



Democratic National Committee

# DEMOCRATIC CHANGE COMMISSION

June 27, 2009  
Capital Hilton  
1001 16<sup>th</sup> Street, NW  
Washington, DC

## AGENDA

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| Call to Order & Pledge of Allegiance   | Governor Tim Kaine, DNC Chairman                                       |
| Call of the Roll & Determination of a Quorum                                     | Governor Tim Kaine, DNC Chairman                                       |
| Opening Remarks  | Governor Tim Kaine, DNC Chairman                                       |
| Opening Remarks  | Senator Claire McCaskill, Commission Co-Chair                          |
| Opening Remarks  | Congressman James E. Clyburn, Commission Co-Chair                      |
| Commission Member Introductions  |  |
| Overview of Change Commission Rules of Procedure                                 |  |
| Presentations and Q & A  |  |
| <i>The History of Modern Day Democratic Presidential Nominations (1976-2008)</i> | Rhodes Cook<br>Rhodes Cook Letter                                      |
| <i>Presentation on Unpledged Delegates</i>                                       | Dr. Elaine Kamarck<br>Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University |
| <i>Interests and Goals of the Party, Presidential Candidates &amp; Voters</i>    | Dr. Melanie Springer<br>Washington University in St. Louis             |
| <i>Overview of Change Commission Issues</i>                                      | DNC Office of Party Affairs & Delegate Selection Staff                 |
| <i>Presentation on Caucus Systems</i>  | Mitch Stewart<br>Organizing for America                                |
| Announcements / Adjournment  |  |

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### DEMOCRATIC CHANGE COMMISSION

Co-Chairs: Senator Claire McCaskill & Congressman James E. Clyburn  
c/o D.N.C. • 430 South Capitol St., SE • Washington, DC 20003 • P: 202-863-8055 • F: 202-572-7805

Democratic Party Headquarters ■ 430 South Capitol Street, SE ■ Washington, DC, 20003 ■ (202) 863-8000 ■ Fax (202) 863-8174  
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Democratic National Committee

## Resolution Establishing the Democratic Change Commission

*(This resolution was recommended by the 2008 Convention Rules Committee at its August 23, 2008 meeting and adopted by the 2008 Democratic National Convention on August 25, 2008 in Denver, Colorado)*

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### Section 1. Establishment of Democratic Change Commission.

**BE IT RESOLVED:** That no later than 60 days after the date of the next election of the National Chair of the Democratic National Committee (DNC), the National Chair shall establish a commission (the "Commission") to review the Delegate Selection Rules in light of developments during the 2008 presidential nominating cycle and to recommend changes to the Delegate Selection Rules for the 2012 Democratic National Convention, not inconsistent with these resolutions, to improve the nominating process.

**RESOLVED FURTHER:** That the Commission shall be known as the "Democratic Change Commission;" that it shall consist of 35 members and two co-chairs, all with the right to vote on Commission business, appointed by the National Chair of the DNC; that its membership shall be equally divided between men and women and shall be geographically and demographically diverse; that the DNC shall provide the Commission with adequate staff and resources to carry out its mandate in accordance with this Resolution; and that the Commission shall issue its report and recommendations to the Rules and Bylaws Committee of the DNC no later than January 1, 2010.

### Section 2. Timing of the Primaries and Caucuses.

**RESOLVED FURTHER:** That the Delegate Selection Rules for the 2012 Convention shall provide that no meetings, caucuses, conventions or primaries which constitute the first determining stage in the presidential nomination process (the date of the primary in primary states and the date of the first tier caucus in caucus states) shall be held prior to the first Tuesday in March of the election year, except as otherwise provided in the Delegate Selection Rules and recognizing the valuable role played by the approved pre-Window states in 2008; and provided that no such meeting, caucus, convention or primary shall in any event be held prior to February 1 of the calendar year of the National Convention; and that the Commission also shall review the sequence and scheduling of primaries and caucuses with a view towards reducing the scheduling of such events on the first allowable date that resulted in 22 primaries and caucuses being held on such date in 2008 and toward reducing frontloading within the Window period; and that the Commission shall review the rules for proper enforcement of the primary and caucus timing requirements and delegate allocation matters, particularly with respect to action by the Rules and Bylaws Committee; and that in making its recommendations, the Commission consider any revision of the Rules of the Republican Party of the United States adopted by the 2008 Republican National Convention regarding the scheduling and sequence of presidential nominating events.

