



# **REPORT OF THE UNITY REFORM COMMISSION**

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**Jen O'Malley Dillon, Chair  
Larry Cohen, Vice Chair**

AS ADOPTED BY THE COMMISSION AT  
ITS DECEMBER 8 & 9, 2017 MEETING

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# Introduction

The Unity Reform Commission (“Commission”) was established at the 2016 Democratic National Convention in order to study and address concerns that arose regarding the presidential nominating process. Its charge is to review the nominating process to ensure that it is accessible, transparent, and inclusive.

There are four specific areas of review that are set forth in the mandate. The first area relates to the manner of voting during the presidential nominating process and making recommendations that will increase participation and inclusion in the primary process. The second area focuses on how to make the caucus process less burdensome and more inclusive, transparent, and accessible to participants. The third area of review relates to revising and reducing the role that unpledged delegates play in the process. And the final area of review relates to party reforms with the specific focus on making our party and our candidates competitive in every region, broadening the Party’s base, and empowering Democrats at the grassroots level, as well as expanding the Party’s donor base.

During the past year, the Commission has held five public meetings, heard testimony from a broad and diverse group of presenters, and discussed in depth the various concerns and perspectives on the important issues that the Commission has focused on. The Commission has benefited from hearing the opinions of Party members, allies, and grassroots supporters, all of whom want to see the Democratic Party succeed at the ballot box so we can help make life better for working families across the country.

The Commission believes it is vital that our Party encourage participation in our presidential nominating process and create new ways to involve the grassroots in our Party.

The Commission understands and respects the role caucuses have played in the nominating process to cultivate and grow grassroots participation and build the party, but acknowledges the need to develop better guidelines for State Parties on caucuses to ensure increased involvement and easier accessibility.

The Commission concurs with the Convention mandate and supports a revision and reduction of the role that unpledged delegates play in the presidential nominating process.

The Commission recognizes that our Party must be open, transparent, and accessible, one that is effectively working to organize in every ZIP code and speak to every voter, and support Democrats up and down the ballot so we can improve the lives of working families.

The Commission believes that the Democratic Party must prioritize voting rights at all levels. Our democracy is under attack as Republicans push to reinstate voting barriers and deregulate elections and political spending. Democrats must act internally to model our commitment to the belief that “every vote must count.” Democrats cannot wait for a new Supreme Court or a new Congress to act on this issue. We must act as though getting both a better Court and a more effective Congress depend on increasing voting rights and turnout.

It's not enough for Democrats to simply attack Supreme Court rulings like Citizens United. We must expand our grassroots fundraising beyond wealthy donors and corporations. State Parties and the DNC itself must be a model for inclusion, democracy, and transparency.

We recognize that voting rights in the United States are under attack and that turnout has fallen below the rest of the developed world. The Commission members, regardless of who appointed them, stand united to work for change inside our Party and across our nation.

The Commission fully believes that its recommendations address these critical issues by focusing on consensus proposals to move our Party forward and help Democrats win elections at every level.

# Unpledged Delegates

The Commission was mandated by the 2016 Democratic National Convention - the highest authority in the Democratic Party - to reduce the role automatic unpledged delegates play in the presidential nominating process. The language in the resolution creating the Commission – which was unanimously approved by all in attendance at the 2016 Convention – was prescriptive. It required that Members of Congress, Governors and Distinguished Party Leaders remain unpledged and free to support their nominee of choice, but that other unpledged delegates be required to cast their vote at the Convention in proportion to the votes cast for each candidate.

The Commission respects the voice of the Sanders and Clinton delegates who unanimously supported this Commission and this specific mandate. The language of the mandate to the Commission was crafted after extensive discussion and negotiations between the Clinton and Sanders campaigns prior to the convention. The Commission has benefitted from the fact that two of the lead negotiators of the provision – one from each of the campaigns – are Commission members. Both have detailed their joint understanding that the intent of the mandate is for the presidential nominating votes of certain categories of previously unpledged delegates to be proportionately bound to the outcome of balloting in the jurisdiction that is relevant to their status as a DNC member, rather than where that DNC member resides.

Unpledged delegates have been a part of the presidential nomination process since 1984, when the Party felt that it was important that our elected Party leaders participate in the Democratic National Convention. At that time, these automatic unpledged delegates made up approximately 14% of the convention. In 2016, unpledged delegates made up approximately 15% of the total number of convention delegates.

The Convention's mandate will result in the reduction of over 400 unpledged delegate votes (based on 2016 delegate numbers), which will decrease the current number of unpledged delegates by nearly 60%. This means the remaining unpledged delegates will consist of the smallest percentage in history. This will substantially increase the grassroots' role in the Party and decrease the influence, real or perceived, that unpledged delegates had on influencing the outcome of the nominating process.

