY FROM THE CENTER'S FALL 2023 CONFERENCE

Joshua Bolten is the CEO of Business Roundtable. His 20 years of government service included eight years working in George W. Bush's White House, including as chief of staff.



America's business leaders are among our most talented cohort of individuals, but I don't think we can or should look to them to resolve our societal disagreements. But business does produce a mindset that we ought to encourage. If you're the CEO of a major company, you cannot afford to alienate half your employees or half your customers. You figure out how to navigate so you bring people together within your organization in a common purpose. You guide other people, external to your organization, to a respect and appreciation of what you do.

I talked about maneuvering government institutions so that compromise is not only possible but necessary. Incentives are probably the most substantial part of finding compromise, and a lot of the political incentives are messed up right now. But there's also an expectation of compromise that folks in government service ought to have—and that the American people should have for our elected leaders.

The Miller Center is good at bringing partisans together around commonsense principles. We can agree on governance while we're disagreeing plenty on policy.

TAKING TIME TO REFLECT

LOUISA TERRELL ON SHARING WHITE HOUSE WISDOM

Louisa Terrell is the former assistant to the president and director of legislative affairs at the White House for President Joseph Biden.



The Miller Center has an excellent reputation and is well known for bringing together government practitioners for conversation and reflection. I was privileged to work at the White House. When you're no longer in the middle of the demanding "everyday," you're able to identify productive learnings. It was refreshing to discuss experiences and listen to new ideas at the Miller Center, where I found a diversity of viewpoints and of people, many of whom had also had the opportunity to work in other White Houses.

I'm interested in topics like best practices for presidential transitions and clarifying the responsibilities that the legislative and executive branches share, equally, for how to make things work better. My view as someone who has been in public service for a long time is that the everyday jobs of government—to make things more efficient, more fair, and more responsive—aren't partisan issues. These are enduring values and goals. Making our government better should be something we can work on together, regardless of party.

BUREAUCRACY FAN

RACHEL AUGUSTINE POTTER ON RULEMAKING WITHOUT RED TAPE

By HALLIE RICHMOND



Rachel Augustine Potter is the first to admit that her academic specialty—the ins and outs of the American bureaucracy—is generally not a cocktail party crowd pleaser.”

But this Miller Center faculty senior fellow is in good company. She’s part of a group of scholars and government practitioners leading the Center’s latest nonpartisan work on executive branch reform as part of a “Democracy and Bureaucracy” practice

area. Her scholarship, grounded in prior experiences working as a bureaucrat, shines light on the hidden politics of government procedure and process. She recently discussed this work.

LAST FALL YOU TEAMED UP WITH SIDNEY MILKIS, THE MILLER CENTER’S WHITE BURKETT MILLER PROFESSOR OF GOVERNANCE AND FOREIGN AFFAIRS, TO WRITE ABOUT THE PRESIDENCY AS AN INCREASINGLY POLARIZED AND POLARIZING INSTITUTION. COULD YOU SAY MORE?

For decades political scientists have been tracking the steady decline of Americans’ trust in government. Right now that trust is at an absolute low. The government does many things well behind the scenes but can’t always take credit in ways that allow people to see the successes. As a result, the “administrative state”—what many people call the executive branch administrative agencies—is experiencing a reputation crisis.

At the same time, we see extreme polarization among political elites. For instance, during the Trump years, polarization gave rise to a deep skepticism of the administrative state, encapsulated in the expression the “deep state.” The term itself is highly polarizing. While I do not endorse it, I understand that its use reflects real problems in and frustrations with the bureaucracy. I’m a bureaucracy fan, but I’m also a realist. There are issues in the federal bureaucracy and room for improvement.

The Miller Center’s new Democracy and Bureaucracy [working] group is working on ways to address some of the problems. For example, it’s difficult in the federal bureaucracy to fire poor performers.

Are there ways that the federal government could redress this? What do other countries do? And what are some public policy approaches to tackle the administrative state’s reputation crisis?

It’s difficult to have these kinds of conversations in the heat of the moment in Washington. A place like the Miller Center offers a way for knowledgeable people to take a step back from politics and participate in conversations across the aisle—“OK, how do we do this better?”

CAN YOU TELL US MORE ABOUT YOUR LATEST RESEARCH?

Twenty years ago, I worked on a Government Accountability Office report on federal procurement. I’m now writing an academic book on procurement focused on the role of contractors in the government. These are private-sector workers hired under procurement contracts for federal agencies.

We don’t really count how many contractors we have at the federal level. But research suggests that for every career civil servant, there are two to three contractors working full time—an enormous multiplication of the federal workforce. The usual conversation about contractors is that outsourcing serves goals of efficiency and effectiveness—important public policy principles. But there are a lot of politics involved as well because money is involved. And labor is involved—labor that, given the structure of the federal budget, is much less visible than the hiring of career bureaucrats.

Does the presence of all these contractors contribute to the aggrandizement of presidential power? How much do contractors contribute to government policymaking? How does the outsourcing of highly skilled work to contractors affect agency performance? In short, the workforce under the president’s control is much larger than we tend to think it is. In the long run, is that a good thing or a bad thing for the presidency?

READ THE MILKIS-POTTER ESSAY AT
millercenter.org/bureaucracy

‘EVERYTHING IS NATIONAL SECURITY’

DEFENSE STRATEGY COMMISSION WARNS OF RUSSIAN, CHINESE THREATS TO THE UNITED STATES

By BRIELLE ENTZMINGER

Warning of the mounting threats that China and Russia pose to the United States, the Commission on the National Defense Strategy recommended critical improvements to the nation’s defense posture during a Miller Center event in April.

