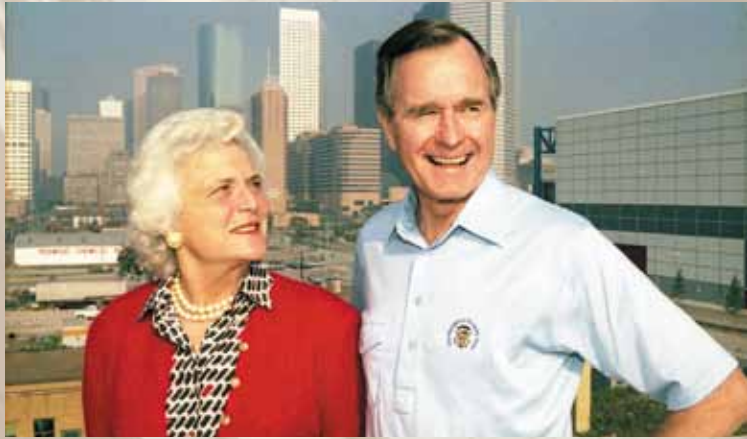




2010-2011  
**ANNUAL REPORT**



**HISTORY.**



**POLICY.**



**IMPACT.**



**HISTORY. POLICY. IMPACT.**

**The Miller Center** is a nonpartisan institute at the University of Virginia focused on the presidency, policy and political history—that works to inform public debate and national decisionmaking. It is the leading organization in the country looking to provide historical insights for the policymaking challenges the country faces today. These insights put today’s policy debates in perspective and point toward a framework for practical, lasting solutions, in a time when sound nonpartisan thinking grounded in the perspective of history is certainly needed.

Our groundbreaking work in conducting the official presidential oral history projects of every administration from Jimmy Carter through now George W. Bush, and likewise in transcribing and annotating the secret White House tapes of FDR through Nixon, gives the Miller Center unparalleled ability to bring context and insight to policy challenges. This work provides first-hand accounts of how previous administrations have dealt with difficult and complex issues. U.Va. in fact has a particular connection with the U.S. presidency, from the time of Jefferson, Madison, and Monroe, through Woodrow Wilson—which the Miller Center carries forward to the present.

Miller Center scholars are leaders in their fields, publishing with Oxford, Cambridge, Harvard, Cornell, and the University of Chicago, among others, and studying political decisionmaking and its impact on policy development, both with regards to the presidency and to U.S. policy more broadly. This scholarship can point to major practical insights. The work of the approximately 50 faculty and staff in our offices in Charlottesville and Washington is summarized in three words: *“History. Policy. Impact.”*

# Letter from the Director

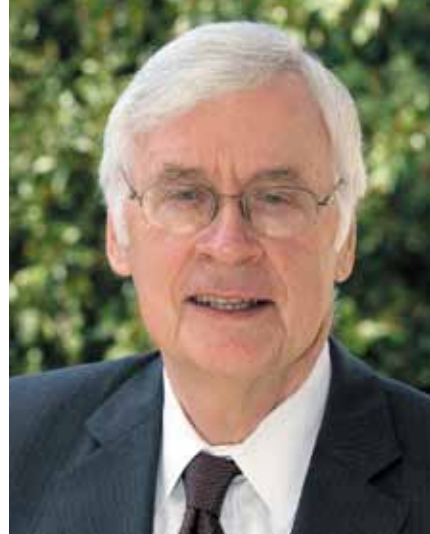
## History. Policy. Impact.

These three words, which are featured on our new logo, sum up what we do at the Miller Center.

From groundbreaking work conducting the official oral histories of presidents, to a web site that draws millions interested in political history—we focus on history. From policy reports that have caught the attention of the White House and Congress, to policy conferences that bring great minds together—we focus on policy. And by bringing these disciplines together and providing historical insight to the many policy challenges the country faces today, we are making a significant impact.

Let me give you just a few examples from this past year:

- Working with two former U.S. Secretaries of Transportation, we released a report on how to fix the nation's overburdened transportation system. A week later, President Obama held up our report in the Rose Garden. Subsequently, recommendations in our report have been included in congressional legislation.
- Our scholars published groundbreaking books, including both print and digital volumes of transcripts of Lyndon Johnson's White House tapes, providing an inside look at how Johnson handled issues that hold important lessons for today.
- 9.5 million people visited millercenter.org. With a newly redesigned web site that makes it easier to search deep within our extensive archives, that number is expected to grow.
- More and more PBS stations are carrying Forums and other Miller Center events. Our programs now air on more than 120 PBS stations in more than 100 markets across the country.
- Both the White House and the Pentagon were briefed on our report on



*"This past summer, I was delighted and honored to sign on to serve another five years as director of the Miller Center. The first five years were exhilarating, and I have a feeling the next five will be even better."*

how to improve U.S.-China relations. The report received media coverage all over the world.

- The Miller Center Fellows Program has now helped launch the careers of more than 100 scholars, many of whom now teach at leading colleges and universities.

Throughout this annual report, you will see many more examples of the Center's impact. With a busy year ahead, the list will undoubtedly grow.

This fall, we'll release the George H.W. Bush Oral History Project. We'll launch a new Forum season. We'll convene the fourth annual Mortimer Caplin Conference on the World Economy and another David R. Goode Transportation Policy Conference. And as we renovate our historic Charlottesville facilities, we'll also move our Washington office to a new building overlooking the White House.

This past summer, I was delighted and honored to sign on to serve another five years as director of the Miller Center. The first five years were exhilarating, and I have a feeling the next five will be even better.

Thank you for your continued contributions to the Center. It is because of your support that we can have such important impact on the course of public affairs in America.

Gerald L. Baliles  
Director & CEO, Miller Center



Top: Gov. Gerald L. Baliles (left) and Foundation Board Chairman Joe Gladden and his wife Sally stand in front of the Miller Center's new logo. Bottom: Former Virginia Governor Linwood Holton (left) of the Miller Center Governing Council and Council Chairman Gene Fife.





# HISTORY



## Presidential Studies

From acclaimed new volumes of Lyndon Johnson's White House tapes to a groundbreaking book about domestic policymaking, this year brought several major releases from the Miller Center's Presidential Studies scholars, with another much-anticipated release coming this fall.

In October, the Miller Center's Oral History Program will release the George H.W. Bush Oral History Project. Launched in 1999, the Bush project is an ambitious effort to record for history the recollections and reflections of key figures in the Bush administration. The full Bush oral history will consist of 56 interviews and roughly 500 hours of recorded conversations with cabinet members, presidential staff, campaign advisers, and others. Among those interviewed were Vice President Dan Quayle, Secretary of State James Baker (who also served as White House Chief of Staff), Defense Secretary Dick Cheney, Attorney General Richard Thornburgh, Press Secretary Marlin Fitzwater, and British Prime Minister John Major.

The Miller Center will hold a two-day

conference in Charlottesville to open the oral history. Former Bush administration officials, including National Security Adviser Brent Scowcroft and White House Chief of Staff John Sununu, will join scholars from across the nation to discuss topics ranging from President Bush's foreign and domestic policies to the roots of his political ideas.

At the conference, scholars will release a book of interview excerpts exploring the major issues of Bush's presidency, including the 1988 and 1992 campaigns, the Persian Gulf War, the Tiananmen Square uprising, the end of the Cold War, the 1990 budget battle, and the nominations of David Souter and Clarence Thomas to the Supreme Court. Cleared transcripts will be available on the Miller Center's web site.

The Bush project will be the third official presidential oral history released by the Miller Center. The Center has already released the oral histories of the Carter and Reagan administrations.

The Miller Center is also conducting the official oral histories of Bill Clinton and George W. Bush. Interviews for the

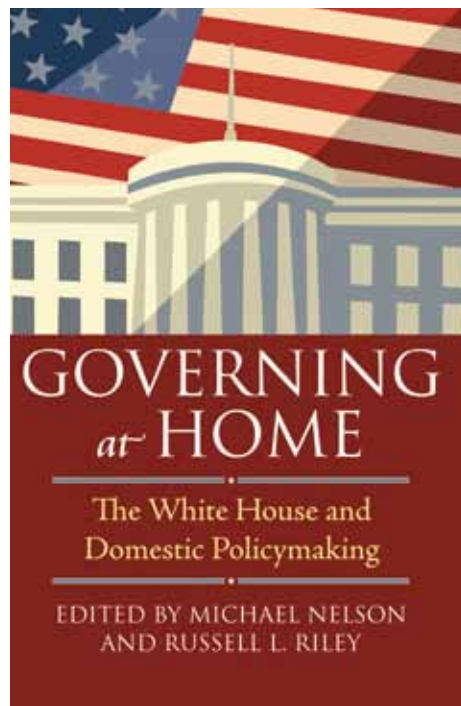
Clinton project are nearly complete, while interviews for the George W. Bush oral history are still underway. Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice, Attorney General Alberto Gonzales, and Press Secretary Ari Fleischer are among those who have recently been interviewed. The George W. Bush project's advisory board welcomed two new members this year: White House Chief of Staff Andy Card and the Miller Center's James Young.

Interviews for the Edward M. Kennedy Oral History Project are also nearing completion. The Kennedy project recently took Miller Center scholars to Ireland, where they interviewed former Prime Minister Bertie Ahern and Sinn Fein leader Gerry Adams.

This past year, the Oral History Program also hosted a successful symposium on Jack Kemp and the tax reforms of the 1980s. Participants included former Sen. Bill Bradley, Alan Murray of *The Wall Street Journal*, and veteran journalist Morton Kondracke.

Another Miller Center symposium was turned into a book. In September, the Oral History Program released

From left to right: Oral History Program Chair Russell Riley with Pres. George H.W. Bush. The Presidential Recordings Program released the Lyndon B. Johnson print volumes in April. PRP Chair David Coleman moderates an event in April at the National Archives.







“Governing at Home: The President and Domestic Policymaking,” which was based on a conference that brought together White House domestic policy advisers from six administrations. The book was edited by Russell Riley, chair of the Oral History Program, and Michael Nelson, a political science professor at Rhodes College and senior fellow at the Miller Center.

The Miller Center’s Presidential Recordings Program also had a busy year, releasing major publications of Lyndon Johnson’s White House tapes in both print and digital formats.

In April, scholars released volumes seven and eight in their series of transcripts of the Johnson tapes. “The Presidential Recordings, Lyndon B. Johnson: Mississippi Burning and the Passage of the Civil Rights Act, June 1, 1964–July 4, 1964” includes more than 1,000 pages of candid and uncensored conversations Johnson had during a critical 34-day period. According to a starred review in *Publisher’s Weekly*, the volumes are “a significant record of American history in the making, and for anyone fascinated by LBJ or the inner workings of the White House, this is an invaluable record.”

Editors Guian McKee, Kent Germany, and David Carter were joined by Pulitzer Prize-winning author Taylor Branch at an event at the National Archives in Washington, D.C. to release the volumes. In a discussion moderated by David Coleman, chair of the Presidential Recordings Program, the group played



several Johnson tapes, providing scene-setting details.

