

## Presidential First Year Project reaches Washington influencers

At a moment when political partisanship and rancor are most acute, on the eve of what is shaping up to be one of the nastiest presidential battles ever, the Miller Center is showing a better way: Republicans and Democrats pulling together to help the next president achieve a successful first year in office.

That's the essence of the First Year Project ([www.firstyear2017.org](http://www.firstyear2017.org)), an ambitious effort devoted to the next president's make-or-break first year. The project focuses on the key issues the next president must confront, understood through the clarifying lens of history and addressed with policy recommendations from prominent scholars and experts at the Miller Center, UVA, and beyond.



The premise: A new president can best look forward by first looking back, examining the successes and failures of his or her predecessors.

Since the project's launch last October, the Miller Center has released two dozen deeply researched essays on urgent issues the next president will confront in the areas of governance, national security, fiscal policy, and immigration. Future volumes will focus on broken government, racial tensions, the vanishing American dream, presidential communications, the global economy, science and technology, and national infrastructure.

By the time Americans choose their next president in November, the incoming administration will have a comprehensive package of unique insights and valuable advice.

### INSIGHTS FROM THE CENTER

In keeping with the founding principles of the Miller Center, what distinguishes the project is not merely the quality of the scholarship but its nonpartisan nature. Conservatives and liberals have all contributed materials to the First Year Project. Dozens of current and former members of both Democratic and Republican presidential administrations have participated in First Year panels, events, and roundtable discussions.

And all along the way, the project has been guided by the bipartisan First Year Advisory Council, whose members include Eric Edelman, undersecretary of defense for policy in the George W. Bush administration; Thomas F. "Mack" McLarty, White House chief of staff for President Bill Clinton; Kenneth Duberstein, White House chief of staff for President Ronald Reagan; and Thomas Donilon, national security adviser for President Barack Obama.



Bill Antholis, director and CEO of the Miller Center, with Shaun Donovan, director of the Office of Management and Budget (see story, p.6)

Already, the First Year Project has reached hundreds of Washington, D.C., influencers, including senior policymakers who are likely to be tapped to serve in the next administration.

For example, Michele Flournoy, former undersecretary of defense for policy in the Obama administration, contributed a First Year essay and participated in a First Year panel discussion in Washington.

"I think this project is incredibly important for whoever the next president is, Republican or Democrat," Flournoy said. "It allows us to actually learn from history: What have other presidents encountered on national security in their first year? How did they handle it and what should we learn from that? Drawing from that history and looking forward, to understand how might the next president be better prepared to deal with the inevitable challenges that will come in the first year, is an incredibly valuable service."

Meanwhile, major media have recognized the value of the First Year Project's "scholarship in the public interest." *U.S. News & World Report*, the *Washington Post* Monkey Cage blog, *Fortune* magazine, *POLITICO*, and the *Richmond Times-Dispatch* have all published First Year essays or op-eds.

And the project is rapidly building a broader public audience on the web and in social media. The number of visitors to the First Year website has grown nearly 600 percent since launch, while Twitter followers are up 42 percent and Facebook reach has ballooned more than 1,300 percent.

Find out more about the First Year Project at [firstyear2017.org](http://firstyear2017.org).

# From the Director

## First things first

My own first year at the Miller Center has been rewarding and exciting. I continue to be impressed and honored to work with Miller Center scholars and professional staff, the University community, our network of partners, and the Miller Center's own loyal following, both in Charlottesville and beyond. My deepest thanks to you all for the warm welcome you have given.



The Center's unique role—both at the University of Virginia, and in the nation's political and historical life—is a treasured asset. Our mission of scholarship in the public interest is needed now more than ever. And particularly in an election year and with the coming transition to a new administration, our distinctive and leading role in understanding the presidency has made us both relevant and trusted.

That builds on a long track record of impressive research. That research has not just been confined to a library but includes direct engagement with the senior-most officials who have run our executive branch in the last six decades. Steeped in understanding political history, we are also a trusted resource for revealing the lessons of success and failure.

