



Miller Center

Annual Report

2013–2014



A Historic Year



The **Miller Center** is a nonpartisan affiliate of the University of Virginia that specializes in presidential scholarship, public policy, and political history and strives to apply the lessons of history to the nation's most pressing contemporary governance challenges.

Miller Center Programs

The **PRESIDENTIAL ORAL HISTORY PROGRAM** interviews the principal figures in presidential administrations to create a historical record in the words of those who knew each administration best. The oral histories of Jimmy Carter, Ronald Reagan, and George H.W. Bush have been released; the histories of Bill Clinton and George W. Bush are in progress.

The **PRESIDENTIAL RECORDINGS PROGRAM** researches, transcribes, and annotates the thousands of hours of secret White House tapes recorded by U.S. presidents, from Franklin Roosevelt to Richard Nixon.

The **NATIONAL FELLOWSHIP PROGRAM** funds and supports Ph.D. candidates who are studying the historical roots of today's policy issues. The program pairs fellows with leading scholars in their field and teaches them how to make their scholarship more accessible to the public.

ACADEMIC PROGRAMS conduct scholarly study of modern political and presidential history and convene conferences and symposia on the historical roots of contemporary policy issues.

POLICY PROGRAMS bring together scholars, policymakers, and stakeholders to develop insights—grounded in scholarship and based on the lessons of history—to illuminate and offer solutions to the nation's policy challenges.

AMERICAN FORUM is the Miller Center's weekly public affairs television program featuring interviews with national leaders, newsmakers, eminent scholars, and top journalists.

AMERICAN PRESIDENT: AN ONLINE REFERENCE RESOURCE provides in-depth information on every presidential administration, including essays on all aspects of that administration that have been written or reviewed by presidential scholars.

CONNECTING PRESIDENTIAL COLLECTIONS is a free centralized website that allows users to search presidential collections across the country. It can be found at presidentialcollections.org.

Letter from the Director

It has truly been a historic year.

Over the last 12 months, the country marked the 50th anniversary of the end of John F. Kennedy's presidency, the 50th anniversary of Lyndon Johnson's signing of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, and the 40th anniversary of the resignation of Richard Nixon.

The Miller Center's many programs came together to reflect on and provide new insights into these important presidential milestones, with academic conferences, the publication of books, and special series of our weekly public affairs program, *American Forum*.

We study the presidency like no one else does or can. And we're now doing even more of it. In addition to our work on these historic anniversaries, we continue to conduct presidential oral histories and transcribe the secret White House tapes, and this past year, we launched a lecture series on the presidency and a new website for presidential research.

The Miller Center is not just focused on presidents of the past; we also aim to help current and future occupants of the White House with the many challenges they face. Through the work of our scholars, fellows, and policy programs, we apply the lessons of history and help develop solutions to the toughest policy issues.

We worked on numerous issues this past year, including launching the Milstein Symposium: Ideas for a New American Century, which is focusing on creating middle-class jobs and restoring the American Dream. We also continued the work of our National War Powers Commission, whose recommendations were introduced in the U.S. Senate and are a step closer to becoming law.

I'm pleased with the work we did this past year, which is detailed in this annual report. I'm also satisfied with all the work we've done since I began working at the Miller Center more than eight years ago.

This year, I made the difficult decision to step down as Miller Center director and CEO at the end of the year. I've enjoyed my time here immensely and, in my final months, look forward to overseeing the release of the William J. Clinton Presidential History Project, another season of the National Discussion and Debate Series, and the introduction of high-profile speakers on issues of importance to the governance of the country.

I'll also continue development efforts as the Miller Center gets ready to mark another historic anniversary next year—the 40th anniversary of our founding. Thank you to all those who contributed this past year. Because of you, the Center is able to continue its excellent work.



The report from the Milstein Symposium's commission on manufacturing was released in Washington, DC, in June. From left to right: Governor Baliles, Howard P. Milstein, and Governors Haley Barbour and Evan Bayh, co-chairs of the commission.

Making Presidential History

The Miller Center is the preeminent institution for the study of the U.S. presidency. Through its work conducting the oral histories of presidential administrations and transcribing the secret White House tapes, the Center is recording and preserving presidential history for generations to come. This past year, the Center expanded its study of the presidency with a popular new lecture series, a new website for presidential research, and several events that provided perspective as the country marked important milestones in presidential history.

John F. Kennedy Administration: 50th Anniversary

The Center marked the 50th anniversary of the tragic end of John F. Kennedy's presidency in 2013. Through events, publications, and media interviews, the Miller Center and its scholars provided insights into Kennedy, his administration, and his assassination.

American Forum, the Center's weekly public affairs television program, produced a five-part series that re-examined Kennedy's legacy. The series included a look at Kennedy's influence in Latin America with an event that

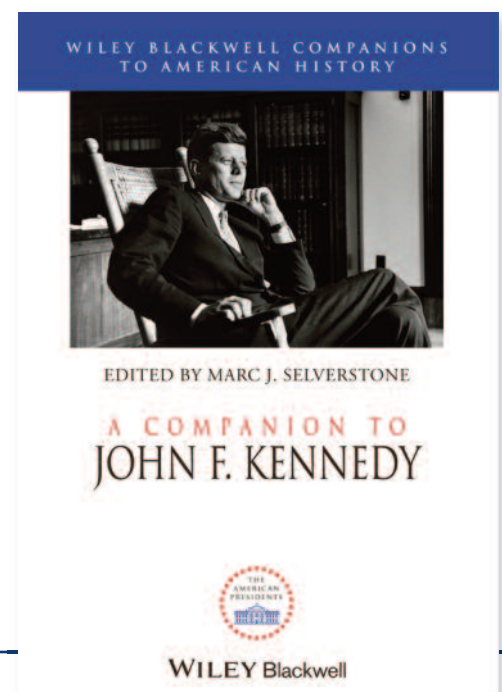
featured three Latin American ambassadors to the United States. The series also included conversations with Marc Selverstone, chair of the Center's Presidential Recordings Program, on what the White House tapes reveal about Kennedy's decision to escalate U.S. involvement in the Vietnam War, and with Barbara Perry, co-chair of the Center's Presidential Oral History Program, about her book, *Rose Kennedy: The Life and Times of a Political Matriarch* and how family shaped the future president.

Selverstone also edited and published *A Companion to John F. Kennedy*, a collection of original essays by noted Kennedy scholars.

In November, national media turned to the Miller Center for perspective on Kennedy's assassination, including CBS *Sunday Morning*, which interviewed Perry for a special episode, and the *Washington Post*, which ran excerpts from the Nixon tapes about the assassination.