This past year, the Presidential Recordings Program, together with U.Va. Press’ Rotunda imprint, also released “The Presidential Recordings of Lyndon B. Johnson, Digital Edition.” A unique online resource of transcripts and audio, the recordings provide an unprecedented look at how Johnson dealt with three very different but crucial issues: the Vietnam War, the War on Poverty, and civil rights. This collection will grow considerably in the coming years as new material is added from both the Johnson and Nixon tapes.

White House tapes transcribed by the Presidential Recordings Program received high-profile media coverage this year. A *New York Times* Sunday editorial and CNN featured a newly transcribed conversation between Johnson and future Supreme Court Justice Thurgood Marshall. The media also continued to



Top left: LBJ volume editors joined Taylor Branch (second from right) at an event in April at the National Archives. Top right: The oral history team interviews Condoleezza Rice for the George W. Bush Oral History. Above: Bob Strong of Washington and Lee (left) and Russell Riley (right) interview former British Prime Minister John Major (center) for the George H.W. Bush Oral History.

turn to Miller Center scholars for historical perspective on current events. Throughout the year, scholars appeared in many major outlets, including *The Washington Post*, *USA Today*, the *Associated Press*, *Slate*, *ABC News*, *CNN*, and *NPR*. C-SPAN also regularly covered Presidential Studies events.

## IMPACT.

Former presidents and those who worked with them have much to teach future generations and future leaders about the inner workings of the presidency. Through the Presidential Recordings Program, we learn more every day about the administrations of John Kennedy, Lyndon Johnson and Richard Nixon as new tapes are transcribed and we hear presidents in their own words grapple with issues that have historical significance for today. The Oral History Program gives us an in-depth look at the administrations of every president from Jimmy Carter to George W. Bush through the eyes of those who saw it firsthand. Now that White House tape recorders have stopped rolling and demands for information from Congress have deterred many officials from keeping written notes, this is knowledge that otherwise may have been lost to history forever.



Right: Andrea Mitchell moderates a conference panel with Sen. Jim Webb, John Negroponte, and John Warner.

## Ronald Reagan Centennial Conference

“I’m so pleased that the Miller Center will again honor my husband in a special way on his Centennial Birthday. Or, as he would have called it, the 39th anniversary of his 61st birthday.”

These were the words of Nancy Reagan when the Miller Center was chosen to host a conference to commemorate President Ronald Reagan’s 100th birthday and reflect on his legacy in foreign policy.

Held at the National Press Club in

Washington, D.C. on Feb. 10, the conference featured a roundtable on Reagan’s global legacy, moderated by Andrea Mitchell, NBC News chief foreign affairs correspondent. Roundtable participants included Sen. Jim Webb; former Sen. John Warner; John Negroponte, former U.S. ambassador to the United Nations and former director of national intelligence; and Richard Haass, president of the Council on Foreign Relations.

### IMPACT.

A select group of Reagan conference participants have turned their presentations into original essays in “Reagan in a World Transformed, 1989–2011.” This volume, scheduled to be published in the summer of 2012, has been edited by Reagan scholars Paul Kengor and Jeff Chidester. Kengor’s books include the New York Times bestseller “God and Ronald Reagan.” Chidester, who also serves as the Miller Center’s director of public programs, is the author of “At Reagan’s Side: Insiders’ Recollections from Sacramento to the White House.”

The impact of Reagan’s foreign policy still draws the attention of both national and international media—the Miller Center’s conference was covered by various news outlets, including NBC News, the Toronto Star, and the Globe and Mail.

*“He never sought to get even with anybody except by the triumph of his ideas. He struck me as a leader more interested in healing old wounds than in settling old scores.”*

—BRIAN MULRONEY

In a keynote address the following day, former Canadian Prime Minister Brian Mulroney gave his personal thoughts on Reagan as a leader and friend. “He never sought to get even with anybody except by the triumph of his ideas,” said Mulroney. “He struck me as a leader more interested in healing old wounds than in settling old scores.”

More than twenty additional scholars, journalists, and policymakers participated in other panel discussions throughout the conference:

- **Kiron Skinner**, an associate professor at Carnegie Mellon University and a fellow at the Hoover Institution, and **Michael Barone**, Washington Examiner senior political analyst, sat in on a panel about Reagan, partisan politics, and foreign policy.





Top: Former Canadian Prime Minister Brian Mulroney gives the Reagan conference's keynote address. Bottom: Kiron Skinner discusses Reagan and partisanship.

- **Melvyn Leffler**, a faculty associate at the Miller Center and a U.Va. history professor, moderated a panel on Reagan's defense buildup and its effects.
- On his panel, **Robert Kagan**, a senior fellow at the Brookings Institution and a Washington Post columnist, explored Reagan and the global democratic movement.
- **Zalmay Khalilzad**, former U.S. ambassador to the United Nations, Iraq, and Afghanistan, participated on a panel about Reagan and international institutions.

The Miller Center conference was part of the Reagan Centennial Celebration organized by the Reagan Presidential Foundation and Library to honor Reagan's legacy. The University of Southern California, the University of Notre Dame, and the U.S. Naval Academy also held conferences.

Archived webcasts of the entire conference are available at [millercenter.org/academic/reagancentennial/video](http://millercenter.org/academic/reagancentennial/video).



Above: The History Behind the Headlines class, which is led by Brent Cebul (left, in glasses), meets at the Miller Center. Below: The class sat in on Princeton professor John Ikenberry's colloquium.

## History Behind the Headlines

This spring, the Miller Center teamed up with U.Va.'s history and politics departments to launch History Behind the Headlines, a new undergraduate course that examines the historical context behind today's most pressing political and policy questions. The Miller Center's Governing Era in a Global Era (GAGE) colloquia helped facilitate the series, which encourages participant collaboration on projects related to politics, history, and current affairs.

At each class, twelve undergraduate students gathered and discussed the weekly reading assignments, attended the colloquium, and participated in conversations, often with the featured speaker. Topics ranged from health care and partisan polarization to America's role in the world and the state of the economy. Students also wrote op-ed style pieces based on lessons learned from the colloquium speakers' expertise and research.

History Behind the Headlines was



fostered by Lily Bowles, a fourth-year political and social thought major. Bowles was inspired to encourage starting the series after attending many Miller Center Forums and colloquia.

Brent Cebul, History Behind the Headlines instructor and U.Va. graduate student in history, sees a significant potential for the course in the future.



## Forums

Miller Center Forums continued to educate and entertain the many people who watched them in person, on PBS, on C-SPAN, or on the web this past year. This year's impressive group of speakers included:

**September 3, 2010**

**Brantly Womack**, U.Va. foreign-affairs professor  
 "China's Peaceful Leap Forward: China and the World Since 2008"

**September 10, 2010**

**Ryan Crocker**, former U.S. ambassador to Iraq, Pakistan, Syria, Kuwait, and Lebanon  
 "Lessons From a Long War: Iraq, Afghanistan, and History"

**September 13, 2010**

**William B. Quandt**, U.Va. politics professor  
 "Obama's Foreign Policy Agenda for the Coming Year"

**September 17, 2010**

**John Harris and Jonathan Martin**, Politico  
 "Prospects for the Obama Administration After the Mid-Term Elections"

**September 24, 2010**

**Ronald G. Dimberg**, U.Va. history professor  
 "Perspectives on Contemporary Korea"

**September 27, 2010**

**John M. Owen**, U.Va. politics professor  
 "The Clash of Ideas in World Politics: Transnational Networks, States, and Regime Change 1500-2010"

**October 11, 2010**

**Michael A. Battle**, U.S. ambassador to the African Union  
 "The Significance of Africa to U.S. Foreign Policy"

From top to bottom: Former U.S. Ambassador Ryan Crocker examines the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan. Politico's Jonathan Martin and John Harris explore how the 2010 midterm elections might affect the Obama administration. U.Va.'s John Owen describes how ideological struggles have been a common theme throughout history.



From left to right: Peter Warren Singer of the Brookings Institution discusses the implications of robotics in the 21st century. Civil rights advocate and litigator Michelle Alexander theorizes that mass incarceration is the biggest obstacle to racial justice. Jan Crawford, CBS News chief legal correspondent, summarizes recent Supreme Court rulings.

**October 15, 2010**

**David J. Hayes**, deputy secretary of the interior  
“Gulf Oil Spill”

**November 8, 2010**

**William W. Freehling**, Civil War expert  
“Showdown in Virginia: The 1861 Convention and the Fate of the Union”

**November 15, 2010**

**Peter Warren Singer**, senior Brookings fellow  
“Wired for War”

**December 3, 2010**

**Michelle Alexander**, civil rights advocate and litigator  
“The New Jim Crow: Mass Incarceration in the Age of Colorblindness”

**December 10, 2010**

**Jan Crawford**, CBS News chief legal correspondent  
“The Fall Term of the U.S. Supreme Court”

**January 24, 2011**

**Scott Atran**, suicide terrorism expert  
“Talking to the Enemy: Faith, Brotherhood, and the (Un)Making of Terrorists”

**January 27, 2011**

**Isabel Wilkerson**, Pulitzer Prize-winning author and New York Times Chicago bureau chief  
“The Warmth of Other Suns: The Epic Story of America’s Great Migration”

**January 31, 2011**

**William I. Hitchcock**, U.Va. history professor  
“Liberation: A New Look at the End of World War II in Europe”

**February 21, 2011**

**Gary Gallagher**, U.Va. history professor  
“Remembering the Civil War”

**March 4, 2011**

**Michael F. Holt**, U.Va. history professor  
“By One Vote: The Disputed Presidential Election of 1876”

## IMPACT.

During George Gilliam’s time leading the Forum program, it has featured more than 50 leading public officials, journalists, and scholars each year. Both the Forum program and the National Discussion and Debate Series, produced in partnership with MacNeil/Lehrer Productions, have attracted national television audiences on PBS. The 55 Forums produced during the 2010–11 academic year have been seen on more than 120 PBS member stations in more than 100 markets across the country. Archived webcasts of Forums are available at [millercenter.org](http://millercenter.org).





From left to right: Scott Atran delves into the world of suicide terrorism. Pulitzer Prize-winning author Isabel Wilkerson spoke on African-American migration to major American cities between the World Wars. U.Va. history professor Gary Gallagher discusses the legacy of the Civil War.

