







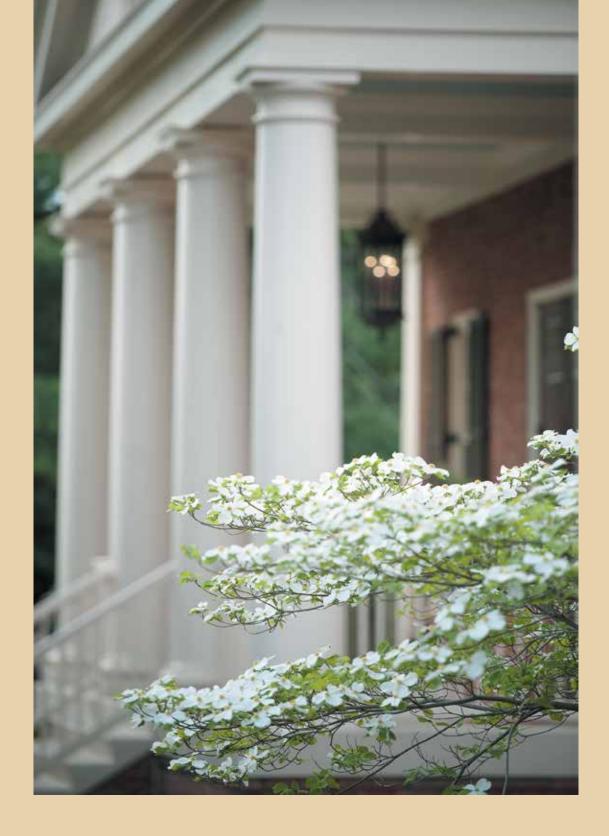








for 2012





The Miller Center is a nonpartisan institute that seeks to expand understanding of the presidency, policy, and political history, providing critical insights for the nation's governance challenges. Based at the University of Virginia, with offices in Charlottesville and in Washington, DC, the Miller Center is committed to work grounded in rigorous scholarship and advanced through civil discourse.

Letter from the Director

With another presidential election upon us, 2012 has been a particularly special year for the Miller Center. And while campaigns can be exciting, they also can cause us to lose sight of where we've been and where we're going as a nation.

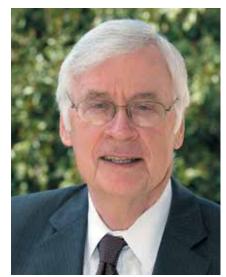
So, on Presidents' Day, the Miller Center launched "Lessons for 2012," a year-long endeavor to show what history can teach us about the 2012 presidential race and its issues, using the Center's groundbreaking work on the presidency and political history. This focus on 2012 has resonated throughout all our programs this past year.

In December, the Miller Center began a partnership with ABC's *This Week with George Stephanopoulos* to produce a series of programs on some of the key issues of the 2012 campaign. The series continues the Center's goal of hosting lively yet civil debates. Our Forums, academic colloquia, and other special events have also focused on topics related to the campaign, such as the economy, health care, and foreign affairs, and have featured renowned, diverse speakers, including Miller Center scholars.

As part of "Lessons for 2012," two new web features continue to draw audiences to the Miller Center's extensive digital archival materials and scholarly expertise. Presidential Classroom educates students and teachers about the U.S. presidency and government, while our blog, *Riding the Tiger*, provides historical context to the 2012 campaign.

In addition, Miller Center scholars continue their unparalleled research on presidential history. Last October's George H.W. Bush oral history release received widespread media attention, and oral history scholars are now conducting interviews for the George W. Bush project. The Presidential Recordings Program won two awards and a major grant, while continuing to make the secret White House tapes more accessible to everyone.

As more and more people are learning

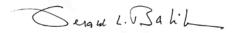


"So, on Presidents' Day, the Miller Center launched 'Lessons for 2012,' a yearlong endeavor to show what history can teach us about the 2012 presidential race and its issues, using the Center's groundbreaking work on the presidency and political history."



about us, the Miller Center has become the go-to resource for presidential history and policy issues. Traffic at millercenter.org and the number of people following us on social media have increased substantially over the past year. We have also contributed significantly to policy conversations about transportation as well as the economy. Our scholars and fellows are consistently featured in national and international media.

All of our work, which is covered in the pages of this annual report, could not be done without your generous support. So, during this election year, as well as in all other years, we thank you.



Gerald L. Baliles Director & CEO, Miller Center



Top center: Gerald L. Baliles stands with former U.S. transportation secretaries who attended the Miller Center's 2011 David R. Goode National Transportation Conference. Bottom: Miller Center supporter Mortimer Caplin converses with Baliles at the 2011 Mortimer Caplin Conference on the World Economy.

HISTORY.

Presidential Studies

With the much-anticipated release of a presidential oral history and work on the secret White House tapes earning impressive awards, the Miller Center's Presidential Studies scholars have had an exceptional year.

Presidential Oral History Program

In October, the Miller Center released the oral history of the administration of President George H.W. Bush. Comprised of interviews with more than 50 senior officials from the Bush administration, the oral history provides an intimate look at the Bush presidency in the words of those who were part of it. The interviews were conducted by teams of scholars, with most lasting seven to ten hours each.

President Bush praised the Miller Center's work, saying "Fortunately, the Miller Center has always understood and respected the goal of public service. That shows in the Center's scholarly work, like the patient, ongoing project to chronicle the story of my administration. The documentary record is vital, but your scholars also add the human side that those papers can never capture. For my presidency, and for others, the Miller Center is a place that gets history and

preserves it for future generations."

Interviewees include 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; and National Security Adviser Brent Scowcroft. Transcripts of these and other interviews cleared for release can be found at millercenter.org/ president/bush/oralhistory.

The Bush oral history was unveiled at a two-day event at which former Bush officials and scholars from across the country discussed interviews and reflected on the many historic issues the Bush administration confronted, including the end of the Cold War, the Persian Gulf War, the no-new-taxes pledge, and filling two Supreme Court vacancies. Participants included White House Chief of Staff John Sununu, White House Counsel Boyden Gray, and Frederick McClure, assistant for legislative affairs.

The Bush oral history received substantial media coverage. The *Washington Post*, Fox News Channel, and ABC News ran extensive excerpts, and C-SPAN covered the release event. Dozens of other outlets reported on the oral history, with many of them focusing on James Baker's comments that actor Clint Eastwood was briefly considered to be Bush's running mate in 1988.

Scholars are now working on a book based on the Bush oral history. 41: Inside the George H.W. Bush Presidency is expected to be released next year.

The Miller Center is also doing the oral histories of Presidents Bill Clinton and George W. Bush as well as Senator Edward Kennedy. Interviewing on the George W. Bush project continues with recent interviewees, including CIA Director Porter Goss, Homeland Security Secretary Michael Chertoff, and Ed Gillespie, who served as counselor to President Bush.

Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice, who was interviewed last year, used oral

Left: Clarence Thomas is sworn in as a Supreme Court associate justice by Associate Justice Byron White on the White House's South Lawn, 1991. Right: White House Chief of Staff John Sununu and White House Counsel Boyden Gray participate in the Bush oral history release event.





LESSONS FOR 2012

The Miller Center's presidential studies have given extraordinary insight into the 2012 campaign over the past year. In August, the *Washington Post* ran excerpts from presidential oral histories offering tips for planning party conventions. One tip—check the sound system—came from an interview with Dick Cheney about the 1976 Republican convention: "When [Nelson] Rockefeller was giving his speech as the outgoing vice president, the microphone shut off in the middle of his speech. He was convinced that I had arranged to have the microphone turned off while he was giving his speech to the delegates in Kansas City, his swan song as vice president. I didn't; I didn't have anything to do with it. It was a technical problem. But all this led to a confrontation underneath the speaker's platform, a lot of yelling and screaming by Nelson Rockefeller at me personally."