I have many friends in this audience, but I must acknowledge my longtime colleague, Governor Jerry Baliles from Virginia, who's now at the Miller Center, which is taking all our oral histories. And, you know, I just can't wait to see what some of these people said about me."

—President Bill Clinton, with Governor Baliles, at the Presidential Sites and Libraries Conference in June





Miller Center scholars interviewed former Vice President Dick Cheney for the George W. Bush Oral History Project.

Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Great Society: 50th Anniversary

During 2014, the Miller Center commemorated the 50th anniversary of landmark legislation by President Lyndon Johnson, including his Great Society initiative and the Civil Rights Act of 1964. Miller Center scholars held events to reflect on the legacy of these measures and to examine their relevance to today. In February, the Miller Center's Sidney Milkis and Guian McKee led a special Presidents Day event that focused on Johnson's Great Society programs, which addressed issues such as poverty and racial injustice. In May, the Center held a day-long symposium that examined the origins and impact of the Civil Rights Act, in partnership with the University of Virginia's Center for the Study of Race and the Law and Office of the Vice President and Chief Officer for Diversity and Equity.

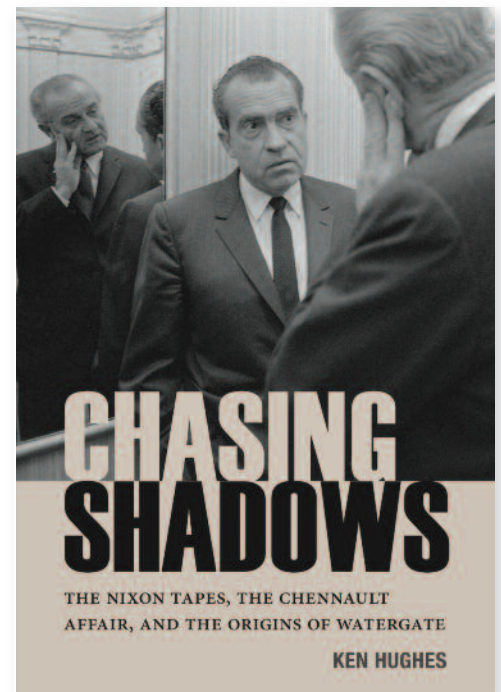
American Forum also produced several programs about the civil rights movement,

including conversations with civil rights figures Julian Bond and Bob Moses as well as with Todd Purdum, author of *An Idea Whose Time Has Come: Two Presidents, Two Parties, and the Battle for the Civil Rights Act of 1964*. *American Forum* also aired an episode in which leading scholars discussed how the act opened the door for women, gays, lesbians, and other groups.

The Miller Center also promoted its online resources related to the Civil Rights Act, including audio of White House tapes that take the listener inside the Oval Office as Kennedy and Johnson discuss civil rights legislation.

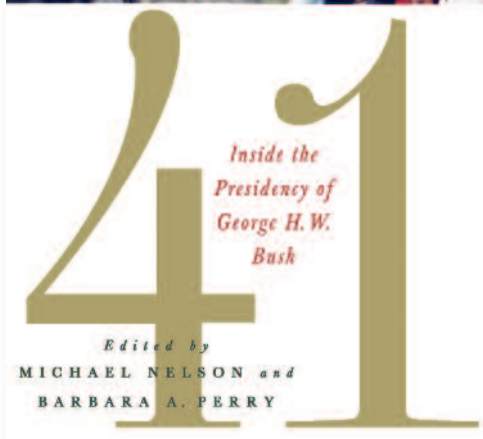
Presidential Recordings Program

The Miller Center's Presidential Recordings Program continues to research, transcribe, and annotate the secret White House tapes recorded by U.S. presidents. This past year, scholars continued a focus on making their work available digitally. Partnering with the University of Virginia Press's digital imprint, Rotunda, the Center is producing digital editions of all eight print volumes of Johnson tapes.



In July, U.Va. Press published both print and digital editions of Ken Hughes's book, *Chasing Shadows: The Nixon Tapes, the Chennault Affair, and the Origins of Watergate*, to coincide with the 40th anniversary of President Richard Nixon's resignation. The book uses the Nixon and Johnson tapes

Civil rights figures Julian Bond and Bob Moses discussed the 50th anniversary of Freedom Summer at an *American Forum* in February.



to explore Nixon's unlawful interference in peace talks during the 1968 election. Readers of the e-book can move between the book's text and audio and transcripts of the tapes. Hughes discussed his book at a special *Washington Post* event marking the 40th anniversary of Nixon's resignation that also featured journalists Bob Woodward and Carl Bernstein.

Hughes has become an indispensable resource on the Nixon tapes for national media. When the most recent installment of Nixon tapes was released in 2013, Hughes did numerous interviews, including a live appearance on *PBS NewsHour*.

Presidential Oral History Program

Scholars with the Presidential Oral History Program spent this past year continuing work on President George W. Bush's oral history. They traveled the country conducting lengthy, detailed interviews with administration officials, political advisers, members of

Congress, and others, including former Vice President Dick Cheney, senior adviser Karl Rove, and House Speaker Dennis Hastert.

They are also making preparations for the release of the oral histories of President Bill Clinton and Senator Edward Kennedy. The Clinton project, which includes 130 interviews, will be released this fall, and the Kennedy history, which includes about 280 interviews, is expected to be released early next year.

Oral History Program scholars also published *41: Inside the Presidency of George H.W. Bush*, a book based on President Bush's oral history, which was released in 2011. Edited by the Miller Center's Michael Nelson and Barbara Perry, the book examines how Bush staffed his administration, operated on the global stage, followed his own brand of conservatism, handled legislative affairs, and made judicial appointments.

Historical Presidency Series

The Miller Center is best known for its study of the modern presidency, but a new lecture series that debuted this past year has widened the Center's scope. The Historical Presidency Series is exploring how presidential leadership has changed over time and how it is influencing the present. In its first year, the series featured six lectures that focused on 19th century crises, from the War of 1812 to the Civil War to Reconstruction. Speakers included renowned scholars from across the country such as James McPherson and H.W. Brands. C-SPAN covered most of the lectures. The series was organized by the Miller Center's Gary Gallagher and William Hitchcock.

