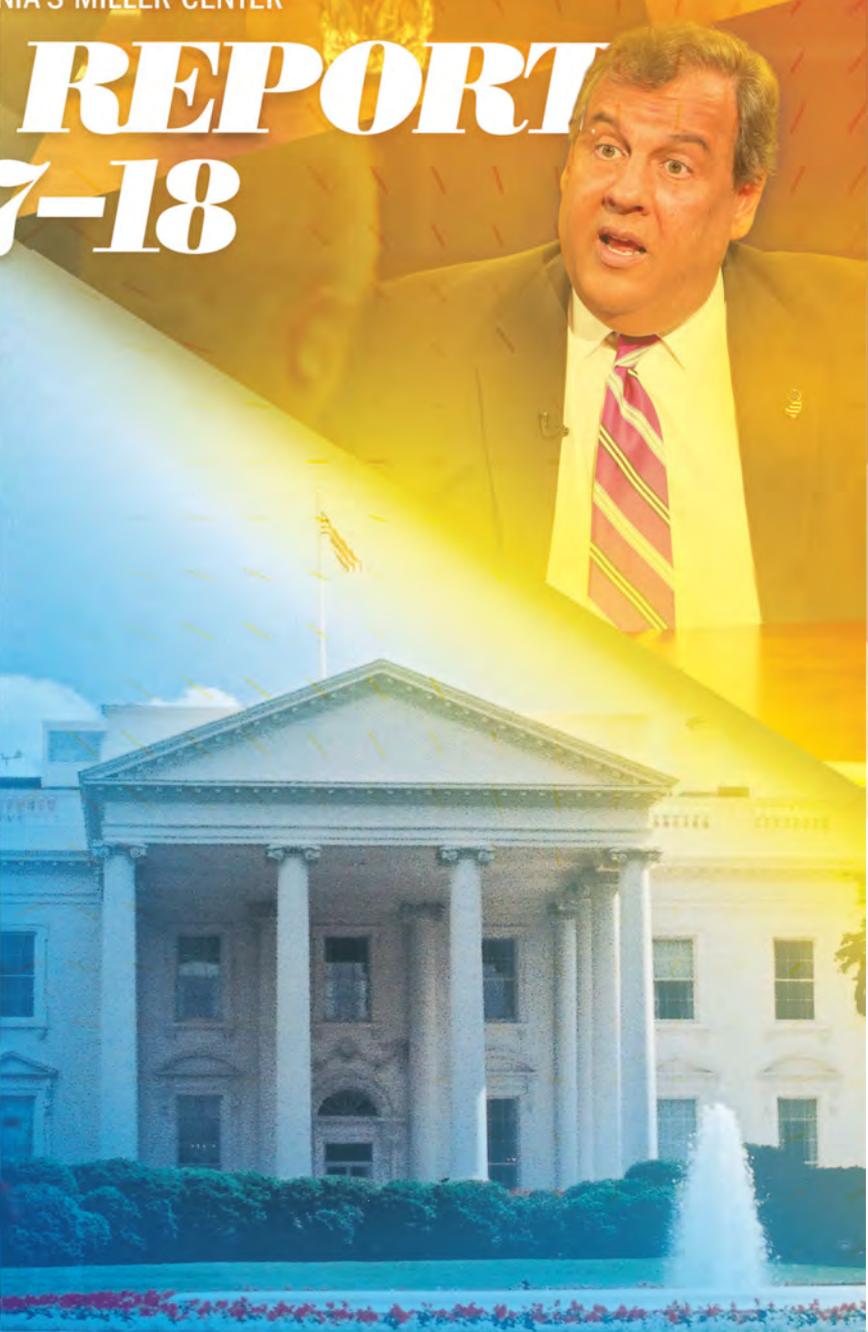


UNIVERSITY OF VIRGINIA'S MILLER CENTER

CABINET REPORT **2017-18**





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ON THE COVER (*clockwise from top left*)
Nicholas Kristof of *The New York Times*;
the Miller Center's Melody Barnes; former
New Jersey Governor Chris Christie;
former host of *PBS NewsHour* Jim Lehrer;
the Miller Center's Barbara Perry.

FROM THE
DIRECTOR



BILL ANTHOLIS

DEAR FRIEND OF THE MILLER CENTER:

The past year has been pivotal for the U.S. presidency. No matter where you fall on the political spectrum, we can all agree we're better off when we rigorously examine the institution from every angle.

At the Miller Center, we work hard to put aside our personal political leanings to objectively and thoroughly study all 45 U.S. administrations—and more broadly the executive branch.

Our most important audiences are not just policy makers but also engaged citizens like yourself. Our democracy depends on a government and a body politic that together embrace the lessons of history—replicating successes and correcting failures.

Thanks to your generous support, the Miller Center had many great successes of our own during the 2017–18 fiscal year. During that time, our ambitious “First Year Project” came to a close. We tracked how President Trump’s first year broke with precedent in so many ways, yet he continued key trends such as increased use of executive power and single-party legislation.

This past year we also saw the kickoff of the bicentennial celebration at the University of Virginia. We are proud to be part of the third century of this great institution that was established by some of America’s earliest presidents: Thomas Jefferson, James Madison, and James Monroe.

We launched *Presidency at a Crossroads*—an ambitious research agenda that asks the important questions: How can American presidents lead a system that is almost 250 years old? How have they shaped the international system—in fighting wars and building alliances? How have they come to represent an ever-more diverse nation? How do they manage an increasingly complex—and often divided—national conversation?

This research will be reinforced by a three-day “Presidential Ideas Festival” from May 21 to 23, 2019, at UVA and in and around Charlottesville. We are proud to sponsor this event as a signature Bicentennial Celebration, in partnership with UVA’s College of Arts & Sciences, UVA’s Center for Politics, Monticello, Montpelier, Highland, Morven, the Presidential Precinct, and American Evolution.

We also have spent the past year laying the groundwork for another exciting new undertaking: the pan-University Democracy Initiative. We are collaborating with the College and Graduate School of Arts & Sciences to establish UVA as the leading institution in the practice, teaching, and scholarship of democracy and public service. We believe no other public university is better suited to advance democracy—in America and the world—in our next century.

As you can see, we’ve been quite busy. And we foresee more of the same for 2018–19. Of course, without your generous support, none of this would be possible. On behalf of the entire Miller Center, I thank you, our committed benefactors, for your generosity and for your commitment to our mission.

With thanks,

A handwritten signature in black ink that reads "Bill Antholis". The signature is written in a cursive, slightly stylized font.