Last summer, the commission issued a report to Congress, the president, and the public on the U.S. strategic threat environment that will inform future budget requests, legislation, appropriations, and Department of Defense operations and planning. To prepare the report, commissioners held public conversations and met with national security officials, business leaders, members of Congress, and foreign allies.

“We’re in conflict today, every day, with China in the information and cyber sphere. Same with Russia,” said Miller Center Practitioner Senior Fellow Eric Edelman. Edelman is vice chair of the commission and served in senior positions at the Departments of State and Defense and the White House. “[If] we get into a conflict, it’s not just going to be limited to the Indo-Pacific or to Europe—it’s going to be happening here.”

“Your ATM isn’t going to work, among other things,” continued Edelman. “We have not been honest with the American public about what we’re up against.”

China, for example, has established a political and economic stronghold in Africa, stressed commission chair Jane Harman, who served nine terms as the U.S. representative for California’s 36th congressional district. Since the launch of China’s Belt and Road Initiative in 2013, Chinese banks and companies have loaned more than \$1 trillion to more than 150 countries for infrastructure projects.

China “controls 95 percent of the processing capacity for rare earth elements without which we cannot make chips,” said Mara Rudman, a commissioner who served as deputy assistant to the president for national security affairs in the Obama and Clinton administrations.

The national security community must strengthen its partnerships with the private sector to increase assistance and investments in Africa and other regions, stressed Rudman. She is the James R. Schlesinger Distinguished Professor at the Miller Center and director of the Ripples of Hope project, which is developing solutions for building sustainable mineral supply chains.

“Every time China does something like Belt and Road, it gives them leverage in that country,” added Alissa Starzak, another commissioner and vice president of Cloudflare.

The war in Ukraine has similarly exacerbated the “deficiencies of our defense industrial base,” argued Edelman. “We’re facing a global challenge [with] Russia being financed and supplied with dual-use goods by China, procuring millions of rounds [of] ammunition from North Korea, and having drones supplied by Iran.”

Calling for stronger military assistance for Ukraine, General Jack Keane, commissioner and chairman of the Institute for the Study of War, criticized the U.S. for “holding systems back” from Ukraine “because of the fear of escalation by Russia.” The Europeans, Keane continued, “don’t believe that is fact-based.”

To effectively address critical threats posed by adversaries, U.S. defense planning must shift away from a “one-war construct,” which has “led to lack of preparedness,” argued Thomas Mahnken, commissioner and CEO of the Center for Strategic and Budgetary Assessments. In addition, the military must efficiently integrate new technology and elevate innovative leaders, the commissioners underscored.

Looking ahead to the 2024 presidential election, Rudman and Edelman urged the next president to significantly increase U.S. investment in national security spending, including for technology, and to more effectively counter misinformation and disinformation fueled by adversaries.

Furthermore, the commissioners called on the White House to clearly communicate to citizens the national security crises facing the nation.

“The price of gasoline, the price of your food, the very life that you live in this country is not separate and unrelated from how we’re positioned in the world,” said Rudman. “Everything is national security.”

WATCH THE NATIONAL DEFENSE STRATEGY COMMISSION EVENT AT millercenter.org/defense



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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.



Alexander Bick, faculty senior fellow, is associate professor of practice in public policy at the Frank Batten School of Leadership and Public Policy at the University of Virginia. His more than 20 years in national security policy and research include senior roles in the U.S. government, nonprofit organizations, and academic institutions. During the first year of the Biden administration, Bick served as director for strategic planning at the National Security Council. He led the "Tiger Team" charged with planning the U.S. response to Russia's invasion of Ukraine and helped craft the 2022 National Security Strategy. He previously served at the State Department and the White House in the Obama administration, where he played a key role developing the U.S. strategy to defeat the Islamic State in Iraq and Syria.



Lindsay M. Chervinsky, nonresident faculty senior fellow, is the executive director of the George Washington Presidential Library and a former senior fellow at the Center for Presidential History at Southern Methodist University. A renowned presidential historian, Chervinsky is the author of the award-winning book, *The Cabinet: George Washington and the Creation of an American Institution*, and coeditor of *Mourning the Presidents: Loss and Legacy in American Culture*, published by the Miller Center's Studies on the Presidency Series with UVA Press. Her newest book, *Making the Presidency: John Adams and the Precedents That Forged the Republic*, illustrates how Adams's leadership ensured the survival of America. She regularly writes for numerous publications, including *The Wall Street Journal* and *The Washington Post*.



Jeffrey W. Legro, nonresident faculty senior fellow, is University Professor at the University of Richmond, where he served from 2017 to 2023 as executive vice president and provost. An expert on international relations, Legro was previously vice provost for global affairs and Taylor Professor of Politics at the University of Virginia. He is the author of numerous books and articles, including *Rethinking the World: Great Power Strategies and International Order*, and coeditor of *Shaper Nations: Strategies for a Changing World* and *In Uncertain Times: American Foreign Policy after the Berlin Wall and 9/11*, a Miller Center of Public Affairs Book.



J. Stephen Morrison, practitioner senior fellow, is a senior vice president at the Center for Strategic and International Studies, where he directs its Global Health Policy Center. A former James R. Schlesinger Distinguished Professor at the Miller Center, Morrison has shaped decisions in Congress and in the White House on HIV/AIDS, reproductive health and gender equality, and health security, including pandemic preparedness. Morrison served in the Clinton administration on the secretary of state's policy planning staff and the House Foreign Affairs Subcommittee on Africa. He taught for 12 years at the Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies.