JFK and the AFTERMATH of the CUBAN MISSILE CRISIS

THE FOURTEENTH

DAY



history interviews with her and senior staff members to help write her recently published memoir, No Higher Honor: A Memoir of My Years in Washington. In her book, Rice acknowledged the Miller Center and its staff, writing "During my research, the Miller Center of Public Affairs at the University of Virginia invited me to participate in their Presidential Oral History Program. Russell Riley, the program chair, and Katrina Kuhn, the program administrator, conducted useful group interviews with my former State and White House team. I am grateful to them for this terrific forum."

Presidential Recordings Program

The Miller Center's Presidential Recordings Program earned many accolades this past year. The Presidential Recordings of Lyndon B. Johnson Digital Edition, which features expertly annotated transcripts and audio of conversations from Johnson's secretly recorded tapes, won the American Association of Publishers' 2011 PROSE Award for Best eProduct in the Humanities. The PROSE Awards recognize the very best in professional and scholarly publishing. The LBJ Digital Edition, published by the University of Virginia's Rotunda imprint, focuses on three key themes: Vietnam, Civil Rights, and the War on Poverty. The edition was also cited as an Outstanding Academic Title for 2011 by Choice magazine, a leading publication for academic librarians.

In addition to Johnson, scholars also





Clockwise, from top left: George H.W. Bush views an aerial photo of Baghdad, in the Oval Office, 1991; The Miller Center's David Coleman wrote a book on the aftermath of the Cuban Missile Crisis; Ronald Reagan and George H.W. Bush greet the audience at the 1984 Republican National Convention; The Presidential Recordings Program won awards this year for its LBJ Digital Edition; Frederick McClure, assistant for legislative affairs, sits on a panel for the Bush oral history release event.

continue to work on the tapes recorded by John F. Kennedy and Richard Nixon. Those efforts got some extra help this year thanks to a \$97,500 grant from the National Historical Publications and Records Commission. The funding will be used to work on Kennedy tapes that deal with civil rights as well as Nixon's 1971 telephone tapes.

Scholars' work on the Kennedy and Nixon tapes will get some major exposure in the coming months.

In October, David Coleman will

release a new book published by W.W. Norton, *The Fourteenth Day: JFK and the Aftermath of the Cuban Missile Crisis: The Secret White House Tapes. Library Journal* previewed the book, saying, "Director of the Miller Center's Presidential Recordings Program, Coleman has the goods."

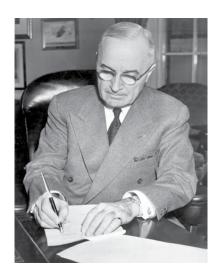
In January, HBO will air the documentary, *Nixon: In His Own Words*, which will feature the Center's research and transcripts of the Nixon tapes. The film is being produced by Emmy Awardwinning Kunhardt McGee Productions.



Above: Riding the Tiger launched on Presidents' Day, 2012.
Right: Harry S. Truman said that being president was like "riding a tiger." Bill and Hillary Clinton walk through the streets of Washington, DC, during the inaugural parade in 1993.

"Within the first few months I discovered that being a President is like riding a tiger. A man has to keep on riding or be swallowed. The fantastically crowded nine months of 1945 taught me that a President either is constantly on top of events or, if he hesitates, events will soon be on top of him. I never felt that I could let up for a single moment."

-HARRY S. TRUMAN





Riding the Tiger

The Miller Center launched its election-themed blog, *Riding the Tiger*, on Presidents' Day 2012. Taking its cue from the Center-wide "Lessons for 2012" initiative, *Riding the Tiger* seeks to bring historical context to discussions about the presidency and public policy that are taking place in the lead-up to November's presidential election.

The blog's name comes from the opening lines of the second volume of President Harry S. Truman's memoirs, published in 1956. Truman wrote, "I discovered that being a president is like riding a tiger. A man has to keep on riding or be swallowed."

With near daily content, *Riding* the Tiger features highlights from the Center's rich archives as well as insights from top scholars from U.Va. and around the nation. Framing episodes from the campaign trail through the lens of history, the blog includes excerpts from the secret White House tapes, oral history interviews, and presidential speeches, as

well as analysis of the issues dominating conversations about the election. Perhaps more importantly, *Riding the Tiger* turns a critical eye toward the issues that are not on the radar of most major news outlets but should be.

Recent posts include:

- An entry featuring campaign ads, highlighting the role of presidential leadership on nuclear weapons issues, which ran on the anniversary of President John F. Kennedy's address to the nation on the Nuclear Test Ban Treaty
- A highlight reel of presidential speeches to commemorate Independence Day
- An on-the-ground perspective from Miller Center scholar Barbara Perry on the Supreme Court's decision on the Affordable Care Act
- A piece from Emily Charnock, former Miller Center national fellow, suggesting that modern Super PACs are less a creation of the 2010 Citizens United decision than the result of a far more protracted political trajectory

beginning with the New Deal.

For a dose of levity, *Riding the Tiger* also features a weekly picture of a president *not* riding a tiger from the Miller Center's archives. Recent favorites include Teddy Roosevelt on a moose, George H.W. Bush and Arnold Schwarzenegger sharing a toboggan, Ronald and Nancy Reagan testing out their new lawn mower, and three-year-old George W. Bush riding a pony.

Although the blog is quite new, word is spreading. *Riding the Tiger* was featured on the *Chronicle of Higher Education*'s "Wired Campus" blog and received recent praise in *CLIO*, the newsletter of the American Political Science Association's "Politics and History" section

The blog can be found at millercenter. org/ridingthetiger.

The Miller Center

Presidential Classroom

On Presidents' Day, the Miller Center launched Presidential Classroom, a collection of online exhibits on significant moments in U.S. history. Geared specifically toward students and teachers, the website allows users to learn about the importance of public service, the role citizens play in a democracy, and how history informs today. These lessons are taught by those who were there, through the Miller Center's unique resources, including excerpts from the Presidential Speech Archive, and audio clips from White House tape recordings, as well as essays on the U.S. presidents.

Established in 1968, Presidential Classroom was an innovative Washington-based program that focused on nonpartisan civic education. A grant has allowed the Miller Center to continue that tradition by turning the physical experience into a virtual one and, as a result, reach more students and educators.

One such exhibit focuses on the Marshall Plan, the extensive program that provided economic relief to Europe from 1947 to 1951 in the aftermath of World War II. It includes video and transcripts of the 1947 Harvard commencement speech, in which Secretary of State George C. Marshall first backed restoring the war-torn European countries; biographies of key players, such as Harry S. Truman; supporting documents, including photographs of Truman signing the Marshall Plan; and lesson plans for teachers as well as additional links and resources to enhance the lessons.

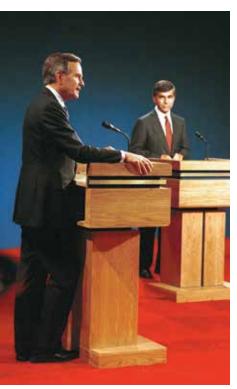
The Miller Center's web team is frequently adding new exhibits with the goal of having material for all U.S. presidents as well as a wide variety of other subjects.

The Miller Center will host an annual civic-education symposium for teachers in honor of John R. Sims, Jr., founder of Presidential Classroom and distinguished U.Va. alumnus. Also, Presidential

LESSONS FOR 2012

Presidents' Day was a busy time at both the Miller Center's two offices. That morning in Charlottesville, Linda Killian, journalist and senior scholar at the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, spoke at a Forum on her book, *The Swing Vote: The Untapped Power of Independents*.

Later that day, the Miller Center's Washington office kicked off the "Lessons for 2012" initiative with a special event, attended by Miller Center supporters and U.Va. alumni. During the event, Miller Center scholars showed how the lessons of history could be applied to the issues in this year's race for the White House. Sidney Milkis discussed partisan rancor and the modern presidency, and Marc Selverstone shared secret presidential audio clips about foreign policy. Barbara Perry showed how oral histories can shed light on the Supreme Court's and presidential candidates' perspectives on the Affordable Care Act, and Michael Greco showcased the vast resources related to presidential history that are available on the Miller Center's website.