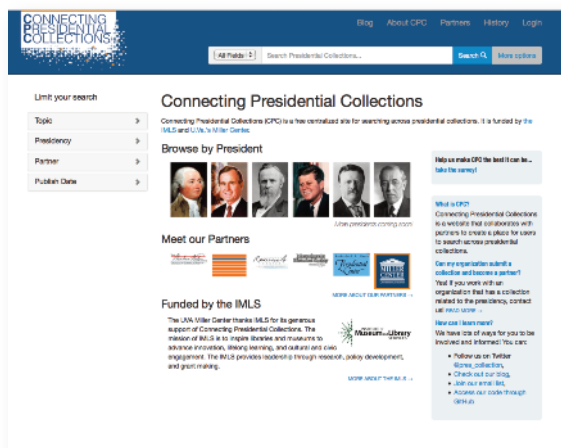
Connecting Presidential Collections

The Miller Center launched a new website that allows people interested in presidential history to digitally access collections of presidential sites across the country. Connecting Presidential Collections, which can be found at presidentialcollections.org, is a free centralized site that lets users search across collections and then click through to partner websites, such as those of the Woodrow Wilson Presidential Library and the Sixth Floor Museum at Dealey Plaza. Users will also be able to search the Miller Center's presidential collections.

Funded by the Institute of Museum and Library Services, the project is helping to solve a longstanding problem for researchers. It provides a reliable and consistent platform that allows users to search collections that vary widely, technologically and otherwise, and are broadly distributed across the United States.

Through Connecting Presidential Collections, the Miller Center will create and build productive partnerships with presidential sites and libraries as well as increase its exposure to a broad national audience.

In June, Miller Center staff discussed the new website at the Presidential Sites and Libraries Conference at the William J. Clinton Presidential Library in Little Rock, Arkansas.



...the Miller Center is the premier place in this country for creating and disseminating oral histories. These are the recollections of people involved in presidential administrations. I'm currently working on a biography of Ronald Reagan, and I have used several of the Miller Center's oral history interviews with members of the Reagan administration to, I hope, good effect."

—H.W. Brands, author of *Andrew Jackson: His Life and Times*, during his Historical Presidency Series lecture in November



In March, Joan Waugh, history professor at UCLA, spoke on President Ulysses S. Grant and the crisis of Reconstruction as part of the Historical Presidency Series.



Transcending the Ivory Tower



Being [at the 2014 spring fellowship conference] made me reflect once again on how grateful I am to the Miller Center. Becoming part of that broader network of historians was really crucial for me at that point in my own career. It's such important work that the Center is doing, and it's an honor to be able to help a younger scholar in that way."

—**Kimberly Philips-Fein**, 2003–2004 Miller Center National Fellow, 2013–2014 "Dream Mentor"; Assistant Professor at New York University's Gallatin School



The Miller Center's National Fellowship Program supports Ph.D. candidates who are studying the historical roots of today's political issues. Each year, nine scholars are awarded grants to help them complete their dissertations. Chaired by Brian Balogh, the program has some unique aspects: it pairs fellows with dream mentors, who are leading scholars in their field; and it encourages fellows to reach beyond the traditional boundaries of the academy by training them to write op-eds.

Since the program's creation, the results have been impressive. Seventy-seven former fellows now teach at major universities, with 66 of them holding tenure or tenure-track positions. Fellows have published 50 books with major presses, and they regularly publish op-eds in the *New York Times*, *Wall Street Journal*, *Washington Post*, and other media.

This past year, the 2013–2014 fellows gathered at the Miller Center for two conferences. In October, the fellows took part in a discussion about professional development and an op-ed writing workshop led by New York University Professor Jon Zimmerman and *Foreign Policy* Editor Gideon Rose. In May, the fellows presented research from their dissertations and attended a manuscript review of "When the World Seemed New: George H.W. Bush and the End of the Cold War," a forthcoming

book by Southern Methodist University's Jeff Engel. Andrew Card, who served as Bush's deputy chief of staff, was among the commenters at the review, which was covered by C-SPAN.

The Miller Center and the Center for the History of Business Technology and Society recently announced a new addition to the fellowship program—the Miller Center/Hagley Library Dissertation Fellowship in Business and Politics. Starting in 2015–2016, both centers will support a fellow whose scholarship will emphasize the Miller Center's mission and make substantial use of the Hagley's collections.

The 2015–2016 academic year will also see the first Charles W. McCurdy Fellowship in the History of Law and Politics, in partnership with the University of Virginia School of Law. The fellowship is for scholars completing dissertations in legal and political history.

The Miller Center looks forward to the arrival of the 2014–2015 fellows:

Betsy Beasley, Yale University

"Serving the World: Energy Contracting, Logistical Labors, and the Culture of Globalization, 1945–2008"
Mentor: Robert Vitalis, Political Science, University of Pennsylvania

Judge Glock, Rutgers University

"The Search for a Balanced Economy: The Origins of Federal Intervention in the Mortgage Market, 1916–1960"
Mentor: Eric Rauchway, History, University of California, Davis

Adam Goodman, University of Pennsylvania

"Mexican Migrants and the Rise of the Deportation Regime, 1942–2012"
Mentor: Geraldo Cadava, History, Northwestern University

Evan D. McCormick, University of Virginia

"Beyond Revolution and Repression: U.S. Foreign Policy



This year's spring fellowship conference included presentations by fellows Anthony Ross (top left) and Kelly Kelleher Richter (top right) as well as a manuscript review, featuring Andrew Card (lower left), former chief of staff to President George W. Bush, and Brian Balogh (lower right), chair of the Miller Center's National Fellowship Program.

and Latin American Democracy, 1980–1989”

Mentor: Gil Joseph, History, Yale University

R. Joseph Parrott, *University of Texas, Austin*

“Reigniting the Liberation Fire: The Global Politics of Portuguese Decolonization, 1961–1976”

Mentor: Robert McMahon, History, Ohio State University

Emily Pears, *University of Virginia*

“Chords of Sympathy: The Development of National Political Attachments in the 19th Century”

Mentor: Emily Zacklin, Political Science, Hunter College

Mira Rapp-Hooper, *Columbia University*

“Absolute Alliances: Signaling Security Guarantees in International Politics”

Mentor: Mike Green, International Relations, Georgetown University

David Reinecke, *Princeton University*

“Network Struggles: Re-wiring American Network Industries for Competition, 1970–2005”

Reinecke has been selected as the Ambrose Monell Foundation-Funded Fellow in Technology and Democracy. Mentor: Richard John, History, Columbia Journalism School

Simon Stevens, *Columbia University*

“Strategies of Struggle: International Pressure and the End of Apartheid, 1958–1994”

Mentor: Saul Dubow, History, Queen Mary University of London

Miller Center Fellows: Where Are They Now?

Laura Blessing (MC Fellow '14) has been selected as a 2014–2015 American Political Science Association Congressional Fellow.

Brent Cebul (MC Fellow '14) will be a post-doctoral visiting scholar at the American Academy of Arts and Sciences in Cambridge, Massachusetts.

Emily Charnock (MC Fellow '12) has accepted the Keasbey Research Fellowship in American Studies at Selwyn College, University of Cambridge.

Sheena Chestnut Greitens (MC Fellow '12) will be an assistant professor at the University of Missouri in January 2015 and has begun a new position as a non-resident senior fellow at the Brookings Institution, where she focuses on East Asia.