BILL ANTHOLIS

Director and CEO, Miller Center

2017–2018

EVENTS

Covering topics from the founding fathers to the Cold War to President Trump’s Washington, the Miller Center’s more than 55 public events this past year fostered civil discourse and a fascinating

exploration of American institutions—especially the presidency. All programming was held at the University of Virginia’s Miller Center in Charlottesville unless otherwise noted.

THE PRESIDENCY AT A CROSSROADS

How can American presidents lead the nation in an era of polarization and dysfunction? And where is our republic headed if we don’t find the answers?

For the president—and the presidency—to succeed, we must explore these and other vital questions, considering viewpoints from across the political spectrum. The Miller Center’s newest initiative, *Presidency at a Crossroads*, offers actionable advice to those best positioned to influence the debate. Last year, we hosted numerous events tied to this research agenda.

INTRODUCING THE PRESIDENCY AT A CROSSROADS

FEBRUARY 5, 2018

Miller Center Governing Council member and legendary journalist Jim Lehrer joined the Miller Center’s William Antholis and Barbara Perry to launch this ambitious new project. *Presidency at a Crossroads* focuses on three core areas: the presidency and the Constitution, the presidency and the people, and the presidency and policy.

THE PRESIDENCY AND THE CONSTITUTION

A REPUBLIC IF YOU CAN KEEP IT: THE ROLE OF THE PRESIDENT IN UPHOLDING THE IDEA OF AMERICA

SEPTEMBER 26, 2017

Melody Barnes, Barack Obama’s domestic policy advisor and Miller Center senior fellow, examined the role of the president in upholding the idea of America.

PRESIDENTS AND THE CONSTITUTION: A LIVING HISTORY

OCTOBER 10, 2017

Duquesne University president and leading constitutional scholar Ken Gormley spoke about the Constitution’s sparse words in explaining executive power.

LEADING FROM THE EYE OF THE STORM: PRESIDENTS AND REFOUNDINGS IN AMERICAN DEMOCRACY

NOVEMBER 13, 2017

Miller Center faculty associate Sidney Milkis discussed how Donald Trump’s surprising election and controversial first year piqued our interest in the relationship between executive power and the Constitution.

CROSSROADS OF LIBERAL INTERNATIONALISM: HARRY TRUMAN AND THE 1946 ELECTIONS

APRIL 10, 2018

UVA historians Melvyn Leffler and William Hitchcock explored the formation of the national security state during the Harry Truman administration.

SENATOR TIM KAINE ON WAR POWERS

APRIL 20, 2018

Senator Kaine (D-VA) came to UVA’s Rotunda to discuss with John Jeffries of UVA’s School of Law ways in which universities can lead the nation toward valuable policy solutions—using the Miller Center’s National War Powers Commission as a primary example.

THOMAS JEFFERSON AND JOHN ADAMS: THE PARTNERSHIP THAT HELPED BIRTH A NATION

MAY 3, 2018

No relationship in America’s history better represents our nation’s internal struggles and our ability to mend division than that of Thomas Jefferson and John Adams. Pulitzer Prize winner Gordon S. Wood joined the Miller Center’s Barbara Perry to discuss his book *Friends Divided: John Adams and Thomas Jefferson*.



Bill Antholis, John Jeffries, and Senator Tim Kaine

THE PRESIDENCY AND THE PEOPLE

THOMAS JEFFERSON'S LEGACY AND RELIGIOUS FREEDOM

OCTOBER 11, 2017

In a two-part discussion held at Charlottesville's Montalto and the Miller Center, Mustafa Akyol, John Bridgeland, Mary Kate Cary, John Dilulio, Joshua Dubois, Kathleen Flake, Charles Mathewes, Peter Onuf, Andrew O'Shaughnessy, Barbara Perry, John Ragosta, and Rabbi David Saperstein discussed the state of religious freedom around the world, Jefferson's legacy on religion in the public square, and the impact of the faith-based initiatives of presidents George W. Bush and Barack Obama.

SANCTUARY AND BELONGING: REFLECTIONS AFTER AUGUST 11 & 12

OCTOBER 23, 2017 · UVA'S NAU HALL AUDITORIUM

Part of the Page-Barbour Lecture series, Nicholas Kristof of *The New York Times* reflected on the alt-right gathering and violence in Charlottesville in August 2017. This event was cohosted by the Center for German Studies.

EYEWITNESS TO HISTORY: FORMER CHIEF WHITE HOUSE PHOTOGRAPHER PETE SOUZA

JANUARY 29, 2018 · UVA'S NEWCOMB HALL

Pete Souza, chief official White House photographer for President Barack Obama, talked about his *New York Times* bestseller, *Obama: An Intimate Portrait*, and the stories behind his iconic photographs chronicling that historic presidency.

A CONVERSATION ON THE NEW LOCALISM: POWER IN THE AGE OF POPULISM

MARCH 16, 2018

Bruce Katz, formerly the Centennial Scholar at the Brookings Institution, spoke about his book *The New Localism: How Cities Can Thrive in the Age of Populism* with the Miller Center's Guian McKee, UVA Law's Richard C. Schragger, and Charlottesville City Council Member Kathy Galvin.

IS THE UNITED STATES GOVERNED BY LAWS OR NORMS?

MARCH 27, 2018

The unprecedented nature of President Trump's administration has focused attention on the importance of traditions and norms in presidential leadership.

Washington Post columnist E. J. Dionne, *New York Times* contributor Peter Wehner, and moderator Brian Balogh explored the issue.

MAKE YOUR IMPACT ON AMERICAN DEMOCRACY

APRIL 13, 2018

The UVA Student Council hosted a question-and-answer session with Richmond Mayor Levar Stoney and the Miller Center's William Antholis, who discussed their perspectives on how the average American citizen can have an impact on our democracy.

SEMINAR: THE HISTORY OF 1968

APRIL 24, 2018

Miller Center professors Marc Selverstone and Guian McKee led a seminar-style discussion about 1968—a time of political and civil unrest in the United States, marked by growing antiwar sentiment, flaring racial tensions, and a presidential election.

CONSERVATISM REIMAGINED

MAY 10, 2018

This special Miller Center program brought together leading voices on the right to explore what it means to be a conservative today: Senior Fellow Mary Kate Cary, Republican political strategist Ron Christie, *The Federalist's* Mollie Hemingway, and the Miller Center's Nicole Hemmer, who specializes in conservative media.

IS SOCIAL MEDIA DESTROYING DEMOCRACY?