These unpledged delegates cover a wide range of elected officials and local Democratic activists, and the Commission members felt that it was important that these party leaders continue to be a part of the process and participate in the national convention and the primary process in their states. Reform of the unpledged delegate system is in no way a statement about the incredible hard work and dedication of so many in the Party. Among the Commission members themselves there is a diversity of personal views on the role of unpledged delegates, ranging from those who would make minor if any changes to the current system to those who would eliminate the votes of all unpledged delegates with respect to the Party's presidential nominee. Despite those personal differences, the Commission has worked to remain faithful to the mandate that was unanimously approved at the 2016 Democratic National Convention.

The topic of unpledged delegates was discussed at length in every Commission meeting over the past year. There will continue to be great debate within and outside the Commission surrounding unpledged delegates and their role in the presidential nominating process. The Commission believes that is an important and healthy discussion to continue to have at all levels of the Party.

The Commission has discussed extensively the role of unpledged delegates outside of their voting role at the Democratic National Convention. Some have suggested that unpledged delegates be required to withhold any endorsement until after voters in their respective states have been cast or, in the case of elected officials, that unpledged delegates also bind themselves to the will of the voters they represent. Some on the Commission do not believe that preventing our elected officials from participating in the primary process is necessary or useful to our Party, while others do. Others believe that mandating such a rule would be impractical or impossible to enforce.

With respect to unpledged delegates, the Commission makes the following recommendations:

1. The Commission concurs with the determination of the 2016 quadrennial Democratic National Convention that the reduction of over 400 unpledged delegate votes (equaling nearly 60% of the total number of unpledged delegates in 2016) will strengthen the grassroots' role in our presidential nominating process. It is important to the Commission that the grassroots voice in the presidential nominating process be amplified.
2. In regards to current unpledged delegates, the Commission concurs with the 2016 Democratic National Convention that Democratic Members of Congress, Governors, and Distinguished Party Leaders remain automatic delegates and unpledged on all matters before the Convention and that DNC Members remain automatic delegates but that their vote be bound to the voters' preferences on the first ballot of the Presidential roll call vote.
3. The Commission recommends that the Democratic National Committee will ensure that all Party officials who have a role in the execution of the actual primary or caucus process in their state must be scrupulously neutral both in reality and in perception in their administration of electoral activities. Any person who violates this important commitment to impartiality could be subject to loss of delegate status or other privileges they may hold at the DNC.
4. The Commission recommends the creation of three categories of automatic delegates, one of which would remain unpledged and two of which would be bound on the first ballot of the Presidential roll call:

a. **Category 1:** Democratic Members of Congress, Governors, and Distinguished Party Leaders who remain automatic delegates and unpledged.

b. **Category 2:** State Elected DNC Members – DNC members elected as a State Chair, Vice Chair, State Committee man or woman who are not part of Category 1– would remain automatic delegates. However, on the first ballot of the presidential roll call vote only, their votes would be proportionally allocated based on the outcome of the primary or caucus in the state which elected them, subject to the same thresholds that apply for the awarding of at-large pledged delegates.

c. **Category 3:** Officers, At-Large & Affiliated Members, who are not part of Category 1 or 2, would remain automatic delegates. However, on the first ballot of the presidential roll call vote only, their votes would be proportionally allocated based on the national outcome of the primaries and caucuses, as measured by the national allocation of pledged delegates, subject to the same thresholds that apply for the awarding of at-large pledged delegates.

5. With respect to the actual mechanism of how these new automatic but bound categories will be allocated, the Commission provides two options for the Rules and Bylaws Committee (RBC) to review and adopt. Pursuant to the mandate of the 2016 Democratic National Convention, if the RBC adopts a different mechanism, this Commission will review it to determine whether it constitutes a substantial adoption of the Commission’s recommendation. The Commission anticipates that the deliberations of the Rules and Bylaws Committee in this regard will be consultative in nature with the Commission to ensure that the joint goals of unity and reform are achieved. In drafting the two options, the Commission considered but did not adopt alternate mechanisms that, while less complicated, would substantially increase the number of delegates. For all purposes, the use of the word state shall include the states, the District of Columbia, the territories and Democrats Abroad.

The Commission, therefore, provides the following mechanisms for first ballot voting for the presidential nomination to the RBC to review and adopt:

**a. Pooled Vote Option**

The votes of the Category 2 and Category 3 delegates would be allocated as defined in Paragraph 4 above.

The State Party shall announce these allocations for Category 2 delegates no later than when the State Party certifies their pledged delegates to the DNC Secretary. The DNC shall announce the allocations for Category 3 delegates within 10 days of the last nominating contest that awards pledged delegates.