Peter Henne (MC Fellow '13) has accepted a position as a research associate at the Pew Research Center, overseeing a project on government restrictions on religion.

Adam Liff (MC Fellow '14) will be a post-doctoral fellow in the Princeton-Harvard China and the World Program. In August 2015, he will take up a post as assistant professor of East Asian international relations in Indiana University's School of Global and International Studies.

Stephen Macekura (MC Fellow '13) will be a postdoctoral fellow at the John Sloan Dickey Center for International Understanding at Dartmouth University in 2014–2015.

Joy Rohde (MC Fellow '07) recently accepted a position as assistant professor of public policy at the Gerald R. Ford School of Public Policy at the University of Michigan.

Applying the Lessons of History

The Miller Center, through its Academic and Policy Programs, provides unique insight into issues of the past and applies the lessons learned to develop solutions to today's challenges. This past year, scholars, joined by policymakers and stakeholders, examined a wide range of issues.

Rebuilding the American Dream

Thanks to the generous support of philanthropist and business and civic leader Howard P. Milstein, the Miller Center developed the Milstein Symposium: Ideas for a New American Century, an initiative that is bringing together policymakers, business and industry leaders, scholars, and journalists to define and advance ideas to help rebuild the American Dream.

The Milstein Symposium launched with the release of the results of a joint *Washington Post*/Miller Center poll on the middle class and the American Dream. Featured on the front page of the *Post* last September, the poll showed and highlighted in a succession of eight stories that a majority of Americans believe the American Dream is increasingly elusive. The Center held a special town hall meeting featuring



Carly Fiorina, former chairman and CEO of Hewlett-Packard, and Steve Case, founder of AOL, co-chaired the Miller Center's commission on entrepreneurship and middle class jobs, as part of the Milstein Symposium.

Former U.S. trade representatives participated in a roundtable of the 2013 Mortimer Caplin Conference on the World Economy. From left to right: moderator John Harwood (CNBC chief Washington correspondent) with U.S. trade representatives Mickey Kantor, Ron Kirk, Susan Schwab, and Clayton Yeutter.



Washington Post Executive Editor Martin Baron in October to discuss poll results.

The focus of the first year is middle class job creation. Haley Barbour, former governor of Mississippi, and Evan Bayh, former governor of and U.S. senator from Indiana, chaired the first commission which examined how to create middle class manufacturing jobs. Barbour and Bayh presented the commission's initial findings at an *American Forum* in February. In June, they released a final report offering six innovative, actionable ideas to create manufacturing jobs. Ideas include talent investment loans, a national supply chain mapping initiative, and a skills census to match supply with demand.

Another commission, chaired by Steve Case, founder of AOL, and Carly Fiorina, former chairman and CEO of Hewlett-Packard, is examining job creation through entrepreneurship. Former U.S. Transportation Secretary Ray LaHood and former Los Angeles Mayor Antonio Villaraigosa will chair a third commission focusing on jobs created by infrastructure investment.

Free Trade

For the first time ever, the Miller Center's annual Mortimer Caplin Conference on the World Economy took place in two countries. The first part was held in Washington, DC, last December and addressed the prospects for a free-trade agreement between the United States and European Union from an American perspective. C-SPAN aired the sessions live. In May, the conversation moved to the University of Edinburgh's Europa Institute in Scotland, where the agreement was considered from the European angle. The Miller Center and Europa Institute plan to produce a report of the conference's findings.

Immigration Reform

In January, the Miller Center released *The Way Forward on Immigration Reform: A Memo to the President and the Congress*. The report, which was sent to President Obama and key members of Congress, was a product of the multi-year Galbraith Initiative on Immigration. As part of this effort, prominent scholars, journalists, and policymakers shared their different views on how to fix a broken immigration system. Miller Center events included a two-day

conference on immigration politics and policies, a colloquium on immigration federalism, *American Forum* programs with policymakers, and debates on immigration policy. This initiative was made possible through the generous support of Rosemary and John Galbraith.

International Relations

Scholars from the United States and Asia gathered at the Miller Center in November for "Taiwan Inclusive: Trends, Opportunities, and Challenges." The two-day conference, organized by the Center's C.K. Yen Professor Brantly Womack, envisioned how Cold War interactions between the United States, China, and Taiwan could evolve into more open, opportunity-driven relationships.

The 2014 William and Carol Stevenson Conference addressed "Comparative Strategy in the Emerging World Order" in April. Scholars and policymakers from Brazil, China, Germany, India, Israel, Russia, Turkey, and the United States examined the major strategic ambitions of each country.

Issues of War

In January, Senators Tim Kaine and John McCain introduced legislation based on the recommendations of the Miller Center's National War Powers Commission. The bill would reform the 1973 War Powers Resolution by strengthening the consultative process between Congress and the president on whether and when to engage in military action. The War Powers Commission was co-chaired by former Secretaries of State James Baker and Warren Christopher and initiated by Governor Gerald L. Baliles, Miller Center director and CEO, with generous funding support from the Fife Family Foundation. This past year, war powers and the commission's recommendations were also the subjects of a series of national collegiate debates, co-sponsored by the Miller Center and the Cross Examination Debate Association. War was the focus of several other Miller Center events, including a September panel that discussed the book *Explaining the Iraq War: Counterfactual Theory, Logic, and*

Evidence. The panel included Melvyn Leffler, Miller Center faculty associate. November's Ambassador William C. Battle Symposium on American Diplomacy, "State-Building in Iraq and Afghanistan: Lessons from the American Experience," featured Ryan Crocker, former U.S. ambassador to Iraq, Afghanistan, and other Middle Eastern countries. Crocker also serves as the Miller Center's James R. Schlesinger Distinguished Professor. Center scholar Guian McKee organized an academic roundtable, "Inventing the Military-Industrial Complex," in March.

Health Care

Last fall, the Miller Center held a colloquium series, organized by the Center's Guian McKee, that offered important historical perspectives on the challenges that the Affordable Care Act faces as it becomes fully implemented. The first colloquium focused on what could be learned from a controversial lead-paint abatement study conducted on inner-city children in Baltimore in the 1990s. Other colloquia in the series explored

health care cost control and long-term health care employees.

In January, the Miller Center's State Health Care Cost Containment Commission released *Cracking the Code on Health Care Costs*. The report recommends ways that the nation's governors and other state leaders can make the current health care system more coordinated, patient-centered, of higher quality, and less costly. Mike Leavitt, former U.S. secretary of health and human services and Utah governor, and Bill Ritter, former Colorado governor, served as commission co-chairs. The Center's Raymond Scheppach, former executive director of the National Governors Association, directed the project. The report's release in Washington, DC, aired live on C-SPAN and was covered extensively in media outlets, such as the *Los Angeles Times*, *Boston Globe*, *Dallas Morning News*, and *National Journal*. The commission's efforts were funded by Kaiser Permanente and The Robert Wood Johnson Foundation.