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Left: George H.W. Bush debates Democratic presidential nominee Michael Dukakis in 1988.
Above: Presidential Classroom's online exhibit on the Marshall Plan includes video, transcripts, biographies, supporting documents, and lesson plans.

Classroom's more than 120,000 alumni can now connect with each other on Facebook.

Presidential Classroom users can access the Miller Center's American President website, which allows users to find information about specific U.S. presidents all in one convenient place. Users can view presidential image galleries and read essays on each president as

well as first ladies and cabinet members. The Presidential Speech Archive, which houses transcripts, audio, and video of speeches given by each president, is one of the most popular web pages on the entire American President website.

For more information on Presidential Classroom and American President, visit millercenter.org/presidentialclassroom and millercenter.org/president.

Democracy and Governance Studies

From convening special conferences on issues confronting policymakers to training some of the nation's brightest young scholars, the Miller Center's Democracy and Governance Studies continues to do groundbreaking work as it examines the historical roots of American foreign policy and domestic politics.

Miller Center National Fellowship Conferences

The Miller Center was pleased to welcome nine doctoral students from the nation's leading universities as its 2011–2012 fellows. Whether based in Charlottesville or elsewhere, the fellows all shared the goals of researching domestic and foreign policy and breaking the walls between academia and the world beyond.

Each fellow received a one-year \$20,000 grant to support scholarship on their dissertation while participating in workshops to learn how to reach a broader audience. A leading national scholar in their field, also known as a "dream mentor," guided each fellow.

Established in 2000, the Miller Center's fellowship program has helped jumpstart the careers of more than 100 scholars and public-affairs experts. Because the program emphasizes reaching a wider

audience through opinion-editorials, blogs, and other media, fellows' work regularly appears in national news outlets.

The 2011–2012 fellows were officially welcomed to the Miller Center during a fall fellowship conference in September 2011. The agenda included a manuscript review; the first colloquium of the academic year; and workshops on effective op-ed writing, Miller Center resources, and professional development.

At this May's spring fellowship conference, the fellows, alongside their "dream mentors," presented the research on which they had worked throughout the academic year. In addition, Elizabeth Cobbs Hoffman's manuscript of *American Umpire*, a re-interpretation of American diplomatic history, was reviewed.

2012-2013 Fellows

The Miller Center carries on its tradition of guiding young scholars by welcoming the 2012–2013 fellows.

 Clara Altman, Brandeis University Project: "Courtroom Colonialism: Philippine Law and U.S. Rule, 1898– 1935"

Dream Mentor: Mary Dudziak, University of Southern California

- Peter Henne, Georgetown University Project: "Varieties of Hesitation: Religious Politics and U.S.-Muslim Counterterrorism Cooperation" Dream Mentor: John Owen, University of Virginia
- Katherine Krimmel, Columbia
 University
 Project: "Special Interest Partisanship:
 The Transformation of American
 Political Parties"
 Dream Mentor: Nolan McCarty,
 Princeton University
- Stephen Macekura, University of Virginia
 Project: "Of Limits and Growth:
 Environmentalism and the Rise of Sustainable Development, 1961–1992"
 Dream Mentor: John McNeill, Georgetown University
- Oriana Mastro, Princeton University Project: "Settling the Score: The Interactive Effect of Fighting and Bargaining on War Duration and Termination" Dream Mentor: Dana Reiter, Emory University
- Victor McFarland, Yale University
 Project: "The Oil Crisis of the 1970s: An
 International History"
 Dream Mentor: David Painter,
 Georgetown University

Left: The Miller Center's Jeffery Jenkins and Vanderbilt's Carol Swain explore the politics of major policy reform at the 2011 William and Carol Stevenson Conference. Right: Miller Center Fellow Sheena Chestnut Greitens shares her work at the spring fellowship conference as the Center's Marc Selverstone looks on.









Left: Sidney Milkis moderates a panel at the 2011 William and Carol Stevenson Conference. Right: Miller Center fellows learn how to write effective op-ed's at the fall fellowship conference.

- Tore Olsson, University of Georgia
 Olsson is the Ambrose Monell
 Foundation-funded Fellow.
 Project: "Green Revolutions: The
 American South, Mexico, and the
 Twentieth-Century Remaking of the
 Rural World"
 Dream Mentor: Sarah Phillips, Boston
 University
- Justin Peck, University of Virginia Project: "Reclaiming Power: An Analysis of Congressional Reassertion Efforts, 1828–2002" Dream Mentor: William G. Howell, University of Chicago
- Josie Rodberg, Harvard University
 Rodberg is the Claude Moore Charitable
 Foundation-funded Fellow.
 Project: "Human Rights, Women's
 Rights, States' Rights: Debates Over
 Federally-Funded Family Planning
 Programs, 1965–1990"
 Dream Mentor: Margot Canaday,
 Princeton University

William and Carol Stevenson Conference: The Politics of Major Policy Reform

There have been many attempts at policy reform in the United States since World War II, but few have contributed to significant and sustained policy change. Last November, the Miller Center

convened a group of eminent scholars to discuss this issue at "The Politics of Major Policy Reform," the 2011 William and Carol Stevenson Conference. From a keynote dinner on "The Arab Spring and American Foreign Policy in the Middle East" with U.Va. Politics Professor William Quandt to a closing session with David Mayhew, professor of political science at Yale, the conference touched on the most pressing policy issues facing the United States, including health care, civil rights, diplomacy, education, and trade.

Essays from the conference will be gathered in a volume titled *The Politics of Major Policy Reform in Postwar America*. The volume, which will be co-edited by scholars Sidney Milkis and Jeffery Jenkins, will be published by Cambridge University Press in 2013.

The biennial Stevenson conference takes place thanks to the generous gift of Mrs. Carol and the late Mr. William Stevenson, dedicated Miller Center supporters for more than 30 years.

Audio and video from the proceedings are available at millercenter.org.

From Clinton to Bush to Obama: What Have We Learned About Presidents and Foreign Policy? In recent decades, most scholars who study U.S. foreign policy have been skeptical of the notion that presidents matter very much. The Miller Center's Governing America in a Global Era (GAGE) program and Security Studies, a journal housed at the Center, tackled whether or not individuals affect foreign policies and international outcomes in sustained, predictable ways. The panel, which happened on October 28, was comprised of Christy Clark, formerly of the U.S. Treasury Department; James Lindsay of the Council on Foreign Relations; Rose McDermott of Brown University; Sidney Milkis of the Miller Center; and William Quandt of U.Va.'s politics department. John Owen, editorin-chief of Security Studies, served as moderator.

The Collapse of the Soviet Union: A Roundtable Discussion on the Twentieth Anniversary

On November 11, GAGE hosted a special roundtable discussion, which asked why the Soviet Union collapsed in 1991, what role domestic and international factors played, and what have been the consequences. The participants, who were all from U.Va., included Allen C. Lynch of the politics department, Jeffrey J. Rossman of the history department, and Yuri V. Urbanovich of the School of



Top: Erez Manuela and Robert Kagan review Elizabeth Cobbs Hoffman's manuscript at the spring fellowship conference. Center: Joseph Crespino shares his manuscript at the fall fellowship conference.

Bottom: Suzanne Mettler explains her scholarship during a colloquium.

LESSONS FOR 2012

Throughout the election cycle, much has been written about special-interest groups and their role in influencing parties on both sides of the aisle. This fall, the Miller Center is welcoming a new class of fellows, including specialinterest expert Katherine Krimmel from Columbia University. Krimmel's work examines special interest-partisanship and specifically the transformation of American political parties. In her research, Krimmel writes: "Today, we hear frequent discussions—often lamentations—about the increasingly close relationship between parties and special interests. Though these discussions appear in both popular and academic forums, political science has not yet offered a systematic evaluation of these impressions. Looking across multiple dimensions, have special interest groups truly become more partisan since the middle of the twentieth century? If so, when, how and why did this change occur?" Krimmel's dissertation explores these questions in detail.