**March 11, 2011**

**Elliot Abrams**, former deputy national security advisor to President George W. Bush  
 “The ‘Peace Process’ and the Middle East Peace”

**March 28, 2011**

**Andrew Kohut**, president and director of the Pew Research Center  
 “Understanding Public Opinion in an Era of Discontent”

**April 20, 2011**

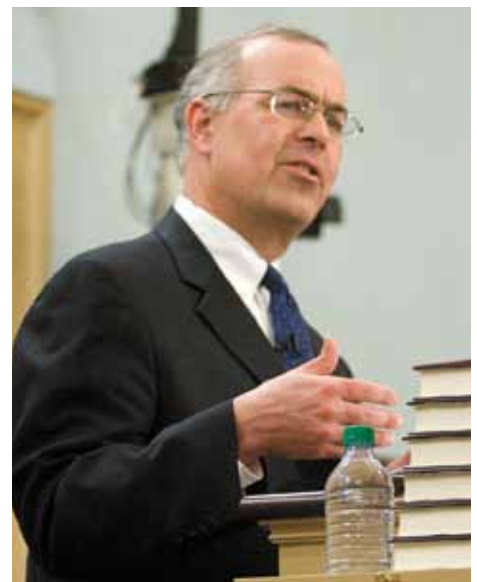
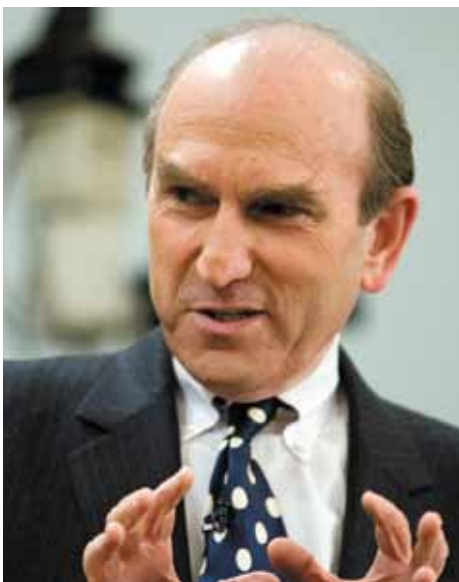
**David Brooks**, New York Times columnist  
 “The Social Animal”

**May 11, 2011**

**David E. Sanger**, New York Times chief Washington correspondent and senior writer  
 “WikiLeaks and the Toppling of Dictators: A Winter of Global Surprises”

CBS News Legal Analyst Jack Ford visited the Miller Center twice over the past academic year (in October 2010 and February 2011) to discuss “Trials of the Century.”

Archived webcasts of these and other Forums are available at [millercenter.org](http://millercenter.org).



From left to right: Elliot Abrams, former national security advisor, shares his experiences working for Middle East peace. The Pew Research Center's Andrew Kohut reveals the Center's latest poll results. The New York Times' David Brooks explains how the unconscious mind can influence ordinary social interactions.



Left: CBS News Legal Analyst Jack Ford spoke at two Forums this past academic year.  
Below: George Gilliam welcomes a Forum audience.



### George Gilliam

This June, George Gilliam stepped down from his duties as the Miller Center's assistant director for public programs and chair of the Forum program. He now serves as the Center's senior fellow for national engagement, devoting his efforts to research, writing, and special programming for the Center, while continuing to teach in U.Va.'s history department. A national search is underway for the next host of the Forum program.

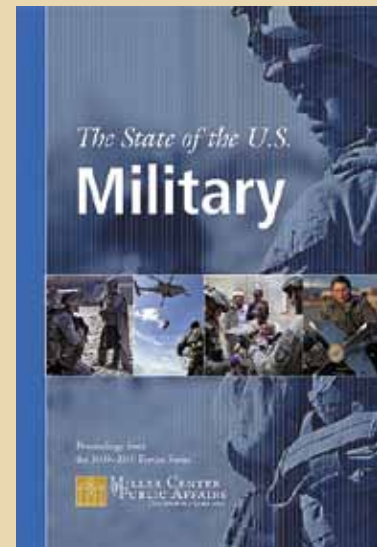
The Miller Center honored Gilliam at a special event held in May. The celebration included a video retrospective of memorable Forum moments and a special question-and-answer session with Gilliam. The program, which was followed by a thank you lunch, also featured remarks from Gerald L. Baliles, director of the Miller Center, and Gene Fife, chair of the Miller Center's Governing Council.

Gilliam came to the Miller Center in 2003 to develop special programming and work with Director Emeritus Kenneth W. Thompson on the Forum program. Upon Thompson's retirement the following year, Gilliam officially became head of the Forum program. In 2006, Baliles named him the Center's assistant director for public programs.

### “THE STATE OF THE U.S. MILITARY”

In March, the Miller Center published “The State of the U.S. Military,” a collection of presentations made during a year-long Forum series. The book provides a look at the challenges facing the U.S. military in Iraq and Afghanistan and examines how thinking about doctrine, strategy, culture, and weaponry has changed from the Cold War era to the post-9/11 period. The presentations were made by renowned military leaders, policy analysts, and journalists who cover military affairs, including:

- **Gen. John P. Abizaid**, former commander of the U.S. Central Command (CENTCOM)
- **Raffi Khatchadourian**, New Yorker staff writer and author of “The Kill Company,” and one of his sources, Capt. Peter Hegseth, who served in Iraq
- **Greg Jaffe**, Washington Post Pentagon correspondent and author of “The Fourth Star: Four Generals and the Epic Struggle for the Future of the United States Army”
- **Brig. Gen. Herbert McMaster**, who was appointed by Gen. David Petraeus to head a joint anticorruption task force at the International Security Assistance Forces
- **Mark Mazzetti**, Pulitzer prize-winning New York Times national security correspondent
- **Peter Baker**, New York Times White House correspondent
- **Peter Warren Singer**, director of the Brookings Institution's 21st Century Initiative



Archived webcasts of all Forums included in “The State of the U.S. Military” are available at [millercenter.org/public/forum/series/military](http://millercenter.org/public/forum/series/military).



# American President

For everyone from serious scholars to high-school students to history buffs, the Miller Center's web site is an invaluable resource for those looking to learn about presidential history. Visitors to miller-center.org can find information on every president from George Washington to Barack Obama, including:

- in-depth essays on each president and his administration
- an extensive speech archive that includes video, audio, and texts of presidential speeches
- an image gallery with photos and other pictures related to each president
- audio, transcripts, and analysis of the secret White House tapes recorded by every president from Franklin Roosevelt to Richard Nixon
- the official oral histories of Jimmy Carter and Ronald Reagan, conducted by the Miller Center.

Millions of people have checked out the presidential essays at millercenter.org,

but many of them overlook the other incredible resources the web site has to offer. That is now changing. This past summer, the Miller Center launched a newly redesigned web site that is easier to navigate and allows users to discover material deep within the archives. Now when readers click on John F. Kennedy's page, for example, they will not only find expert essays about Kennedy and his administration but also videos of his speeches, a photo gallery, clips from his White House tapes, video of Forums, conferences and other Miller Center events related to his presidency, and a list of the Center's Kennedy scholars.

The makeover extends beyond the presidential pages to all Miller Center content. Changes include a new home-page that shows the depth and breadth of all the Center's programs as well as the ability to download electronic versions of policy reports so they can be read on iPads, Kindles, and cell phones.

Today, the Miller Center's online

## IMPACT.

In the past year, 9.5 million people have visited the Miller Center's web-site. That's a 21-percent increase from last year and more than twice as many views that the web sites of leading think tanks get. The number of people following the Miller Center on Facebook and Twitter grows daily, with more and more of them posting comments and sharing content with others.

resources are reaching a new and wider audience through social media. A newly hired social media and marketing coordinator is helping spread the word about the Center on Facebook, Twitter, blogs, and other new media. The Center's Facebook and Twitter pages are updated daily to promote its work and events as well as material related to current events and historic anniversaries.



Left: The Miller Center's American President web site includes essays on every president and his administration from Washington to Obama. Center and right: The presidential image gallery includes many historical moments. In May 1961, President Kennedy and First Lady Jacqueline Kennedy rode in an open motorcade after arrival ceremonies for the visiting Tunisian president. In January 1969, Richard M. Nixon was sworn into office as the 37th U.S. president.

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# POLICY



# Democracy and Governance Studies

The Miller Center's Governing America in a Global Era (GAGE) Program and National Fellowship Program dynamically connect scholars, policymakers, the media, and the public.

## Miller Center National Fellowship Conference

At the eleventh annual Miller Center National Fellowship Conference, this year's class of fellows presented the scholarship on which they had worked during their tenure at the Miller Center. The conference, which took place May 12 and 13, also included a special panel on the WikiLeaks controversy. Featured panelists included former State Department spokesman P.J. Crowley, who resigned in

At this year's fall fellowship conference, fellows, such as Francesca Ammon, shared their research, and Siva Vaidhyanathan and P.J. Crowley discussed WikiLeaks.



March 2011 after criticizing the military's treatment of Army Pfc. Bradley Manning, who is accused of leaking documents to WikiLeaks; Siva Vaidhyanathan, a U.Va. media studies professor and author of "The Googlization of Everything: (And Why We Should Worry)"; Seth Center, a State Department historian and former Miller Center fellow; and Fellowship Program Chair Brian Balogh, who moderated the panel.

Archived webcasts of the entire conference are available at [millercenter.org](http://millercenter.org).

## 2011-12 Fellows

For its 2011–12 fellowships, the Miller Center selected nine promising young scholars to study American politics, foreign policy, and global politics. This year, more than 130 students from the nation's top graduate programs—a third of which were Ivy League—applied for a Miller Center fellowship. Each fellow receives a one-year \$20,000 grant to complete their dissertation and are connected with their "dream mentor," a leading scholar in the fellow's field. This year's fellows are examining issues ranging from the historical roots of the modern housing crisis to the political evolution of interest groups to the nature of authoritarian regimes.

The fellows include:

- Michael Beckley, Columbia University
- Emily Charnock, University of Virginia

- Sheena Chestnut, Harvard University
- Jack Epstein, Ohio University
- Robert Henderson, University of Maryland
- Andrew Kelly, Northwestern University
- Aila Matanock, Stanford University
- Rachel Moran, Penn State University
- Victor Nemchenok, University of Virginia

For the second year in a row, the fellowship program has received funding from the Monell Foundation, which supports a fellow whose work is centered on technology and democracy. Andrew Kelly is this year's recipient of the Monell Foundation fellowship.

## Executive Privilege: Mapping an Extraordinary Power

In September 2010, GAGE hosted a symposium, "Executive Privilege: Mapping an Extraordinary Power," which examined executive privilege and the resulting conflicts between Congress and the executive branch. The event, which took place at the Miller Center's Washington, D.C. office, included former Congressman Tom Davis, Politico's John Harris, the Miller Center's Sidney Milkis, former White House Counsel Bernard Nussbaum, and George Mason University's Mark Rozell.

## IMPACT.

During the past twelve years, the Miller Center has served as a launching pad for more than 100 scholars and public-affairs experts. Sixty former fellows now teach at colleges and universities across the nation, while others serve in prestigious government institutions including the U.S. Air Force and the Department of State. Alumni fellows' work regularly appears in *The New York Times*, *The Washington Post*, *Politico*, and *Slate* and on PBS and NPR. Two fellows from the 2008–2009 class recently have received media attention: Anne Peters commented on the political revolts in the Middle East in *The New York Times* and *The Christian Science Monitor*, and Nicole Hemmer published an op-ed in *The Christian Science Monitor* on President Obama's speech following the shooting of Rep. Gabrielle Giffords.



