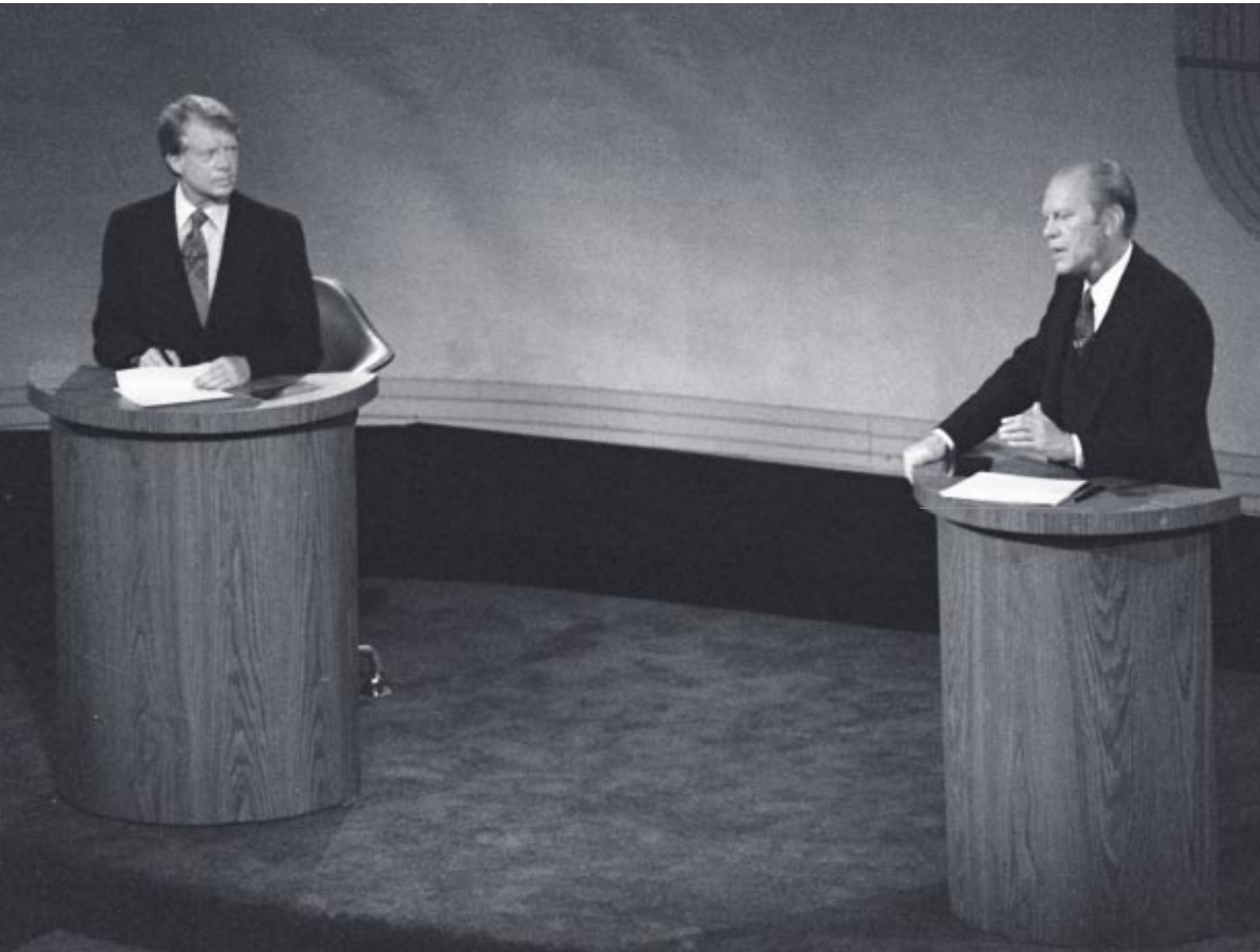


*In this report we and our colleagues offer very specific recommendations on what should be done. In other words, Americans can and should expect their electoral system to be a source of national pride and a model to all the world.*



President Gerald Ford and Jimmy Carter at the first of three televised debates in October 1976.

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# About

## *The National Commission on Federal Election Reform*

The National Commission on Federal Election Reform was organized in early 2001 by the Miller Center of Public Affairs at the University of Virginia and The Century Foundation. The goal of the Commission is to formulate concrete proposals for election reform that will help ensure a more effective and fair democratic process in elections to come.