Continuing and Professional Studies. The Miller Center's Melvyn Leffler moderated.

2011–2012 Colloquium Series

The Miller Center's colloquium series provides an open space for scholars to share their works-in-progress and exchange ideas with the larger community. The 2011-2012 Colloquium series featured:

- Alan Brinkley, Columbia University,
 "The Kennedy Crises: Cuba and Berlin,
 1961"
- Suzanne Mettler, Cornell University, "Who Perceives Government's Role in Their Lives?"
- David A. Lake, University of California, San Diego, "America's Hegomonic Dilemmas: Building Legitimate and Loyal States in an Age of Global Insurgency"
- Scott Adler, University of Colorado, Boulder, "Problem Solving in the 112th Congress: The Debt Crisis and Beyond"
- Nancy Rosenblum, Harvard University, "Good Neighbor Nation"
- Jeffrey A. Engel, Texas A&M University, "When the World Seemed New: American Foreign Policy in the Age of George H.W. Bush"
- David Freund, University of Maryland, "Money Matters: Debt Markets and Growth Politics in the Modern United States"
- Matthew D. Lassiter, University of Michigan, "'Generation Gap' to 'Just Say No': Suburban Politics and the War on Drugs from the 1960s-1980s"
- Beth Simmons, Harvard University, "The Global Diffusion of Law: Transnational Crime and the Case of Human Trafficking"
- Paul Pierson, University of California, Berkeley, "The Case for Policy-Focused Political Analysis"
- Kimberly J. Morgan, The George
 Washington University, "Delegated
 Powers: The Mix of Public and Private
 Authority in American Social Policy"

Video and audio of these conferences, panels, and colloquia are available at millercenter.org.

POLICY.

Mortimer Caplin Conference on the World Economy

The Miller Center's fourth annual Mortimer Caplin Conference on the World Economy focused on the intricate relationships between globalization, America's fiscal future, international competitiveness, and tax reform. Preeminent senior government officials, scholars, and private-sector leaders contributed to the conference, which took place December 8 at the National Press Club in Washington, DC.

Participants included Darlene Miller, a member of President Obama's Council on Jobs and Competitiveness; Steven Rattner, who served as President Obama's auto adviser; David Walker, former U.S. comptroller general; Stephen Moore, a member of the Wall Street Journal editorial board; Paul Kimball, president of Sagebrush Capital; and Mihir A. Desai, a professor at Harvard Business School. During two panel discussions and a keynote roundtable, the conference explored the politics of fiscal reform; prospects for the United States in the global economy; and striking the balance between tax reform, deficit reduction, and global economic power.

Previous Caplin conferences have analyzed the changing global economy, governing through debts and deficits, and





Top: Panelists discuss U.S. prospects in the global economy. Left: Margaret Brennan of Bloomberg Television moderates the keynote roundtable. Below: The Miller Center's David Leblang welcomes the participants and audience to the conference. Bottom: Political analyst Bill Schneider sits on a panel about the politics of fiscal reform.

the role of central banks.

A conference report and archived webcasts of this and previous Caplin conferences are available at millercenter. org/policy/caplin/2011.

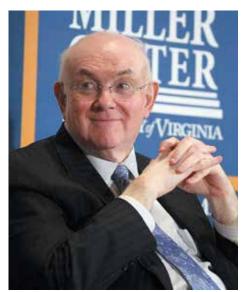


2012 CAPLIN CONFERENCE PREVIEW: "HIGH-SKILLED IMMIGRATION"

The 2012 Mortimer Caplin Conference on the World Economy, "High-Skilled Immigration: Politics, Economics, and Law" will examine the role of America's labor force and admissions policies for highly skilled workers. Topics will include the true impact of current immigration provisions on American competitiveness, how proposals for highly skilled admissions can meet the needs of the U.S. economy, what effect such proposals might have on other policy goals, how those trade-offs should be managed, and the extent to which specific proposals serve national interests or primarily benefit particular industries or employers.

Scheduled to participate in a special keynote roundtable are Steve Case, founder and former CEO of AOL; Alan Murray, deputy managing editor of the *Wall Street Journal*; Teresa A. Sullivan, U.Va. president; and Mark Warner, U.S. senator from Virginia.

The conference will take place December 7 at the Miller Center's Washington, DC office and the National Press Club.





George Stephanopoulos (center) moderates an April 29 debate on "America's Economic Recovery: Is It Built to Last?"

Miller Center-ABC Debates

The Miller Center's partnership with ABC's *This Week* to produce this season's National Discussion and Debate Series not only resulted in millions of viewers being better informed about some of the key issues of the 2012 presidential campaign, it also introduced the Center to a new nationwide audience.

On December 18, more than two million people tuned in as a lively panel debated the topic, "There's Too Much Government in My Life," tackling such issues as entitlements, taxes, and government regulations. Panelists included Rep. Paul Ryan (R-WI), chairman of the House Budget Committee, and Pulitzer Prize-winning columnist George Will, versus Rep. Barney Frank (D-MA), senior Democrat on the House Financial Services Committee, and former Labor Secretary Robert Reich. The moderator was Christiane Amanpour.

For the next debate, which aired on April 29, moderator George Stephanopoulos led a discussion on the U.S. economy, focusing on the question, "America's Economic Recovery: Is It Built to Last?" The impressive line-up of guests included Carla Fiorina, former CEO of Hewlett-Packard; Jennifer Granholm, former governor of Michigan; Paul Krugman, Nobel Prize-winning economist and *New York Times* columnist; Eric Schmidt, executive chairman of Google; David Walker, former comptroller general; and George Will.

On August 19, the focus was once again on the economy in a program titled,

LESSONS FOR 2012

Just months before he was selected as Mitt Romney's running mate, Rep. Paul Ryan shared his views on the economy at a joint Miller Center-ABC "This Week" debate, titled "There's Too Much Government In My Life." In his opening remarks, Ryan said: "Is there too much government in our lives? Yes. Ask most people and they will agree. It's no coincidence that government spending has hit record levels while people's trust in government has hit record lows. So the longer answer, why is this, is pretty simple. Too much government inevitably leads to bad government. When government grows too much and extends beyond its limits, it usually does things poorly. Our founders put limits on government because they knew the limits of government." The rest of Ryan's comments and the entire debate are available at millercenter.org.



"Is the U.S. Headed Toward Bankruptcy?" Panelists debating this question included: Sen. Pat Toomey (R-PA); Rep. Chris Van Hollen (D-MD); Neil Barofsky, former special inspector general of the Troubled Asset Relief Program; Austan Goolsbee, former chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers; Grover Norquist, president of Americans for Tax Reform; and Kimberley Strassel, columnist and editorial board member at the *Wall Street Journal*. Jake Tapper, ABC senior White House correspondent, served as moderator.

"It's been a delight to work with the Miller Center on bringing a series of thoughtful policy discussions to our Sunday morning audience, particularly during this critically important election year," said Stephanopoulos.

About 6.5 million people watched these three programs when they aired. They can also be watched online on both the Miller Center's and ABC's websites.

All debates took place at the Newseum in Washington, DC before a live studio audience that included many Miller Center supporters who made the partnership with ABC News possible.



The Miller Center created and disseminated educational materials for each debate topic, including white papers and blog posts written by leading scholars and lesson plans that middle-school and high-school students can use to learn about election issues. All these materials are featured at millercenter.org/debates, which also includes video and transcripts of each debate as well as related resources from the Miller Center's vast archives, including clips from White House tape recordings and past Forums.