**Section 3. Delegates.**

**RESOLVED FURTHER:** That the Commission shall consider and make appropriate recommendations for revisions to the Delegate Selection Rules for the 2012 Democratic National Convention to provide for a significant reduction of the number of unpledged party leader and elected official (PLEO) delegates in order to enlarge the role and influence of primary and caucus voters in the presidential nominating process. The Commission also shall review the formulas for delegate allocation to assure that delegates are fairly allocated to accurately reflect the will of the voters and that the right of the delegates to reflect the sentiments of those who elected them shall be secured to all delegates.

**Section 4. Caucuses.**

**RESOLVED FURTHER:** That the Commission shall consider and recommend appropriate revisions to the Delegate Selection Rules for the 2012 Democratic National Convention to provide that:

- a. the use of a caucus/convention system for any stage of the delegate selection process by any State Democratic Party shall be approved by the DNC Rules and Bylaws Committee in accordance with any new specific criteria to be set out in the Delegate Selection Rules, and which will be designed to ensure that at each stage, any caucus or convention will be adequately planned, organized, and staffed; will take place at such times and in such locations as will meet the requirements of Rule 3 of the Delegate Selection Rules and will otherwise maximize the opportunity for full participation by Democratic voters; will be run using appropriate balloting methods and, as to tiers following the first stage caucus, will utilize accurate lists of participants; and will afford the opportunity for meaningful communication of presidential candidates with their pledged caucus participants reasonably in advance of caucuses and conventions.
- b. the use of a caucus/convention system for any stage of the delegate selection process should be organized in a manner that will ensure the maximum ability of Democratic voters to feasibly participate in the first-tier caucuses, including consideration of absentee voting in caucuses to benefit those who cannot attend a scheduled caucus due to military service, work, health conditions, family obligations and other similar reasons that prevent attendance in person.

**Section 5. Status of Resolutions**

**RESOLVED FURTHER:** That the Commission may address other matters related to the presidential nominating process and Delegate Selection Rules as may be identified by the National Chair of the Democratic National Committee, and that for the purposes of Article Ten, Section 2 of the Charter of the Democratic Party of the United States, these resolutions shall be deemed to be "otherwise designated."



## Democratic National Committee

### **RULES OF PROCEDURE FOR THE DEMOCRATIC CHANGE COMMISSION**

*The following Rules of Procedure are proposed for the Democratic Change Commission. The proposed Rules are consistent with the Party's Charter and Bylaws, as well as procedural rules utilized by the National Convention's standing committees, and are recommended by the Co-Chairs for adoption by the Commission at its June 27, 2009 meeting in Washington, D.C..*

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#### **I. MEETINGS**

All meetings of the Commission shall be open to the public.

#### **II. QUORUM**

Fifty percent (50%) of the full membership of the Commission shall constitute a quorum.

#### **III. VOTING**

- A. The Commission shall take action on all matters by a majority vote.
- B. No secret ballot shall be permitted at any stage of the Commission's proceedings.
- C. Voting shall be by voice vote, division of the house or, when prescribed by these Rules, by roll call.
- D. A roll call vote shall be taken if requested by 25% of the members present.
- E. Proxy Voting: As the Commission is a deliberative body, proxy voting by Commission members shall not be permitted.

#### **IV. CO-CHAIRS**

- A. It shall be the responsibility of the Co-Chairs to:
  - 1. prepare an agenda for the orderly conduct of the Commission's business;
  - 2. call to order and preside over Commission meeting.
- B. The Commission may transact business with one Co-Chair present, provided that the other Co-Chair consents to such arrangement.
- C. Should both Co-Chairs be absent from any meeting, the Co-Chairs shall designate a Commission member to preside at said Commission meeting.

#### **V. ROBERT'S RULES**

Except as otherwise provided in these Rules, Robert's Rules of Order, Newly Revised, shall apply.