At the National Convention, the votes from Category 2 and 3 delegates shall be automatically reported by the Secretary of the Convention at the time of the



Presidential Roll Call vote or entered into the state tally sheet and voted in the normal order without ascribing the votes to any specific delegate.

## **b. Alternate Voting Option**

### **Category 2 Delegate Allocation**

No later than 5 days after the state's primary or caucus, the State Party Chair shall poll the presidential preferences of the state's Category 2 delegates and each Category 2 delegate must make his/her binding preference known to the State Party Chair within 24 hours.

If the proportion of Category 2 delegates supporting each candidate matches the allocation to which each candidate is entitled, the State Party Chair shall collect the written binding presidential preference of each Category 2 delegate and submit those preferences to the DNC.

If the proportion of Category 2 delegates for each candidate does not match the allocation to which each candidate is entitled, the State Party Chair shall poll Category 2 delegates currently supporting a candidate who has too many delegates and determine who is willing to change his/her binding presidential preference to another candidate who has fewer Category 2 delegates than that to which she or he is entitled. If enough of these polled delegates agree to change preference to provide a match to the number needed, the State Party Chair shall submit those changed preferences to the DNC.

If the State Party Chair determines that there is still an insufficient number of Category 2 delegates supporting candidates proportionally, the State Party Chair shall by lot determine which Category 2 delegate(s) supporting a candidate or candidates with an excess of delegates shall pass their vote at the National Convention to a credentialed alternate delegate willing to support a candidate in deficit on the first round of balloting for the Party's presidential nomination. Category 2 delegates chosen by lot in this manner shall retain all other voting rights, including the right to vote on all other matters other than the first round of balloting for the presidential nomination.

Following this determination, the State Party Chair shall then collect and transmit to the DNC the written binding presidential allocation of all Category 2 delegates and alternates, if applicable, to the DNC.

The DNC shall make public the identity of each Category 2 delegate and replacement alternate, if applicable, and the presidential candidate whom they have submitted a written binding presidential preference.



### **Category 3 Delegate Allocation**

Those delegates who are in Category 3 would be allocated similarly to those in Category 2 as follows:

The DNC shall announce the allocation of Category 3 delegates to presidential candidates no later than 5 days after the last nominating contest that allocates pledged delegates. If there are insufficient Category 3 delegates to fill a presidential candidates' positions, alternate delegates would be elevated to provide the needed presidential preferences. Once the DNC has achieved the requisite number of supporters for each candidate to match the allocation to which each candidate is entitled, the DNC shall then collect a written binding presidential preference from each Category 3 delegate and alternates, as applicable. The DNC shall make public the identity of each Category 3 delegate and any alternates, as applicable, and the candidate for whom they have submitted a written binding presidential preference.

If the State Party Chair or the DNC determines that there is still an insufficient number of Category 2 delegates or Category 3 delegates, respectively, supporting candidates proportionately after attempting to allocate alternate delegates, the State Party Chair/DNC shall still determine by lot which Category 2 or Category 3 delegate(s), respectively, supporting a candidate or candidates in excess shall pass their vote at the National Convention. However, instead of passing the vote to an alternate, the vote of the delegate(s) chosen by lot would be voted as abstain on the state tally sheet and during the roll call of the states.

The Secretary of the Convention would then automatically announce and report a requisite number of additional votes to achieve the proportions required to reach the correct presidential candidate allocation of Category 2 and Category 3 delegates.

# Primaries

The Unity Reform Commission was mandated to encourage the expanded use of primaries in the presidential nominating process to increase voter participation and inclusion of grassroots engagement. The Commission firmly believes that it is critical that all eligible persons participate in the electoral process, including the Democratic presidential nominating process.

Already, two states that held caucuses during 2016 have moved to institute primaries for 2020, while more are currently in discussion to potentially do so. While the Commission believes that state-run primaries are often the most efficient, open, and transparent means of voting, it is critical that the primary process be improved to ensure maximized participation and Party growth. Currently, the overwhelming majority of jurisdictions allocate their delegates to the Democratic National Convention based on the results of a primary.

One strong concern that the Commission has with state-run primaries is the extent to which voter suppression and disenfranchisement is being imposed on the Democratic nominating process by state governments. Onerous, discriminatory ID requirements, the disenfranchisement of persons who are re-entering society from incarceration, and unfair placement (or lack of placement) of voting locations are just some examples of the manner in which states pursue policies antithetical to the Democratic Party's principle of full participation and taint the Democratic primary process.