Gerard Robinson, faculty senior fellow, is a professor of practice in public policy and law at the Frank Batten School of Leadership and Public Policy and the School of Law at the University of Virginia. Robinson, a former fellow of practice at UVA's Institute for Advanced Studies in Culture, has written extensively about K-12 and higher education, public policy, economic mobility, after-school programs, and race. He previously served as executive director of the Center for Advancing Opportunity, commissioner of education for Florida, secretary of education for the Commonwealth of Virginia, and president of the Black Alliance for Educational Options.



Andrew Rudalevige, nonresident faculty senior fellow, is the Thomas Brackett Reed Professor of Government at Bowdoin College and an honorary professor affiliated with University College London's Center on United States Politics. He was a visiting professor at the London School of Economics and Political Science for the 2023-24 academic year. Specializing in American political institutions, Rudalevige has authored several award-winning books, including *By Executive Order: Bureaucratic Management and the Limits of Presidential Power*, and edited a series of volumes on the Bush and Obama presidencies. He is the host of "Founding Principles," a video series on American government and civics, and a contributor to *The Washington Post's* "Monkey Cage" blog and its successor site, *Good Authority*.



Hannah Knox Tucker, nonresident faculty senior fellow, is an assistant professor of history in the Department of Business Humanities and Law at the Copenhagen Business School. Her expertise includes the entrepreneurial and managerial functions of traders in the early modern Atlantic, with a focus on entrepreneurship in platform businesses, maritime contexts, and beyond. Utilizing historical and statistical methods, Tucker explores how major shifts in business practices have shaped culture and society. She is a member of the Center for Business History and works with the Miller Center's Project on Democracy and Capitalism.



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MILLER CENTER GOVERNING COUNCIL

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



Robert Bond comes from a distinguished career in the computer industry after working 16 years with Hewlett Packard and 14 years with Rational Software, which was acquired by IBM in 2003.

Managing non-U.S. businesses for HP and Rational, Bond held various positions in sales, marketing, and general management, including COO and CFO of Rational. After retiring from Rational in 1998, he served on the boards of several technology companies, including 13 years as a director of KLA, one of the world's largest semiconductor capital equipment suppliers. Bond has served on the Miller Center Foundation Board since November 2021.



Jennie Hantzmon has lived in Charlottesville, Virginia, for most of her life. She left to earn an undergraduate degree from the University of Chicago and an MA in elementary education and to

teach in Evanston, Illinois. She returned and raised four boys in Charlottesville, participating in various capacities in their schools and educations. Since then, she has volunteered at her church, for Meals on Wheels, in literacy, and at Our Lady of Angels Monastery in Crozet, Virginia. Hantzmon has served on the Miller Center Foundation Board since July 2021.



Haag Sherman, an attorney and certified public accountant, is the founder and CEO of Tectonic Financial. He is also a director of CBIZ, a provider of financial, insurance, and advisory services.

Sherman previously cofounded and served in various executive positions at Salient Partners, an investment firm, and was an executive officer and partner at the Redstone Companies. He also practiced corporate law at Akin, Gump, Strauss, Hauer & Feld LLP in Texas; was an auditor at PriceWaterhouse; and served as an adjunct professor of law at the University of Texas School of Law. He is the author of *Shattering Orthodoxies: An Economic and Foreign Policy Blueprint for America*.



Tanya Rivero Warren is an anchor for CBS News. She has more than a decade of experience on the CBS and ABC networks, where she has covered U.S. politics, world events, and breaking news. She hosted her

own show, *Lunch Break with Tanya Rivero*, for *The Wall Street Journal*, interviewing world leaders in business, the arts, and politics, including Jimmy Carter. She was previously an anchor on *ABC News Now* and the host of *Good Morning America Health*, *Good Money*, and *What's the Buzz*. Rivero Warren is a graduate of Yale University and the Columbia Graduate School of Journalism. Before attending Yale, she was a professional dancer and member of the New York City Ballet's corps de ballet.

MILLER CENTER FOUNDATION BOARD OF DIRECTORS

The Miller Center Foundation was established in 1987 to support the work of the Center and function as an ambassador to the public on behalf of its initiatives and programs.



Christopher "Kip" Acheson comes from an esteemed career in finance. He worked for First Interstate Bank as a senior vice president and northwest regional manager, serving nine years in Asia and

Australia. He later joined a wealth management firm, where he counseled clients on retirement and estate-planning strategies. In Portland, Oregon, he served on the boards of the Portland Art Museum and the World Affairs Council, before retiring and moving to Charlottesville, Virginia, with his wife, Dr. Elizabeth Carr, in 2017. Acheson and his wife are proud UVA graduates.



Ashley Waters Gundersen is an adjunct professor at the University of Virginia Law School, where she teaches a seminar on law enforcement policy and civil liberties and works pro bono

with law students on asylum cases. She serves as a trustee of Saint Anne's-Belfield School. Previously, she worked at the New York City Police Department as special counsel for intelligence affairs and counsel to the police commissioner. She began her law career at Akin Gump Strauss Hauer & Feld in New York. In addition, she maintained an extensive pro bono practice with an emphasis on asylum cases and served on the board of the Bronx Defenders.