"It's been a delight to work with the Miller Center on bringing a series of thoughtful policy discussions to our Sunday morning audience, particularly during this critically important election year."

- George Stephanopoulos



Above: The August 19 panel, moderated by Jake Tapper, discusses whether the U.S. is headed toward bankruptcy. Left: The nationwide ABC television broadcasts prominently featured the Miller Center's logo in its graphics. Below: George Will, Paul Ryan, Christiane Amanpour, Barney Frank, and Robert Reich kick off the series in December 2011 on the topic "There's Too Much Government in My Life."



Forums



This year's Miller Center Forums explored not only current election issues but also issues of the past. Whether from the world of academics, journalism, or politics, the most recent roster of Forum speakers showed how history can inform the choices and challenges facing us today. Our more than 40 speakers this year included:

September 7, 2011

Teresa A. Sullivan, U.Va. president "Higher Education as the Engine of the American Economy"

September 9, 2011

Melvyn Leffler, GAGE faculty associate at the Miller Center and U.Va. history professor

"Rethinking 9/11: Its Impact on Foreign Policy"

September 19, 2011

Janny Scott, award-winning New York Times reporter

"A Singular Woman: The Untold Story of Barack Obama's Mother"

September 23, 2011

Ron Nessen, former NBC News reporter and Ford White House press secretary "Making the News, Taking the News: From NBC to the Ford White House"

September 26, 2011

Thom Shanker and Eric Schmidtt, New York Times reporters

"Counterstrike: The Untold Story of America's Secret Campaign Against Al Qaeda"

September 30, 2011

Marvin and Deborah Kalb, father-daughter journalists

"Haunting Legacy: Vietnam and the American Presidency from Ford to Obama"

October 7, 2011

Jim Lehrer, executive editor and former news anchor of *PBS NewsHour* "Tension City: Inside the Presidential Debates, from Kennedy-Nixon to Obama-McCain"

October 24, 2011

Bob Woodward, *Washington Post* associate editor and best-selling author "From Nixon to Obama"

October 31, 2011

Susan Glasser, editor-in-chief of Foreign Policy

"Looking Toward the 2012 Elections"

November 11, 2011

Evan Thomas, journalist and author "The War Lovers: Roosevelt, Lodge, Hearst, and the Rush to Empire, 1898"

December 2, 2011

Dana Priest, Pulitzer Prize-winning Washington Post reporter "Top Secret America: The Rise of the New American Security State"

December 12, 2011

Ali Mayorkas, director of U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services "A Conversation About U.S. Immigration Policy"

January 20, 2012

Bob Graham, former Florida governor and U.S. senator "Keys to the Kingdom"

January 30, 2012

Jodi Kantor, New York Times correspondent

"The Obamas"

February 3, 2012

Alan Murray, deputy managing editor of the *Wall Street Journal* "Election 2012 and Retooling the American Economy"

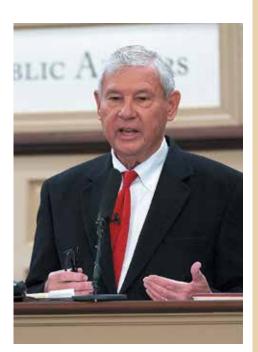




From top to bottom: Teresa A. Sullivan kicks off the Forum season. Clarence Lusane describes the black history of the White House. Douglas Blackmon moderates a Forum with the Washington Post's Marcus Brauchli and Chris Cillizza.







The Washington Post's Bob Woodward talks about his book, Obama's Wars. Dana Priest explains the new American security state. Bob Graham shares his novel, Keys to the Kingdom.

February 13, 2012

Frederick P. Hitz, former inspector general of the CIA "U.S. Intelligence in the Wake of September 11: The Rise of the Spy Commando"

February 17, 2012

Clarence Lusane, associate professor of political science at American University "The Black History of the White House"

February 20, 2012

Linda Killian, journalist and senior scholar at the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars "The Swing Vote: The Untapped Power of Independents"

March 26, 2012

Michael Kranish, Washington bureau deputy chief at the *Boston Globe* "The Real Romney"

April 2, 2012

Del Quentin Wilber, award-winning *Washington Post* reporter "Rawhide Down: The Near Assassination of Ronald Reagan"

May 9, 2012

Peter Bergen, who produced Osama bin Laden's first television interview "Manhunt: The Ten-Year Search for Osama bin Laden-from 9/11 to Abbottabad"

May 18, 2012

Marcus Brauchli, Washington Post executive editor, and Chris Cillizza, Washington Post writer for "The Fix" politics blog

"The Long Battle Ahead: The 2012 Presidential Election and How the Washington Post Will Cover It"

Video and audio of these Forums are available at millercenter.org/forums.

The Center also welcomed Douglas Blackmon as its new Forum chair. Blackmon brings to his new role experience as an acclaimed journalist at the Wall Street Journal and the Washington Post. He won a Pulitzer Prize for his book, Slavery by Another Name: The Re-Enslavement of Black Americans from the Civil War to World War II, the film adaptation of which aired on PBS in February. Blackmon discussed Slavery by Another Name at Forums in 2008 and on Martin Luther King Day in 2012. He officially moderated his first Forum this past Presidents' Day.

LESSONS FOR 2012

In a Miller Center Forum last October, PBS's Jim Lehrer talked about his new book, Tension City: Inside the Presidential Debates, from Kennedy-Nixon to Obama-McCain. In his remarks, Lehrer stressed that "the role of the moderator is to stay out of the way!" He said his advice "to all people who moderate anything, particularly presidential debates, is to take a few moments, look at the mirror by yourself and say 'this is not about me, this is not about me" because the "bottom line is if you're talking about the moderator, even in a positive way, after a debate then the moderator failed, because it's not about the moderator." Lehrer is moderating the first debate between President Obama and Mitt Romney.

LESSONS FOR 2012 13

Are We There Yet? Selling America on Transportation



ARE WE THERE YET?

Selling America on Transportation

David R. Goode National
Transportation Policy Conference
Norman V. Minist and Somed K. Shimor, Conference Co-Chirn
and framer Societies of Pransportation
Jeffrey N. Sham, Conference Director



Top right: Rep. John Mica gives the keynote speech at the 2011 David R. Goode National Transportation Policy Conference. Bottom: Former Transportation Secretaries Mary Peters, James Burnley, Rodney Slater, Samuel Skinner, and Norman Mineta serve on a conference panel.

From a conference attended by five former U.S. transportation secretaries to a new report that gained national attention, the Miller Center continued its impressive work on transportation policy this past year.

In November, the Center convened the 2011 David R. Goode National Transportation Policy Conference at its office in Washington, DC. The two-day gathering, which was attended by dozens of the nation's top transportation thinkers and covered by C-SPAN, focused on how best to make the case for infrastructure repair to the American public.

Among the attendees were Rep. John Mica, chairman of the House Transportation and Infrastructure Committee, as well as former transportation secretaries who served under every president from Ronald Reagan to George W. Bush. Secretaries taking part included James Burnley, Samuel Skinner, Rodney Slater, Norman Mineta, and Mary Peters. Skinner and Mineta served as chairs of the conference.

Based on key findings of the conference, the Miller Center released a new report in April that proposed practical, actionable ways to sell the American public on the need to invest in infrastructure.

In Are We There Yet? Selling America on Transportation, Mineta and Skinner write, "There is a lack of confidence and trust in the ability of policymakers to make good decisions in transportation policy and planning. And without

a mandate from a broader public, most policymakers don't want to risk reforming the current system in a political landscape fraught with many other challenges and competing demands."

The report recommends a detailed communications strategy to draw attention to transportation challenges. There are four key elements:

- A positive, forward-looking tone that frames the transportation debate around issues of economic growth, jobs, and U.S. competitiveness, combined with quality of life
- A well-defined but flexible campaign plan that is keyed to the rhythms of an election year and to important events in the transportation calendar
- A focus on building broader engagement through effective, targeted use of traditional media and social media
- A concerted effort to link local transportation investment opportunities and benefits to national-level policy decisions

The full report can be read at millercenter.org/policy/transportation/2011.