#### **VI. SUSPENSION OF RULES**

These Rules may be suspended only upon the affirmative vote of at least two-thirds (2/3) of those members voting.

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Democratic National Committee

## DEMOCRATIC CHANGE COMMISSION

*(Appointments by DNC Chairman Governor Tim Kaine)*

### CO-CHAIRS

**Congressman James E. Clyburn**  
Columbia, South Carolina

**Senator Claire McCaskill**  
St. Louis, Missouri

### MEMBERS

**Grassroots Activist  
Jeremy Alters**  
Miami, Florida

**Political Strategist Jeff Berman**  
Washington, DC

**Grassroots Activist Ashley Bliss**  
Atlanta, Georgia

**State Representative Dan Blue**  
Raleigh, North Carolina

**Political Strategist Bill Carrick**  
Los Angeles, California

**Mayor Michael Coleman**  
Columbus, Ohio

**Political Strategist Jeff Forbes**  
Washington, DC

**Grassroots Activist Joan Garry**  
Montclair, New Jersey

**State Chair Larry Gates**  
Overland Park, Kansas

**School Board Member  
Adelita Grijalva**  
Tucson, Arizona

**Professor Rob Hampshire**  
Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania

**Former State Chair Ned Helms**  
Concord, New Hampshire

**Former Labor Secretary  
Alexis Herman**  
McLean, Virginia

**Chairman  
Ron His Horse Is Thunder**  
Standing Rock Sioux Tribe

**IBT President James Hoffa**  
Detroit, Michigan

**Grassroots Activist  
Roseanne Hope**  
Minneapolis, Minnesota

**State Senator Steven Horsford**  
Las Vegas, Nevada

**Grassroots Activist Suzie LeVine**  
Seattle, Washington

**UAW CAP Director Dick Long**  
Detroit, Michigan

**Grassroots Activist Andres Lopez**  
San Juan, Puerto Rico

**Former Attorney General  
Patricia Madrid**  
Albuquerque, New Mexico

**DNC Member Debbie Marquez**  
Edwards, Colorado

**State Senator Iris Martinez**  
Chicago, Illinois

**Delegate Jennifer McClellan**  
Richmond, Virginia

**Secretary of State Linda McCulloch**  
Helena, Montana

**Attorney General Tom Miller**  
Des Moines, Iowa

**DNC Member Minyon Moore**  
Washington, DC

**Grassroots Activist Sunah Park**  
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

**Campaign Manager David Plouffe**  
Washington, DC

**Grassroots Activist  
Rebecca Prozan**  
San Francisco, California

**DNC Member James Roosevelt, Jr**  
Cambridge, Massachusetts

**Congresswoman Linda Sanchez**  
Lakewood, California

**AFT President Randi Weingarten**  
New York City, New York

**State Chair Meredith Wood Smith**  
Portland, Oregon

**Grassroots Activist Martin Yeung**  
Rapid City, South Dakota

# Democratic Change Commission Membership

## Brief Biographical Information\*

### Co-Chairs

#### **James E. Clyburn**

Jim Clyburn was first elected to Congress in 1993 and began his steady climb on Capitol Hill winning election as co-President of his freshman class. Six years later, he was unanimously elected Chair of the Congressional Black Caucus and to a seat on the coveted Appropriations Committee. In 2002, he was elected in a three-way race to serve as Vice Chair of the House Democratic Caucus, and in January 2006, his peers unanimously elevated him to Chair of the Caucus. In 2006, the House Democratic Caucus unanimously elected Clyburn Majority Whip for the 110th Congress. In addition to serving as House Majority Whip, Clyburn serves as leader of the House Democrats' Faith Working Group.

#### **Claire McCaskill**

Claire McCaskill is a 4th-generation Missourian who has spent her entire life in the Show-Me State. In November of 2006, McCaskill became the first woman elected to the United States Senate from Missouri. McCaskill currently sits on five Senate Committees, including Armed Services, Commerce, Homeland Security and Government Affairs, Aging, and Indian Affairs. Additionally, McCaskill was named as one of the select Senators to sit on the Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations, formerly known as the Truman Committee. Prior to serving in the U.S. Senate, McCaskill was elected as a State Legislator and State Auditor. McCaskill worked her way through college and law school at the University of Missouri in Columbia.