The Commission also notes reports from several jurisdictions where voters were denied access to the ballot during the 2016 Democratic nominating process due to improperly purged voters from the rolls, failure to accurately record the party affiliation of a voter, or long lines, which impeded participation. And other jurisdictions prevented eligible voters from having their ballots counted through improper treatment of absentee and provisional ballots and rejection of ballots cast out of precinct.

Unreasonable early deadlines to change party registration are another concern. The Democratic nominating process represents one of the Party's best opportunities to bring voters into the Party, especially younger voters, and the earlier party switching deadlines are a barrier to achieving that.

Of the 38 jurisdictions that allocate delegates to the Democratic National Convention using a government-run primary, nearly 30 allow non-aligned voters to participate, and only one state currently allows party registration changes on the day of the primary. Testimony before the Commission indicates that, as part of its First Amendment associational rights, the Democratic National Committee or a State Party may be able to require a state government to allow the participation of non-aligned voters even if a state legislature refuses to act. Nothing in these recommendations shall be construed to diminish support for the decision of State Parties to permit but not mandate the participation of non-aligned voters who want to become Democrats.

Currently there are over a dozen states that have different deadlines for registering to vote and for changing one's party affiliation. In every case, the deadline for party switching is earlier than the voter registration deadline. Despite considerable research, the Commission found no reasonable justification for party switching deadlines for voters being earlier than the voter registration deadline.

The Commission reached consensus on the need to ensure that party-switching deadlines are no earlier than the voter registration deadline. The Commission also strongly favors same-day and automatic voter registration, which includes same-day party switching.

With respect to primaries the Commission makes the following recommendations:

1. The Democratic National Committee and the Party at all levels shall use all means, including encouraging legislation and changing Party rules, to expand the use of primaries, wherever possible.
2. The Democratic National Committee and the Party at all levels shall use all means, including encouraging legislation and undertaking litigation, to require states to use same-day or automatic registration for the Democratic presidential nominating process.
3. The Democratic National Committee and the Party at all levels shall use all means, including encouraging legislation, changing Party rules, and undertaking litigation, to require states to use same-day party switching for the Democratic presidential nominating process. As part of those efforts, it shall be the position of the Democratic Party, as an example, that an otherwise eligible voter should be able to participate in a Democratic presidential primary if she or he presents officials at the polling location with written notice that she or he wishes to be enrolled in the Democratic Party.
4. The Democratic National Committee and the Party at all levels shall use all means, including encouraging and opposing legislation, changing Party rules, and undertaking litigation, to resist any attempts at voter suppression and disenfranchisement. Voter suppression and disenfranchisement includes, but is not limited to, laws or regulations that make it more onerous for people to vote as well as administrative actions or inactions related to issues such as the number and placement of voting locations and the adequacy and accuracy of state voting rolls including party identification where required. In advance of the 2020 Democratic nominating process, the Democratic National Committee should identify such issues on a state-by-state basis and seek to remedy them prior to voting in 2020. This would include the timely pursuit of prospective judicial relief where appropriate.
5. The Democratic National Committee and the Party at all levels shall use all means, including encouraging legislation, changing Party rules and undertaking litigation, to require states to allow voters to switch parties at least as late as the deadline for

registering to vote. With respect to any state that has a deadline for party switching which is earlier than the deadline for voter registration, the rules of the Party shall be amended to impose an appropriate penalty, which could include a reduction in the number of pledged delegates to the Democratic National Convention to which the state would otherwise be entitled or potential adjustments to State Party support. State Parties that are able to demonstrate that all provable positive steps, including litigation, as determined by the Rules and Bylaws Committee, have been taken to change the party affiliation deadline, but were not successful in those efforts, should not be penalized.

6. The Party must develop a strategy to prioritize and resource education programs directly to voters in those states that, due to no fault of the Party, continue to have confusing timelines for registration, party affiliation, or the process for running for delegate in order to ensure everyone understands the rules and timelines in place and the impact they have on voter participation.
7. The Democratic National Committee shall publicly report on an annual basis its efforts and the results of those efforts to secure the changes in paragraphs 1-6 above.
8. The Rules and Bylaws Committee and the Democratic National Committee shall review the allocation of national delegates to ensure it reflects the principle of proportionality among the several jurisdictions, as well as any bonus delegate allocations currently being used.
9. The Rules and Bylaws Committee shall modify the requirements for provable positive steps as provided in Rule 21.B. to include legal remedies as a corrective measure to bring a state law into compliance with our rules.

# Party Reforms

The Unity Reform Commission was mandated to make recommendations on how to create a stronger and more competitive Democratic National Committee.

In the past, the Democratic National Committee's focus has been primarily on presidential elections. It is critical that the national Party become more involved in elections up and down the ballot in all regions of the country during presidential, midterm and special elections. To accomplish this goal, it is imperative that the DNC work closely with the State Parties as full and accountable partners.