The State Health Care Cost Containment Commission, organized by the Miller Center, released a report in January. Governors Mike Leavitt (left) and Bill Ritter (right), commission co-chairs, and Governor Gerald L. Baliles (center) were in attendance.

William A. Galston (center) and Bill Kristol (right) explored the history of political polarization during an April colloquium, moderated by the Miller Center's Sidney Milkis (left).



“Many of the ideas behind our legislation took shape in Charlottesville, where the National War Powers Commission, empanelled by the Miller Center at the University of Virginia, deliberated about this issue....

Their hard work was the blueprint for our bill.”

—Senator Tim Kaine, *Richmond Times-Dispatch* op-ed, “War Powers Must Be Clarified,” April 5, 2014

Transportation Policy

A *Blueprint for Presidential Leadership*, a Miller Center report released in December, examined the historical role of the president in transportation policy and concluded that the president must be the one to lead the way on transportation reform. The report is the result of the work of leading transportation policy thinkers at the David R. Goode National Transportation Policy Conference. That group included five former transportation secretaries who served under every president from Ronald Reagan to George W. Bush. The secretaries penned an op-ed detailing the report's findings in a February issue of *The Hill*.

Political Polarization

The Miller Center held a spring colloquium series, organized by Center scholar Sidney Milkis, that explored the growth of partisan polarization in American politics, specifically from a historical perspective. Topics included how polarization affects Latino voters, and whether partisan polarization is a “Beltway” phenomenon that is not representative of most Americans’ political values. The final colloquium of the series featured the bipartisan duo of Bill Kristol, founder and editor of the *Weekly Standard*, and William A. Galston,

senior fellow at the Brookings Institution.

Kristol and Galston discussed the history of polarization and the lessons that can be learned from the past.

Jeffery Jenkins, Miller Center faculty associate, coordinated a June conference, “Leadership in American Politics,” which also touched on political polarization. Participants addressed how leadership relates to specific parts of the U.S. government, both historically and today. The event, co-sponsored with the University of Virginia’s Batten School, included a panel on gubernatorial leadership, which included Raymond Scheppach and Bill Leighty, former chief-of-staff to Governor Mark Warner.

Financing Higher Education

In February, Lumina Foundation awarded the Miller Center a \$400,000 grant to create a bipartisan commission that will develop policy proposals aimed at providing long-term, sustainable finance models for U.S. higher education. The commission, directed by Raymond Scheppach, will be made up of former governors, state legislators, university presidents, and financial experts. Lumina Foundation is committed to increasing the proportion of Americans with high-quality degrees, certificates, and other credentials.

Engaging the Public

This past year, *American Forum*, the Miller Center's weekly public affairs television series hosted by Pulitzer Prize-winning author and journalist Douglas Blackmon, featured an exciting line-up of guests and a dramatically improved production, both of which helped it attract a growing audience.

A highlight from the past season included a conversation with U.S. Attorney General Eric Holder. In January before an overflow crowd, Holder shared his opinions on former National Security Agency analyst Edward Snowden, former Defense Secretary Robert Gates's memoirs, and the death penalty.

Other forums examined important historical anniversaries and stories straight from the headlines. Noted historians explored the 150th anniversary of the Civil War, the centennial of World War I, and the 50th anniversary of Freedom Summer. Leading experts and journalists discussed current issues, such as the limits of espionage, the 2016 presidential race, U.S.-Middle East relations, and Russian President Vladimir Putin.

These programs were part of a retooling of *American Forum* that included a new interview format and improved production values such as new high-definition cameras, lighting, and staging. These changes, as well as a major marketing initiative, have allowed *American Forum* to expand its presence in television markets across the country.



This is the first time I have ever seen a local show that deals so incisively with national, international, social, cultural, political, governmental, and historical issues. This is also the first time I have seen a university sponsor such a televised public forum. It's a wonderfully entertaining potpourri and a real public service."

—John Stephens, *American Forum* viewer

Miller Center National Discussion and Debate Series

American Forum will present a debate series that will examine how to fix America's broken democracy this October. The four-part series, "Beyond Gridlock," will air on public television leading up to the 2014 midterm elections. Participants will include *Washington Post* columnist George Will, national tea party leader Matt Kibbe, Federal Election Commission vice chair Ann Ravel, and former White House health care adviser Kavita Patel.

Debate topics will explore:

- Is the Affordable Care Act Good or Bad for America?
- Can Our Political Process Work If the Immigration Debate Remains Unresolved?
- Would Unlimited Campaign Contributions Corrupt American Democracy?
- Does Our Polarized Political Process No Longer Reflect the Will of the American People?

Check your local listings for specific airdates and PBS stations.

The debates are made possible by a gift from Norfolk Southern.



Douglas Blackmon, host of *American Forum*, interviewed U.S. Attorney General Eric Holder in January.

Ryan Crocker, former U.S. ambassador to Iraq, Afghanistan, and several other Middle Eastern countries, serves as the Miller Center's James R. Schlesinger Distinguished Professor. During the past academic year, Crocker has participated in *American Forum* programs on the nuclear deal with Iran and the way ahead with the Middle East. He also held a special student event about Iran on the University of Virginia's grounds.



Mark Halperin and John Heilemann, authors of *Double Down: Game Change 2012*, gave a behind-the-scenes look at the 2012 presidential campaign.



During an April forum, Jonathan Allen and Amie Parnes, authors of *HRC*, considered Hillary Clinton's chances of running for president in 2016.



Journalist Todd Purdum talked about his book, *An Idea Whose Time Has Come: Two Presidents, Two Parties, and the Battle for the Civil Rights Act of 1964*, in April.



At an *American Forum* in November, Elizabeth Varon, U.Va. history professor, examined the Civil War and what the surrender at Appomattox meant.

Getting the Word Out

From television to Twitter, the Miller Center uses a wide range of channels to share its work and spread the word about the Center, allowing it to reach millions of people every year.

Books

Several books by Miller Center scholars were published this past year. In March, Cornell University Press released *41: Inside the Presidency of George H. W. Bush*, a book based on Bush's oral history that was edited by the Presidential Oral History Program's Michael Nelson and Barbara Perry. In June, Wiley-Blackwell published *A Companion to John F. Kennedy*, a collection of essays edited by Presidential Recordings Program Chair Marc Selverstone. In July, the University of Virginia Press published both print and digital editions of Ken Hughes's book, *Chasing Shadows: The Nixon Tapes, the Chennault Affair, and the Origins of Watergate*. Hughes is a researcher with the Presidential Recordings Program. Also in July, the paperback version of *Rose Kennedy: The Life and Times of a Political Matriarch* (W.W. Norton), written by Barbara Perry, was released. Perry's book was a nonfiction finalist for the 2014 Library of Virginia Literary Award.