Mineta and Gov. Baliles unveiled the report at an event held in the Transportation Committee hearing room on Capitol Hill. Following their remarks, Conference Director Jeffrey Shane led a panel discussion on how raising public awareness can lead to much-needed change in transportation policymaking.

The report received prominent coverage in *Politico*, the *Washington Post*, and other media.

The new report follows the 2010 Miller Center report, *Well Within Reach: America's New Transportation Agenda*, which outlined 10 recommendations to fix the nation's overburdened transportation system. That report continues to attract the attention of the transportation community, media, and even President Obama, who praised the report in a White House news conference.



Executive Privilege: Mapping an Extraordinary Power

U.S. presidents have been invoking executive privilege ever since George Washington, and the administration of Dwight Eisenhower marks the rise of the privilege's use in the modern presidency.

In July, the Miller Center released *Executive Privilege: Mapping an Extraordinary Power*, an online report on the history of executive privilege and the tensions inherent to it. The report argues, "Although the current approach to executive privilege allows most disputes to be settled through negotiation, these settlements may come with significant partisan bickering....As a result, Congress tends to investigate the executive branch more when it is controlled by the opposing party and less when the same party controls both branches."

The report offers several policy solutions to this problem:

- The easiest response to the problems with executive privilege would be doing nothing and leaving the resolution of disputes to the political process.
- While the political process is the best way to resolve these disputes, many scholars also argue that members of Congress should be more assertive against the president, regardless

- of their party affiliation in order to restore institutional balance. To do so, Congressional staffers should be educated on executive-privilege matters, while Congress should make use of its Constitutional checks, including its powers over the purse, appointment confirmations, and contempt and impeachment proceedings.
- Although not legally binding on a
 president, White House memoranda
 on executive privilege can help define
 the power for each administration,
 establish procedures for its assertion,
 be useful to Congress and the public in
 policing its overuse, and at least provide
 some basis for public accountability.
- The president could rely on other narrower privileges when withholding information from Congress, including attorney-client privilege.
- Congress could pass a law delineating the scope of executive privilege and the procedure for asserting it.
- A more modest statutory proposal would protect audio recordings of executive branch discussions against release to Congress or the public.
- Congress could statutorily designate a few congressional leaders as eligible to

- view materials protected by executive privilege.
- Congress could also provide for special prosecutors to investigate and bring contempt charges against executive branch officials who refuse to cooperate with congressional information requests.

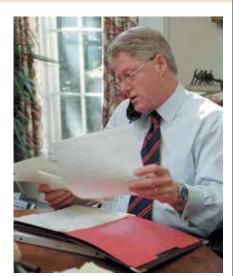
A special online exhibit on executive privilege on the Miller Center's website accompanies the report. The exhibit shows, through the use of Center resources, how presidents have used executive privilege throughout American history. For example, in a Forum video from 2007, presidential scholar Mark Rozell discusses Eisenhower's first use of the phrase "executive privilege." Pete Wallison, White House counsel to Ronald Reagan, comments on executive privilege in oral history interview excerpts. And in video from a 1974 news conference, Richard Nixon answers a question about whether he will waive executive privilege in order for the Watergate investigation to

The executive privilege report and online exhibit are available at millercenter.org.

The Miller Center's report on executive privilege shows how presidents throughout American history, including Dwight Eisenhower, Ronald Reagan, and Bill Clinton, have invoked executive privilege.







IMPACT.

2011–2012 Milestones and Achievements

The Miller Center's motto ends with the word" Impact," and the Center definitely ended the 2011-2012 academic year making a big impact.

- Page views to millercenter.org increased by 20 percent to 11.5 million. Traffic on the Center's homepage increased by 50 percent.
- About 6.5 million people watched the special episodes of ABC's *This Week* with George Stephanopoulos, jointly produced by the Miller Center, on some of the key issues of the 2012 campaign.
- The Miller Center released the oral history of the administration of President George H.W. Bush, creating a comprehensive historical record of the 41st presidency in the words of those who were part of it. Dozens of interviews were released, including with 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; and National Security Adviser Brent Scowcroft.
- The Bush oral history received extensive coverage by dozens of media outlets, including the *Washington Post, USA Today, NBC Nightly News, ABC World News, Good Morning America, CBS This Morning,* Fox News Channel, and C-SPAN.
- The Presidential Recordings of Lyndon B. Johnson Digital Edition won the American Association of Publishers' 2011 PROSE Award for Best eProduct in the Humanities and was cited as an Outstanding Academic Title for 2011 by Choice magazine, a leading publication for academic librarians.
- Former Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice used oral history interviews with her and senior staff members to help write her recently published memoir, *No Higher Honor: A Memoir of My Years in Washington*. In her book, Rice acknowledged the Miller Center and its staff, writing "I am grateful to them for this terrific forum."
- The Center welcomed nine new fellows, bringing the number of students the fellowship program has helped launch the careers of to 117.
- The Center convened the 2011 David R. Goode National Transportation Policy Conference, which was attended by five former U.S. transportation secretaries and the current chairman of the House Transportation and Infrastructure Committee.
- The Miller Center released two new policy reports, Executive Privilege: Mapping an Extraordinary Power and Are We There Yet? Selling America on Transportation. The Center's 2010 transportation report, Well Within Reach: America's New Transportation Agenda, continued to make news, with the Washington Post praising it as "a landmark for depth, scope and bipartisanship."
- More than 7,500 telecasts of the Miller Center Forum aired on more than 100 PBS stations across the country.
- The Center launched a blog, *Riding the Tiger*, to bring historical context to the 2012 presidential election.
- The number of people following the Center on social media sites Facebook and Twitter grew by 30 percent, with thousands of people now following the Center.

The LBJ Digital
Edition won a 2011
PROSE Award
and was named
Outstanding
Academic Title
for 2011 by Choice
magazine.



GOVERNING COUNCIL'S A.D. HART

This summer, loyal Miller Center supporter Andrew D.
Hart, Jr., stepped down from the Center's Governing
Council. Hart has also served the Miller Center as a
Foundation Board member and as a charter member of both the Burkett Miller Society and Presidential
Cabinet. He and his wife Margaret were leading contributors to the Campaign for the Miller Center and remain fixtures in the Center's intellectual community. The
Miller Center thanks "A.D." for his unwavering support and generosity.

16 The Miller Center



IN MEMORIAM

This past May, the Miller Center lost a dear colleague and friend, William Lee Miller. Miller was an active member of the Center's intellectual community through 2009, including a Forum on Lincoln and Shakespeare that year. Although he was no relation to Center founder Burkett Miller, William Miller always thought the name of the institution had a nice ring to it. Miller's scholarship, especially on Lincoln, was widely acclaimed and included numerous books as well as magazine and journal articles. In his early years, Miller also served as a speechwriter for Adlai Stevenson's campaign and a contributing editor and writer for The Reporter magazine. He joined the faculty of U.Va. in 1982 and the Miller Center in 1987.





Top: Janny Scott, award-winning New York Times reporter, speaks at a Forum about Barack Obama's mother. Above left: The oral history team interviews Condolleeza Rice for the George W. Bush oral history. Above right: The newly refurbished Leigh B. Middleditch, Jr. Hall honors the Miller Center's longtime Foundation Board leader.