There is a great deal of energy among grassroots activists who are not involved in the programs and activities of the Democratic National Committee and the State Parties. These activists have a great deal to offer our Party and their input, energy and support is critical to the success of the Party and its candidates.

Based on the foregoing, the Commission provides the following recommendations:

## **1. Making the Party More Competitive in All Regions of the Country**

The Commission believes that the Democratic National Committee must update and enhance the way it operates in order to make our Party more competitive electorally. There can be no more 'off years' and grassroots organizing must be a higher priority for the DNC. The 2020 redistricting is a top priority for the Party and one of the most important things Democrats can do is run and win local elections all across this country.

To become more competitive in all regions of the country:

- a. The Commission recommends that the DNC develop a strategic plan to maximize engagement with our activists and partners to build coalitions to help our candidates win.
- b. The Commission recommends that the DNC make the appropriate investments in technology and data infrastructure to create and build organizing tools, ensure our voter file is modernized, protect our technology infrastructure from cyber threats, and develop tools that can be used to help State Parties, campaigns and activists engage voters.
- c. The DNC should create a Digital Best Practices Institute to boost innovation and share best practices between the DNC, State Parties, and campaigns. Specifically, the Party should act to ensure there are mechanisms to supply our candidates with the best possible data and that candidates in turn file updates and enhancements to the voter file with the Party.
- d. The DNC and State Parties should engage DNC members, grassroots activists and other allies in redistricting efforts in their states. This comprehensive effort

should include, but not be limited to, education about the process, engagement at the grassroots level, and investment in races to elect Democrats to Governors offices and state legislatures. The DNC should also monitor redistricting efforts across the county and coordinate with allied groups on these efforts, where appropriate.

e. To ensure that the Party has the resources to be competitive and to make the appropriate investments in infrastructure, the DNC must take steps to diversify the donor base and specifically develop tools to proactively engage small dollar donors and share any best practices with State Parties so that they can do the same at the local level.

## **2. Supporting and Growing State Parties and Increasing Grassroots Participation**

The Commission believes that the strength of our Party is dependent on building strong state and local parties. Democrats should be excited, engaged, and empowered to participate in all facets of the Party. The DNC must ensure that all voices in the Party feel valued and their perspectives are heard. We commend the DNC for expanding its investments in State Party infrastructure so we can build a strong Democratic Party at every level.

a. The Party should encourage all Democrats to participate in all Party affairs and should take steps to educate and inform activists on the process to run for leadership positions throughout the Party infrastructure at all levels.

b. State Party budgets should be transparent and subject to similar guidelines as the DNC budgetary bylaws and amendments to this Commission's reforms.

c. The Commission recommends that the increased investment in State Parties be maintained and possibly expanded over the course of the cycle. The Commission recommends that the DNC continue to maintain the "50 State-Strategy" with recommendations for the program and financial goals by the leaders and members of ASDC.

d. At the same time, the DNC, ASDC and State Parties agree that accountability metrics are put in place with State Party Programs such as the State Innovation Grants to ensure that the resources are being used to effectively grow the State Parties, engage members of diverse constituencies and viewpoints, increase voter registration, ensure sufficient organizing staff, and institutionalize training for staff, activists and candidates.

e. The Commission recommends that State Parties explore the best way to mobilize, train, and engage grassroots activists. This could include holding hearings or listening sessions so that party organizers and activists share their thoughts on how Democrats can be most effective organizing in their respective states.



f. State Parties must have an open and transparent path to leadership that depends on member engagement and not engagement by leadership alone. This process can often be obscure and needs improvement. State Parties must provide clear information on party leadership positions, deadlines and nominating requirements on their websites. The Rules and Bylaws Committee of the DNC shall review and monitor all State Party procedures to ensure they are fair, open and transparent. In no case shall the path to Party leadership be longer than one year following the election of state delegates. The election of state delegates shall be open to all registered Party members with no waiting periods. Party registration will be open to all registered voters at all times.

### **3. Operating in a Manner that is Open and Transparent**

The DNC's Charter and Bylaws currently calls on our Party to operate in a manner that is open and transparent. The Commission recommends an immediate review of the Charter and Bylaws to ensure that these provisions are appropriate and implemented.