JUNE 6, 2018

UVA professor Siva Vaidhyanathan and the Miller Center's Nicole Hemmer discussed Vaidhyanathan's new book, *Antisocial Media: How Facebook Disconnects Us and Undermines Democracy*. This event was cosponsored by the Presidential Precinct and American Evolution.



THE PRESIDENCY AND POLICY

U.S. PRESIDENTS CONFRONT THE RUSSIANS: A CENTURY OF CHALLENGE, 1917-2017

NOVEMBER 8-10, 2017

In the three-day Ambassador William C. Battle Symposium on American Diplomacy, participants placed the current U.S.-Russia relationship into broad historical context by returning to key historical moments—exploring U.S. presidents and their ties to Russian and Soviet leaders.

CHINA'S RISE: INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

MARCH 23, 2018

The Miller Center's C. K. Yen Professor Brantly Womack moderated a panel discussion about U.S.-China relations, sorting through the contexts of history, strategy, and current events.

POLITICAL ISLAM AND U.S. FOREIGN POLICY

MARCH 28, 2018

The Miller Center's John Owen and George Mason University's Peter Mandaville explored the evolution of U.S. policy toward Islamism over the past 30 years, with a primary focus on the aftermath of the Arab uprisings and revolutions of 2011.

AMERICA FIRST: THE PAST AND FUTURE OF AN IDEA

APRIL 26, 2018

More than a dozen scholars gathered for the William and Carol Stevenson Conference to discuss the ideology of "America First," whose heyday in the United States was between the world wars. Where did the ideas that underpinned "America First" come from? Did they have a long history? This conference aimed to answer these questions and others.

FIRST YEAR



FIRST YEAR
2017

THE MILLER CENTER'S FIRST YEAR PROJECT (FIRSTYEAR2017.ORG) FOCUSED ON ASSESSING THE KEY ISSUES THAT A PRESIDENT MUST CONFRONT EARLY IN AN ADMINISTRATION. WE HOSTED PROGRAMMING TO ANALYZE PRESIDENT TRUMP'S PERFORMANCE THROUGHOUT HIS FIRST YEAR, CULMINATING WITH A GATHERING IN WASHINGTON, DC, JUST BEFORE THE ANNIVERSARY OF HIS INAUGURATION.

FIRST YEAR ADVISORY COUNCIL MEETING
SEPTEMBER 7, 2017
MARRIOTT WARDMAN PARK, WASHINGTON, DC
Former White House chiefs of staff, experienced practitioners in foreign policy and national security, former domestic policy advisors, and scholars from across the political spectrum assembled to assess the president after eight months in office.

PRESIDENT DONALD TRUMP AT ONE YEAR
JANUARY 18, 2018 · DECATUR HOUSE, WASHINGTON, DC
Journalists, scholars, and former high-level officials in government evaluated President Trump's first year through the lens of national security, legislative affairs, and management of the government. This public event was the culmination of the First Year: POTUS 2017 project.

ASSESSING DONALD TRUMP'S FIRST YEAR
JANUARY 25, 2018

The Miller Center's Michael Nelson, Guian McKee, and Mary Kate Cary, joined by UVA history professor Melvyn Leffler, reflected on the First Year: POTUS 2017 project, as well as President Trump's first year in office. The event also marked the release of the volume *Crucible: The President's First Year*, an anthology of First Year essays edited by Michael Nelson, Jeff Chidester, and Stefanie Georgakis Abbott.

Stefanie Georgakis Abbott, Guian McKee, Mary Kate Cary, Melvyn Leffler, Michael Nelson, and Bill Antholis



MILLER CENTER PRESENTS

PINTS AND PRESIDENTS

JULY 19, 2017

KARDINAL HALL BEER GARDEN, CHARLOTTESVILLE

The Miller Center's Douglas Blackmon and UVA history professor William Hitchcock led a lively, informal conversation about the current state of politics, engaging the audience made up of voters, activists, scholars, and regular citizens who care about politics.

THE VIETNAM WAR: PREVIEW OF THE PBS 10-PART DOCUMENTARY

AUGUST 23, 2017

Miller Center scholar Marc Selverstone

discussed the Vietnam War and previewed the Ken Burns and Lynn Novick PBS documentary, *The Vietnam War*, weeks before it premiered nationally. Selverstone had served as a consultant on the film, providing sources and feedback on content.

SHATTERED: INSIDE HILLARY CLINTON'S DOOMED CAMPAIGN

SEPTEMBER 6, 2017

American Forum host Douglas Blackmon interviewed political writers Jonathan Allen and Amie Parnes about their book *Shattered: Inside Hillary Clinton's Doomed Campaign*, in which they deconstructed the misfires of Hillary Clinton's 2016 presidential run.

PINTS AND PRESIDENTS

SEPTEMBER 11, 2017

RANDOM ROW BREWING CO., CHARLOTTESVILLE

The Miller Center's Douglas Blackmon led an informal conversation with the public and four leading investigative reporters and editors whose work offers a vital check on the power of the presidency: *BuzzFeed's* Vera Bergengruen, *ProPublica's* Stephen Engelberg, and *The New York Times's* Matthew Rosenberg and Michael Schmidt.



"[TRUMP] CONSTANTLY WILL ATTACK THE MEDIA WHENEVER HE FEELS BOXED IN. WHETHER THOSE CRITICISMS ARE VALID OR NOT, HIS MEGAPHONE TRICKLES DOWN AND IT DOES HAVE AN IMPACT."

**THE NEW YORK TIMES'
MICHAEL SCHMIDT**

WATERGATE REDUX: THE NEW AGE OF WHITE HOUSE INVESTIGATIVE REPORTING

SEPTEMBER 12, 2017

BuzzFeed's Vera Bergengruen, *ProPublica's* Stephen Engelberg, and *The New York Times's* Matthew Rosenberg and Michael Schmidt joined the Miller Center's Howard Witt to diagnose the health of the Fourth Estate during the era of Trump. Will the press retain its capacity to investigate complex White House entanglements?

THE IMPOSSIBLE PRESIDENCY: THE RISE AND FALL OF AMERICA'S HIGHEST OFFICE

SEPTEMBER 14, 2017

University of Texas at Austin professor Jeremi Suri talked with *American Forum* host Douglas Blackmon about his new book, *The Impossible Presidency*. In it, he charts how the American presidency went from the limited role envisaged by the founding fathers to its current status as the most powerful job in the world.