- The Center opened a new office in Washington, DC just two blocks from the White House. It also completed a long-term refurbishment of some main public spaces in Charlottesville, including the Leigh B. Middleditch, Jr. Hall in honor of the Center's longtime Foundation Board leader.
- The Miller Center saw several personnel transitions this past year. This spring, the Center said goodbye to Joseph Taylor, who served as Miller Center Foundation executive director for five-and-a-half years. Taylor now serves as vice president for institutional advancement at Emory & Henry College, located in southwest Virginia. The Miller Center's new Foundation







Doug Trout



Douglas Blackmon

executive director is Doug Trout, who, through his tenure and successes at U.Va.'s Jefferson Scholars Foundation and prior development positions, is well known in University circles both in Charlottesville and across the country. The Miller Center also

welcomed Douglas Blackmon as its new Forum host. Blackmon is a Pulitzer Prize-winning author and a renowned journalist.

LESSONS FOR 2012

SCHOLARS & STAFF.

Gerald L. Baliles

Director and CEO of the Miller Center

Rose Marie Owen

Executive Assistant to the Director and CEO

W. Taylor Reveley, IV

Managing Director of the Miller Center

Communications

Kristy Schantz

Director of Communications and Marketing

Kim Curtis

Communications Coordinator and Editor

Monica Gray

Social Media and Marketing Coordinator

Democracy and Governance Studies

Sidney Milkis

Director of Democracy and Governance Studies

White Burkett Miller Professor in the Politics Department at U.Va.

Anne Carter Mulligan

Coordinator for Democracy and Governance Studies

Carah Ong

Research Assistant

Governing America in a Global Era (GAGE)

Risa Goluboff

Affiliated GAGE Scholar and Professor of Law and History at U.Va.

Will Hitchcock

Affiliated GAGE Scholar and Professor of History at U.Va.

Jeffery Jenkins

Faculty Associate in the GAGE Program and Associate Professor in the Politics Department at U.Va.

David Leblang

Faculty Associate in the GAGE Program, J. Wilson Newman Professor of Governance, and Chair of the Politics Department at U.Va.

Melvyn Leffler

Faculty Associate in the GAGE Program and Edward Stettinius Professor of American History in the History Department at U.Va.

Jeffrey Legro

Faculty Associate in the GAGE Program, Vice Provost for Global Affairs, and Randolph P. Compton Professor in the Politics Department at U.Va.

National Fellowship Program

Brian Balogh

Professor in the Department of History at U.Va., Compton Professor, and Chair of the National Fellowship Program

Evan McCormick

National Fellowship Program Coordinator

Security Studies Journal

John M. Owen IV

Editor-In-Chief

Peter Furia

Editorial Administrator

Emeritus Faculty

Kenneth Thompson

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

Finance and Administrative Services

Andrew Chancey

Director of Finance and Program Analysis

Elizabeth Braswell

Senior Fiscal Assistant

Jen Starkey

Business Administrator

Information and Support Services

Michael Greco

Director of Information and Support Services

Sheila Blackford

Library Specialist and Managing Editor of American President

Robert Canevari

Assistant Audio Visual Producer and Facilities Coordinator

Sean Gallagher

Systems Administrator

Kevan Holdsworth

Coordinator for Audio Visual Services

Waldo Jaquith

Web Developer

Amber Lautigar Reichert

Web and Multimedia Specialist

Miller Center Foundation

Doug Trout

Foundation Executive Director

Cappy Grabowski

Interim Administrative Associate

Karen McGrath

Director of Annual Giving

Nancy Parsons

Director of External Relations and Special Assistant to Governor Baliles

MULLIGAN WINS U.VA. STAFF AWARD

This May, Anne Mulligan, the Miller Center's coordinator for democracy and governance studies, won the 2012 Leonard W. Sandridge Outstanding Contribution Award, the highest honor for U.Va. staff. Mulligan was among ten other employees who were commended for dedicated service and commitment to the University's mission.

Since coming to the Miller Center in 2006, Mulligan has played an integral role in the Center's academic programs. She also serves as managing editor of the Center's *Riding the Tiger* blog, which launched on Presidents' Day.

Policy Programs

Juliana Bush

Coordinator of Policy and Student Programs

Visiting Fellows

Ray Scheppach

Senior Fellow for Economic Policy

Jeffrey N. Shane

Visiting Fellow and Conference Director for the David R. Goode National Transportation Policy Conference

Presidential Studies

Marc Selverstone

Director of Presidential Studies and U.Va. Associate Professor Presidential Recordings Program

Presidential Oral History Program

Russell Riley

Chair of the Presidential Oral History Program and U.Va. Associate Professor

Bonnie Burns

Project Manager, Kennedy Oral History Project

Bryan Craig

Senior Researcher

Charles Jones

Non-Resident Senior Fellow

Katrina Gosdin Kuhn

Program Administrator

Rob Martin

Research Director, Kennedy Oral History Project

Michael Nelson

Non-Resident Senior Fellow

Barbara Perry

Senior Fellow and Associate Professor

Jane Rafal Wilson

Editor

James Young

Project Director, Kennedy Oral History Project and Randolph P. Compton Scholar

Presidential Recordings Program

David Coleman

Chair of the Presidential Recordings Program and U.Va. Associate Professor

Pat Dunn

Editor

Patrick Garrity

Research Associate

Kent Germany

Non-Resident Research Fellow

Ken Hughes

Non-Resident Research Assistant

Erin Mahan

Non-Resident Research Fellow

Keri Matthews

Program Administrator

Guian McKee

U.Va. Associate Professor

Public Programs

Jeff Chidester

Director of Public Programs, Corporate Secretary

Douglas Blackmon

Chair of the Forum Program

Shirley Burke

Executive Assistant

Cristina Lopez-Gottardi Chao

Research Director for Public Programs

George Gilliam

Senior Fellow for National Engagement

LEGRO NAMED U.VA. VICE PROVOST FOR GLOBAL AFFAIRS

The Miller Center's Jeffrey Legro has been named U.Va.'s new vice provost for global affairs. Working alongside faculty and school deans in this new capacity, Legro will develop University-wide strategies for engagements and policies related to global partnerships that advance teaching, learning, and research. He will also serve as an advocate for existing global partnerships and oversee efforts to further internationalize U.Va.'s curriculum.

Legro is the Miller Center's Randolph P. Compton Professor and a faculty associate in the Governing America in a Global Era (GAGE) program. He chaired U.Va.'s politics department as well as the American Political Science Association's task force on U.S. standing in world politics. He co-edited (with Miller Center scholar Melvyn Leffler) To Lead the World: U.S. Strategy after the Bush Doctrine and In Uncertain Times: American Foreign Policy after the Berlin Wall and 9/11.



FINANCIALS.

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 of Virginia. The Miller Center Foundation, a Section 501(c)(3) nonprofit organization and a 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 Fund at the University of Virginia Alumni Association. These arrangements ensure the requisite separation of financial duties and serve both organizations, and donors, effectively.

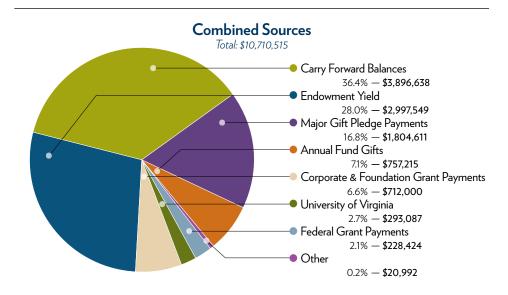
Both the Miller Center and the Miller Center Foundation have endowments which provide significant support for Center programs and mission support services. All endowments are managed by the University of Virginia Investment Management Company (UVIMCO), and endowment distribution rates follow those set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

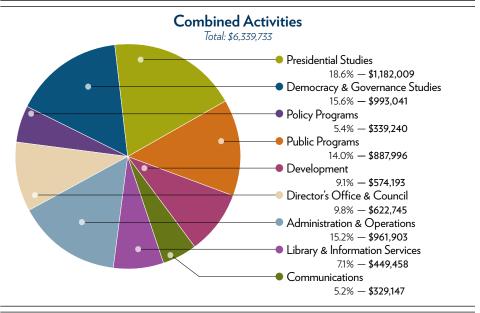
In addition to endowment yield, the Center's support comes primarily from funding raised by the Miller Center Foundation, with gifts and gift commitments from numerous generous individuals and organizations listed in the following pages. In addition, the Center received funding from the National Historical Publications and Records Commission and the Institute of Museum and Library Services.