### Members

#### **Jeremy Alters**

Jeremy W. Alters is a founding partner in the Florida law firm of Alters, Boldt, Brown, Rash & Culmo where he specializes in medical malpractice, products liability, wrongful death and maritime personal injury. He served as president of the Dade County (FL) Trial Lawyers Association from 2004 until 2005. Alters received his B.A. degree from the University of Massachusetts and his J.D. from the University of Miami Law School. He was one of the initial members of the Obama for America National Finance Committee.

#### **Jeff Berman**

Jeff Berman currently serves as Counsel at Bryan Cave, a Washington, DC law firm. Prior to joining Bryan Cave, Berman served as the national delegate director for the Obama presidential campaign. Berman supervised compliance with all state laws and petition requirements and tracked all delegates to the Democratic National Convention. Berman was an advisor to former House of

Representatives Democratic Leader Dick Gephardt, serving as a senior political advisor to Leader Gephardt from 1987-2004, including formal roles in his 1988 and 2004 presidential campaigns. Berman began his career in politics in former Sen. John Glenn's presidential campaign, subsequently serving under Chairman Glenn as counsel to the Senate Committee on Governmental Affairs. Berman received his J.D. from Harvard Law School and his B.A. from Brown University.

#### **Ashley Bliss**

Ashley Bliss was a field organizer for the Obama Campaign for Change in Cleveland, OH, where she was responsible for building infrastructure and volunteer capacity. Prior to joining the Obama campaign, Bliss was a student assistant at the Georgia Institute of Technology School of Public Policy. She also served as an intern at CNN Espanol. Ms. Bliss is a May 2008 graduate of the Georgia Institute of Technology.

#### **Dan Blue**

Dan Blue is a member of the North Carolina House of Representatives, where he served as Speaker from 1991 until 1994. Blue was the first African American to serve as Speaker of the North Carolina House of Representatives. Blue was a member of the 2008 Platform Drafting Committee, which drafted the National Platform. From 1998 to 1999 he served as the first African American to serve as president of the National Conference of State Legislators. Blue graduated from North Carolina Central University and the Duke University School of Law.

#### **Bill Carrick**

Bill Carrick is a founding partner of Morris & Carrick, a firm that specializes in the creation and production of advertising for candidates, ballot initiatives and organizations. He has served as a strategic and media consultant for candidates and ballot initiatives. His clients come from all levels of government. In California, Morris & Carrick has handled more than a dozen successful statewide campaigns. A native of South Carolina, Carrick began his career in politics there. He went on to work in Washington, D.C., as political director for Senator Ted Kennedy and as the national campaign manager for Representative Dick Gephardt's 1988 presidential campaign.

#### **Michael Coleman**

Michael Coleman has served as the Mayor of Columbus, Ohio, since January 2000. Coleman was the first African American in Ohio history to be elected mayor of the capital city. As mayor, he has worked to revitalize the downtown district, improve city services, and promote volunteer and mentorship programs in the city. Prior to becoming mayor, Coleman served as President of the Columbus City Council from 1997 to 1999, and as a

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Council member from 1992 to 1999. Coleman graduated from the University of Cincinnati in 1977 with a degree in Political Science. He earned his law degree from the University of Dayton Law School in 1980.

**Jeff Forbes**

Jeff Forbes, a partner at Cauthen Forbes & Williams, is a 20-year veteran of political campaigns at every level. Forbes began his involvement in politics in 1987 in Al Gore's 1988 presidential campaign. He has worked with and coordinated more than nine different campaigns, ranging from municipal candidates to candidates for President of the United States. He was the national delegate coordinator for President Clinton's 1996 re-election campaign. Forbes also served as chief of staff to Senator Max Baucus (D-MT) and has held staff positions at the Democratic National Committee, including Chief of Strategy in 1999.