Harvard's Theda Skocpol (center) presents a colloquium, moderated by the Miller Center's Brian Balogh (left) and Sidney Milkis (right), on President Obama's first two years in office.

### Citizens United v. Federal Elections Commission Panel

GAGE collaborated with the Campaign Finance Institute to co-host a special panel on the controversial Supreme Court case of Citizen United v. Federal Election Commission. Held at the U.S. Capitol, the Oct. 18 event analyzed the case, the legislation that has been proposed to amend it, and the interaction between campaign expenditures and American democracy. Moderated by the Miller Center's Sidney Milkis, the panel included Gerald Berk, University of Oregon; Allison Hayward, Center for Competitive Politics; Michael Malbin, Campaign Finance Institute; Peter Overby, NPR; Spencer Overton, The George Washington University Law School; Trevor Potter, Campaign Legal Center; and Nancy Rosenblum, Harvard University. Archived materials from this event, which aired live on C-SPAN, are available at millercenter.org.

### 2011 Battle Symposium

In April 2011, Anne-Marie Slaughter served as the speaker at the Miller Center's annual Ambassador William C. Battle Symposium on American Diplomacy. Slaughter, who served as director of policy planning for the State Department in the Obama administration, discussed foreign policy from 2001 to 2011. She is currently a professor of politics and international affairs at Princeton, and her books include "The Idea that is America: Keeping Faith with Our Values in a Dangerous World" and "A New World Order." The Battle Symposium is named after the

late William C. Battle, ambassador to Australia under President Kennedy.

### Themed 2010–11 Colloquia Series

During the 2010–11 academic year, GAGE's colloquia series focused on a single theme: "Constructing a New Political Order." The series evaluated prospects for and obstacles to fundamental political change during President Obama's first year in office. Each speaker addressed three fundamental questions: What is the nature of political authority in the Obama era, at home and abroad? Is a new political order emerging? What are some key principles, institutional changes, and policies that distinguish it from past eras?

This year's colloquia speakers included:

- **Francis J. Gavin**, University of Texas at Austin, "Weapons of Terror, Weapons of Peace: Nuclear Policies and Politics Since the Cold War"
- **Marc Hetherington**, Vanderbilt University, "Authoritarianism, Threat, and Americans' Support for the War on Terror"
- **John Ikenberry**, Princeton University, "The Future of Liberal Internationalism"
- **James Morone**, Brown University, "Progressivism's Holy Grail—Obama and Health-Care Reform"
- **Monica Prasad**, Northwestern University, "The Credit/Welfare State Trade Off: A Demand-Side Theory of Comparative Political Economy"
- **George Shulman**, New York University, "From Political Theology to Vernacular Prophecy: Rethinking Redemption and Politics"

## IMPACT.

- Laura Nelson, a Miller Center public service fellow, was the focus of a Feb. 20 Washington Post article. Nelson created "Flash Seminars," a chance for students to meet casually and on short notice with U.Va. faculty in order to talk about various subjects. She has since graduated U.Va. and attends Oxford as a Rhodes Scholar.
- National Fellowship Program Coordinator Brent Cebul wrote a March 17 op-ed about the Tea Party for the San Francisco Chronicle.
- Sidney Milkis, director of democracy and governance studies, moderated the Center's Citizens United panel, which aired live on C-SPAN, at the U.S. Capitol.
- "In Uncertain Times: American Foreign Policy after the Berlin Wall and 9/11," edited by faculty associates Melvyn Leffler and Jeffrey W. Legro, was published by Cornell University Press in April. "In Uncertain Times" is based on "When Walls Came Down: Berlin, 9/11, and U.S. Strategy in Uncertain Times," a conference held at the Miller Center in October 2009.
- In May, Brian Balogh, National Fellowship Program chair and U.Va. professor of history, won the Z Society's Distinguished Faculty Award. The secret society at U.Va. awards one outstanding University faculty member each year.
- **Theda Skocpol**, Harvard University, "Reaching for a New Deal: Obama's First Two Years"
- **Dara Strolovitch**, University of Minnesota, "Advocacy in Hard Times: Representing Marginalized Groups in Times of Crisis"



## A Way Ahead with China

Admiral Joseph Prueher, former U.S. ambassador to China and former commander of the U.S. Pacific Command, served as the Miller Center's James R. Schlesinger Distinguished Professor. Under his leadership, the Miller Center released "A Way Ahead with China" on March 29 in Washington, D.C. The report offers practical ways the United States can enhance its ties and interactions with China.

The report contains six recommendations on how the U.S. can improve its negotiating position with China, including addressing U.S. debt, reexamining Taiwanese relations outside of a military context, approaching future negotiations with China as equals, and creating more structured communication systems.

The report is the product of the Miller Center conference, "A Way Forward: A Roundtable on China," which took place at the Center's Washington Office on January 20-24. Admiral Prueher led the conference.

"There can be no coherent, effective U.S. strategy to mitigate dangers and capitalize on opportunities that does not account for China's strengths, weaknesses, aims, and ambitions,"

Prueher said. "The best way to look at this challenge is that it will be a protracted negotiation."

Miller Center Director Gerald L. Baliles added, "Today, the changing and evolving U.S.-China relationship demands a practical strategy. There must be careful consideration of what both nations seek to gain from this relationship and of how the relationship itself affects the balance of nations worldwide. Both the U.S. and China can benefit from close ties and increasing trust."

Contributors at the January roundtable included government, military, business, and academic leaders with in-depth knowledge of U.S.-China relations. Participants included David L. Cunningham, Jr., president of the Asia Pacific Region of FedEx Express; Michael Ducker, chief operating officer for FedEx Express and president of its international division; Charles Freeman, III, recipient of the Freeman Chair in China Studies at the Center for Strategic and International Studies; Admiral Timothy J. Keating, former commander of the U.S. Pacific Command; David Michael Lampton, dean of faculty at the School of Advanced

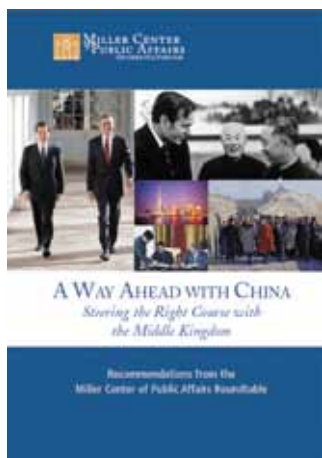
### IMPACT.

On March 29, the Miller Center released "A Way Ahead with China" to a crowd of more than 150 people at the Center for Strategic and International Studies in Washington, D.C. Shortly after the release, Admiral Joseph Prueher of the Miller Center was invited to the White House to brief Jeff Bader, senior director for Asian Affairs at the National Security Council, and later Admiral Mike Mullen, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff. The report has been distributed widely to government officials, policy experts, scholars, and the media. It was covered by media around the world, including the Wall Street Journal, Bloomberg, the China Times, and Taiwanese television.

International Studies (SAIS) and professor of Chinese studies at Johns Hopkins University; and James Shinn, former Assistant Secretary for Asia in the Department of Defense.

The full report, including a complete list of conference participants and key recommendations, is available at [millercenter.org/policy/chinaroundtable](http://millercenter.org/policy/chinaroundtable).

From left to right: The Miller Center's report on U.S.-China relations includes six recommendations. Adm. Prueher, here with former Chinese President Jiang Zemin in 1997, served as U.S. ambassador to China. Adm. Prueher announces the report's release in March.





Former Treasury Secretary John Snow moderates a keynote panel of current and former central bankers, including Paul Volcker, Mervyn King of England, Jean-Claude Trichet of the EU, Toshihiko Fukui of Japan, and Zhou Xiaochuan of China.

## Mortimer Caplin Conference on the World Economy

The Miller Center's third annual Mortimer Caplin Conference on the World Economy was held on Oct. 11, 2010 at the National Press Club in Washington, D.C. Conference participants included current and former central bankers from around the world as well as leading economists. They gathered to discuss how the current financial situation has impacted the role of central banks on an international scale.

By exploring exactly what central banks do, the panelists were able to elaborate on the history of the economic crisis and past stimulus packages, the amount of autonomy of central banks, the connection between monetary policy and fiscal policy, and short-term stimulus funding versus long-term deficit reduction. The first panel featured Charles A.E. Goodhart, London School of Economics; Alice Rivlin, former White House budget director; Christina Romer, former White House Council of Economic Advisers

chair; John B. Taylor, Stanford University; and moderator Alan Murray of The Wall Street Journal and the Miller Center Governing Council.

Former Treasury Secretary John Snow also moderated a conversation with current and former central bankers about how the present economic situation has altered the function of central banks. The panelists—representative of more than 70 percent of the world's economy—included Toshihiko Fukui, former Bank of Japan governor; Mervyn King, Bank of England governor; Jean-Claude Trichet, European Central Bank president; Paul Volcker, former Federal Reserve chairman; and Zhou Xiaochuan, People's Bank of China governor. The central bankers explored the condition of financial markets today, what to do with the largest banks, whether economics is a dependable way to foresee the future, and the international repercussions of economically expanding nations, such as China.

**Below: Christina Romer speaks during a panel session with Alan Murray of The Wall Street Journal and leading economists Charles Goodhart, Alice Rivlin, and John Taylor.**



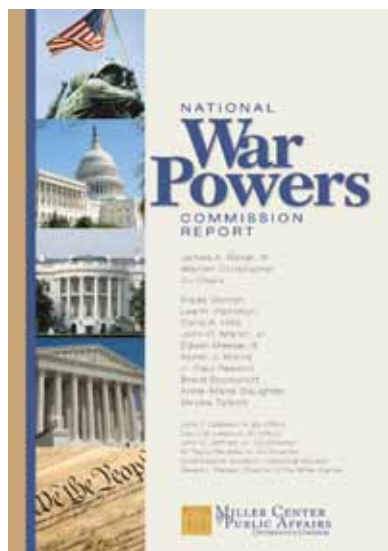
**In May, Mortimer Caplin, IRS commissioner under President John F. Kennedy, met current IRS Commissioner Douglas H. Shulman. Shulman (left) and Caplin (right) stand in front of a plaque commemorating President Kennedy's historic visit to the IRS in 1961.**

### IMPACT.

The 2010 Mortimer Caplin Conference on the World Economy marked the third consecutive year of the Caplin Conference series. It was broadcast live by C-SPAN, Reuters, and Bloomberg and covered by several other outlets, including The Wall Street Journal. The 2010 conference, along with the previous conferences, "The New Financial Architecture" and "Governing Through Debts and Deficits," are archived online and the webcasts are available for viewing at [millercenter.org](http://millercenter.org).