- a. There should be a regular review, every four years, of the Charter and Bylaws.
- b. The Commission calls for the formation of a detailed financial conflicts of interest policy that expands on the Charter's conflicts/ethics policy (Article One, Section 7) and is modeled from best practices of other entities or government legislative bodies.
- c. The Commission recommends that the RBC develop a process to address violations of the Charter & Bylaws. Any member of the DNC can bring a complaint alleging that DNC officers or staff are not adhering to provisions of the Charter and Bylaws. Complaints that consist of disagreements that are managerial in nature shall not be heard, nor should challenges otherwise provided for in our Charter and Bylaws, such as challenges to a State's delegate selection plan (Rule 21 Delegate Selection Rules; Regulation 3.4 of the Regulations of the Rules and Bylaws) and challenges to the credentials to a DNC Member (Article Two Section 10.B of the Charter and Bylaws).

We support the creation of an Ombudsman Council to impartially review and address any complaints or recommended improvements. The Council should include the designee of the Chair, the President of the ASDC, the Co-Chairs of the Rules and Bylaws Committee and the Chairs of the Regional Caucuses or their representatives, with others elected as needed to ensure diversity.

- d. The nominations process and notice on deadlines for nominations should include all DNC positions, including at-large members and committee members. The Chair will continue to nominate a slate, but with proper notice any DNC member could also nominate a slate. Nominations should reflect the divergent views in our Party as well as the diversity of our members.



e. The Commission was informed of concerns about the level of transparency with the budgetary process at the DNC. As currently described in the Bylaws, the Budget and Finance Committee is charged with reviewing the budget, assisting in developing priorities, reviewing major contracts, and evaluating the performance of consultants and senior staff. In addition to ex officio members (DNC CEO and COO), the composition of the Budget and Finance Committee should be by election of qualified members, allowing for adequate representation of the Party's caucuses and councils and State Party Chairs and regional caucuses. No person under contract with the DNC or any Democratic Party affiliate organization should serve on the Budget and Finance Committee. As called for in the Bylaws, the Budget and Finance Committee should provide the Executive Committee for discussion, in a closed session, its "annual reports...on the goals, purposes of expenditures, and results of expenditures and staff." The results of the report and the Executive Committee discussion should then be sent to the full DNC membership. We specifically recommend that, after each election cycle (e.g. presidential, midterm), a published report on the focus of the DNC's finances, including all major expenditures and vendors, be made available.

f. The Commission recommends that the DNC Chair and Leadership prepare an annual budget, which must be presented for review and approved by the DNC Budget and Finance Committee and presented to the full Democratic National Committee at each regularly scheduled meeting. The DNC officers shall be Ex-Officio members of the Budget and Finance Committee.

g. Any and all contracts and expenditures exceeding \$100,000 annually must receive prior approval from the DNC Chair and/or Officers and/or their designee(s). As a part of any proposal, all vendors shall be required to disclose the composition of their leadership and the diversity of their organization.

h. The DNC's Charter & Bylaws require neutrality in the administration of the presidential nominating process. To ensure that no candidate participating in our presidential nominating process gains any unfair advantage - real or perceived - during our primary season, the Commission recommends that all agreements with the campaigns be transparent.

i. The Commission recommends that during a presidential cycle the Party convene regular meetings with representatives from each of the campaigns where all relevant information concerning the Party's activity relating to the nominating process and general election planning is supplied in a uniform manner.

j. Any and all Joint Fundraising Agreements (JFA) or Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) shall be transparent and available to all official campaigns and used for the general election. To ensure the Party has the necessary resources to conduct a vigorous general election effort, the DNC is encouraged to take steps to ensure all Democratic candidates participate in DNC fundraising events and solicit

their own supporters to assist in general election efforts. The DNC, States Parties and the respective Presidential campaigns will work together to determine the best ways to use resources raised under these agreements. The DNC will also take steps to ensure that State Parties fully understand the financial terms of any agreements they enter into.

k. Particularly in cycles where there are multiple presidential candidates, many campaigns and/or the DNC may choose to use vendors or consultants who work for multiple campaigns or the DNC. To avoid any actual or perceived conflict, no such vendor or consultant shall participate on behalf of any candidate or the DNC in a dispute between the DNC and a candidate.

#### **4. Strengthening an Inclusive and Participatory Culture at the DNC**

The Commission was informed that the culture of the DNC has not always been welcoming to ideas and perspectives that were different than those of its leadership. To have a strong, inclusive participatory Party, ideas from all facets and all levels of our Party have to be consistently welcomed and engaged. To strengthen the DNC culture, the Commission recommends:

a. Democrats work together to create an informed electorate, realizing that tolerance for internal debate and disagreement is an element of Party building and key to engaging each other and our external opponents in a spirit of civil discourse.

b. Leadership shall provide more avenues for input and discussion at DNC meetings. These meetings should be structured to provide more time for member and activist input on important issues, including key races, organizing priorities and member concerns.

c. The DNC shall hold regular post-mortem debriefs after key races to discuss the strategies that were effective in mobilizing our base, best practices, and areas that require further improvement. This should include a detailed report on the nature and composition of party vendors and their diversity.