The First Year 2017 project has been the most visible, but not only, dimension of that work. All our research and programming—including full-time Miller Center scholars, teaching faculty, and professors in various departments at UVA—have contributed significantly, with a renewed emphasis on original research and in-depth scholarship. Our First Year 2017 work draws on this wide and deep bench of talent—from presidential oral history and recordings, to our historical presidency lecture series, to our broader array of endowed faculty and national fellowship recipients. And our nationally acclaimed *American Forum* television program has continued to make us an attractive destination for newsmakers and opinion leaders.

We plan to capitalize on this teamwork to further refine and focus our goals and to bring our programs together. We all look forward to working more closely with you to advance our mission.

**Bill Antholis**  
Director and CEO  
Miller Center

## Miller Center welcomes new board members with national expertise



**Jim Lehrer**, the legendary journalist and PBS broadcaster who has covered every president since John F. Kennedy, is one of three new members joining the Governing Council of the Miller Center. Lehrer is known to millions of Americans as cohost of *The MacNeil/Lehrer Report*, later renamed *PBS NewsHour*—national public affairs programs that earned more than 30 awards for journalistic excellence.



**Steve Burns** is a senior partner at Quad-C Management, a middle-market private equity firm headquartered in Charlottesville, Virginia, with investments across the country. Since joining Quad-C in 1994, Burns has invested in the building products, business services, specialty chemicals, packaging, transportation/logistics, and food sectors. Prior to joining Quad-C, Burns worked in the Risk Arbitrage Group and Leveraged Capital Group at Paribas and the corporate development group at W.R. Grace.



**Joseph Erdman** is the owner and president of Albemarle Asset Management Ltd., which is based in both Florida and Virginia. Previously, Erdman was both a partner and the chair of the Personal Planning Department for Proskauer Rose LLP, where he was an estate-planning lawyer for 20 years. Erdman also serves as cotrustee for The Joseph and Robert Cornell Memorial Foundation, the primary contributor to arts programs at the University of Virginia. He is a member of the board of trustees of the Thomas Jefferson Foundation, which operates Monticello.



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.

**STREET ADDRESS**  
2201 Old Ivy Road


**MAILING ADDRESS**  
PO Box 400406  
Charlottesville VA  
22904-4406

**PHONE** 434.924.7236

**FAX** 434.982.2739

**WEB** millercenter.org

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## Presidential candidates visit *American Forum*

Democrat Bernie Sanders and Republican John Kasich brought their bids for the presidency to the Miller Center as part of our nationally syndicated public affairs program, *American Forum*. Sanders was the first to appear, joining before a full house for an in-depth discussion with host Douglas Blackmon in September. Kasich's visit, also in front of a standing-room-only crowd, came in February.

Sanders called for "tens of millions of people to become involved in the political process in a way that has not happened before."

Kasich emphasized his compassion, saying, "If you are weak in our society, people run over you and it's only the Jewish and Christian ethic that underlays our culture, our society, our nation that says, 'Wait a minute, do not run over the widowed, the poor, the neglected.'"

Both men also participated in private discussions with Miller Center scholars, staff, and supporters.



Bernie Sanders visited the Miller Center in October.



John Kasich during a February taping of *American Forum*

## On-Grounds events resonate with student community

Miller Center scholarship frequently makes its way onto Central Grounds at the University of Virginia, where it can more easily reach the undergraduate community. In the spring, student-run "Flash Seminars" featured Miller Center sessions on the media's role in the Republican Party primaries, first-year budgeting options for our next president, and Justice Antonin Scalia's successor.

Elsewhere on Grounds, the Miller Center's Great Issues series, in conjunction with four student groups, offered a critical examination of race and policing.

The First Year Project assessed the most challenging presidential first year in our nation's history with a lecture on Abraham Lincoln by renowned UVA Civil War scholar Gary Gallagher. Gallagher discussed Lincoln's focus on preserving the Union, his overestimation of pro-Union sentiment in the South, and the lessons he learned during that painful first year.