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A SEAT AT THE TABLE

ANSELMI FAMILY INTERN PLAYED CRITICAL ROLE IN PRESIDENCY CONFERENCE

By BRIELLE ENTZMINGER

As Olivia Abbey listened to scholars discuss the crises facing the White House during the Miller Center's Conference on the American Presidency, she felt a burst of inspiration. "That cast a vision for me," said Abbey, the Miller Center's 2023 Anselmi Family Intern. "I could see myself in a seat at the table at the conference in the future."

Working directly with Miller Center Director and CEO William Antholis, Abbey played an instrumental role in organizing the two-day conference, which convened more than 60 experts on the American presidency in October 2023.

In summer 2023, Abbey assisted Antholis with drafting his essay framing the conference's focal discussion, "How to Fix the Presidency." She read books on the presidency selected by Antholis and summarized them for the conference briefing book. In addition, she wrote speaker biographies, helped edit participants' essays, compiled headshots, and coordinated

meetings. Following the conference, Abbey drafted event remarks and conducted presidential research throughout the fall 2023 and spring 2024 semesters.

In addition to gaining critical insight into presidential scholarship, the UVA alumna received support and mentorship from Antholis.

"He made time to check up on me [and] helped me network and set up meetings," said Abbey, a native of Reston, Virginia. "Even once I stopped working full time, he was still interested in my career search and trying to help me figure out what I'm passionate about."

Abbey graduated from the University of Virginia in May with a BA in public policy and leadership and in economics. Now a technical solutions engineer for Epic, a health care software company, Abbey is interested in pursuing a PhD in economics and conducting policy research in the future.

BY THE NUMBERS

 **585K**

Total YouTube views of clips from spring 2024 events



Country (apart from the United States) with the most viewers of the Center's Instagram content



Top two world cities with the most viewers of the Center's YouTube content

 **63h 5' 13"**

Total Instagram watch time of 55-second clip from the Center's January 23 event, "Year Zero: The Five-Year Presidency." The clip features Chris Liddell, deputy chief of staff for policy coordination during the Trump administration, comparing former President Donald Trump's 2016 and 2024 campaigns.

116K 

Number of views of the most popular Miller Center event clip on YouTube, excerpted from the March 25 event, "The Israel-Hamas Conflict: Ways Forward." The clip features Nimrod Novik, the Israel Policy Forum's Israeli Fellow, critiquing Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu's strategy in Gaza.

WHY I GIVE

SHARON CARBERRY IS A RETIRED GOVERNMENT ATTORNEY, HAVING SERVED IN CITY, COUNTY, AND STATE POSITIONS

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WHAT FIRST DREW YOU TO THE MILLER CENTER?

In 2019, I attended the Miller Center's Presidential Ideas Festival. Since that first in-person experience, my interest has been held, year after year, by event topics appealing to this former political science major.

WHY SUPPORT THE CENTER?

The University of Virginia is not my alma mater. I attended Ivy League schools at a time when professors were well credentialed, but their expertise was displayed by lecturing to students, never by participating in public events.

UVA has fostered a different and refreshing approach to its role as an educational institution. In the sphere of U.S. politics, this involves developing access to contemporary accounts of events on the federal or national level. Gaining that "inside track" is vital to understanding the dynamics as a whole—the very essence of political science. It is a welcome boost in our fragmented society to see the Miller Center and its circle of professional contacts all on board in that effort, resulting in event panels across the political spectrum.

WHAT ASPECT IS MOST IMPORTANT TO YOU?

There is an additional benefit for us to hear from experts and leaders in the structured but relaxed setting that the Miller Center provides. I appreciate that each event panel provides candid, relevant observations in language designed to engage the audience without overwhelming us with terminology. I am continually impressed by how well the audience's questions round out the total experience. Kudos to the Miller Center staff, who ensure that logistics unfold as scheduled while also extending a hearty welcome to each of us as individuals.

The array of sessions available remotely has allowed me to fully and more freely attend Miller Center events. My remaining a donor is a visible continuation of being in the Miller Center community. Those dollars speak for me on how the Miller Center's public engagement yields results.

READ ABOUT OTHER MILLER CENTER DONORS AT millercenter.org/donor-stories



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Thank you to the **1,070** friends, alumni, parents, and foundations that supported the Miller Center in fiscal year 2024. Your commitments totaled **\$4,142,036** to our annual fund, endowments, and special projects, bringing us to a total of **\$36.6 million** toward our campaign goal of \$40 million before June 30, 2025. We are deeply grateful to the thousands of donors who believe in our mission of providing high quality programming and expert research to policymakers, students, teachers, and citizens across the United State and around the world.

OUR COMPLETE HONOR ROLL OF DONORS WHO GAVE \$1,000+ IN FISCAL YEAR 2024 CAN BE FOUND AT millercenter.org/honor-roll24

American Paradox

insure domestic Tranquility, provide for the common Defense and our Posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution

TWELVE OF THE 18 PRESIDENTS WHO HELD OFFICE BETWEEN 1789 AND 1877 OWNED SLAVES

By GAUTHAM RAO

Associate professor of history at American University

Twelve of the 18 presidents who held office between 1789 and 1877 owned slaves. The striking reality that many of the nation's key political founders were enslavers led historian Edmund S. Morgan to contemplate the paradox that the same men who propounded important principles of individual freedom did so while enslaving almost an entire race of people.

GEORGE WASHINGTON

George Washington's estate, Mount Vernon, housed hundreds of enslaved people. Washington purchased some through the slave trade, and others were born into enslavement under Washington's control. After Washington married Martha Custis, she brought more than 80 enslaved people with her to Mount Vernon.