**Joan Garry**

Joan Garry is recognized as one of the most vocal, passionate and effective civil rights leaders in America. Garry was part of the management team that launched MTV in 1981 and after fourteen years in cable television, holding a variety of executive positions in strategic planning and business development, Garry moved to the nonprofit sector. In 1997, Garry was appointed as executive director of GLAAD, one of the nation's largest gay rights organizations. During her eight-year tenure at GLAAD, Joan led the organization through a series of high-profile campaigns. Since leaving GLAAD, Garry has continued to serve as an advocate as a freelance journalist and was co-chair of the Obama for America LGBT Finance Committee.

**Larry Gates**

Larry Gates has worked in Kansas Democratic politics for over 35 years beginning with managing Bill Roy's 1974 Senatorial campaign against Bob Dole. Gates was first elected Chair of the Kansas Democratic Party in 2003 and was unanimously reelected in 2005 and 2007. During his time as Chair, Gates has focused on moving the Party forward by emphasizing the importance of organizing Democrats at the grassroots level by growing county parties and recruiting top candidates to run for office. Under his leadership, the Kansas Democratic Party helped elect additional Democratic members at all levels of government. Gates served as Chair of the Johnson County Democratic Party and has been a trusted campaign advisor to Congressman Dennis Moore and Governor Kathleen Sebelius.

**Adelita Grijalva**

Adelita Grijalva is the program manager for Pima County Teen Court, an organization that strives to empower youth and families to make effective decisions through law-related education, positive peer opinion and personal and civic responsibility. She serves as the Clerk of the Governing Board of Tucson Unified School District, and is a graduate of the University of Arizona. During the 2008

Convention, Grijalva served on the Convention Credentials Committee.

**Robert Hampshire**

Robert Hampshire is assistant professor of operations research and public policy at Carnegie Mellon Heinz College, where his research focuses on the performance, provisioning, pricing and public policy of communication services. Hampshire has worked at IBM T.J. Watson Research Center, Bell Laboratories of Lucent Technologies, Compaq Computers and VLSI Technology. He received a B.S. degree in electrical engineering from the University of Cincinnati and a Ph.D. in operations research and financial engineering from Princeton University.

**Ned Helms**

Ned Helms serves as Director of the New Hampshire Institute for Health Policy and Practice at the University of NH. He served as the former Legislative and Administrative Assistant for Health Policy within the U.S. Senate and as Commissioner of Health and Human Services for New Hampshire. Helms was also the chief administrative officer for Blue Cross/Blue Shield of New Hampshire. He was a member of the New Hampshire Health Care Community for Obama and served as a Co-Chair of the Obama campaign in New Hampshire. In addition, he has worked on many presidential campaigns and was State Chair of the New Hampshire Democratic Party.

**Alexis Herman**

Alexis Herman served as U.S. Secretary of Labor from 1997 to 2001. Her accomplishments as Labor Secretary include negotiating between UPS management and Teamsters Union leaders, ultimately ending the ten-day strike. Her extensive political experience began during the Carter Administration when she served as the Director of the Women's Bureau. Secretary Herman served as DNC Chief of Staff for Chairman Ron Brown and later was named CEO of the 1992 Democratic National Convention. In 1993, she was appointed assistant to the President and Director of the White House public liaison office. Since 2005, Secretary Herman has served as a Co-Chair of the DNC Rules and Bylaws Committee and also served as a Co-Chair of the 2005 Commission on Presidential Nomination Timing and Scheduling. During the 2008 Convention, Secretary Herman served as one of the Chairs of the Convention Credentials Committee.

**Ron His Horse Is Thunder**

Ron His Horse Is Thunder currently serves as the Tribal Chairman of the Standing Rock Sioux Tribe. In this capacity, he also is the Chairman of the Great Plains Tribal Chairman's Association. His Horse Is Thunder served as president of Standing Rock College, where he was responsible for the overall college operations. His Horse Is Thunder has served as a commissioner for the Higher Learning Commission for the North Central

\* Biographical sketches are based on information collected from public sources.

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## Brief Biographical Information\*

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Accreditation for Schools and Colleges. He also served on the boards of the American Indian Higher Education Consortium and North Dakota Tribal College Association. His Horse Is Thunder was a member of the 2008 Democratic National Convention's Platform Drafting Committee.