Hear Gallagher's entire lecture at [firstyear2017.org/blog/lincolns-first-year](http://firstyear2017.org/blog/lincolns-first-year).

## Perry weighs in on Supreme Court nomination

Following the sudden death of Supreme Court Justice Antonin Scalia, the Miller Center's Barbara Perry added important historical context to the contentious debate over his replacement. Perry investigated election-year vacancies on the court, and detailed her findings in the *Washington Post's* Monkey Cage blog, writing, "Fourteen presidents have appointed 21 justices during presidential election years. A half-dozen presidents, classic lame ducks, filled Supreme Court seats even though their successors had been elected."

Her discovery that "one third of U.S. presidents appointed justices during presidential election years" was quoted on the floor of the U.S. Senate and used by the White House when it announced the nomination of Judge Merrick Garland. Later, during a guest appearance on the Miller Center's *American Forum*, Perry added, "There is absolutely no evidence that I can find of the Senate ever denying a hearing to a president's nomination for the U.S. Supreme Court."

Perry also teamed with fellow Miller Center scholar Marc Selverstone for a follow-up piece in the Monkey Cage, arguing that "holding hearings for Merrick Garland would actually help Senate Republicans."

History, they said, suggests that "the most effective way to challenge a presidential Supreme Court nomination has been to conduct hearings and allow members of the Senate Judiciary Committee to air their views on the court and its direction."



The U.S. Supreme Court at night



Madeleine Albright (center) with Oluwatoyosi Ogunseye (left) and Bill Antholis at UVA's Global Leadership Forum

## Miller Center anchors UVA Global Leadership Forum

In March, the Miller Center participated in the University of Virginia's Global Leadership Forum. The keynote address from Philip Zelikow, former director, to young leaders from around the world emphasized two topics: the emergence of transnational issues that cut across nations and societies, blurring the lines between domestic and foreign policy at a pace more rapid than traditional institutions can manage; and the challenge to classical liberal ideals about freedom of thought and openness. Evoking the memory not only of Thomas Jefferson but of great liberal thinkers across the world, from Japan's Yukichi Fukuzawa to the inspiring Czech thinker Vaclav Havel, Zelikow called on the young leaders to meet the challenges of the future by renewing their commitment to these Enlightenment values.

Current director Bill Antholis also represented the Miller Center at an awards dinner at which he moderated a discussion between two exceptional international leaders. Oluwatoyosi Ogunseye, a Mandela Washington Fellow and editor of *Punch* newspaper in Nigeria, received the inaugural Young Leader Award. Madeleine Albright became the first recipient of the Edward R. Stettinius Jr. Award for Global Leadership. The award was particularly meaningful to Secretary Albright as someone who not only benefited directly from Stettinius's design of the "Lend-Lease Program" but also held two posts Stettinius himself had held: secretary of state and ambassador to the United Nations. Albright called for the U.S. to defend the international cooperation and institutions it had established after World War II, which have been the bedrock for peace and security for more than seven decades.

In conversation with Antholis, Ogunseye and Albright discussed how great crises challenge leaders, changing obstacles and ambitions for women political leaders, and the role of journalism in transformative societies.

## Cuba beyond Obama

As part of our First Year Project, Marc Selverstone and Cristina Lopez-Gottardi's op-ed in *U.S. News & World Report* addressed several unresolved issues President Obama's Cuba policy will leave for his successor, such as the trade embargo, Cuban emigrants, and human rights on the island. There are five lessons from history, they write, that could help drive success for the next administration, including being prepared for unsteady progress, consultation with the previous administration, and the elusive nature of human rights advances. Selverstone is the chair of our Presidential Recordings Program, and Lopez-Gottardi is our public programs director of research. Read the piece at [millercenter.org/lessons-about-cuba](http://millercenter.org/lessons-about-cuba).

## Edelman on foreign policy

Ambassador Eric Edelman, the James M. Schlesinger Distinguished Professor at the Miller Center, evaluated current foreign policy and the candidacy of Donald Trump in a March appearance on *American Forum*. He asserted that President Obama has strained relations with allies, depleted American power, and entered into international agreements without sufficient concessions in return. Ambassador Edelman also characterized Trump as "dangerous to the fabric of our republic."