Several former Miller Center fellows also published books. They include James G. Wilson, who wrote *The Triumph of Improvisation: Gorbachev's Adaptability, Reagan's Engagement, and the End of the Cold War* (Cornell University Press); Saladin Ambar, author of *Malcolm X at Oxford Union: Racial Politics in a Global Era*

(Oxford University Press); Chris Lebron, author of *The Color of Our Shame: Race and Justice in Our Time* (Oxford University Press); and Joy Rohde, who wrote *Armed with Expertise: The Militarization of American Social Research during the Cold War* (Cornell University Press).

Web

The Miller Center's website is a remarkable resource. Millions of people turn to its American President section every year for unparalleled, in-depth information on the U.S. presidency. There is a page for each president, which includes links to essays about all aspects of that administration, biographies of Cabinet members, and transcripts, audio, or video of speeches. Other presidential materials include audio and transcripts of the secret White House tapes and transcripts of oral history interviews with former administration officials.

The site also features many other Miller Center resources, including live streams and archived video of the dozens of events held each year as well as links to the Center's many policy reports.

Traffic to millercenter.org continues to rise. There were 13.5 million page views and an almost 20 percent increase in unique users this past year.

“Ken Hughes is one of America's foremost experts on secret presidential recordings, especially those of Lyndon Johnson and Richard Nixon. In this book he has expertly identified and explained one of the many drivers that put Nixon on the road to Watergate.”

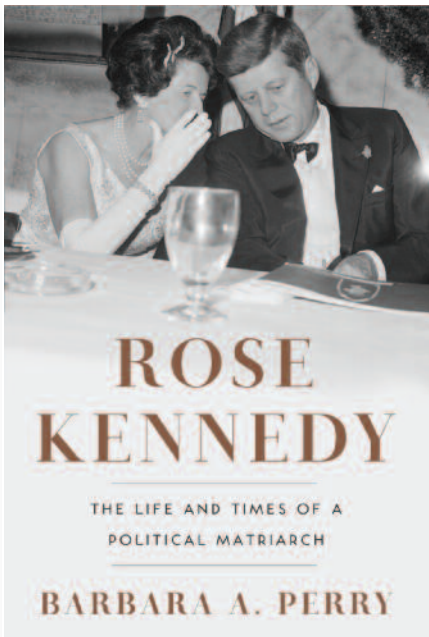
—Bob Woodward, on Ken Hughes's book, *Chasing Shadows: The Nixon Tapes, the Chennault Affair, and the Origins of Watergate*





Left
Ken Hughes (center) talked about the Nixon tapes on *PBS NewsHour*.

Right
Barbara Perry discussed the Kennedy assassination on *CBS Sunday Morning*.



Television

American Forum, the Miller Center's public affairs program, airs weekly on public television stations across the country, and its audience is growing. This past year, the number of stations broadcasting the show grew by more than 40 percent.

Media

The Miller Center continues to be a go-to resource for media looking for historical perspective on the U.S. presidency. Scholars conducted numerous interviews with major media outlets this past year on topics that included the release of the last of the Nixon tapes and the 50th anniversary of President Kennedy's assassination. Media included *CBS Sunday Morning*, *PBS NewsHour*, ABC News, CBS News, CNN, the *Washington Post*, and the Associated Press.

Attorney General Eric Holder's interview on *American Forum* also resulted in some high-profile coverage. Outlets covering his comments included the *New York Times*, the *Washington Post*, *USA Today*, *Politico*, FOX News, CBS News, CNN, and NPR.

As part of the Milstein Symposium, the Miller Center partnered with the *Washington Post* on a poll about the middle class and the American Dream. Stories about the poll appeared in five editions of the *Post*.

C-SPAN continued to cover Miller Center events, including providing live coverage of the release of the State Health Care Cost Containment Commission report, as well as

last December's Mortimer Caplin Conference on the World Economy. C-SPAN also covered most Historical Presidency Series lectures.

Barbara Perry appeared on C-SPAN's *First Ladies* series to talk about Jacqueline Kennedy. She also appeared on Fox News and MSNBC to discuss her new book, *Rose Kennedy*.

Former Miller Center fellows continue to share their scholarship via the media. Emily Charnock was also a guest on C-SPAN's *First Ladies* series, speaking about Lou Hoover. Nicole Hemmer has become a weekly political blogger for *U.S. News & World Report*.

Social Media

The Miller Center continues to use social media to share its many compelling resources. Each day, the Center pushes out materials related to current events and historic anniversaries, including clips from events, audio from White House tapes, and excerpts from oral history interviews. Individuals at the Miller Center are increasingly using Twitter to help spread the word about the Center's work. They include Barbara Perry (@BarbaraPerryUVA) and Ken Hughes (@FatalPolitics) who tweet about presidential history and Juliana Bush (@jbshuva) who tweets about the Center's policy work. A task force of Governing Council members, faculty, and staff is examining ways to expand digital dissemination of the Center's resources.

Financial Activities and Assets

The Miller Center, as a unit of the University of Virginia, operates on a July 1 to June 30 fiscal year. The Miller Center Foundation, a Section 501(c)(3) nonprofit organization and a supporting University-Related Foundation, follows suit for ease of conformity. The Center has financial assets held by the University, including endowment and operating funds, and follows University policies and procedures for its fiscal operations. The Foundation raises funds on behalf of the Miller Center, holds long-term assets and custodial funds for the Center, and follows standard policies and procedures for non-profit organizations, including having an annual external audit and filing appropriate tax forms.

Both 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.

Endowments form the single largest financial asset for both the Miller Center and the Miller Center Foundation, totaling nearly \$75 million as of June 30, 2014. Distributions from these endowments provide significant support for Center programs and mission support services. All endowments are managed by the University of Virginia Investment Management

Company (UVIMCO) in its long-term pool, which had a 19% rate of return for the fiscal year ending June 30, 2014, a three-year annualized rate of return of 12.4%, and a five-year annualized rate of return of 15.2%. Endowment distribution rates follow those

set by the University's Board of Visitors and was 4.95% for fiscal year 2013–2014.