MOUNT VERNON WAS HOME TO MORE THAN 300 ENSLAVED PEOPLE WHEN GEORGE WASHINGTON DIED. THIS STRUCTURE IS A SLAVE CABIN AT MOUNT VERNON. CREDIT: TIM EVANSON

Most of Washington's slaves labored in Mount Vernon's fields, while others worked near or within the Washington home. Like many Virginia plantation owners, Washington used overseers to supervise labor and to mete out verbal admonitions and physical beatings when he deemed them necessary.

Even as the owner of several hundred enslaved people over his lifetime,

Washington had complicated views toward slavery. As the American Revolution gained steam, he helped frame the Fairfax Resolves, which protested British actions and criticized the Atlantic slave trade. During the War of Independence, however, he did not believe that free or enslaved black people should serve in the Continental Army until British attempts to recruit black soldiers forced his hand.

During the war, Washington instructed the man supervising Mount Vernon to reduce the number of black slaves while also noting that he did not want to separate families through slave sales. After the war, however, Washington led a decade-long quest to recapture one of his former slaves, Ona Judge, who had escaped and settled in New Hampshire. Washington further complicated his personal legacy with slavery by including in his will a plan to free one slave and to free more than 100 others only after the death of his wife.

THOMAS JEFFERSON

When Thomas Jefferson won the presidential election of 1800, he had been an enslaver for almost 50 years. Jefferson's slaves were held captive at his main residence, Monticello, near Charlottesville, Virginia, and other locations in the state.

During his lifetime, Jefferson owned more than 600 slaves, the most of any president, and he closely controlled the management of slave labor at Monticello. He generally did not believe in separating families of enslaved people because keeping them together would lead to reproduction and natural population growth, obviating the need to buy new slaves through the slave trade. Violence against enslaved people was common at Monticello, although historians believe Jefferson likely did not personally whip or otherwise physically torture them.

According to historian Annette Gordon-Reed, Jefferson's sexual interactions with an enslaved woman, Sally Hemings, likely led to her giving birth to six or seven children. Gordon-Reed points to the preferential treatment of the Hemings children as circumstantial evidence that Jefferson more closely regarded them than any other enslaved people at Monticello: several were spared onerous labor as children, and all were eventually freed. Moreover, Gordon-Reed has traced how since Jefferson's death, historians and others invested in preserving Jefferson's reputation had purposefully obscured the Hemings connection. DNA testing in the late 1990s suggested strongly that he could not be ruled out as the father, and most scholarly historians now view it as likely that he was.

As president and in his private life and writings, Jefferson developed a contradictory record on slavery. He directed the Louisiana Purchase, which eventually led to the massive growth of plantation slavery in the Gulf South and beyond. However, he also permitted American merchants to trade with Haitian revolutionaries against French enslavers and the French government, and in 1808 he signed a law that criminalized participation in the international slave trade. In his autobiography, Jefferson suggested that slavery would eventually end and that black enslaved people would be freed. Nevertheless, in his earlier and popular work, *Notes on the State of Virginia*, Jefferson wrote that black people were inferior to whites. Perhaps most damning was Jefferson's lack of care for the enslaved people at Monticello after his death. More than 100 were sold to help cover Jefferson's debts, leading to the traumatic separation of families and their removal from Monticello.

JAMES MADISON

James Madison, who succeeded Jefferson as president in 1809, came from a large slaveholding family in Orange County, Virginia. In his lifetime,

The United States, in order to form a more perfect Union, establish Justice, promote the general Welfare, and secure the Blessings of Liberty for the United States of America.

Madison emancipated only one enslaved person, Billey. Billey went to Philadelphia with Madison and lived with him during the Continental Congress. Madison believed that Billey had learned too much about what it meant to be free to return to live as a slave. Madison seemed to fear that Billey might teach other enslaved people about the freedom he had experienced in the North and endanger the institution of slavery at Montpelier, Madison's estate. The rest of the people Madison owned as slaves he bequeathed to his wife.

Madison's political thought, which is widely considered pivotal to the creation of the United States, featured ambivalence about the morality and importance of slavery. On one hand, Madison questioned whether slavery should be a fundamental part of the American experience. At the Constitutional Convention, he criticized the slave trade and quipped that it would be wrong to codify in the Constitution the principle that human beings could be held as property.



MORE THAN 300 ENSLAVED PEOPLE LIVED AND WORKED IN THE SLAVE QUARTERS AT JAMES MADISON'S FAMILY PLANTATION, MONTEPELIER, NEAR ORANGE, VIRGINIA. CREDIT: MIKE MIRIELLO

But Madison's brief dalliance with antislavery thought receded by the time he was secretary of state during the Jefferson administration. When Madison became president, he imported to the White House several enslaved people from Montpelier.

As historian Paris Amanda Spies-Gans explains, Madison abandoned his principles when he sold enslaved people to cope with mounting financial woes at Montpelier. Fifteen years after leaving the White House, Madison became president of the American Colonization Society (ACS), which was founded in 1816 and advocated for the deportation of the free black population in the United States to colonies in Africa.