*The entire episode and key excerpts are available online at [millercenter.org/edelman-forum](http://millercenter.org/edelman-forum).*



Ambassador Eric Edelman joined *American Forum* in March.



Larycia Hawkins was a Miller Center fellow in 2007.

## Larycia Hawkins returns to UVA

Former Miller Center fellow Larycia Hawkins has returned to Charlottesville from a position at Wheaton College following controversy over her decision to wear a hijab to express solidarity with Muslim women. Hawkins is now a fellow at UVA's Institute for Advanced Studies in Culture, where she will work on the Race, Faith and Culture Project, which examines how multiracial Christian communities affect American race relations. During her time at the Miller Center, she explored the connections between black theology and black political agendas as well as the political activism of black congregations outside the ambit of the black church.

Read an interview with Hawkins at [millercenter.org/larycia-hawkins](http://millercenter.org/larycia-hawkins).

## New fellow teams with undergrad

Leif Fredrickson, recipient of the Miller Center's 2016–17 Ambrose Monell Foundation Fellowship in Technology and Democracy, has teamed with UVA undergraduate Vijay Edupuganti to win a 2016 Double Hoo Research Grant. The pair will investigate "environmental justice and lead gas pollution during Baltimore's golden age of suburbanization." The Double Hoo Grant supports pairs of undergraduate and graduate scholars in a joint research project to encourage collaboration between the undergraduate and graduate communities at the University.

## Washington's eventful first year

The Miller Center joined with Mount Vernon to host scholars Richard Brookhiser and Aaron David Miller in an examination of George Washington's first year at the Fred W. Smith National Library for the Study of George Washington. Brookhiser, author of several books on Washington and the founding fathers, emphasized Washington's instinctive understanding of presidential image and his willingness to trust Alexander Hamilton with the country's finances. Miller, an adviser to both Republican and Democratic secretaries of state, pointed to Washington's self-control, judgment, and understanding of history. Journalist and Miller Center Governing Council member Ann Compton moderated the wide-ranging discussion in front of a sold-out crowd. Prior to the event, Miller Center Presidential Cabinet members enjoyed an insider's tour and whiskey tasting at George Washington's Distillery, once the largest whiskey distillery in America.

## Remembering Nancy Reagan

With the passing of the former First Lady, the Miller Center's Ronald Reagan Oral History Project released the *Ultimate Insider's Guide to Nancy Reagan*, insights from 16 key administration staff members. What emerges from these recollections is Nancy Reagan's keen focus on protecting her husband's personal interests during his political career. When she felt President Reagan was being overscheduled or ill-served by specific individuals in the administration, Nancy Reagan intervened forcefully. "Ronald Reagan would not have been nearly as successful as he was without her," remembers Reagan aide James Kuhn. "Even though she wasn't a policy person, she knew what was going on. She was his ultimate protector."

Read more at [millercenter.org/reagan-guide](http://millercenter.org/reagan-guide).



Former First Lady Nancy Reagan

## Ike and JFK in one day

The presidencies of Dwight D. Eisenhower and John F. Kennedy were the subject of two April 5th events at the Miller Center. Eisenhower is remembered as a voice of reason in a time of great change in the Republican Party and an era of spectacular social transformation. On *American Forum*, Jeffrey Frank, author of *Ike and Dick: A Portrait of a Strange Political Marriage*, and Will Hitchcock, author of the forthcoming *The Age of Eisenhower: America and the World in the 1950s* and the Miller Center's director of academic programs, examined the parallels to today's political climate and considered lessons our current leaders might apply.

Later that afternoon, John F. Kennedy's first year was the subject of a lecture by the Miller Center's Barbara Perry as part of our Historical Presidency series. Rhetoric was a key part of Kennedy's presidency and his legacy, and Perry examined the connections between language and policy.