# National War Powers Commission



The Miller Center's National War Powers Commission Report was the product of a commission co-chaired by former Secretaries of State James Baker (pictured here) and Warren Christopher (see sidebar).

The debate in Congress over U.S. military action in Libya brought renewed attention to the Miller Center's National War Powers Commission Report. Led by two former distinguished Secretaries of State, James Baker and Warren Christopher, the commission released a report in 2008 that outlined ways that the president and Congress could have more meaningful consultations on matters of war. Specifically, the commission recommended repealing the War Powers Resolution of 1973 and replacing it with the War Powers Consultation Act, a measure that clearly defines significant armed conflict, provides a clear framework for

consultations between the White House and Congress, and ensures a timely congressional vote.

In June, *The Washington Post* ran an op-ed co-authored by Baker and Lee Hamilton, former chairman of the House Foreign Affairs Committee and a commission member, advocating the report's recommendations. "Given the Constitution's ambiguity, no solution is perfect. But Congress and the White House should view the War Powers Consultation Act as a way out of the impasse. It is what the American people want when their leaders confront the serious questions of war and peace,"

## IMPACT.

The Miller Center's National War Powers Commission Report is currently under review by the White House and Congress. President Obama has been briefed on it, and both the House Foreign Affairs and Senate Foreign Relations Committees have held hearings on it. In June, State Department attorney Harold Koh discussed the report in his own testimony before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee concerning military action in Libya. The commission continues to work with administration and congressional officials with the aim that the War Powers Consultation Act will become law.

## WARREN CHRISTOPHER 1925 - 2011



Warren Christopher (left) with Miller Center Governing Council Chair Gene Fife and his wife Anne Fife. The philanthropy of the Fife Family Foundation was instrumental to the work of the National War Powers Commission.

The Miller Center lost a good friend with the passing of former Secretary of State Warren Christopher. Upon his death, Gov. Gerald L. Baliles, director of the Miller Center, issued a statement: "Warren Christopher was one of the great statesmen of our time, and Chris was a dear friend to the Miller Center. He is the only person to have been awarded the University's Jefferson Medal twice, in 1982 and again in 2009. In his unfailingly courtly and unassuming manner, he participated in many Miller Center programs throughout his decades in public life. Most recently and perhaps most importantly, he co-chaired the Center's National War Powers Commission, along with Jim Baker. We will miss Secretary Christopher greatly."

Baker and Hamilton wrote.

The op-ed drew the attention of administration officials, congressional staffers, and media, and the Miller Center report became part of the national debate over Libya. The report was discussed at a Senate Foreign Relations Committee hearing as well as in several major media outlets, including NBC's "Meet the Press," MSNBC's "Andrea Mitchell Reports," NPR, the *Los Angeles Times*, and the *Houston Chronicle*.

You can read the full report at [millercenter.org/policy/commissions/warpowers](http://millercenter.org/policy/commissions/warpowers).



# Well Within Reach: America's New Transportation Agenda

“These reports confirm what any American can already tell you: our infrastructure is woefully inefficient, and it is outdated,” said President Obama as he held up a copy of the Miller Center’s just-released transportation report at a White House news conference last October, along with an administration report.

“Sam and Norm have been leading a bipartisan group of more than 80 experts who just last week released a call to action demanding a fundamental overhaul of how America approaches funding and building our infrastructure, and today, my Treasury Department and my Council of Economic Advisers have released our own study,” added Obama, who had just been briefed on the Miller Center’s transportation report recommendations by former Transportation Secretaries Norman Mineta and Samuel Skinner.

The Miller Center report, “Well Within Reach: America’s New Transportation Agenda,” is based on the Center’s September 2009 David R. Goode National Transportation Policy Conference and includes 10 practical recommendations to fix the nation’s overburdened transportation system.

In addition to meeting with President

Obama, Mineta and Skinner also met with Treasury Secretary Timothy Geithner, current Transportation Secretary Ray LaHood, past transportation secretaries, and governors and mayors from across the country. Mineta, Skinner, and Miller Center Director Gerald L. Baliles held a news conference on Capitol Hill on Oct. 4 to present the transportation report findings to policymakers and media.

Congress has also taken note. In July, House Transportation Committee chairman John Mica (R-FL) unveiled a highway reauthorization bill that includes several recommendations proposed in the Miller Center report. Miller Center recommendations in the House bill include clarifying federal decision-making power and enhancing the decision-making power of states, localities, and metropolitan-planning organizations; providing states with greater flexibility to prioritize and implement transportation projects; reforming project planning and review; permitting processes to speed actual implementation; and encouraging public-private partnerships while also improving oversight of such partnerships.

The report as well as video of the Oct. 4 news conference and the David R.

## IMPACT.

A week after its release, President Obama held up the Miller Center’s transportation report at a White House news conference after being briefed

on its recommendations by former Transportation Secretaries Norman Mineta and Samuel Skinner, co-chairs of the David R. Goode National Transportation Policy Conference. In July, four of the report’s recommendations were included in legislation proposed by House Transportation Committee Chairman John Mica.

Plans are underway for the next Goode Transportation Conference, which is scheduled for this fall. The goal of this conference is to develop a vigorous national marketing plan to put the report’s recommendations into action. In addition to Mineta and Skinner, former Transportation Secretaries Rodney Slater and Mary Peters have also signed on to take part.

Goode National Transportation Policy Conference, is available at [millercenter.org/policy/transportation](http://millercenter.org/policy/transportation). Video of the Oct. 11 presidential news conference is available at [c-span.org](http://c-span.org).



Left to right: President Obama holds up the Miller Center’s transportation report during a press conference in the Rose Garden, as Samuel Skinner, Norman Mineta, Timothy Geithner, and Ray LaHood look on. Mineta and Skinner, here with Transportation Conference Director Jeff Shane and Miller Center Director Gerald L. Baliles, served as Conference Co-Chairs.

## Front and Center: Critical Choices for Higher Education

America is at a crossroads. In a time of economic hardship at both the national and state levels, we are not adequately preparing our young people to become competitive members of a skilled global workforce. Even in the midst of a challenging economic climate, it is imperative that colleges and universities determine effective ways to deliver a top-notch education to students.

It is against this backdrop that the Miller Center—in conjunction with the Association of Governing Boards of Universities and Colleges (AGB), the National Governors Association Center for Best Practices, and the National Conference of State Legislatures – hosted an education conference last December. The event, which brought together governors, state legislators, business leaders,

and higher education leaders, focused on how to maximize higher education's contributions to the U.S. economy.

“We believe that whether America will be a better or worse nation a generation from now will depend on the performance of our higher-education system,” said Miller Center Director Gerald L. Baliles. “We must find the will, the resources, and the capacity to change if we are to have a secure and prosperous country—one with a more educated citizenry with the skills and knowledge to be successful.”

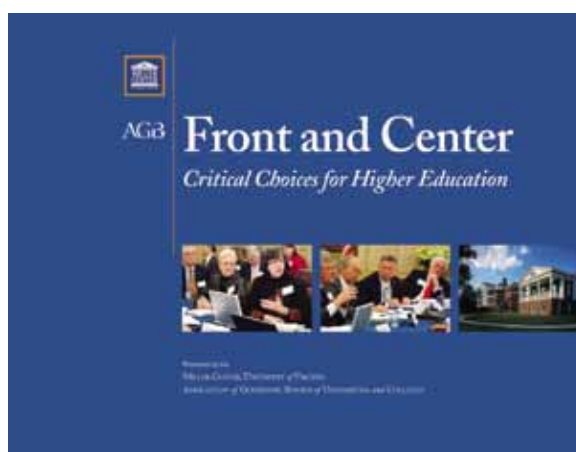
In May, the Miller Center and AGB collaborated to produce a report based on the education conference. Titled “Front and Center: Critical Choices for Higher Education,” the report offers fresh recommendations for the higher-education

community, including how to make online instruction more readily available and ideas for how to rethink the role of the federal government in higher education.

“Higher education must be affordable and accessible for all of our citizens, and the substantial investments by governments and individuals must lead to better outcomes in terms of the number and quality of diplomas and certificates produced,” said AGB President Richard Legon. “This will require adequate state and federal resources to be sure, but at the same time, it is incumbent upon colleges and universities to increase productivity and efficiency.”

With the reauthorization of the Higher Education Act taking place in 2013, it is a good time to reexamine the basic roles of the federal government and states and to define a new, evolving role for higher education in our society. For additional information or to view the full Miller Center-AGB report, please visit [miller-center.org](http://miller-center.org).

The Miller Center's higher-education report (right) is the result of a December conference (below), which focused on how to maximize higher education's contributions to the U.S. economy.



### IMPACT.

On May 24, the Miller Center and the Association of Governing Boards of Universities and Colleges released “Front and Center: Critical Choices for Higher Education,” a report outlining the recommendations of a conference sponsored by the Miller Center, AGB, the National Governors Association, and the National Conference of State Legislatures. This conference brought together current and former governors, university and college presidents, chancellors of several state university systems, and other national education leaders to examine how to increase the number of Americans who finish college and other certificate programs as a way to keep the U.S. economy competitive. The report has been widely circulated throughout the higher education community, garnering coverage in the *Chronicle of Higher Education*, *Diverse Issues in Higher Education*, and the *Richmond Times-Dispatch*. The Miller Center will continue to reach out to key policymakers, business leaders, and higher education systems about the report's findings.

# IMPACT





# History. Policy. Impact.

Our new motto ends with the word “Impact,” and so we end this current overview of the Miller Center’s programs with a look at the significant impact the Miller Center has made—and continues to make.

## Presidents Carter, George H.W. Bush, Clinton, George W. Bush, and Obama Agree

The Miller Center has become the nation’s leading center for presidential studies, especially fitting given the

University of Virginia’s long connection with the U.S. presidency beginning with Thomas Jefferson himself. The Center is home to two long-standing programs dedicated to preserving and illuminating presidential history. Scholars in the Presidential Recordings Program transcribe, annotate, interpret, and make available to the public more than 5,000 hours of the secret White House recordings of Presidents Roosevelt through Nixon. The Presidential Oral History Program chronicles the presidencies of

Jimmy Carter, Ronald Reagan, George H.W. Bush, Bill Clinton, and George W. Bush through confidential interviews with key figures from each administration. Since the Center’s oral history work began in 1981, our scholars have conducted more than 400 in-depth interviews (many lasting two full days), including a recent session at the White House with President Obama, concerning Sen. Ted Kennedy.