JAMES MONROE

James Monroe was born to a prosperous family in Virginia and inherited land and enslaved people. In 1799, Monroe moved to Highland, a plantation worked by enslaved people outside of Charlottesville, Virginia. During his time as governor of Virginia, Monroe dealt with Gabriel's Rebellion in 1800, when he called out the local military guard to thwart a planned slave uprising in Richmond, Virginia. This event led Monroe to support colonization out of a desire to protect the white population of Virginia

from possible slave rebellions. By deporting the free black community, Monroe believed, slavery in Virginia would be less susceptible to the kind of unrest that had occurred during Gabriel's Rebellion. While Monroe was president, Congress appropriated \$100,000 to the ACS, and the transportation of African Americans to Liberia began in 1820. The ACS memorialized Monroe's support for the project by naming the colony's capital city Monrovia.

ANDREW JACKSON

Andrew Jackson had a large number of enslaved people who worked in the cotton fields of his plantation, The Hermitage, near Nashville, Tennessee. Jackson participated in the slave trade to grow his slave labor force to more than 150 people by the time he died in 1845. Jackson's concern for the preservation of his wealth and property meant he expected overseers to avoid excessive violence toward the enslaved population. On the other hand, Jackson demanded vicious retribution against enslaved people when he wanted it. He once placed an advertisement for the capture of a runaway slave that offered \$10 extra for "every hundred lashes" the captor laid on the captive.

PRESIDENTS VAN BUREN, HARRISON, TYLER, POLK, TAYLOR, JOHNSON, AND GRANT

Most of the remaining presidents who owned slaves supported the political cause of slavery. The exception was Martin Van Buren, who was president from 1837 to 1841. Van Buren's slave Tom ran away before Van Buren's ascent in politics, and Tom lived free in Worcester, Massachusetts. A slave catcher offered to capture Tom, but Van Buren, who became an ardent opponent of slavery after he left office, never finalized the agreement.

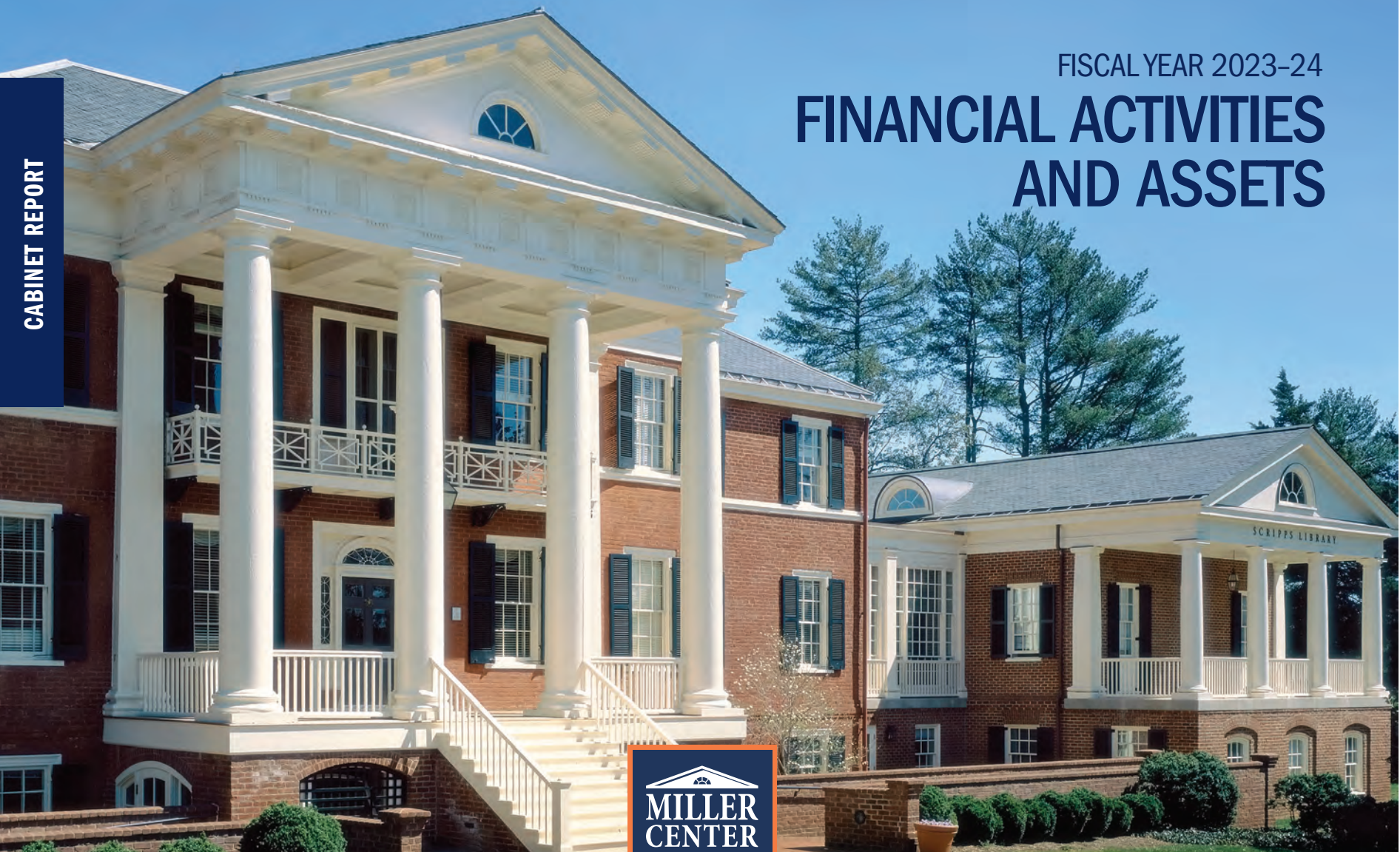
Van Buren's successor, William Henry Harrison, owned slaves by inheritance and, while governor of Indiana, had previously attempted to liberalize slave owning there. After Harrison died in office, John Tyler, another enslaver who was part of a prominent slave-owning family in Virginia, became president. He oversaw the annexation of Texas as a slave state in December 1845. President James K. Polk owned several plantations and even purchased enslaved people during his presidential tenure.