Presidents Jimmy Carter and Gerald Ford are honorary co-chairs of the Commission, and former White House Counsel Lloyd Cutler and former Senator Howard Baker initially served as co-chairmen. When Senator Baker was named Ambassador to Japan, former House Minority Leader Robert Michel assumed his position as co-chairman. The members of the Commission are:

### Honorary Co-Chairs



President Gerald R. Ford



President Jimmy Carter

#### President Gerald R. Ford

Gerald R. Ford served as the 38th President of the United States. In 1948 he was elected to the U.S. House of Representatives and was reelected twelve times by his district in Michigan.

#### President Jimmy Carter

Jimmy Carter served as the 39th President of the United States. He served in the Georgia Senate and was elected governor of Georgia in 1971.

## Co-Chairs

### Robert H. Michel

Robert Michel served in the United States House of Representatives as a congressman from Illinois from 1956 to 1994. He currently works as senior adviser for corporate and governmental affairs at the Washington, D.C., law firm of Hogan & Hartson.



Michel served as Republican House leader from 1980 to 1994 and also as minority whip from 1975 to 1980. He began his political career as administrative assistant to Congressman Harold Velde, also of Illinois, who held office from 1949 to 1956. Michel entered military service in 1942 as a private in the U.S. Army. He was discharged in 1946 as a disabled veteran after serving as combat infantryman in England, France, Belgium, and Germany, earning two Bronze Stars, a Purple Heart, and four Battle Stars.

### Lloyd N. Cutler

Lloyd Cutler served as the White House counsel for Presidents Carter and Clinton and was special counsel to President Carter on the ratification of the SALT II Treaty. He is a founding partner of the Washington, D.C., law firm Wilmer, Cutler and Pickering and maintains an active practice in several fields that include international arbitration and dispute resolution, constitutional law, appellate advocacy, and public policy advice.



Cutler has served on numerous government commissions and committees. He served as senior consultant on the President's Commission on Strategic Forces (the Scowcroft Commission) from 1983 to 1984, and as the President's Special Representative for Maritime Resource and Boundary Negotiations with Canada from 1977 to 1979.

Robert H. Michel  
Lloyd N. Cutler

## Vice-Chairs

### Slade Gorton

Slade Gorton was a United States Senator from Washington state for eighteen years. Gorton began his political career in 1959 as a member of the Washington House of Representatives. He served in this capacity until 1969 and held the post of majority leader from 1967 to 1969.



Gorton was elected attorney general of Washington state in 1968. During his tenure, he argued fourteen cases before the Supreme Court. He held this position until 1981, when he was elected to the Senate. Gorton served in the United States Army and was in the Air Force Reserve with the rank of colonel from 1956 to 1981.

### Kathleen M. Sullivan

Kathleen Sullivan was named dean of the Stanford Law School in 1999 and is nationally known for her work in constitutional law. She began teaching at Harvard Law School in 1984 and has been a member of the Stanford faculty since 1993. Sullivan received her J.D. from Harvard in 1981 and then clerked for Judge James L. Oakes, U.S. Court of Appeals, Second Circuit, from 1981 to 1982. Sullivan practiced constitutional appellate law from 1982 to 1984.



She is co-author with Gerald Gunther of the 14th edition of *Constitutional Law*, the leading casebook in the field. Her other books include *First Amendment Law*, also with Gunther, and *New Federalist Papers: Essays in Defense of the Constitution*.

Slade Gorton  
Kathleen M. Sullivan

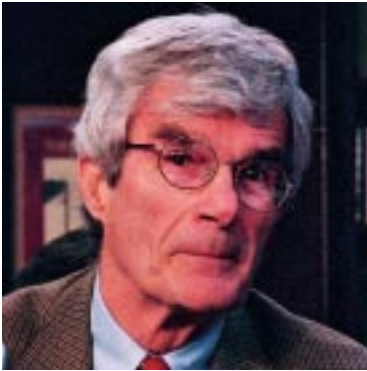
## Commission Members

### Griffin Bell

Griffin Bell was attorney general of the United States from 1977 to 1979. He is senior partner at the law firm of King & Spalding in Atlanta. In 1961, President Kennedy appointed him to serve as a United States circuit judge on the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals, a position he held until 1976.

Following his tenure as attorney general, he returned to King & Spalding. A principal focus of his law practice in recent years has been corporate crime.

Bell has served on numerous government commissions and committees for both Democratic and Republican administrations. From 1985 to 1987, Judge Bell served on the U.S. secretary of state's Advisory Committee on South Africa, and in 1989, he was appointed vice chairman of President Bush's Commission on Federal Ethics Law Reform. During the Iran-Contra investigation, he was counsel to President Bush.