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

Cash Flow Overview

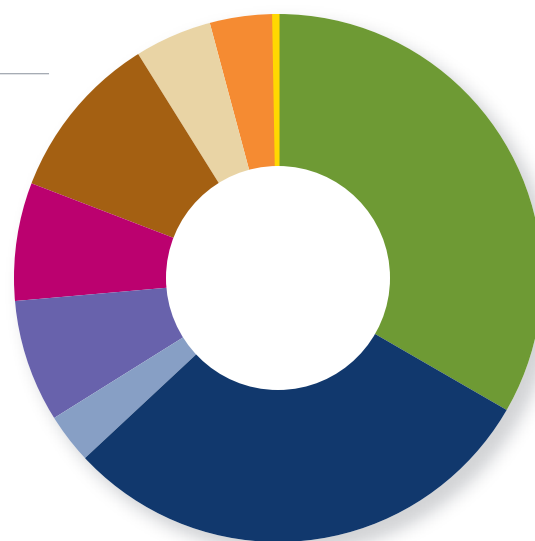
Fiscal year 2013–1014

Combined view of Miller Center and Foundation

Sources

Total \$9,530,387

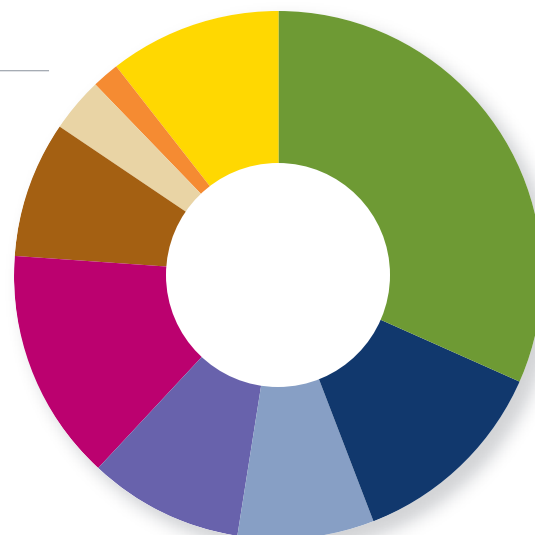
Cash Balance, Beginning	\$3,191,569 — 33.5%
Distributions from Endowment	\$2,825,948 — 29.7%
Draw on Quasi-Reserve Funds	\$300,000 — 3.1%
Major Gifts	\$707,830 — 7.4%
Annual Fund Gifts	\$693,131 — 7.3%
Corporate & Foundation Gifts	\$983,500 — 10.3%
Federal Grants	\$452,573 — 4.7%
University of Virginia	\$354,373 — 3.7%
Other	\$21,463 — 0.2%



Activities

Total \$6,979,342

Academic Programs	\$2,223,391 — 31.9%
Policy Programs	\$864,363 — 12.4%
Public Programs	\$594,049 — 8.5%
Director's Office & Council	\$651,559 — 9.3%
Administration & Operations	\$991,977 — 14.2%
Library & Information Services	\$580,874 — 8.3%
Communications	\$232,039 — 3.3%
Contributions to Endowment	\$110,445 — 1.6%
Foundation Operations	\$730,646 — 10.5%



individuals and organizations listed in the following pages. In addition, the Center received funding from the National Historical Publications and Records Commission, the Institute of Museum and Library Services, and the University of Virginia.

While both the Center and the Foundation operate on an accrual basis, these reports focus on cash activities for the fiscal year. Cash flow is the lifeblood of organizations such as the Center and the Foundation, and both seek to maintain a safe and stable cash position.

Beginning and ending cash balances include funds that are restricted by program or time and carry forward for use in future years. The reporting of financial activities and assets reflected on these page is based on unaudited statements and internal working papers.

Summary of Endowment and Quasi-Endowment Funds

Miller Center

Fiscal Year	Market Value End of Year*	Earnings Distributed
2010	\$45,433,432	\$2,298,282
2011	53,443,172	2,499,732
2012	51,416,339	2,454,528
2013	55,438,285	2,382,379
2014	62,773,845	2,368,614

Miller Center Foundation

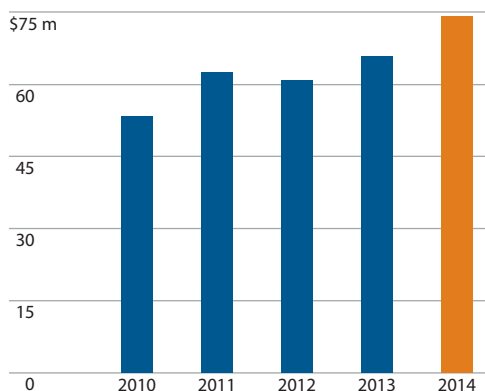
Fiscal Year	Market Value End of Year*	Earnings Distributed
2010	\$7,325,812	\$332,356
2011	8,900,277	388,268
2012	9,239,083	409,413
2013	10,591,890	446,248
2014	11,857,956	457,335

* June 30

Combined View of Market Values

Miller Center and Miller Center Foundation

As of June 30 of each year



Summary of Cash Financial Activities

Fiscal Years 2012–2013 and 2013–2014

Miller Center	2012–2013	2013–2014
Sources		
Cash Balance, Beginning	\$2,610,716	\$1,287,210
Distributions from Endowment	2,382,379	2,368,614
Programmatic Transfers from Miller Center Foundation	1,509,136	2,754,333
Gifts and Grants	135,665	503,573
University of Virginia	176,748	354,373
Other	6,234	19,972
Subtotal	\$6,820,878	\$7,288,074
[Less] Programs and Activities		
Academic Programs	\$2,183,647	\$2,223,391
Policy Programs	368,879	864,363
Public Programs	697,025	594,049
Director's Office and Council	653,500	651,559
Administration and Operations	815,364	631,040
Library and Information Services	481,866	535,010
Communications	328,224	232,039
Subtotal	\$5,528,504	\$5,731,451
[Less] Transfers		
Transfers to Endowment	\$5,165	\$ —
Cash Balance, Ending	\$1,287,210	\$1,556,623
Miller Center Foundation		
Sources		
Cash Balance, Beginning	\$1,411,578	\$1,904,359
Distributions from Endowments	446,248	457,335
Draw on Quasi-Reserve Funds	-	300,000
Gifts and Grants	3,268,623	2,333,461
Other	14,405	1,491
Subtotal	\$5,140,853	\$4,996,646
[Less] Operations and Activities		
Foundation Operations	\$738,701	\$730,646
Washington, DC Office	296,916	360,936
Direct Support of Miller Center Programs	93,638	45,864
Subtotal	\$1,129,256	\$1,137,446
[Less] Transfers		
Programmatic Transfers to the Miller Center	\$1,509,136	\$2,754,333
Transfers to Endowment	598,102	110,445
Subtotal	\$2,107,238	\$2,864,778
Cash Balance, Ending	\$1,904,359	\$994,422
COMBINED CASH BALANCE, Ending	\$3,191,569	\$2,551,045

Miller Center Philanthropic Support

The Miller Center Foundation, the financial and philanthropic supporting arm of the Miller Center, continues to benefit from outstanding philanthropic support. National and local Miller Center benefactors at all levels demonstrated remarkable generosity in fiscal year 2014, supporting academic scholarship and public and policy programs.