Zachary Taylor greatly benefited from slave labor. He had inherited two slaves from his father but later purchased a plantation in Mississippi that included a large number of enslaved persons. He had enslaved servants in the White House while also supervising his Mississippi plantation's operations from the nation's capital.

Andrew Johnson is believed to have owned as many as eight slaves at once. And Ulysses S. Grant owned one slave, whom he freed in 1859, two years before the Civil War started and Grant enlisted as a Union officer.

LEARN MORE ABOUT PRESIDENTS AND SLAVERY AT
millercenter.org/slavery

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 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 2024, the Center recognized \$1.6 million of revenue secured in previous years and secured \$1.7 million in revenue to be recognized in future years.

Endowments compose the largest financial asset for both the Miller Center and the Miller Center Foundation. For fiscal year 2024, endowment distributions constituted 52.3 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.

The endowment distribution rate for Miller Center endowments follows that set by the University's Board of Visitors and was 4.1 percent for fiscal year 2024. The endowment distribution rate for Miller Center Foundation endowments for fiscal year 2024 was 5.0 percent.

UVIMCO realized an overall rate of return for the fiscal year ending June 30, 2024, of 7.5 percent; a three-year annualized rate of return of 1.5 percent; and a five-year annualized rate of return of 10.4 percent. Total market value for Center and Foundation endowments increased from \$104.4 million on June 30, 2023, to \$107.2 million on June 30, 2024. This increase includes new contributions of \$813,000 and market performance, less distributions and other expenses.

Effective July 1, 2022, the University implemented a new financial model in which it imposes a tax on each school or unit on its direct expenses and in which it also charges each school or unit a facilities fee. The University tax and facilities fee totaled \$1.86 million for the Miller Center in fiscal year 2024. The operating support totaled \$1.27 million.

The Miller Center and Miller Center Foundation ended fiscal year 2024 with net income for programs and operations of \$616,500, total net income of \$24,400, and cash balances exceeding \$5.23 million.

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

FISCAL YEAR 2023-24

MILLER CENTER AND MILLER CENTER FOUNDATION SUMMARY OF FINANCIAL ACTIVITIES

INCOME FOR PROGRAMS/OPERATIONS	FY2024	FY2023
Endowment Distribution	\$ 4,498,774	\$ 3,925,145
Endowment Assessment Fee Rebate	415,054	454,469
Gifts & Grants	3,194,154	3,200,615
University of Virginia	392,578	80,774
Other	159,302	5,699
Deferred Revenue, Recognized	1,642,182	1,545,726
Deferred Revenue, Unrecognized	(1,707,687)	(1,838,345)
TOTAL	\$ 8,594,358	\$ 7,374,082

EXPENSE FOR PROGRAMS/OPERATIONS	FY2024	FY2023
Presidential Studies	\$ 2,347,819	\$ 2,201,446
Policy Research	1,649,492	1,321,591
Marketing & Communications	1,230,261	1,232,978
Executive Office & Governing Council	980,054	893,418
Administration & Operations	852,020	822,427
Advancement	571,233	494,524
Library & Information Services	259,157	235,250
Foundation Operations	87,856	77,116
TOTAL	\$ 7,977,893	\$ 7,278,750