Rudy Boschwitz

### Rudy Boschwitz

Rudy Boschwitz was a United States Senator from Minnesota from 1978 to 1991. In the Senate, he was a member of the Agriculture, Foreign Affairs, Budget, Small Business, and Veterans Committees. In 1991, he was President Bush's Emissary to Ethiopia, where he negotiated Operation Solomon—the airlift of the Ethiopian Jewish community to Israel—a project that in turn helped bring an end to the Ethiopian civil war. President Bush awarded him the Citizen's Medal for his achievements in the Horn of Africa.

Senator Boschwitz is a businessman and is Chairman of Home Valu Interiors, Inc., a company he founded in 1963. The company retails remodeling materials for interiors of homes throughout the Middle West.

### John C. Danforth

John Danforth was elected to the United States Senate from Missouri in 1976 and served until he retired from the Senate in 1994. Currently, he is a partner at the firm of Bryan Cave, LLP in St. Louis and practices in the areas of international real estate development, construction, and project finance.

Danforth began his career practicing law at the firm of Davis, Polk, Wardwell, Sunderland & Kiendl in New York. He returned to Missouri and joined the firm Bryan, Cave, McPheeters and McRoberts as a partner from 1966 to 1968. Danforth was elected to serve as attorney general of Missouri in 1969, a position he held until 1976. In 1999, he led the independent investigation into the federal government's actions during the 1993 siege of the Branch Davidian compound in Waco, Texas. Danforth is an ordained deacon and priest in the Episcopal Church.



Christopher Edley

### Christopher Edley, Jr.

Professor Christopher Edley has taught at Harvard Law School since 1981. He is the founding co-director of The Civil Rights Project at Harvard, a multidisciplinary think tank on racial justice policy and law, and a member of the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights. He was a domestic policy aide in the Carter White House, a part-time member of *The Washington Post* editorial board, vice chairman of the Congressional Black Caucus Foundation, and national issues director in the 1988 Dukakis presidential campaign. In the Clinton White House, he served as Associate Director for Economics and Government at the Office of Management and Budget, and then as Special Counsel to the President. He led the White House review of affirmative action, described in his book, *Not All Black & White: Affirmative Action, Race and American Values*. He is also the author of a treatise on administrative law.

### Hanna Holborn Gray

Hanna Holborn Gray is President Emeritus of the University of Chicago. She is a specialist in the history of humanism, political and historical thought, and European history. She joined the history faculty at Chicago in 1961 and taught there until 1972, when she became dean of the College of Arts and Sciences at Northwestern University.

In 1974, Gray was named provost of Yale University and was acting president there from 1977 to 1978, when she became president of the University of Chicago, a position she held for fifteen years. She is the chair of the board of trustees of the Howard Hughes Medical Institute, one of the nation's largest philanthropic organizations, as well as chair of the board of the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation.



Colleen McAndrews

### Colleen C. McAndrews

Colleen McAndrews practices political and election law at the firm of Bell, McAndrews, Hiltachk & Davidian in California. She was appointed a commissioner on the California Fair Political Practices Commission in 1977, serving in that position for six years.

McAndrews has served as legal counsel and treasurer to state and local political action committees, as well as candidates and ballot measure committees. She served as an official United States observer of the Russian elections in 1993. She also trained emerging political parties in Kazakhstan and the Kyrgyz Republic prior to their first democratic elections. She recently concluded service on the Speaker's Commission on the California Initiative.

### Daniel Patrick Moynihan

Daniel Patrick Moynihan served as a United States senator from New York from 1977 to 2000. He is now at the Woodrow Wilson International Center in Washington, D.C. He served as U.S. ambassador to India from 1973 to 1975 and as U.S. representative to the United Nations from 1975 to 1976.

In 1966, Moynihan became director of the Joint Center for Urban Studies at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology and Harvard University. He was also a professor of government at Harvard and other universities and has served in the Department of Labor. Prior to his service in the Senate, he was a member of Averell Harriman's staff in his campaign for governor of New York in 1954 and served on the governor's staff in Albany until 1958.



Leon Panetta

### Leon Panetta

Leon Panetta currently codirects the Leon & Sylvia Panetta Institute for Public Policy, based at California State University, Monterey Bay. In 1993, President Clinton asked him to serve as director of the Office of Management and Budget, and in 1994, he was appointed White House chief of staff, a position he held until 1997.

Panetta won a seat in the U.S. House of Representatives in 1977 and served sixteen years. During this period, he served four years as chairman of the Budget Committee. He has worked as chief legislative aide to the minority whip of the U.S. Senate and then as director of the U.S. Office for Civil Rights. In 1971-72, he served as Executive Assistant to the Mayor of New York City. From 1971 to 1976, he practiced law at the firm of Panetta, Thompson and Panetta in Monterey, California.