#### **James Hoffa**

James Hoffa has served as President of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters since 1988. Since becoming President, Hoffa's mission has been to build the Teamsters Union into the strongest, most powerful voice in North America for working families. Hoffa is recognized as one of the foremost authorities on Union issues that affect working people. He grew up on picket lines and in union meetings and is the son of James R. Hoffa, former General President of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters. On his 18th birthday, Hoffa received his own union card and was sworn in by his father. Prior to becoming Administrative Assistant to Michigan Joint Council 43, Hoffa was a labor lawyer in Detroit for 25 years.

#### **Roseanne Hope**

Roseanne Hope is a lawyer at Faegre & Benson, a prominent law firm in downtown Minneapolis. Hope concentrates her practice in commercial real estate transactions. She has extensive experience representing clients in the development, construction, financing, leasing, land use, acquisition and sale of numerous office, industrial and shopping center properties in Minnesota and across the United States. In addition to her legal work, Hope began volunteering for President Obama before the campaign arrived in Minnesota, served as a precinct captain in both the caucus season and the general election, opened her home to house staffers and volunteers, and traveled to many states.

#### **Steven Horsford**

Steven Horsford was elected to the Nevada State Senate in November 2004 where he represents Senatorial District Four. Horsford serves on the committees of Judiciary, Human Resources and Education, and Legislative Operations, Elections and Ethics. Additionally, Horsford has been appointed to the Commission on the Administration of Justice, the Interim Committee on Healthcare and is Chair of the Legislative Commission's subcommittee on child welfare and foster placement. Horsford is also the Democratic National Committeeman for Nevada. In June of 2008, Horsford was named Democratic Leader to the Nevada State Senate Caucus.

#### **Suzie LeVine**

Suzie LeVine, a former executive at Expedia & Microsoft, has spent the past several years building support for research and policy supporting early learning. She is a tireless and strategic advocate for children. During the presidential campaign, Levine was a dedicated volunteer working vigorously by fundraising, phone calling and

building GOTV efforts in the Seattle area. She was elected as a Delegate to the 2008 Democratic National Convention. In 2007 & 2008, LeVine received the Helen M. Jackson "Woman of Valor" award for community leadership and the Spitzer Young Leadership award for community involvement across the entire Seattle Jewish Community.

#### **Dick Long**

Dick Long is the Director of the United Autoworkers' National Community Action Program (CAP). Long leads CAP's efforts to educate, organize, and mobilize the 1.3 million active and retired UAW members in election campaigns and the legislative arena. An integral part of CAP's strategy is building coalitions with other unions and progressive groups to elect pro-working family candidates at the local, state, and national levels and to promote progressive legislation. Long also serves as Assistant to UAW President Ron Gettelfinger.

#### **Andrés López**

Andrés López is the founder of The Law Offices of Andrés W. López, in San Juan, Puerto Rico. He previously worked as a Senior Associate at Fiddler González & Rodríguez, and as an Associate at Hill & Barlow, P.C. in Boston. During the 2008 presidential campaign, Lopez served on as an attorney for the Obama for America campaign in Puerto Rico. López received his B.A. from Harvard College in 1992 and his J.D. from the Harvard Law School in 1995.

#### **Patricia Madrid**

Patricia Madrid served two terms as the Attorney General of New Mexico, having been first elected in 1998 and re-elected in 2002. She became the first female woman Attorney General in New Mexico's history and the nation's first Latina attorney general. As Attorney General, she established a Capital Litigation Unit to provide assistance to district attorneys statewide prosecuting violent crimes and death penalty cases. She established the Violence Against Women unit to train law enforcement officials to deal compassionately with domestic violence cases and prosecute sex crimes and a task force on internet crimes against children. Madrid was first elected to public office in 1978 as the state's first female district court judge. During the 2008 Convention, Madrid served as one of the Chairs of the Convention Platform Committee.

#### **Debbie Marquez**

Debbie Marquez is a co-owner of Fiesta's New Mexican Cantina in Edwards, CO. She has served as vice president of the Vail Valley Chapter of the Colorado Restaurant Association and has been a member of the Colorado Mountain College Latino Advisory Committee. Marquez served as co-chair of the Eagle County Democratic Party. She is also a Democratic National Committeewoman from Colorado.

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\* Biographical sketches are based on information collected from public sources.