## White House Briefings, Congressional Testimony, and Bipartisan Action

In addition to congressional testimony and cabinet briefings, three private presidential briefings have resulted directly from Miller Center work in recent years. More than 200 of America’s leading public figures—of both parties and of all three branches of government—have worked

*When former cabinet secretaries, congressional leaders, and White House officials convene at the Miller Center, they take up matters of importance to the governance of the country and catalyze action.*

Below: The Miller Center’s James Young interviews President Obama in the Oval Office for Sen. Ted Kennedy’s oral history in 2010. Bottom left: The Miller Center’s Forum Room is modeled on the Virginia House of Burgesses. Bottom right: The Miller Center has redesigned its web site, including a new home page.





closely with the Miller Center in the same time. When former cabinet secretaries, congressional leaders, and White House officials convene at the Miller Center, they take up matters of importance to the governance of the country and catalyze action. This has been the case throughout the Miller Center's history. The national voting reforms following the 2000 election stemmed from a Miller Center national commission, co-chaired by Presidents Jimmy Carter and Gerald Ford. Recommendations made by the Miller Center's first national commission, chaired by Gov. Linwood Holton in 1981, directly influenced the format of the modern presidential press conference. The proposal of the Miller Center's most recent national commission, on the war powers of the president and Congress, co-chaired by Secretaries of State James Baker and Warren Christopher, is under review by the White House and Congress now. The Center's policy conferences assemble leaders from the public and private sectors and the academy to examine and report on issues ranging from the framework of international finance to the governance of climate change to the future of higher education. The Miller Center's David R. Goode National Transportation Policy Conference resulted in a White House briefing requested by President Obama. Following the briefing, the president held up the Miller Center's report to cameras during a live Rose Garden press conference.

### 300 Scholarly Books and Two Bancroft Prize Winners

At the heart of the Miller Center's success in national outreach and in groundbreaking policy work is the exceptional scholarship of its faculty. The Miller Center annually supports nearly 40 full-time or visiting scholars, including the former dean of U.Va.'s College of Arts & Sciences, the current and two most recent chairs of U.Va.'s politics department, the former



From top to bottom: Attendees at the Presidential Libraries and Sites Conference, co-sponsored by the Miller Center, attend a panel in the U.Va. Rotunda's Dome Room. Here with President George W. Bush in 2002, former U.S. representative Bob Michel and President Jimmy Carter discuss the Miller Center's National Commission on Federal Election Reform. Faculty associates Melvyn Leffler and Jeffrey Legro discuss American foreign policy with Paul Wolfowitz at a 2009 Miller Center conference.



U.S. ambassador to China, and the former president of the American Political Science Association. Together, Miller Center faculty have written or edited more than 300 books, two of which were awarded the prestigious Bancroft Prize, the most distinguished award in the field of U.S. history. In recent years, work by Center scholars has been published by leading commercial houses such as W. W. Norton and Rowman and Littlefield and university presses such as Cambridge, Oxford, Harvard, Cornell, and Chicago. The Miller Center's National Fellowship Program also continues to mentor scholars of the highest caliber. Many of the more than 100 doctoral students who have been awarded the fellowship during this program's ten-year history

now hold tenure or tenure-track positions at leading colleges and universities, including Yale, Princeton, Columbia, NYU, Vassar, Williams, Vanderbilt, George Washington, William and Mary, Northwestern, and the Universities of Colorado, Michigan, and North Carolina.

**9,500,000 Web Visitors a Year**

The Miller Center's web site has been viewed 9,500,000 times in the past year by visitors from across the United States and almost every country in the world. That's a 21-percent increase over the previous year. With a newly redesigned web site, the numbers are expected to grow. In Internet searches concerning U.S. presidents, the Miller Center routinely ranks just below only Wikipedia and the White

House's web site. The site contains comprehensive scholarly reference essays on every U.S. president and administration, as well as the most extensive archive of presidential speeches (video, audio, and text) available online. With these presidential materials and the Miller Center's broadcast and conference archive, millercenter.org offers more than 4,000 hours of audio and video, all of it accessible free of charge.

**The Leader for U.Va. in National News Cover Stories**

The Miller Center has been the focus of numerous articles in national media outlets this past year, including The New York Times, The Wall Street Journal, CNN, National Journal, Slate, and Roll Call. Editorials about the Center's work and opinion pieces written by its scholars have appeared in The New York Times, The Washington Post, Politico, National Journal, and The Hill. And even when the work of the Miller Center is not the feature story, Center scholars are regularly asked for their expertise concerning the leading political and policy news of the day. Since 2008, leading national newspapers and news weeklies have carried five cover stories giving significant focus to U.Va. scholarship or initiatives. Three of these national cover stores focused on the Miller Center's work.

**More than 6,000 TV Broadcasts Across the Country**

The Miller Center enjoys a strong relationship with PBS. This past year, Miller Center Forums were broadcast 6,070 times, airing in 76 PBS markets nationwide, a number that grows each month. In addition to a relationship with PBS, the Miller Center has also fostered a strong relationship with C-SPAN, which has carried 10 Miller Center events in the past 12 months, two of them live. Miller Center programs have also generated live broadcasts on CNBC, Bloomberg, and Reuters. Video of Miller Center broadcasts is available live and on-demand at millercenter.org.

Top: Transportation officials and experts convened at the Miller Center for the 2009 David R. Goode National Transportation Conference. Middle: The Miller Center held a conference on Reagan's foreign policy legacy in February. Bottom left: First-year students gathered at the Miller Center in September 2010 to learn about U.Va.'s secrets and traditions. Bottom right: The Miller Center's National Fellowship Program mentors tomorrow's scholars, such as Quinn Mulroy.





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**Kenneth Thompson**  
*Director Emeritus and Professor Emeritus in the Politics Department at U.Va.*

# FINANCIALS & GIFTS



The Miller Center and the Miller Center Foundation operate on a July 1 to June 30 fiscal year. The Miller Center, a unit of the University of Virginia, has financial assets held by the University. The Miller Center Foundation, a Section 501(c)(3) nonprofit organization and supporting University-Related Foundation, raises funds on behalf of the Miller Center and holds long-term assets and custodial funds for the Center.

The Miller Center and the Miller Center Foundation receive and record donations through the University's Office of Gift Accounting, and accounting services for the Miller Center Foundation are contracted to the University of Virginia Foundation. These arrangements ensure the requisite separation of financial duties and serve both organizations, and donors, effectively.

Both the Miller Center and the Miller Center Foundation have endowments which provide important support for Center programs and mission support services. All endowments are managed by the University of Virginia Investment Management Company (UVIMCO), and endowment distribution rates follow those set by the University's Board of Visitors.

In addition to endowment yield, the Center's support comes primarily from funding raised by the Miller Center Foundation, with notable gifts and gift commitments this year from Ms. Frances M. Dulaney, Mr. Terrence D. Daniels and Mrs. Courtney S. Daniels, Mr. Joseph R. Gladden and Mrs. Sarah B. Gladden, Mr. George W. Logan, Mr. John W. Galbraith and Mrs. Rosemary Galbraith, The Mary Morton Parsons Foundation, Perry Foundation Incorporated, Dr. Phillip Cooper and Mrs. Carol Cooper, Mr. E. Taylor Armstrong, Jr., the Ronald Reagan Presidential Foundation and Library and numerous other generous individuals and organizations. In addition, the Center received funding from the National Historical Publications and Records Commission.

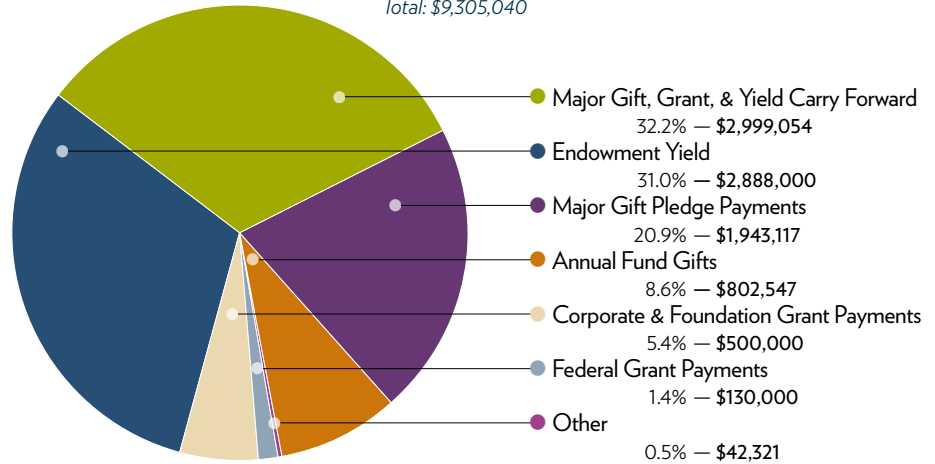
The reporting of financial activities and assets reflected on this page and the following is based on unaudited statements and working papers.

## CASH FLOW OVERVIEW FISCAL YEAR 2010-2011

*Combined View of Center and Foundation*

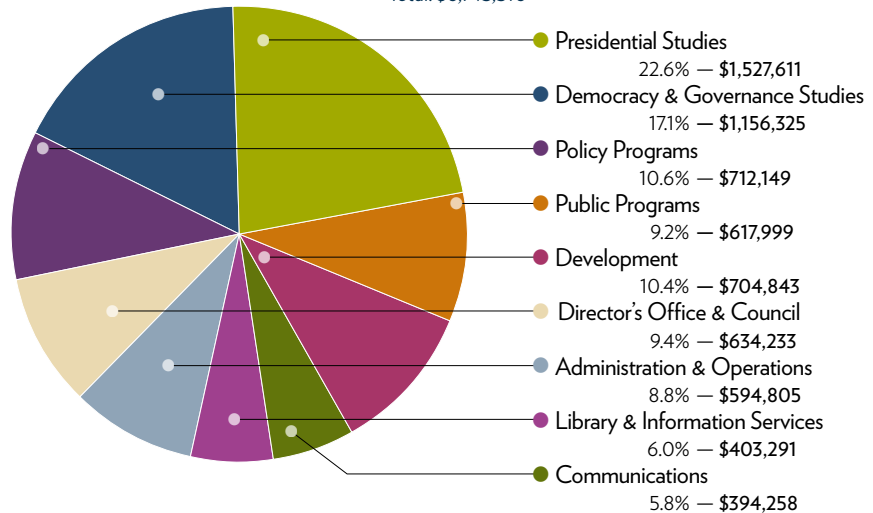
### Combined Sources

Total: \$9,305,040



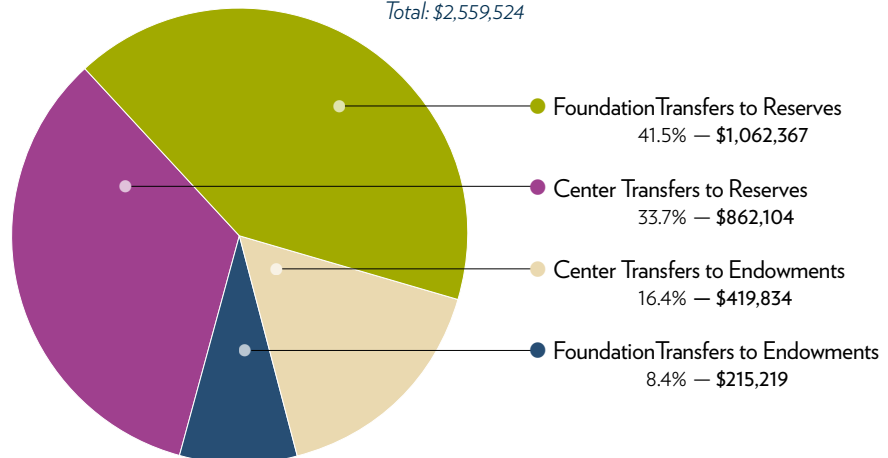
### Combined Activities

Total: \$6,745,516



### Combined Transfers

Total: \$2,559,524





## Summary of Cash Financial Activities

Fiscal Year 2010-2011

### MILLER CENTER FOUNDATION

#### Sources

Distributions from Endowments and Reserves	\$1,216,965
Gifts and Grants	\$3,089,679
Other	\$2,756