PRESIDENT TRUMP AND THE ROLE OF WHITE HOUSE COUNSEL

SEPTEMBER 19, 2017

President Obama's former White House counsel Neil Eggleston joined *American Forum* host Douglas Blackmon to answer the question: Is the White House counsel's job to protect the president, to protect the office, or to protect the American people?

DESTINED FOR WAR: CAN AMERICA AND CHINA ESCAPE THUCYDIDES' TRAP?

SEPTEMBER 20, 2017

Famed international affairs scholar Graham Allison spoke with *American Forum* host Douglas Blackmon about why Thucydides' Trap is the best lens through which to view U.S.-China relations in the 21st century. Allison explained that war is a possibility but not inevitable.

WHAT'S RIGHT ABOUT CONSERVATISM TODAY?

SEPTEMBER 23, 2017 · UVA'S ALDERMAN LIBRARY

In the wake of the violence in Charlottesville on August 11 and 12, 2017, Miller Center Director and CEO William Antholis participated in "Dialogues on Race and Inequity," presenting the case for what politicians on the right are doing right.

WILL DEMOCRATIC CAPITALISM SURVIVE?

SEPTEMBER 27, 2017

President Trump has pulled out of global alliances and embraced the motto "America First." UVA historian Melvyn Leffler and *American Forum* host Douglas Blackmon discussed why this constitutes a challenge to democratic capitalism.

WHO ARE THE ALT-RIGHT AND WHY DID THEY COME TO CHARLOTTESVILLE?

OCTOBER 11, 2017 · UVA'S NAU HALL

In a public conversation sponsored by the Corcoran Department of History, Jamelle Bouie and Dahlia Lithwick of *Slate* magazine and the Miller Center's Nicole Hemmer considered the recent history of the alt-right and what every citizen should know about it today.

ENDING THE COLD WAR

OCTOBER 13, 2017

When the Cold War came to an end under President George H. W. Bush, Russia was left with an uncertain future. So did he save the world . . . or allow it to fall apart? Southern Methodist University professor Jeffrey Engel covered that question, and more, with *American Forum* host Douglas Blackmon.

ASSESSING THE NORTH KOREAN THREAT

OCTOBER 18, 2017

How big is the risk presented by North Korea? And how does the U.S.-China relationship affect that risk? On the heels of a trip to North Korea, *The New Yorker's* Evan Osnos talked with *American Forum* host Douglas Blackmon to offer some answers.

PRESIDENT TRUMP'S WASHINGTON

OCTOBER 24, 2017

The New Yorker's Ryan Lizza discussed with *American Forum* host Douglas Blackmon the numerous dismissals and resignations in the Trump White House—and how serious journalists are grappling with such a unique and unpredictable administration.

THE CIVIL WAR, BLACK SOLDIERS, EMANCIPATION, AND THE MONUMENTS TO THAT STRUGGLE

NOVEMBER 6, 2017

Proposals to remove or relocate Confederate monuments across the country are provoking demonstrations and conflict, 150 years after the Civil War. Renowned historian Edward Ayers and *American Forum* host Douglas Blackmon delved into the statues controversy through the lens of history.

VIRGINIA FILM FESTIVAL: THE VIETNAM WAR

NOVEMBER 9, 2017 · UVA'S NEWCOMB HALL THEATER

As part of the Virginia Film Festival, the Miller Center presented a glimpse of the Ken Burns–Lynn Novick 10-part documentary film series about the Vietnam War. Following the screening, Novick discussed the project with UVA English professor Stephen Cushman and Miller Center scholar Marc Selverstone.

VIRGINIA FILM FESTIVAL: BROADCAST NEWS

NOVEMBER 12, 2017

ST. ANNE'S-BELFIELD SCHOOL, CHARLOTTESVILLE
The Daily Progress and the Miller Center cohosted a screening of *Broadcast News*, a 1987 film that addresses issues of journalistic integrity. The screening was followed by a discussion among renowned members of the press: Jim Lehrer, Wyatt Andrews, and Frank Dubec.

VIRGINIA FILM FESTIVAL: HOMELAND

NOVEMBER 12, 2017 · UVA'S CULBRETH THEATRE

The Virginia Film Festival hosted a screening of the season-six final episode of *Homeland*, followed by a conversation with Howard Gordon, the show's executive producer, and its director, Lesli Linka Glatter, moderated by the Miller Center's William Antholis.

HILLARY CLINTON: WOMEN AND 21ST-CENTURY DEMOCRACY

NOVEMBER 14, 2017 · UVA'S OLD CABELL HALL

Former presidential candidate Hillary Clinton came to UVA as part of the Women's Global Leadership Forum, which explored what the future holds for women leaders around the globe. The event was part of the UVA's bicentennial celebration.

INEQUALITY IN AMERICA AND HOW TO RESTORE THE AMERICAN DREAM

NOVEMBER 29, 2017

In a conversation with *American Forum* host Douglas Blackmon, *Dream Hoarders* author Richard V. Reeves argued that we now have the sort of class-defined society that earlier Americans rebelled against.

IS A POLITICAL STORM COMING?

DECEMBER 1, 2017

Larry Sabato, founder and director of UVA's Center for Politics, spoke with *American Forum* host Douglas Blackmon about the current era of extreme partisanship and what the future holds in the era of Trump.

SALLY YATES: STANDING UP TO DONALD TRUMP

JANUARY 16, 2018

Former Acting Attorney General Sally Yates joined *American Forum* host Douglas Blackmon to recap the events that led to her firing by President Trump—and how she stood up to him.

A KEYNOTE ADDRESS WITH JOY-ANN REID

JANUARY 23, 2018

PARAMOUNT THEATER, CHARLOTTESVILLE
MSNBC's Joy-Ann Reid sat down with *American Forum* host Douglas Blackmon for the 2018 Community Martin Luther King Jr. Celebration keynote. Presented by the University of Virginia Office of the Vice President and Chief Officer for Diversity and Equity, the Frank Batten School of Leadership and Public Policy, Lifetime Learning in the UVA Office of Engagement, and the Miller Center.



WHY PRESIDENTS NEED POETRY

FEBRUARY 1, 2018

U.S. poet laureate Rita Dove and *American Forum* host Douglas Blackmon talked citizenship, the presidency, Donald Trump, and how language binds our democracy.

THE FUTURE OF AMERICAN CONSERVATISM

FEBRUARY 12, 2018

American Forum host Douglas Blackmon questioned former New Jersey governor Chris Christie about his bid for the Republican nomination for president, how it was to work with President Trump, and his take on the first year of the Trump administration.