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**Iris Martinez**

Iris Y. Martinez, the first Hispanic woman to be elected to the Illinois State Senate, represents the 20<sup>th</sup> District in the Illinois State Senate. She also serves as Assistant Majority Leader of the Senate. Martinez is vice chair of the Senate Pensions and Investments Committee and is a member of the Executive, Labor, Housing and Community Affairs, and Public Health Committee. She is also a Democratic National Committeewoman from Illinois. Martinez attended Northeastern University and the University of Illinois at Chicago.

**Jennifer McClellan**

Jennifer McClellan has served in the Virginia House of Delegates since 2006, where she serves on the Commerce and Labor and Education Committees. She is a member of the Virginia Legislative Black Caucus and a Whip for the House Democratic Caucus. McClellan is also assistant general counsel Mid-Atlantic South for Verizon Communications. She currently serves as vice chair of the Democratic Party of Virginia. McClellan received her B.A. degree from the University of Richmond and her law degree from the University of Virginia.

**Linda McCulloch**

Linda McCulloch was elected Secretary of State of Montana in November 2008. She is the first woman to hold this position. McCulloch served as Montana's Superintendent of Public Instruction from 2001 until 2008. Prior to being elected Superintendent of Public Instruction, she served three terms in the Montana House of Representatives. McCulloch received her B.A. degree in Elementary Education from the University of Montana.

**Tom Miller**

Tom Miller is currently serving his seventh four-year term as Attorney General of Iowa. He served as a VISTA volunteer for two years and then as a legislative assistant to U.S. Representative John Culver (D-IA). Miller then served as legal education director for the Baltimore Legal Aid Bureau, before returning to Iowa to practice law. Miller graduated from Loras College and received his law degree from Harvard Law School.

**Minyon Moore**

Minyon Moore is head of the Dewey Square Group's state and local affairs and multicultural marketing practice areas. Prior to joining the Dewey Square Group, Moore was Chief Operating Officer of the Democratic National Committee. She served as Director of the White House Political Affairs and Assistant to President Bill Clinton. In 1984 and 1988, Moore was an advisor to the presidential campaign of Rev. Jesse Jackson. During the 1988 general election, she served as national deputy field director for Gov. Michael Dukakis. She serves as an At-Large member of the DNC. Moore received her B.S. degree from the University of Chicago.

**Sunah Park**

Sunah Park is a partner in the law firm of Thorp Reed & Armstrong, where her area of practice includes commercial litigation and product liability defense. She is currently serving her third term on the Pennsylvania House of Delegates, the primary policy-making authority of the Pennsylvania Bar Association. Park received her B.A. degree from Brown University and her J.D. from Temple University School of Law.

**David Plouffe**

David Plouffe, a partner with AKPD Message and Media, was the campaign manager for Barack Obama's 2008 presidential campaign. Plouffe began his political career in Sen. Tom Harkin's 1990 re-election campaign and went on to work in numerous political campaigns. He served as campaign manager for the Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee in 1995, was deputy chief of staff to Democratic Leader Dick Gephardt from 1997 to 1998, and was executive director of the Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee from 1999 to 2000.

**Rebecca Prozan**

Rebecca Prozan is an Assistant District Attorney in San Francisco. Prior to being named Assistant District Attorney, she managed Kamala Harris's campaign for District Attorney. She worked for San Francisco Mayor Willie Brown for five years, where she served as the Mayor's LGBT liaison for two years. Prozan was a pledged Obama delegate from California to the 2008 National Convention, and previously served as Co-Chair of the California State Party's LGBT caucus. She received her law degree from Golden Gate University.

**James Roosevelt, Jr.**

Jim Roosevelt is President and CEO of Tufts Health Plan, a Massachusetts based HMO. Prior to joining Tufts Health Plan, Roosevelt was the Associate Commissioner for Retirement Policy of the Social Security Administration in the Clinton Administration and a partner in Choate, Hall & Stewart, specializing in health care law. Roosevelt is the chief legal counsel for the Massachusetts Democratic Party. Since 1995, he has served as Co-Chair of the DNC Rules and Bylaws Committee and has served as a DNC member since 1980. During the 2008 Democratic National Convention, Roosevelt served as Co-Chair of the Convention Credentials Committee.