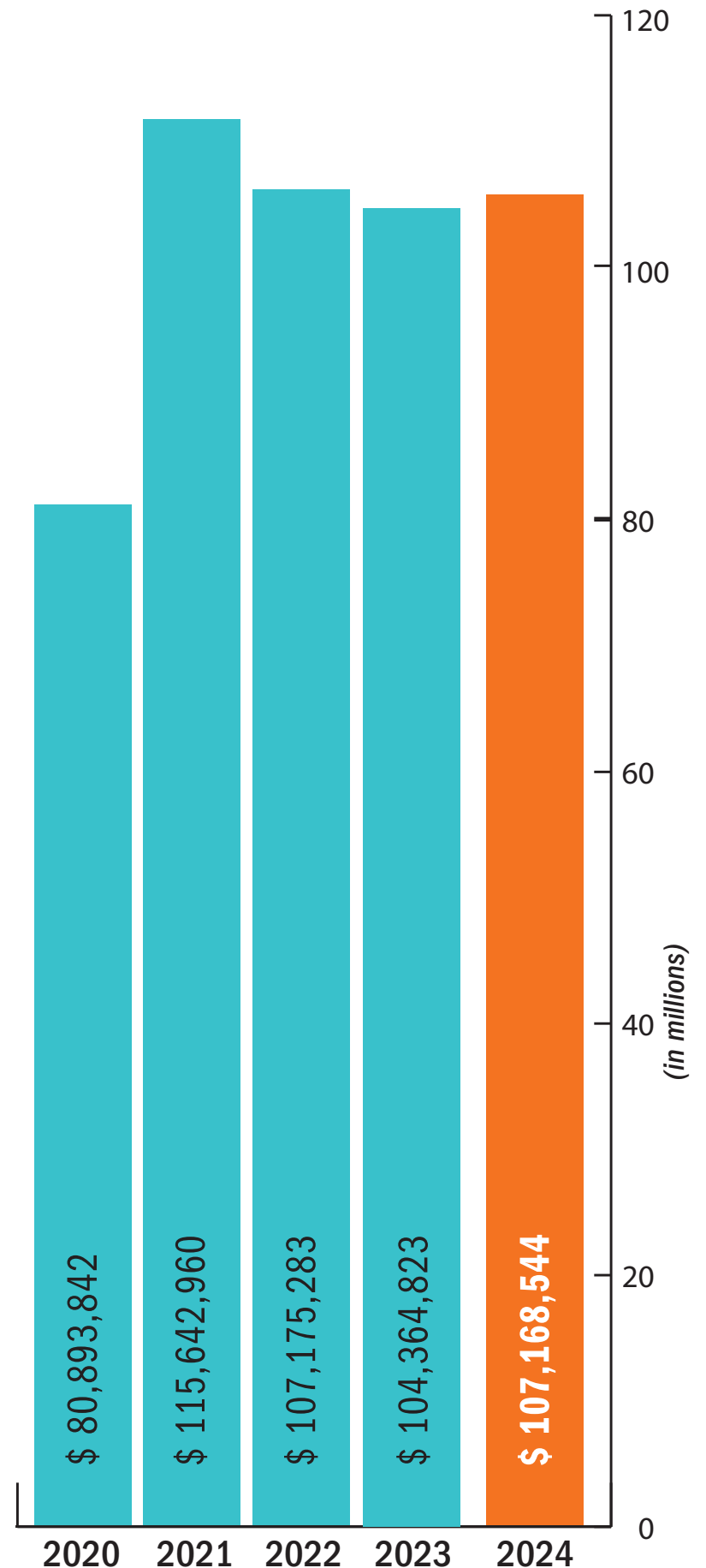
NET INCOME FOR PROGRAMS/OPERATIONS	\$ 616,466	\$ 95,332
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[Plus] UVA Operating Support	\$ 1,269,765	\$ 1,250,946
[Less] UVA University Tax & Facilities Fee	1,862,359	1,813,003
[Plus] New Contributions Designated for Endowment	812,829	369,989
[Less] Transfers of Contributions Designated for Endowment	812,331	369,989
TOTAL NET INCOME	\$ 24,370	\$ (466,724)

Cash Balance, Beginning	\$ 5,141,146	\$ 5,315,252
[Less] Deferred Revenue, Recognized	1,642,182	1,545,726
[Plus] Deferred Revenue, Unrecognized	1,707,687	1,838,345
CASH BALANCE, ENDING	\$ 5,231,020	\$ 5,141,146

MILLER CENTER AND MILLER CENTER FOUNDATION ENDOWMENT AND QUASI-ENDOWMENT MARKET VALUE

As of June 30 each year



NOTES FROM THE MILLER CENTER

In 1966, Burkett Miller, a graduate of the University of Virginia School of Law, wrote to UVA President Edgar Shannon, inquiring whether UVA would consider establishing a school of public policy. In ensuing discussions with University leaders, the plan changed to create a free-standing "non-political forum where recognized authorities can assemble, consider matters of national importance, and provide facilities for research, teaching, and dissemination of knowledge." That forum became the Miller Center under the terms of the founding memorandum of understanding that was signed in November 1973, and the Center's doors opened on September 1, 1975.



FIFTY YEARS
1975-2025



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CHARLOTTESVILLE, VA
PERMIT NO. 164

MILLER, MARTIN, HITCHING, TIPTON & LENIHAN
VOLUNTEER STATE LIFE BUILDING
CHATTANOOGA, TENNESSEE 37402

November 9, 1966

AREA CODE 615
TELEPHONE 267-1191

Mr. Edgar F. Shannon, Jr., President
The University of Virginia
Charlottesville, Virginia

Dear Mr. Shannon:

I am a graduate of the Law School, Class of 1914, and through the years I have retained my love of the University.

As result of good fortune in business ventures in a number of directions I have accumulated a substantial estate and have now reached the point in life where I am seeking a plan of disposal that will afford me a measure of satisfaction and serve as a memorial to my father. A school within a school, such as the Woodrow Wilson School at Princeton, occurs to me as meeting the idea that I have in mind. This leads me to inquire whether you think such a school might have any merit at the University.

In my thinking respecting such a school I have assumed that the fund provided would be adequate for capital improvements and for a sustaining endowment. I have further assumed that such a school could be established pursuant to a resolution of the legislature that would permit the school to function without legislative influence.

Very truly yours,

Burkett Miller

Memorandum of Understanding and Agreement
for Establishment of the
WHITE BURKETT MILLER CENTER OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS
at the University of Virginia

THIS MEMORANDUM OF UNDERSTANDING AND AGREEMENT made this 29th day of November, 1973, by and between the Governor of the Commonwealth of Virginia, the Board of Visitors of the University of Virginia, the University of Virginia, and Burkett Miller, Donor:.

W I T N E S S E T H:

WHEREAS, Burkett Miller, hereinafter referred to as "Donor," has long felt a national need for a non-political forum at which recognized authorities could assemble, consider and discuss matters of national importance, and

WHEREAS, such forum should provide facilities for research, teaching and dissemination of knowledge and should be an integral part of a university qualified to provide these functions, and

WHEREAS, the University of Virginia in Charlottesville, founded by Thomas Jefferson, the great humanitarian philosopher and defender of intellectual freedom, would be an appropriate home for a facility dedicated to those ideas and purposes, and

11/12/73