#### Operations and Activities

Development Operations	\$704,843
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#### Transfers

Custodial Programmatic Transfers to the Miller Center	\$2,326,971
Transfers to Endowments and Reserves	\$1,277,586

### MILLER CENTER OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS

#### Sources

Custodial Programmatic Transfers from Miller Center Foundation	\$2,326,971
Distributions from Endowments and Reserves	\$4,670,089
Gifts and Grants	\$285,986
Other	\$39,564

#### Programs and Activities

Presidential Studies	\$1,527,611
Democracy and Governance Studies	\$1,156,325
Policy Programs	\$712,149
Public Programs	\$617,999
Director's Office and Council	\$634,233
Administration and Operations	\$594,805
Library and Information Services	\$403,291
Communications	\$394,258

#### Transfers

Transfers to Endowments and Reserves	\$1,281,938
--------------------------------------	-------------



*Unrestricted gifts—both annual gifts and major gifts—are the lifeblood of the Miller Center and allow us the nimbleness to act quickly on trends and powerful ideas.*

- NANCY PARSONS, DIRECTOR OF EXTERNAL RELATIONS AND SPECIAL ASSISTANT TO GOVERNOR BALILES, MILLER CENTER FOUNDATION

## Summary of ENDOWMENT AND QUASI-ENDOWMENT FUNDS

### Miller Center of Public Affairs

Fiscal Year	Market Value End of Year*	Earnings Distributed*
2007	\$ 56,299,949	\$ 1,887,907
2008	57,145,341	2,536,007
2009	41,776,291	2,857,374
2010	45,433,432	2,298,282
2011	53,443,172	2,499,732

\* June 30 \* on previous year's market value

### Miller Center Foundation

Fiscal Year	Market Value End of Year*	Earnings Distributed*
2007	\$ 5,303,809	\$ 195,512
2008	7,695,890	284,764
2009	6,042,798	384,794
2010	7,325,812	332,356
2011	8,900,277	388,268

\* June 30 \* on previous year's market value

# Miller Center Campaign Successfully Completed

The Campaign for the Miller Center attained and surpassed its \$39.5-million goal last fall, more than a year ahead of schedule. By the end of the Center's fiscal year on June 30, 2011, the total for the Campaign, begun in 2004, topped out at more than \$45 million. Miller Center advocates see the Campaign's success as both an indicator of the Center's growing leadership on America's policy scene and its burgeoning donor base that increasingly is assuming a national dimension.

From its start, the Campaign was intended to sustain the Miller Center's existing core programs, launch new initiatives, and bolster the endowment. Seven years later, these objectives have been achieved. As evidence, the Center's Presidential Studies programs, Democracy and Governance programs, and National Fellowships are consid-

ered to be the finest of their kind, while the Forum program has advanced from being viewed by a local audience only to being televised nationally and webcast globally.

Leadership gifts and grants spurred by the Campaign enabled the opening of a Miller Center office in Washington, D.C.; the initiation of the National Discussion and Debate Series and the National War Powers Commission; and the establishment of the James R. Schlesinger Distinguished Professorship, the David R. Goode National Transportation Policy Conference, the Mortimer Caplin Conference on the World Economy, the William and Carol Stevenson Conference, and the Ambassador William C. Battle Symposium on American Diplomacy. Significant commitments totaling more than \$6.3 million

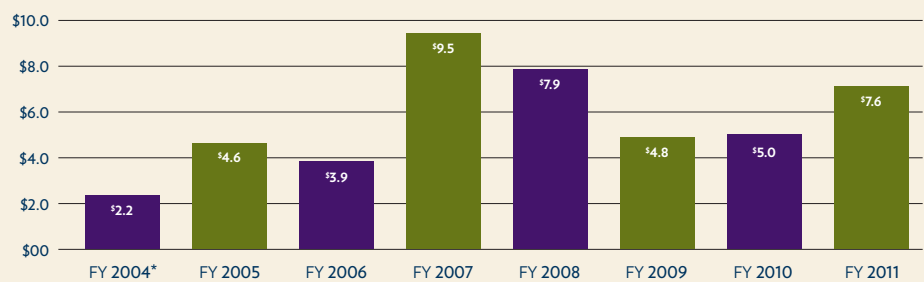
were designated by donors to augment the Center's overall endowment that now totals \$61 million. Noteworthy were an increasing number of unrestricted gifts, including several major commitments.

Actual gifts resulting from recorded commitments to the Campaign will continue to be fulfilled over several years, and a significant number of overall Campaign commitments, representing approximately \$12 million, are planned or deferred gifts that will not be realized on an expendable basis for an indefinite period.

The Campaign, unprecedented in its size and scope over the 36-year history of the Miller Center, was led by Co-Chairs Eugene V. Fife and Leigh B. Middleditch, Jr. and the members of the Miller Center Foundation board, with the support of the Miller Center's Governing

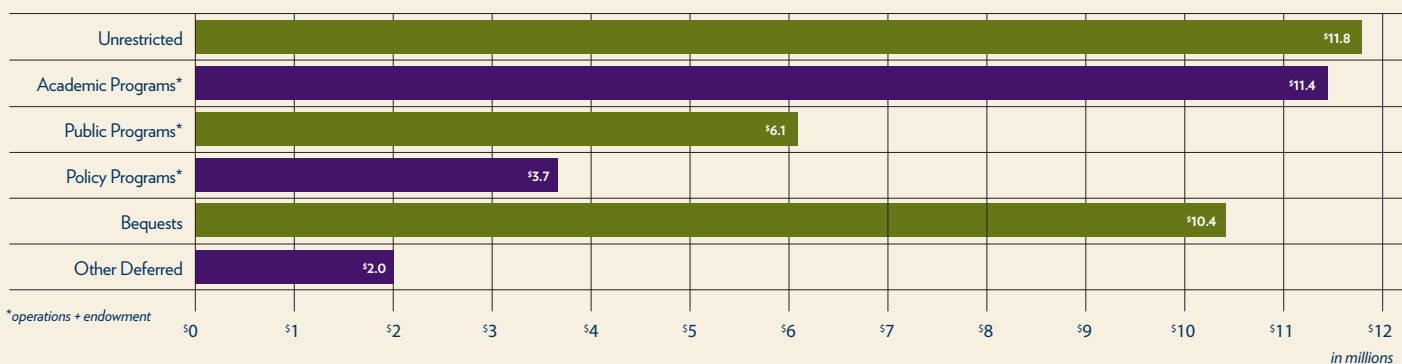


## FISCAL YEAR GIVING *in Millions*



\*Giving total shown was attained during only the second half of FY04—the six month period from January 1, 2004, to June 30, 2004.

## GIFTS TO AREA *in Millions*



Council members. Over the course of the Campaign, 1,958 donors—individuals and foundations—making 6,157 gifts, participated. Plans call for the installation of a commemorative wall at the Miller Center to honor campaign donors.

The Campaign for the Miller Center is one of about two-dozen parts of the overall \$3-billion ongoing campaign of the University of Virginia. In October 2010, the University formally recognized the Miller Center for being one of only a few component campaigns to have achieved its goal ahead of schedule.

The momentum of the Campaign carried the Miller Center through one of its strongest fiscal years on record, which ended June 30, 2011, with a total of \$7,657,000 in commitments including a record \$802,000 in annual funding—support that is crucial to the Miller Center’s core programs and day-to-day operations.

Miller Center Director Gerald L. Baliles, in addressing a joint meeting of the Center’s Governing Council and Foundation Board this past spring, hailed the Campaign’s contributors, “particularly those whose significant unrestricted gifts allowed the Center to leverage important opportunities that otherwise would not have been possible.”

“The Campaign’s success was due to a compelling institutional mission, inspired and visionary leadership, motivated and tireless volunteers, a talented and hard-working staff and, most of all, generous donors whose philanthropic commitment to achieving good national governance never flagged,” said Baliles.

“Now that the Center has reached this milestone, we cannot relax in our resource-development efforts,” Baliles added. “More than ever, it’s important for our country that we sustain the Center’s work.”

## FOUNDATION BOARD CHANGES

### New Faces on Miller Center Foundation Board

During its April meeting, the Miller Center Foundation Board elected two new directors, Michael P. Castine of Greenwich, Conn. and George W. Logan of Charlottesville, Va., to three-year terms that began in July.



**Michael Castine** is chairman of the Asset and Wealth Management sectors based in the New York office of Korn/Ferry, a premier global-executive talent search firm. Castine worked with several top executive recruiting firms and has been president of a money-management firm. He served on the staff of the National Security Council as director of international communication and as deputy director of the office of private sector initiatives under President Ronald Reagan. A former aide to Congressman Jack Kemp, Castine currently serves on the boards of several nonprofits, including the Ronald Reagan Presidential Foundation and Library, the American Association of the Order of Malta, and Brunswick School.



U.Va. alumnus **George Logan** lectures at U.Va.’s Darden School of Business and Instituto Centroamericano de Administracion de Empresas, a top-ranked Latin American business school. He is chairman of the board and an organizing director of Valley Financial Corporation and Valley Bank and has 40 years of general-management and corporate-finance experience in industrial manufacturing, commercial real estate, and trade publishing. Logan’s recent for-profit directorships include Roanoke Electric Steel; Mari-Cal, Inc; Burris Logistics; and Alliance Logistics Center and Alliance Silesia Logistics Park. His recent nonprofit directorships include Carilion Health Systems, Marine Biological Laboratory, the George Washington Foundation, and the Foundation for Management Education in Central America.

### Long-Serving Board Member Retires



**David E. Gibson** has retired from the Foundation Board of Directors after 10 years of service. During the Miller Center’s successful campaign, Gibson served as vice chair for corporate and foundation support. Gibson is a former executive vice president of Citicorp/Citibank. An alumnus of U.Va.’s College of Arts & Sciences and School of Law, Gibson is an emeritus trustee of the Darden Foundation for the Darden Graduate School of Business and a founding sponsor and emeritus trustee of the College and Graduate School of Arts & Sciences. He is a member of the board for Assyst, a trustee of the Montpelier Foundation, a member of the advisory board of venture-investment firm Fairfax Partners, and a member of the board of proprietary mutual funds distributed by the Citigroup Private Bank.