Will Hitchcock (left) and Jeffrey Frank

# Former OMB directors urge next president to face fiscal realities

Immediately upon taking office, the next president must level with the American people about the need to raise revenues and reduce the deficit, yet none of the Republican or Democratic contenders have signaled a readiness to administer that unpleasant medicine.

That was the lament of experts on federal fiscal policy who spoke April 5 at the 2016 Mortimer Caplin Conference on America's Fiscal and Financial Future in Washington, D.C., a joint presentation of the Miller Center's First Year Project and the Committee for a Responsible Federal Budget.

"Unfortunately, it's hard to find a candidate for national office who has spoken seriously about the national deficit, the fix we're in," said Mitch Daniels, the former Indiana governor and current president of Purdue University who was the director of the Office of Management and Budget under President George W. Bush.

Daniels termed "ridiculous" the recent claim by Republican frontrunner Donald Trump that he can eliminate the nation's \$19 trillion national debt in eight years, adding that "it will help when people stop making lavish promises that can't be met."

Economic experts note that fulfilling such a pledge would require cutting the nearly \$4 trillion annual budget in half—which still wouldn't be enough.

"Everyone should understand that we can't take a meaningful first step toward a responsible future for the next generation that doesn't include a lot more revenue," Daniels said. "There's no other way to squeeze the lemon for more revenue. Recognize that arithmetic reality."

Added Alice Rivlin, a senior fellow at the Brookings Institution who was the OMB director during the first Bill Clinton administration: "You've got a structural long-term deficit looming at you. You have to adjust taxes and entitlement programs and it takes a long time for any changes to take effect. So a fiscally responsible administration should take that on immediately."



Former OMB directors Alice Rivlin (left) and Mitch Daniels headlined the 2016 Mortimer Caplin Conference in April.

The most important priority, Rivlin added, "is putting the social security system, which all older people depend on, on a firm fiscal foundation, which at the moment it is not."



Former U.S. Congressman L.F. Payne (left) with former U.S. Senator Chuck Robb

Yet such solutions are "really, really hard," noted Maya MacGuineas, president of the Committee for a Responsible Federal Budget. "No politician likes to talk about them, especially during the campaign."

Rather than merely avoiding such difficult topics, the current presidential campaign "is filled with absolutely ludicrous discus-

sions when it comes to fiscal policy," added MacGuineas, whose essay for the First Year Project argues for a bipartisan solution to the nation's fiscal challenges.

Jared Bernstein, senior fellow at the Center on Budget and Policy Priorities and a former economic adviser to Vice President Joseph Biden, elaborated on the theme of his First Year essay, "End Magical Fiscal Thinking," which urges the next president to confront the reality that taxes and spending must be brought into alignment.

"Try to talk about this theme of magical fiscal thinking, to say to America, 'I've looked at the books. We're promising this and we're collecting that. There's two ways we can solve this, America: We can bring down what we promised or increase what we collect.'"

*Listen as Alice Rivlin remembers Bill Clinton's first budget at [firstyear2017.org/blog/clinton-deficit-reduction](http://firstyear2017.org/blog/clinton-deficit-reduction).*

*Read the First Year Project Volume Three: The First Budget at [firstyear2017.org/issue/the-critical-first-budget](http://firstyear2017.org/issue/the-critical-first-budget).*

## National Fellowship program reaches important milestone

Since 2000, the Miller Center National Fellowship program has funded scholars completing dissertations that employ history to shed light on American politics, public policy, foreign affairs, political media, and the role of the presidency. More than 80 former fellows now teach at major universities, the vast majority with tenure or tenure-track positions. Fellows have published 50 books with major presses, and they regularly place op-eds in the *New York Times*, *Wall Street Journal*, *Washington Post*, and other major media outlets.

The impact of the program is undeniable, and now it has reached a significant milestone: with the Class of 2017 National Fellows, the Miller Center has helped launch the careers of more than 150 scholars whose work deeply enriches our nation's understanding of its own political history.