**Linda Sanchez**

Linda Sanchez represents California's 39<sup>th</sup> district in the U.S. House of Representatives. She is the first Latina to serve on the House Ways and Means Committee, where she concentrates on pocketbook issues that affect working families. Sanchez was also the first Latina to serve on the House Judiciary Committee, where her work to bring oversight and transparency back to Congress has received national recognition. Sanchez received her B.A. from the University of California, Berkeley, and her law degree from the University of California, Los Angeles.

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**Randi Weingarten**

Randi Weingarten is president of the American Federation of Teachers and has been president of the United Federation of Teachers, AFT Local 2, since 1998. Prior to her election as president of AFT, Weingarten led New York City's Municipal Labor Committee, an umbrella organization for the city's 100-plus public sector unions, for ten years. Weingarten holds degrees from Cornell University School of Industrial Relations and the Cardozo School of Law. Weingarten is an at-large member of the DNC.

**Meredith Wood Smith**

Meredith Wood Smith is chair of the Democratic Party of Oregon. Wood Smith has been a small business owner, president of a local business association and a sales representation for a national corporation. She received a B.A. degree from the University of Kentucky. After graduation, Wood Smith taught children with disabilities, served as a vocational counselor, taught delinquent and neglected adolescents and served as an "at-risk" youth advocate and community organizer for city, county and state government.

**Martin Yeung**

Martin Yeung is a business owner and entrepreneur who resides in Rapid City, South Dakota. He represented the state as a pledged Obama delegate during the 2008 National Convention. He worked as an assistant in the Office of Management and Budget during the Clinton Administration. After leaving the Clinton Administration, Yeung was on the staff of Rep. Joe Sestak (D-PA). Yeung is a member of Equality South Dakota.

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Democratic National Committee

# MEMORANDUM

TO: Democratic Change Commission Members

FROM: DNC Office of Party Affairs and Delegate Selection

SUBJECT: Timing of Presidential Primaries and Caucuses – 1976 – 2008

Date: June 27, 2009

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The Rules governing the Democratic Party's delegate selection process specify a "window" or time frame in which each State Democratic Party can schedule its "first determining step." This first step refers to the presidential primary or caucus step that determines how many delegates are apportioned to presidential candidates.

Based on the schedule used for the 1976 process, the Democratic National Committee (DNC) first established a window for the 1980 cycle. From 1980 through 1988, the Rules required each State Party to schedule its first determining steps between the second Tuesday in March and the second Tuesday in June. Then, for the 1992 process, the Party expanded the time frame to include the first Tuesday in March. In 2004, the Party moved the opening of the window to the first Tuesday in February (from the traditional March opening).

Since its inception, the Party has provided specific exceptions for Iowa and New Hampshire; in 2008, the DNC amended the Rules to allow Nevada and South Carolina to hold their first determining steps outside the window. According to the 2008 Rule, Iowa could schedule its first tier caucus 22 days before the first Tuesday in February; that the Nevada's first tier caucuses could be held 17 days before the first Tuesday in February; the New Hampshire primary could be held 14 days before the first Tuesday in February; and, the South Carolina primary could be held 7 days before the First Tuesday in February. In late 2007, the Rules and Bylaws Committee allowed Iowa, New Hampshire and South Carolina to move their events to January 3, January 8 and January 26 respectively.

In setting the calendar for some previous nominating cycles, some states were given exceptions to the rules and other states occasionally received a waiver to hold a primary or caucus before or after the window. However, the Party considers the window a very important component of the process and any waivers are rare and considered on a case-by-case basis.

Attached are charts showing the allocation of pledged delegates based on the schedule of Democratic presidential primaries and caucuses from 1976 to 2008. Each state is grouped according to the respective week in which its first determining step occurred. The first week of the window / or opening of the window is designed "Week 1." For example, in 2000 "Week 1" opened in March and in 2004 and 2008 "Week 1" opened in February.) All charts are based on the percentage of the total pledged delegates allocated for the week.

For more information, contact the Office of Party Affairs and Delegate Selection at 202-863-8046.

## Attachments