THE AGE OF EISENHOWER

FEBRUARY 20, 2018

In the final episode of *American Forum* with host Douglas Blackmon, UVA history professor William Hitchcock discussed his new book, *The Age of Eisenhower*, which explores the 34th president and America in the 1950s.

BOTH SIDES NOW: TAKING DIPLOMACY SERIOUSLY

MARCH 22, 2018

CITY COUNCIL CHAMBERS, CHARLOTTESVILLE
Miller Center Senior Fellow Todd Sechser joined a panel to explore the intricacies of diplomacy in our challenging world, using research and case studies.

HOPE & SACRIFICE: A CONVERSATION WITH KHIZR KHAN

MARCH 23, 2018

MARTIN LUTHER KING JR. PERFORMING ARTS CENTER, CHARLOTTESVILLE

As part of the Virginia Festival of the Book, Khizr Khan (*An American Family*) discussed with Douglas Blackmon his experiences as an immigrant, our rights as Americans, and the legacy of a democracy that we are each empowered to protect.



“THERE ARE COMPETING OPINIONS [WITHIN THE REPUBLICAN PARTY], BUT I DON'T SEE AN ACTIVE STRUGGLE.”

FORMER NEW JERSEY GOVERNOR
CHRIS CHRISTIE

AMERICAN STUDIES: DICK, IKE, AND DARPA

MARCH 23, 2018

CITY COUNCIL CHAMBERS, CHARLOTTESVILLE
As part of the Virginia Festival of the Book, historian William Hitchcock (*The Age of Eisenhower*) joined John Farrell (*Richard Nixon: The Life*) and Sharon Weinberger (*The Imagineers of War*) to discuss their masterful portraits of presidents and the secret work of DARPA.

AMERICAN POLITICS: LEFT, RIGHT, AND CENTER

MARCH 24, 2018

CITY COUNCIL CHAMBERS, CHARLOTTESVILLE
The Miller Center's Nicole Hemmer (*Messengers of the Right*) joined Jason Altmire (*Dead Center*) and Caitriona Perry (*In America: Tales from Trump Country*) to talk through the deep polarization in our politics, American media, and our country.

TOM TOM FOUNDERS FESTIVAL: THE PRESIDENCY AT A CROSSROADS

APRIL 11, 2018

PARAMOUNT THEATER, CHARLOTTESVILLE
Preeminent experts from both sides of the aisle examined the role of the presidency on the global stage and also provided an appraisal of the Trump administration after 15 months.

The all-star panels included John Negroponte, director of national intelligence for President George W. Bush; Bill Kristol, editor at large for the *Weekly Standard*; Neera Tanden, president of the Center for American Progress; and William Antholis, Douglas Blackmon, and Nicole Hemmer from the Miller Center.

BOBBY KENNEDY: A RAGING SPIRIT

MAY 7, 2018

Bestselling author and MSNBC host Chris Matthews visited the Miller Center to discuss his new book, *Bobby Kennedy: A Raging Spirit*, 50 years after the death of RFK, one of the 20th century's greatest American political figures.

THE PROMISE OF SOUTHERN HISTORY

JUNE 23, 2018

In honor of esteemed American historian Edward L. Ayers, his former students and colleagues gathered to celebrate him as a scholar, teacher, and public intellectual. Sponsored by the Miller Center and the University of Virginia Library.

ALICE HANDY

STEVE BURNS

EUGENE FIFE

CLAIRE GARGALLI



ON THE MILLER CENTER GOVERNING COUNCIL

Longtime Miller Center Governing Council members Eugene Fife and Claire Gargalli have stepped down as the board’s chair and vice chair, respectively. They have been replaced by Alice Handy as chair and Steve Burns as vice chair.

“Gene’s and Claire’s commitment and work on behalf of the Center is legend worthy,” said Director and CEO William Antholis. “The outstanding contributions they have made over their tenures will keep the Center well prepared to meet its goals for years to come.” Fife, a former partner at Goldman Sachs, and Gargalli, a retired corporate and international banking executive, have both served on the council since 2003 and will continue to do so.

The new chair, Handy, is founder and former president and CEO of Investure, an outsourced investment office for colleges and foundations. She spent 29 years with UVA, beginning as its first investment officer, later becoming treasurer, and finally president of the University of Virginia Investment Management Company. The new vice chair, Burns, is managing partner at Quad-C Management, a middle-market private equity firm headquartered in Charlottesville.

There were other Governing Council changes as well. We were saddened that council member Richard Kreitler

passed away on May 7. Having served since 2005, Kreitler was steadfastly committed to the Miller Center’s mission, championing the value of civil discourse as a solution to our country’s political divisions.

Former UVA president Teresa Sullivan also left the council. “We have been honored to have had her valuable work within the University and more specifically her unwavering support of the Miller Center,” said Antholis, who in appreciation of her dedication named a Miller Center senior fellowship in her honor for the next three years.

Other Governing Council departures included Slade Gorton, Frederick Hitz, Michael Castine, David Martel, and David Goode. Miller Center leadership, faculty, and staff wholeheartedly thank them for their commitment and service to our organization.

This year we welcome five new Governing Council members: UVA president James E. Ryan; real estate developer and investor Don King; chief legal and compliance officer of Bloomberg L.P. Richard DeScherer;

UVA’s senior vice president of Advancement and David and Mary Harrison Distinguished Professor of Law John C. Jeffries Jr.; and former UVA basketball all-star and investor Wally Walker (whose number, 41, has been retired by the Cavaliers).



RICHARD KREITLER



MILLER CENTER

FOR

INAUGURAL GERALD L. BALILES CHAIR

Miller Center political scientist Barbara Perry is the first Gerald L. Baliles Professor in Presidential Studies. Baliles, who served as the 65th governor of Virginia from 1986 to 1990, was also director of the Miller Center from 2006 to 2014. The chair was created to promote nonpartisan and pragmatic study of the institution of the presidency as well as the presidents themselves.

“It’s not an exaggeration to say this means everything to me,” Perry said. “To have an endowed chair is the highest honor for a professor. This is the first I’ve had that is named for someone who is extant; someone who not only hired me at the Miller Center but whom I consider to be a mentor and friend—and the epitome of a statesman and gentleman.”

In a ceremony bestowing the honor on Perry, Governor Baliles made a cameo appearance to give her a captain’s chair engraved with her new title. “To be presented a stunning chair by the person for whom it is named,” Perry said, “I was humbled and honored.”