#### **5. Building on the Great Diversity of our Party**

The DNC should continue to strengthen its commitment to diversifying our elected leadership and candidates at the national and local levels and our vendors. The Commission recommends:

a. The DNC should set a goal for vendor diversity and contract bidding at the national, state and local levels where possible and provide an annual report on the nature and composition of party vendors and their diversity.

b. The DNC should develop a comprehensive outreach and engagement strategy to reach, engage and mobilize the full diversity of our Party, including our core constituencies.

- c. The DNC should work with partner organizations and allies to develop training opportunities on running for office and working in politics targeted and accessible to the full diversity of our Party, including our core constituencies.
- d. The DNC should work with State Parties to develop a pipeline of opportunity and facilitate connections that are focused on the full diversity of our Party, including our core constituencies so that they can easily become involved in the Party operation and empower them to act and organize.
- e. A concentrated outreach strategy by the national, state, and local parties to make the Party more accessible to our diverse constituencies and ensure that we are not just talking to but engaging with and empowering these critical constituencies within our Party.

## **6. Connecting Our Values and Our Actions**

For many voters, the only contact they have had with our Party at the state and local level is when we solicit money or canvas for votes. As a result, voters may question whether our party understands, represents or prioritizes them.

We believe that the Party needs to prioritize a grassroots-focused effort of neighbors helping neighbors that will help us reconnect with voters and reestablish the Democratic Party as the Party that most cares about and best serves the interests of the people.

- a. The Commission recommends that the DNC develop a service-oriented program for the National and State Parties that connects our values and our actions. This could also include trainings and other events that demonstrate a commitment to serving our communities. We therefore, propose that, working with the State chairs, the DNC form a committee to assess ways to implement direct voter contact programs in targeted areas and then assess, after a two-year period, the impact this program has had on party growth and electoral performance. Based on this assessment, we can then decide whether and how to expand and fund this effort to more areas.

## **7. Promoting and Protecting the Vote**

The right to vote is under attack. For example, according to the Brennan Center for Justice, in the first half of 2017, 99 bills making it more difficult to vote were introduced across 31 states. The Democratic Party must champion and fight for the right to vote, including by:

- a. Incorporating pro-voter policy positions into all Democratic Party platforms, including: voter registration modernization, including online voter registration and automatic voter registration; support for expanded access to voting before Election Day, including early vote, no excuse absentee, same-day voter registration and party switching, and vote by mail; restoration of voting rights to all people who have served the time for their criminal conviction; counting ballots from voters who are eligible to vote but cast their ballot in the wrong precinct, for offices for which they

are eligible to vote; and secure, transparent, and accurate state voter registration list maintenance practices, so that every eligible American who registers to vote stays on the rolls and that their personal information is protected.

b. Maximizing opportunities for protecting the vote at all stages of the voting process—from recruiting official poll workers to observing the post-election canvass of voters.

c. Making all voting incident data collected by Democratic Party poll observers available to State Parties and candidates up and down the ticket so that this information can be incorporated into voting rights advocacy efforts.

d. Offering data analysis on the specific problems faced by historically disenfranchised communities and at specific polling places.

e. Conducting and communicating research on messaging regarding the right to vote, which fosters voter participation.

f. Developing and maintaining effective and secure technologies that facilitate the real-time collection of voting incident data and the management of Democratic poll observers on Election Day.

g. Maintaining a national hotline that voters may contact to get accurate information about registration and voting and receive assistance with voting problems.

h. Maintaining a database of Democratic poll observers that may be activated in the upcoming election cycle.

i. Serving as a clearinghouse for materials from past campaigns, including election law manuals and materials necessary for training voter protection volunteers.

# Caucuses

The Commission was mandated to make recommendations as to how caucuses can be less burdensome and more inclusive, transparent, and accessible to participants. Because of the high level of excitement surrounding the most recent Democratic presidential nominating process, states saw unprecedented levels of participation in their primaries and caucuses. While this is great for the Party, it also has created challenges for caucus states and voters. The Commission members, many of whom have extensive experience in running and participating in caucuses, discussed both the positive and problematic aspects of caucuses.

The Commission respects the role caucuses play in the presidential nominating process and realizes caucuses are important for Party building and increasing opportunities for voters to decide the leadership and platform of their respective State Parties. At a time when voting rights are under attack in many places, the caucus also allows the Party to conduct its affairs without the overlay of state-imposed voter suppression and disenfranchisement. The Commission also recognizes that in instances where states do not fund a government-run primary, the caucus system is often the only method available to allocate national convention delegates.