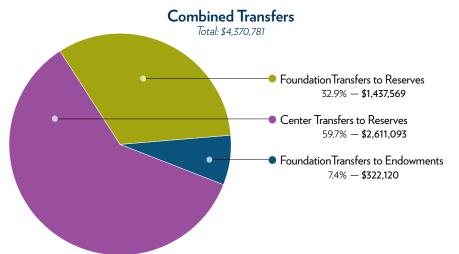
The reporting of financial activities and assets reflected on this page and the following is based on unaudited statements and internal working papers.

CASH FLOW OVERVIEW FISCAL YEAR 2011–2012

Combined View of Center and Foundation







Summary of Cash Financial Activities

Fiscal Year 2011-2012

MILLER CENTER FOUNDATION

Sources	
Distributions from Endowments and Reserves	\$1,550,746
Gifts and Grants	\$3,242,576
Other	\$2,821
Operations and Activities	
Development Operations	\$574,193
Direct Support of Miller Center Activities and Other	\$220,993
Transfers	
Custodial Programmatic Transfers to the Miller Center	\$2,241,268
Transfers to Endowments and Reserves	\$1,759,689

MILLER CENTER OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS

S	OI	ur	c	es

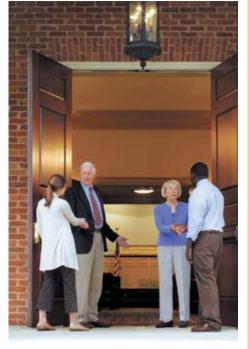
Custodial Programmatic Transfers from Miller Center Foundation	\$2,241,268
Distributions from Endowments and Reserves	\$5,324,513
Gifts and Grants	\$278,602
University of Virginia	\$293,087
Other	\$18,171

Programs and Activities

- g. a a	
Presidential Studies	\$1,137,867
Democracy and Governance Studies	\$993,041
Public Programs	\$887,996
Policy Programs	\$339,240
Director and Council	\$622,745
Administration and Operations	\$810,546
Library and Information Services	\$423,965
Communications	\$329,147

Transfers

Transfers to Endowments and Reserves \$2,611,093



Entrance to the Miller Center's Anne R. Worrell Reception Hall

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
2012	51, 416,339	2,588,136

❖ 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
2012	9, 239,083	409, 413

[❖] June 30 *on previous year's market value

LESSONS FOR 2012

FOUNDATION.



The Miller Center Foundation

The Miller Center Foundation, a 501(c) (3) charitable supporting foundation, serves as the nexus of resource development for the Miller Center at the University of Virginia. The Foundation receives donor funds that enable the Miller Center to operate its academic, policy, and public programs.

The Miller Center Foundation is committed to capitalizing on the momentum stemming from its recently completed capital campaign to secure the best possible future for the Miller Center. Uniquely positioned as one of U.Va.'s leading academic institutes, the Miller Center is building a national donor base of individuals, corporations, and foundations who are drawn to the exploration of the U.S. presidency, federal policy, and political history. The Miller Center seeks a passionate audience who supports its three tenets: History, Policy, and Impact and who values an investment in rigorous scholarship and civil discourse.

2011-2012 Year in Review

Coming off the most successful capital campaign in the history of the organization, the Miller Center Foundation enjoyed a successful fundraising year and continued in its mission to support the

programs of the Miller Center. The year was highlighted by a number of meaningful restricted gifts and was capped by the second most successful year in annual unrestricted giving in the Miller Center's 37-year history that included over 100 new donors to the Miller Center Fund. A small group of benefactors made exceptional gifts that created the following 2011-2012 current and future Miller Center initiatives:

The National Discussion and Debate Series with ABC

The Miller Center and ABC News announced a new partnership to broadcast a series of national policy debates, beginning in December 2011, to air as special episodes of *This Week*. The debates, broadcast on select Sunday mornings throughout the year, were broadcast as one-hour debates between distinguished policymakers, government officials, business leaders, scholars, and other experts on a variety of topics. Debates were filmed at the Newseum in Washington, DC, before a live audience.

Miller Center Initiative on Immigration

Given the importance of U.S. immigration policy and its implications for the

nation's future, the Miller Center created a Forum series and a major symposium platform. Immigration reform remains a major unresolved policy question and is a key issue for the 2012 presidential campaign. Thus, in an effort to understand the full complexity of the immigration debate, the Miller Center initiated this special themed series on immigration.

A Forum and Colloquium Series on War, Warfare, and Violence

In selecting Forum and colloquium speakers, the Miller Center will draw upon an impressive array of scholars. The series will address key questions in the field of war and society.

Middleditch Hall

As part of the ongoing Miller Center capital improvements, one of the refurbished public spaces has been named the "Leigh B. Middleditch, Jr. Hall" in honor of the leadership of the longtime Miller Center Foundation Board chair.

REPORT OF GIFTS.

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 2012 (July 1, 2011–June 30, 2012).

The Miller Center Fund

The Presidential Cabinet

(Gifts of \$1,000 and above)

Thomas Jefferson Circle

(Gifts of \$10,000 and above)

Mr. Richard M. Ader

Mr. Gerald L. Baliles

& Mrs. Robin D. Baliles

Caplin Foundation

Mr. Mortimer M. Caplin

& Mrs. Ruth S. Caplin

The Honorable John H. Chichester

Claude Moore Charitable Foundation

College of William & Mary Foundation

Dr. Philip H. Cooper

& Mrs. Carol B. Cooper

Mr. Terrence D. Daniels

& Mrs. Courtnay S. Daniels

Mrs. Sandra H. Fadil

& Mr. Fouad A. Fadil

Mr. David E. Gibson

& Mrs. Linda J. Gibson

Mr. Joseph R. Gladden, Jr.

& Mrs. Sarah B. Gladden

Mr. David R. Goode

& Mrs. Susan S. Goode

Harry Frank Guggenheim Foundation

Jefferson Davis Hamlin Trust

Mr. J. Davis Hamlin

& Mrs. Winborne L. Hamlin

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Mr. George Willis Logan

& Mrs. Harmon B. Logan

Dr. Joseph Ramsey Martin, Jr.

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Mr. Ambrose K. Monell

Joseph & Robert Cornell

Memorial Foundation

Mr. Joseph Erdman

& Mrs. Rosemary Hill-Erdman

Mr. Jeffrey C. Walker

& Mrs. Suzanne C. Walker

George Washington Circle

(Gifts of \$5,000-\$9,999)

Battelle Memorial Institute

Mr. John H. Birdsall III

& Mrs. Mary Scott B. Birdsall

Mr. A. Macdonald Caputo

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Charlottesville Area Community Foundation

Mr. Thomas H. Conner

& Mrs. Dorothy P. Conner

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Mr. Douglas D. Drysdale

& Mrs. Elaine M. Hadden Drysdale

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& Mrs. Merrill Underwood Barringer

Mr. Frederick P. Hitz

& Mrs. Mary B. Hitz

Mrs. Robin M. Kreitler

& Mr. Richard R. Kreitler

Kunhardt McGee Productions

Mr. H. Eugene Lockhart, Jr.

& Mrs. Terry J. Lockhart

Mary & Daniel Loughran Foundation

Mr. Leigh B. Middleditch, Jr.

& Mrs. Betty Lou Middleditch

Professor Jerome M. Mileur

Nurmi Family Foundation

Mr. Thomas D. Nurmi

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& Mrs. DeLane W. Porter

Mr. Richard J.M. Poulson

& Mrs. Anne Wrenn Poulson

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& Mrs. Carol L. Roberts

Mr. Frederic William Scott, Jr.

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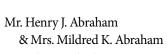
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