LEADERSHIP AWARD WINNER

This year’s recipient of the Elizabeth Scott Award for Exemplary Leadership, Elsie Thompson, is a bona fide trailblazer. While in Texas, she was among the first women to work in the mining industry. Thompson served on the Miller Center Foundation Board from 2002 until 2017 and has been on the Governing Council since 2013. She

is a passionate advocate for student engagement, as evidenced by her long history of giving back to the community: founding director and past president of the Boys & Girls Clubs of Central Virginia; director and past president of Charlottesville’s Paramount Theater; vice chair of UVA’s Fralin Museum.

The Elizabeth P. Scott Award for Exemplary Leadership is the namesake of its first recipient, who was also a founding board member of the Miller Center.

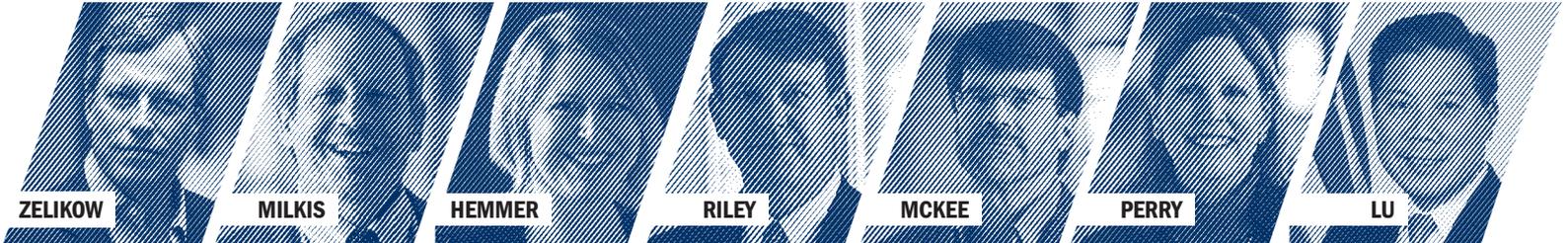
The 13th recipient of this honor, Thompson was presented with this much-deserved recognition for her service to the community and the Miller Center at a ceremony in April.



IN THE MEDIA



During the past year, the Miller Center reached millions of people with our analysis and scholarship, through our website millercenter.org and through countless news outlets—print, online, TV, and radio. Here's just a sampling of how we made news this year.



SEPTEMBER 12, 2017, *Foreign Policy*: Professor Melvyn Leffler explained how many within the foreign policy community were disappointed with Trump: “Despite their difficult beginnings, many administrations go on to gain their footing and experience real accomplishment in foreign policy. So there is still hope for Trump. But it’s important to first understand that he isn’t just repeating all the early errors that beleaguered his predecessors—he is magnifying them in unprecedented fashion.”

OCTOBER 2017, *Texas National Security Review*: Professor Philip Zelikow offered a closer examination of what led President William McKinley to take the Philippines, revealing a series of deliberate and thoughtful choices that have often been overlooked or ignored.

NOVEMBER 7, 2017, *De Gruyter*: “Eight months into his presidency, most depict the Trump administration as being mired in chaos and frenzy. Such a perspective, however, overlooks the aggressive pursuit of Trump’s campaign agenda through unilateral administrative action,” wrote professor Sidney Milkis in “I Alone Can Fix It’ Donald Trump, the Administrative Presidency, and Hazards of Executive-Centered Partisanship.”

JANUARY 12, 2018, *The Washington Post*: Miller Center scholar Nicole Hemmer wrote “How Breitbart became just another right-wing Trump cheerleader,” explaining that with or without

Steve Bannon, the site is not the only voice that matters for Trumpism. “[There is] a new right-wing media landscape,” Hemmer explained, “one where Trump sounds like *Breitbart*, which sounds like *Gateway Pundit*, which sounds like *Fox*, with no one voice rising above the rest.”

JANUARY 17, 2018, *U.S. News & World Report*: To close out the Miller Center’s ambitious First Year Project, exploring the high-stakes decisions presidents have historically had to make in the early part of their term, Director and CEO William Antholis wrote an op-ed titled “A Year Like No Other.” In it, he outlines how Trump’s first year can be assessed using Antholis’ “five Ps” of presidential power: personnel, process, priorities, politics, and popularity.

JANUARY 18, 2018, *The Wall Street Journal*: UVA law professor and Miller Center Senior Fellow Saikrishna Prakash wrote “Eventually the President Will Have to Talk,” explaining how executive privilege cannot be applied in a criminal probe. “Presidents have long claimed a right to withhold their confidential talks from Congress and the courts,” he explained. “It began with Thomas Jefferson, who ordered the prosecution of his former vice president, Aaron Burr, for raising a rebellion in Louisiana.”

JANUARY 20, 2018, *The Washington Post*: In an analysis of Trump’s first year (with a dramatic twist), Russell Riley, cochair of the Presidential

Oral History Program, likened political whirlwinds to those of Dorothy in *The Wizard of Oz*: seldom conducive to clear thinking. “In politics, success breeds mimicry,” he wrote, “and the measure of Trump’s overall success—and thus his lasting imprint on the presidency—will ultimately be taken at polling places in 2018 and 2020.”

FEBRUARY 8, 2018, *The Washington Post*: On the heels of the announcement that Amazon, Berkshire Hathaway, and JPMorgan Chase were teaming up to try to control ballooning health care costs, Miller Center scholar Guian McKee penned an article explaining how “the most important components of the still-theoretical project are actually deeply rooted in the history of health care.”

FEBRUARY 23, 2018, *The Washington Post*: Miller Center Presidential Recordings Program Chair Marc Silverstone wrote “It’s Time for Congress to Wrest Its War-Making Authority Back from the President,” explaining how the use of faulty intelligence and lack of checks on the presidential use of military force led Congress to seize back some of the power it had relinquished in the buildup of the Vietnam War.

MARCH 11–APRIL 15, 2018, CNN: Director of Presidential Studies Barbara Perry is one of the nation’s foremost experts on President Kennedy and his family. Her expertise was on full display as CNN broadcast the six-part documentary

American Dynasties: The Kennedys, which explores “how America’s ‘first family’ has helped shape the politics of the nation, and influence national and global events.” Perry is featured in all six episodes.

APRIL 11, 2018, *The Hill*: In the lead-up to a U.S.-China trade war, Brantly Womack, C. K. Yen Professor at the Miller Center, wrote “On the World Stage, a New Era of U.S.-China Parity Has Begun,” explaining that China used to be careful in challenging the United States, but no more. “As China’s tit-for-tat response to our tariffs demonstrates,” he explained, “China now considers itself a great power.”