“David’s contributions over the last decade of time, talent, and treasure to the Miller Center have been nothing short of extraordinary,” said Miller Center Director Gerald L. Baliles. “We will miss his leadership and acuity on the board, but we are happy that he and his wife Linda will remain close friends of the Miller Center.”



The Miller Center Foundation is grateful to its generous donors—all of whom we honor here—for having made contributions to benefit the Miller Center during fiscal year 2011 (July 1, 2010–June 30, 2011).

Because we take special effort to ensure the accuracy of this list, we do wish to be informed of any errors. Please contact Joseph Taylor at the Miller Center Foundation at 434-982-3050 or [jptaylor@virginia.edu](mailto:jptaylor@virginia.edu).

## The Miller Center Fund

### The Presidential Cabinet

#### Thomas Jefferson Circle

*(Gifts of \$10,000 and above)*

Honorable Gerald L. Baliles  
& Mrs. Robin D. Baliles♦  
Mr. Edwin Barber & Mrs. Virginia P. Barber♦  
Mrs. Barry W. Battle♦  
Mr. Mortimer Caplin & Mrs. Ruth Caplin♦  
Mr. Michael P. Castine & Mrs. Anne Castine  
Dr. Philip H. Cooper  
& Mrs. Carol B. Cooper♦  
Mr. Terrence D. Daniels  
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Eugene V. Fife Family Foundation  
Mr. Eugene V. Fife & Mrs. Anne L. Fife♦  
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& Mrs. Joan Frierson♦  
Mr. John W. Galbraith &  
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Ms. Claire W. Gargalli♦  
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Walker Family Foundation  
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#### George Washington Circle

*(Gift of \$5,000-\$9,999)*

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& Mrs. Merrill U. Barringer  
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& Mrs. Elaine M. Hadden Drysdale  
Mrs. Sandra H. Fadil & Mr. Fouad A. Fadil♦  
Mr. John Tilghman Hazel, Jr.  
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#### James Madison Circle

*(Gift of \$2,500-\$4,999)*

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& Mr. William A. Brown♦  
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 & Mrs. Whitley V. Rotgin♦  
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 Mrs. William W. Stevenson  
 Mr. Peter A. Stoudt & Ms. Alice W. Handy♦  
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 Ms. Faith Van Clief  
 Mrs. Linda J. Verhagen  
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 Mr. Thomas H. Williams♦  
 Whitney & Anne M. Stone Foundation  
 Mr. David J. Wood, Jr.  
 & Mrs. Maxine E. Wood♦  
 Mrs. Elizabeth R. Wood♦

**James Monroe Circle**

*(Gifts of \$1,000-\$2,499)*

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 & Mrs. Carolyn Achenbach  
 Anonymous  
 Anna M. Day Foundation  
 Ed & Betty Dinwiddie  
 Mr. T. Maxfield Bahner♦  
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 Mr. C. Phillip Barger, Sr.♦  
 Mr. Robert C. Baydush  
 & Ms. Susan Dabney Smith♦  
 Nikki Greene Beyer and Rich Beyer  
 Mr. Marc P. Blum & Mrs. Lenor T. Blum



Joseph Taylor, executive director of the Miller Center Foundation, with his wife Elizabeth at an event surrounding the close of the Campaign for the Miller Center.

Mr. Ralph L. Bradley  
 & Mrs. Jacqueline M. Bradley  
 Mr. E. Cabell Brand & Mrs. Shirley Brand  
 Mr. Fred G. Brenner  
 & Mrs. Beatrice N. Brenner♦  
 Mr. Bernard T. Bress  
 Mr. Daniel M. Brody  
 & Mrs. Nancy L. Brody♦  
 Bobbie & Bob Bruner♦  
 Mr. Clifford R. Buys & Mrs. Jeanette Buys♦  
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 Mr. Antony E. Champ  
 & Mrs. Edith S. Champ♦  
 Mr. Andrew S. Chancey  
 Mr. Peter Chapin & Mrs. Diane Chapin  
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 Mr. Albert D. Ernest, Jr.  
 & Mrs. Donna S. Ernest  
 Mrs. Anne G. Farrell  
 & Mr. Thomas F. Farrell II

**RAISING THE MILLER CENTER'S NATIONAL OUTREACH**

Thanks to the generous support of Miller Center Foundation Board Chair Joe Gladden and his wife Sally, in October 2011 the Miller Center retained the Glover Park Group, a leading strategic communications firm with offices in Washington, New York, and Los Angeles to advance our national outreach. Over the past 12 months, Glover Park has worked closely with senior Center leadership, as well as our boards, faculty, and staff, to enhance our brand, identify new audiences, and develop effective outreach strategies. This initiative is of critical importance to the future of the Miller Center as we work to expand our donor base and increase our national profile. We see results already—9.5 million people throughout the country and the world visited our web site in the past year.



Mr. C. Thomas Faulders III  
& Mrs. Dana H. Faulders  
Captain (d.) & Mrs. Frank H. Featherston♦  
Mrs. Sallie V. P. Feild♦  
Mr. Francis H. Fife & Ms. Nancy K. O'Brien♦  
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Mr. Robert N. Saylor & Mrs. Martha Saylor♦  
Mr. Barry H. Schwartz  
& Mrs. Sheryl J. Schwartz♦  
Lt. General Brent Scowcroft♦

The Miller Center Foundation and the Miller Center are grateful for support from the following foundations, corporations, and organizations in the last fiscal year:

**Foundations**

The Ambrose Monell Foundation  
The Charlottesville Area Community  
Foundation  
The Community Foundation of Greater  
Richmond  
The George W. Bush Foundation  
The Harry Frank Guggenheim  
Foundation  
The Lehrman Institute  
Mary and Daniel Loughran Foundation  
The Ronald Reagan Presidential  
Foundation and Library  
WestWind Foundation

**Corporations**

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Barton Malow Company  
Better Living Foundation  
Caplin & Drysdale  
Cardinal Capital Corporation  
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**Organizations**

Fidelity Charitable Gift Fund  
The Edward M. Kennedy Center for the  
Study of the U.S. Senate  
National Philanthropic Trust  
Schwab Fund for Charitable Giving  
T. Rowe Price Charitable Giving  
United Nations Association of the USA  
Virginia Community Capital  
Vanguard Charitable Endowment  
Program  
The Virginia Center for Allergy and  
Asthma





Rosemary and John Galbraith at the 2010 Foundation Salute.

Mrs. Jane E. Sigloh & Mr. Dennis Sigloh  
 Mr. Richard D. Simmons\*  
 Mrs. Jane-Ashley Skinner  
 & Mr. Peter G. Skinner\*  
 Mr. Donald G. Smith  
 & Mrs. Barbara B. Smith\*  
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 & Mr. Shrikant Ramamurthy  
 Mr. and Mrs. Harold A. Via, Jr.\*  
 Mr. John H. Wright III  
 & Mrs. Trula L. Wright

## Additional Miller Center Fund Gifts

### Senatorial

(Gifts of \$500-\$999)

Mr. Michael Balogh\*  
 Mr. Robert Bond  
 Mr. Robert P. Buford & Mrs. Anne W. Buford  
 Mrs. Sylvia M. Burwell  
 & Mr. Stephen Burwell  
 Dr. John Staige Davis IV  
 Mrs. Mary Elizabeth Loose Deviney  
 Mr. Fred F. Fielding\*  
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 Mrs. Gene N. Patterson\*  
 Mr. Henry M. Peskin & Mrs. Mary J. Peskin  
 Mr. Christopher D. Roosevelt\*

The Miller Center gratefully acknowledges these special gifts that were made in the last fiscal year in tribute to these individuals:

### In Honor of..

Mr. George H. Gilliam  
 Mr. Peter E. Mahoney  
 Mr. Leigh B. Middleditch, Jr.  
 Mr. Joshua J. Scott  
 Mr. Alfred B. Strickler, Jr.  
 Mrs. Anne C. Strickler  
 Mr. Kenneth W. Thompson

### In Memory of..

Mr. D. Broward Craig  
 The Hon. Lawrence Eagleburger  
 Mr. Edward Overton McCue III  
 Wilson Carey McWilliams, Ph.D.  
 Mr. William L. Mullen  
 William H. Sipe, M.D.  
 Mrs. Janet G. Weary

The Miller Center Foundation extends its gratitude to the members of the **2010 Caplin Conference Host Committee** whose valuable support joined that of Conference benefactor Mr. Mortimer Caplin.

Mr. H. Eugene Lockhart, Jr., Chair  
 Mr. David A. Beach  
 Mr. David M. Crowe  
 Mr. Terrence D. Daniels  
 Mr. Charles H. Foster, Jr.  
 Mr. Landon Hilliard III  
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 Mr. B. Wistar Morris III  
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Ms. Marion G. Rothman\*  
 Mr. John F. Sarvis & Mrs. Mary Louise Sarvis  
 Mr. Thomas G. Snead, Jr.  
 Mr. John A. Stillwell  
 & Mrs. Grace M. Stillwell\*

## CAMPAIGN FOR THE MILLER CENTER

Having made commitments to the Miller Center since January 1, 2004 of at least \$25,000, these individuals and organizations have had a significant impact on the success of the Campaign for the Miller Center. We wish to acknowledge their extraordinary generosity.

### More than \$5 million

Ms. Frances Massey Dulaney

### \$1 million to \$4,999,999

Caplin Foundation

Mr. Mortimer M. Caplin  
& Mrs. Ruth Caplin

Dr. Philip H. Cooper

& Mrs. Carol B. Cooper

Mr. Terrence D. Daniels

& Mrs. Courtney S. Daniels

Edward M. Kennedy Center for the  
Study of the U.S. Senate

Eugene V. Fife Family Foundation

Mr. Eugene V. Fife  
& Mrs. Anne L. Fife

Galbraith Foundation, Inc.

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We are delighted to honor the members of the Medallion Society's bronze (\$100,000–\$499,000), silver (\$500,000–\$999,999), and gold (\$1,000,000+) levels, making special note in bold of those who are new to the society or have been promoted to a new level this fiscal year.

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Some types of planned gift arrangements allow donors to designate their gifts for a particular purpose or to associate their names or the name of someone they wish to honor with a Miller Center program or facility.

Of special note, shown in bold, are members new to the Burkett Miller Society this year. We also wish to acknowledge a bequest realized this fiscal year from the estates of Dr. and Mrs. Peyton Weary and Mr. Arthur F. Stocker.

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*More information on the Miller Center Governing Council and Foundation Board of Directors, including biographical information on the members of each, is online at [millercenter.org](http://millercenter.org). Membership listings are current as of publication of this report in fall 2011.*

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