The Miller Center and the Miller Center Foundation rely primarily on two types of support: philanthropic unrestricted and restricted giving (60%) and income from endowments (40%). In both cases, the generosity of individuals, foundations, and corporations allows the Miller Center to expand its public and policy program activity, promote political and historical scholarship, and continue as a leading institution dedicated to the study of the United States presidency.

2013–2014 Year in Review

The Miller Center and Miller Center Foundation are fortunate to receive hundreds of gifts each year ranging in size and scope. Thanks to a gift from the Lumina Foundation, the Miller Center created a new bipartisan commission to assess the financing of higher education in the United States (page 11). The *American Forum* will launch a new season of debates and discussions that focus on breaking political gridlock thanks to a gift from the Norfolk Southern Corporation (page 12). The Institute of Museum and Library Services provided lead funding for the Miller Center to launch a new website that will serve as a centralized point to search across presidential collections from libraries, museums, and historic sites throughout the United States (page 5).

The Miller Center Fund, the Miller Center Foundation's annual fund and primary source for unrestricted support, enjoyed an excellent year, bringing in \$708,000—an 11% increase over FY 2013. This included a 26% increase in membership in the Miller Center Presidential Cabinet, our leadership annual giving society. In total, philanthropic support to the Miller Center topped \$3,600,000 for the fiscal year.

Long-standing commitments in the form of programmatic endowments enable the Miller Center to recruit and retain outstanding faculty and offer public and policy programs in perpetuity. The Miller Center and Miller Center Foundation enjoyed an exceptional 19% growth in its endowments from July 1, 2013 - June 30, 2014. Endowments currently support eight Miller Center faculty members who either share joint appointments with the University of Virginia history or politics department or serve as full-time Miller Center faculty. Endowments also support ongoing programs such as the Mortimer Caplin Conference on the World Economy, the William and Carol Stevenson Conference, the David R. Goode National Transportation Policy Conference, and the Ambassador William C. Battle Symposium on American Diplomacy, among others.

The David and Linda Gibson Family Orchard

The Miller Center Foundation is pleased to announce the completion of the David and Linda Gibson Family Orchard. The newly refurbished orchard recognizes David's nine years of extraordinary volunteer leadership as well as his and Linda's generous philanthropic support of the Miller Center Foundation. The restoration included expansive landscaping, an entryway placard, and finials. This historic garden has a renewed sense of purpose and will be enjoyed by scholars, faculty, visitors, and special guests.



The Miller Center Fund

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 2014 (July 1, 2013–June 30, 2014).

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Miller Center on the Road

Throughout this past year, the Miller Center Foundation has expanded outreach efforts beyond the Charlottesville area to engage the public in new ways. Events were held in the Tidewater area of Virginia, California, Florida, Massachusetts, New York, and Wyoming. Faculty and staff gave presentations about presidential history, policy, and Miller Center resources to audiences that included U.Va. alumni as well as interested parties who were new to the Center. Events ranged in size from 30 to 200 people.



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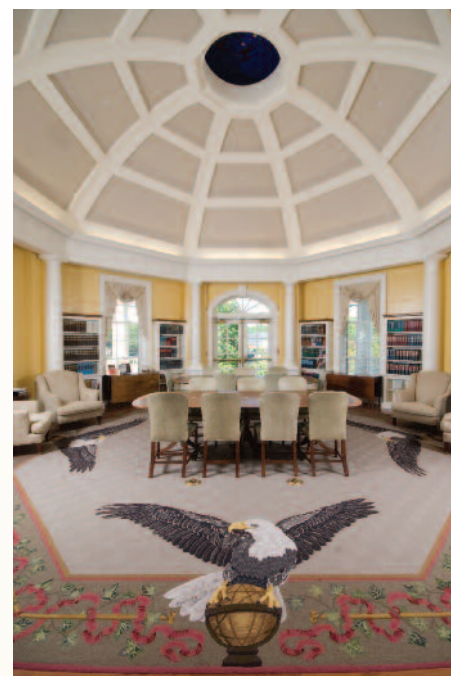
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This May, Kevan Holdsworth, the Miller Center's coordinator for audiovisual services, received the 2014 Leonard W. Sandridge Outstanding Contribution Award. The Sandridge Award is the highest honor for University of Virginia staff, and only 11 recipients are selected each year.

Holdsworth joined the Miller Center in 2005 and produces the *American Forum* program.

"Kevan's humility, respect for his colleagues, commitment to the Miller Center, and an unflagging dedication to his work make him a fitting recipient," said Michael Greco, the Miller Center's director of library, web, and audiovisual services.



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A Note of Thanks



This annual report would not be complete without a few words about our good friend, Director & CEO Gerald Baliles. After eight years of leading this remarkable institution, Governor Baliles has decided to retire at the end of the year.

His impact on the Miller Center has been truly significant. Thanks to his passion for our mission and his tireless work, the Center has grown and now enjoys a position of strength across all of its core programs. Its future is exceedingly bright and its reputation is increasingly recognized and respected across the nation.

The Miller Center has a long and rich history, especially for its academic research in political history with a special focus on the American presidency. Governor Baliles has continually sought ways to increase the impact of the Center's work by applying the lessons of its research to contemporary issues of national importance. While emphasizing the importance of scholarship at the Center, he deepened the Center's commitment to public programs and conferences such as our popular *American Forum Series* and *National Discussion and Debate Series*. Simultaneously, he created the Center's public policy studies including the *Milstein Symposium*, the *Mortimer Caplin Conference on the World Economy*, and the *David R. Goode National Transportation Policy Conference*. There are other examples to cite, but the net effect of these initiatives has been to maximize the impact of our scholarship by placing contemporary issues in a historical context, thus creating better informed debate and discussion.

At the same time, a direct by-product of these efforts has been to elevate the national profile of the Miller Center to levels not seen before in its history. And the Governor did not achieve this success alone—one of his most significant achievements has been to recruit a team of senior leaders who are exceptional in their respective fields.

On behalf of the Governing Council, our faculty and staff, U.Va. officials, and importantly, our donors, we extend our deepest appreciation to Jerry and wish both him and his lovely wife Robin many years of good health and happiness in the years ahead.

Eugene V. Fife
Chair, Miller Center Governing Council



Top to bottom
Governor Baliles at a National Discussion
and Debate Series program on Iran's
nuclear ambitions

Eugene V. Fife and Governor Baliles



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