APRIL 23, 2018, CNBC.com: Former Deputy Secretary of Labor and Miller Center Senior Fellow Chris Lu wrote “The Real Cost of Scott Pruitt’s Ethics Mess,” explaining that the then EPA administrator was not alone. Several other Trump Cabinet members also have been accused of excessive travel and furniture spending, as well as having conflicts of interest.

MAY 18, 2018, *The Washington Post*: Miller Center Senior Fellow John Owen wrote “No, We’re Not Facing a New Cold War,” laying out why predictions of an all-out global struggle will not happen. “But for all the hand-wringing about a new Cold War,” he explained, “there simply aren’t the right ingredients for a renewed form of that long-term, existential struggle.”

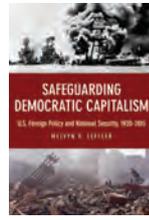


millercenter.org

We deliver Miller Center events and interviews with our scholars right to your phone through Twitter, Facebook, and emails. We also simultaneously livestream every event—on our website, YouTube channel, and Facebook page. Videos remain available on all platforms for later on-demand viewing.

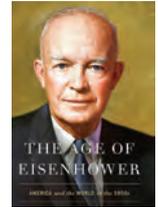
BOOKS

Several Miller Center scholars published well-received books in the past year.



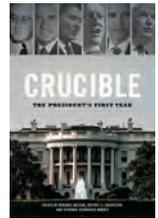
Safeguarding Democratic Capitalism compiles the writings of historian Melvyn Leffler and follows U.S. national security policy from the end of World War I until the global war on terror. How did World War II reshape U.S. interests? To what extent did 9/11 transform national security policy? Leffler offers answers to these and other crucial questions.

Drawing extensively on declassified material from the Eisenhower Library, the CIA, the Defense Department, and troves of unpublished documents, *The Age of Eisenhower: America and the World in the 1950s*, by historian William Hitchcock, shows how Ike shaped modern America, explaining why he is rightly regarded as one of the best leaders in U.S. history. (Watch Hitchcock discussing the book at Millr.cr/eisenhower.)



In *Trump’s First Year*, presidential scholar Michael Nelson provides a scholarly assessment, starting with the president’s election and transition in 2016. Nelson considers the dramatic election itself, the forming and reforming of the administration, congressional relations, executive actions, bureaucratic politics, judicial appointments and decisions, media relations and public communications, and public opinion.

Drawn from the Miller Center’s First Year project—which seeks to provide a historical framework to guide future presidents and their teams in the crucial first year of a new administration—*Crucible: The President’s First Year* addresses core questions of governance facing a new president, from navigating a broken political system to thriving in a changing media environment. The volume was edited by Michael Nelson, Jeffrey Chidester, and Stefanie Georgakis Abbott.



VIDEO & ONLINE

This has been a year full of rich video and online content for the Miller Center. Here, some highlights you can watch anytime:

Miller Center scholars Marc Selterstone and Guian McKee hosted a seminar on one of the most tumultuous years in American history: 1968. Millr.cr/1968seminar

Where do Trump and Kim go from here? Thoughts from the Miller Center’s Brantly Womack and Todd Sechser on the Trump-Kim summit—before and after. Millr.cr/NKsummit

Is social media destroying democracy? UVA media studies professor Siva Vaidhyanathan joined the Miller Center’s Nicole Hemmer for a discussion. Millr.cr/socialmedia

Former presidential candidate Hillary Clinton came to UVA to discuss women and 21st-century democracy. Millr.cr/hillary

The Miller Center’s Guian McKee explored the relationship between government and health care from a historical perspective. Millr.cr/healthcare

American Forum host Douglas Blackmon interviewed *The New Yorker’s* Ryan Lizza about how DC is functioning in the era of Trump. Millr.cr/trumpswashington

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 endowment and custodial funds in support of the Center, and follows standard policies and procedures for nonprofit organizations.

Endowments form the largest financial asset for both the Miller Center and the Miller Center Foundation. Distributions from these endowments provide significant support for Center programs and activities; for fiscal year 2018, those distributions constituted more than 40 percent of total income. All endowments are managed by the University of Virginia Investment Management Company (UVIMCO) in its long-term pool, which had a 11.4 percent rate of return for the fiscal year ending June 30, 2018, a three-year annualized rate of return of 7.2 percent, and a five-year annualized rate of return of 9.6 percent. Endowment distribution rates follow those set by the University's Board of Visitors; the rate for fiscal year 2018 was 5.04 percent. Total endowment holdings for the Center and Foundation increased from \$74.9 million on June 30, 2017, to \$79.6 million on June 30, 2018, including new contributions of \$272 thousand.

In past years, the Center and Foundation have drawn funds from quasi-endowment reserve funds to cover operating expenses and help smooth annual cash flow fluctuations. In fiscal year 2015, the Center's Governing Council and Foundation's Board of Directors authorized a draw of up to a total of \$5 million for programmatic transition funding and support for the First Year Project between fiscal years 2016 and 2018. The Center and Foundation did not require the entire approved amount; together, they drew \$2 million in fiscal year 2016, \$750 thousand in fiscal year 2017, and none in fiscal year 2018, for a total of \$2.75 million.

The University of Virginia allocates direct services costs to its individual units and in some cases partially offsets these costs with a subvention. The direct services costs totaled \$1.02 million for the Miller Center in fiscal year 2018 and are included in the "Administration & Operations" line in the following chart. The subvention totaled \$891 thousand, included in the University of Virginia income line.

The Center and Foundation ended fiscal year 2018 with positive net income and an increased ending cash balance because of higher income and lower expenses in comparison to fiscal year 2017. The two largest positive variances for the Center between fiscal years 2017 and 2018 are decreased spending in Policy Programs because of organizational realignment and decreased spending in Marketing & Communications because one-time expenses for rebranding and a website redesign in fiscal year 2017 did not recur in fiscal year 2018.

Beginning and ending cash balances include funds that are restricted by program or time and are not necessarily available for use in a given fiscal year.

The Miller Center Foundation is responsible for raising a significant portion of the Center's support annually, with gifts and gift commitments from the numerous generous individuals and organizations listed on the following pages.

The Miller Center Foundation holds a long-term commercial lease in Washington, DC, for an office the Miller Center formerly used. This space is now subleased.

The reporting of financial activities here is cash based and comes from preaudit statements and internal working papers.