### Deval L. Patrick

Deval Patrick is executive vice president and general counsel of The Coca Cola Company. Prior to this he was vice president and general counsel of Texaco, Inc., where he had been since 1999. He served as assistant attorney general of the United States and chief of the U.S. Justice Department's Civil Rights Division from 1994 until 1998.

From 1983 to 1986, Patrick was a staff attorney with the NAACP Legal Defense Fund, following service as a law clerk on the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Ninth Circuit in Los Angeles. He also has taught at the Harvard School of Law and served as a visiting professor at the Stanford School of Law in 1997.



Deval Patrick

### Diane Ravitch

Diane Ravitch is a historian of American education and a Research Professor of Education at New York University. She holds the Brown Chair in Education Policy at the Brookings Institution, where she is a senior fellow and edits the Brookings Papers on Education Policy. From 1991 to 1993, she was assistant secretary of education, responsible for the Office of Educational Research and Improvement in the Department of Education.

She is a member of the National Assessment Governing Board, to which she was appointed by Secretary of Education Richard Riley in 1997 and reappointed in 2000. Before entering government service, she was adjunct professor of history and education at Teachers College, Columbia University.



Diane Ravitch

### Bill Richardson

Bill Richardson held the post of secretary of the Department of Energy beginning in 1998. Prior to this, Richardson served as U.S. ambassador to the United Nations from 1997 to 1998, where he focused his work especially on securing the release of hostages and prisoners in Croatia, Burma, Cuba, Iraq, North Korea, and Sudan.

Richardson served New Mexico's 3rd Congressional District in the U.S. House of Representatives for eight terms. In Congress, he served as chief deputy whip, one of the highest ranking posts in the House Democratic leadership. He served as chairman of the Congressional Hispanic Caucus and on the Subcommittee on Native American Affairs. He also was a member of the Resources Committee, the Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence, and the Helsinki Commission on Human Rights.



Bill Richardson

### John Seigenthaler

John Seigenthaler is the founder of the First Amendment Center at Vanderbilt University. A former president of the American Society of Newspaper Editors, Seigenthaler served for forty-three years as a journalist for *The Tennessean* in Nashville, where he began as a cub reporter and retired as editor, publisher, and CEO.

In 1982, Seigenthaler became founding editorial director of *USA Today* and served in that position for a decade, retiring from both the Nashville and national newspapers in 1991. He served in the U.S. Justice Department while Robert F. Kennedy was attorney general. Seigenthaler's work in the field of civil rights led to his service as chief negotiator with the governor of Alabama during the Freedom Rides.

### Michael Steele

Michael Steele is the first African-American chairman of Maryland's Republican Party. He works as a corporate securities attorney and is president of A Brighter Future Educational Foundation. Currently he serves on the Republican National Committee's Executive Committee and is also a member of Prince George's County Chapter of the NAACP and the Johns Hopkins Society of Black Alumni. He is a former member of the Johns Hopkins University Board of Trustees and a current member of the Board of Directors of the Hospice of Prince George's County.

He has recently led successful bipartisan grassroots efforts in Prince George's County to maintain term limits and to retain the county's property tax cap and was a delegate to the 2000 Republican National Convention in Philadelphia.

## Senior Staff of the Commission

### Philip D. Zelikow

Philip Zelikow, Executive Director of the Commission, is director of the Miller Center of Public Affairs and White Burkett Miller Professor of History at the University of Virginia. Initially a trial lawyer in Texas, he served as a career diplomat in the Department of State, and worked on the staff of the National Security Council in the George H.W. Bush White House. He was a professor at Harvard University's John F. Kennedy School of Government from 1991 until 1998.

### John Mark Hansen

John Mark Hansen, coordinator of the Task Force on the Federal Election System, is a professor of political science at the University of Chicago. From the fall of 2001, he will be a professor of government at Harvard University.

### David King

David King, coordinator of the Task Force on Election Administration, is an associate professor of public policy at Harvard University's John F. Kennedy School of Government.

### Daniel Ortiz

Daniel Ortiz, coordinator of the Task Force on Legal and Constitutional Issues, is the John Allan Love Professor of Law and Joseph C. Carter, Jr. Research Professor at the University of Virginia School of Law.

## Senior Advisor to the Commission

### Richard Leone

Richard Leone is president of The Century Foundation. From 1988 to 1994, he was commissioner, and then chairman of the Port Authority of New York and New Jersey. In the 1980s, Leone was the president of the New York Mercantile Exchange and then a managing director at the investment banking firm of Dillon Read & Co., Inc. He has served in federal and state government, including a term as New Jersey's state treasurer. He earned his Ph.D. and served on the faculty at Princeton University.