### 2017 MILLER CENTER FELLOWS

#### **Emily Baer-Bositis**

**American Politics,  
University of Minnesota**

Project: Party Factions and the Roots of Institutional Change in Congress: The Democratic Study Group and Liberal Democrats' Campaign to Reform the House of Representatives (1959-1994)

#### **Fritz Bartel**

**History, Cornell University**

Project: The Privatization of the Cold War: Global Finance and the Fall of Communism

#### **Ananda Burra**

**History and Law,  
University of Michigan**

Project: "Petitioning the Mandates": Anticolonial and Antiracist Publics in International Law  
*Burra has been selected as the Charles W. McCurdy Fellow in Legal History.*

#### **Christopher Cimaglio**

**Communications,  
University of Pennsylvania**

Project: Contested Majority: Representations of the White Working Class in U.S. Politics from the 1930s to the 1990s

#### **David Dagan de Picciotto**

**Political Science,  
Johns Hopkins University**

Project: Building the Big House: American Institutions and the Rise of Mass Incarceration, 1980-1994

#### **Jeanette Estruth**

**History, New York University**

Project: A Political History of the Silicon Valley: Structural Change,

Urban Transformation, and Local Social Movements, 1945-1995

*Estruth has been selected as the Miller Center/Hagley Library Dissertation Fellow in Business and Politics.*

#### **Leif Frederickson**

**History, University of Virginia**

Project: The Age of Lead: Metropolitan Development, Environmental Health, and Inner City Underdevelopment  
*Frederickson has been selected as the Ambrose Monell Foundation Funded Fellow in Technology and Democracy.*

#### **Charles Halvorson**

**History, Columbia University**

Project: Valuing the Air: The Politics of Environmental Regulation from the Clean Air Act to Carbon Trading  
*Halvorson is also 2016 Mellon/ACLS Dissertation Completion Fellow.*

#### **Patrick O'Brien**

**American Politics, Yale University**

Project: The Unitary Executive as an Historical Variable: Presidential Control and Public Finance

#### **Amanda Rothschild**

**Political Science,  
Massachusetts Institute of Technology**

Project: "Courage First": Dissent, Debate, and the Origins of U.S. Responsiveness to Mass Killing

#### **Matt Scroggs**

**Politics/Foreign Affairs,  
University of Virginia**

Project: Democracies Under Fire: How Democratic Targets and Allies Respond to Coercive Threats

## Blackmon desegregation documentary earns major NEH grant



*American Forum* host Douglas Blackmon

The Miller Center's Douglas Blackmon has received a major grant from the National Endowment for the Humanities for his documentary film project *The Harvest*, a look at the history and legacy of school integration in his native Leland, Mississippi. The grant was one of the 11 largest of 248 grants announced in March. Blackmon is the Miller Center's director of public programs as well as the host and executive producer of our nationally syndicated PBS television program, *American Forum*.

*The Harvest* is based on a simple premise: Many of the children born in Mississippi in 1964—the year of the landmark Civil Rights Act of 1964—became the first Mississippi children to experience fully integrated grades one through twelve. This group included Blackmon himself, and the film, along with an accompanying book, will explore the consequences of school desegregation for Blackmon and his classmates, as well as their community and America as a whole.

Blackmon has a long history of exploring issues of race in America. He earned a Pulitzer Prize for his book *Slavery by Another Name*, subsequently producing an accompanying PBS documentary.



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PO Box 400406  
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## *The Miller Center Fund*

The Miller Center is a proud member of the University of Virginia community and enjoys a warm and mutually embracing relationship as a special driver of historical and policy-relevant research and programming. What may surprise you is that more than 95 percent of the Miller Center's total budget each year is made possible by the generous support of people like you.

Your gifts, large and small, make a real difference to us, and we appreciate the thoughtfulness behind not just the annual philanthropic support, but also your participation and contributions throughout the year. Miller Center programming and events are free, due solely to the support we receive each year from our new and loyal benefactors. Checks may be made payable to the Miller Center Foundation. To make a secure online donation, please go to [millercenter.org/foundation/giving](http://millercenter.org/foundation/giving).

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