MILLER CENTER AND MILLER CENTER FOUNDATION SUMMARY OF FINANCIAL ACTIVITIES

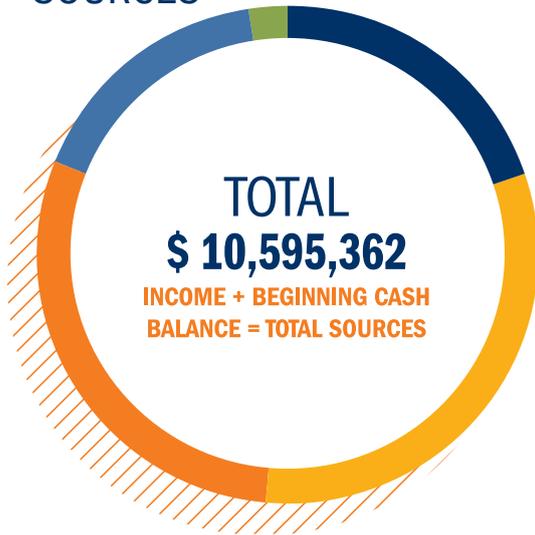
INCOME	FY 2018	FY 2017
Distributions from Endowment	\$3,355,849	\$ 3,293,950
Gifts & Grants	3,159,586	2,674,395
University of Virginia	1,739,338	1,706,899
Sublease & Other	241,274	229,740
TOTAL INCOME	\$8,496,046	\$ 7,904,984

EXPENSE	FY 2018	FY 2017
Presidential Studies	\$ 1,773,553	\$ 1,888,419
Other Faculty, Chairs & Fellows	617,528	783,871
<i>American Forum</i>	659,077	713,164
Policy Conferences & Programs	15,008	233,945
Executive Office & Governing Council	641,719	679,126
Administration & Operations	1,856,983	1,672,118
Library & Information Services	565,122	703,633
Marketing & Communications	624,950	1,021,443
Miller Center Foundation	909,953	1,034,757
Lease Obligation	343,410	337,857
TOTAL EXPENSE	\$ 8,007,303	\$ 9,068,333

NET INCOME	\$ 488,743	\$ (1,163,350)
Cash Balance, Beginning	\$ 2,099,316	\$ 2,987,830
[Less] Transfers to Endowment	271,689	475,164
[Plus] Draw on Quasi-Endowment Reserve Funds		750,000
CASH BALANCE, ENDING	\$ 2,316,370	\$ 2,099,316

FISCAL YEAR 2017-2018

SOURCES



- CASH BALANCE, BEGINNING**
\$2,099,316 - 19.8%
- DISTRIBUTIONS FROM ENDOWMENT**
\$3,355,849 - 31.7%
- GIFTS & GRANTS**
\$3,159,586 - 29.8%
- UNIVERSITY OF VIRGINIA**
\$1,739,338 - 16.4%
- SUBLEASE & OTHER**
\$241,274 - 2.3%

USES



- PRESIDENTIAL STUDIES**
\$1,773,553 - 21.4%
- OTHER FACULTY & CHAIRS**
\$617,528 - 7.5%
- AMERICAN FORUM**
\$659,077 - 8.0%
- POLICY PROGRAMS**
\$15,008 - 0.2%
- EXECUTIVE OFFICE & GOVERNING COUNCIL**
\$641,719 - 7.8%
- ADMINISTRATION & OPERATIONS**
\$1,856,983 - 22.4%
- LIBRARY & INFORMATION SERVICES**
\$565,122 - 6.8%
- MARKETING & COMMUNICATIONS**
\$624,950 - 7.5%
- MILLER CENTER FOUNDATION**
\$909,953 - 11.0%
- LEASE OBLIGATION**
\$343,410 - 4.1%
- TRANSFERS TO ENDOWMENT**
\$271,689 - 3.3%

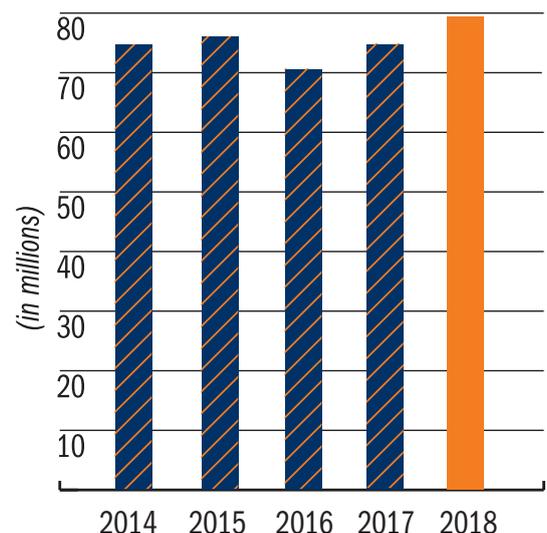
MILLER CENTER AND MILLER CENTER FOUNDATION ENDOWMENT AND QUASI-ENDOWMENT RESERVE FUNDS

As of June 30 each year

FISCAL YEAR	MARKET VALUE END OF YEAR	EARNINGS DISTRIBUTED
2014	\$ 74,631,801	\$ 2,825,948
2015	75,978,609	2,928,849
2016	70,543,045	3,128,087
2017	74,920,581	3,293,950
2018	\$ 79,566,052	\$ 3,518,849

MARKET VALUE

As of June 30 each year



PHILANTHROPIC SUPPORT

The Miller Center and the Miller Center Foundation report receipt of \$3,715,586 in philanthropic support in the fiscal year ending June 30, 2018. We are especially grateful for the generosity of members of the Miller Center Governing Council and Miller Center Foundation Board of Directors, for supporters of the First Year Project, and for contributors to our Annual Fund, who gave in record numbers in 2017-18. We rely on local and national donors whose financial support significantly affects our programmatic scope.

As the Miller Center concludes our First Year Project research and programming, we turn our public outreach and scholarly attention to the Presidency at a Crossroads research agenda, including the Presidential Ideas Festival. The Center's scholarship focuses on the presidency and the Constitution, the presidency and the people, and the presidency and policymaking. The "Presidential Ideas Festival: Democracy in Dialogue" will convene scholars, students, the media, policy makers, the business community, and the engaged public on May 21-23, 2019.

The Festival will feature former Cabinet-level administration officials to connect history, policy, and the future. The Miller Center Foundation will continue to offer donors new opportunities that are central to the Center's mission, with an emphasis on the United States presidency. With sincere appreciation, we acknowledge the generosity of our donors on the following pages.

THE MILLER CENTER FUND

The Miller Center Foundation is grateful to its generous donors for having made contributions to benefit the Miller Center during fiscal year 2018 (July 1, 2017-June 30, 2018).

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