At the same time, many are concerned that caucuses disenfranchise voters, such as seniors, members of the military, working families, students, and parents of young children, who are not able to attend a caucus meeting or spend hours while internal meeting processes continue in order to exercise their right to participate in the presidential nominating process. At the same time, lack of funding and staffing in some cases has created an absence of transparency and barriers to participation. States who use caucuses must find new and better ways to ensure broad participation.

With respect to caucuses, the Commission makes the following recommendations:

1. A caucus state delegate selection plan for a presidential nominating caucus shall only be approved if it:
  - (a) Requires absentee voting;
  - (b) Demonstrates that the submitting State Party has the financial and technical ability to successfully run the caucus;
  - (c) Requires same-day voter registration and party-affiliation changes at the caucus location;
  - (d) Requires the public reporting of the total statewide vote counts for each candidate based on the first expression of preference by caucus participants;
  - (e) Requires votes for the presidential nominating process to be cast in writing, in a method to be determined in each plan, to ensure an accurate recount or recanvass is available. One “model” option could be the adoption of the “firehouse caucus;”
  - (f) Includes the standard and procedure by which a recount or recanvass can be requested by a presidential candidate and carried out in a timely manner;

(g) Locks the allocation of all national delegates, based on the initial round of voting.

2. A state delegate selection plan for a presidential nominating caucus must include a narrative of the specific actions a State Party is taking to limit the impact of any voter suppression or disenfranchisement being imposed on the electoral process by the state.
3. The Commission further recommends that the DNC institute a national training program and convening that provides best practices, guidance on selecting accessible caucus locations, ideas on making caucusing a positive and inclusive experience for voters, and outlines rules the DNC has provided to ensure that caucuses are open and transparent.
4. The Commission recommends that the DNC work with State Parties to create consistent standards and guidelines across all caucuses that allow for the implementation of best practices for information dissemination and reporting of votes. The DNC should also explore technology resources available to support State Parties in creating a tracking and reporting system that states can use to streamline the registration and reporting process.
5. Finally, the Commission recommends that the appropriate steps be taken to ensure caucus voters, like those in primary states, have a right to participate in the caucus process. These steps should include any required rules changes and the proper education and outreach to ensure the right to caucus is enshrined in our process at every level.

Nothing in these recommendations is intended to relieve any State Party or its Delegate Selection Plan from any requirements not consistent with these recommendations



# Conclusion

The Unity Reform Commission was established in the aftermath of the 2016 primaries, when Democrats recognized that in order to strengthen and grow our Party, it was necessary to look at areas that needed to be reformed in order to bring in those who felt left out of our process.

The Democratic Party remains the most inclusive Party in the world, but there are still people who feel like they're left behind by the Party, and that must change. The mandate that established this Commission required that we look at ways to make our Party and presidential nominating process more open and transparent. And that's what this Commission was all about and that is the intent of the recommendations outlined in this Report.

The work of the Commission was historic. The Commission members listened to issues raised from the public, from Democratic Party members and State Party leaders, and spent the last nine months discussing the best ways the Democratic Party could rebuild so that we are strong in every corner of this country and win elections in every region.

Despite differing opinions among Commission members, the report upholds the direction given in the mandate passed by the 2016 Democratic National Convention. Ultimately, the Commission members came out of this process with concrete recommendations that will strengthen the Democratic Party.

The Commission represented the best of all wings of our Party by crafting reforms that will lay the groundwork for a strong Party that is poised for success at every level, while at the same time operating in a manner that is transparent.

Democracy is always an ongoing effort, and this Commission has certainly taken its responsibility seriously. The work of the Commission has shown that we can come together with differing views and opinions and still produce a consensus document that all can feel proud of. We hope that the Democratic National Committee supports this important work and we look forward to doing all we can to support the Democratic National Committee as it takes up these recommendations.



# Commission Meeting Summaries

The Unity Reform Commission (the Commission) held five meetings in every region of our country over the past eight months in order to hear expert and public testimony on the important topics before them, which have been summarized below.

## May 5-6, 2017 Meeting

The Unity Reform Commission (URC) began its formal work and review at the May 5th and 6th meeting at the Marriott Wardman Park Hotel in Washington, D.C. The goal of this meeting was to familiarize Commission members with the broad issues under the mandate of the Unity Reform Commission.

The Commission members heard three presentations, each led by individuals who offered expertise and differing perspectives on the Party's nominating process.

**Joe Sandler**, of Sandler Reiff Lamb Rosenstein & Birkenstock, P.C., served as General Counsel of the Democratic National Committee and presented an overview of the DNC's and state parties' legal authority in the presidential nominating process and the constraints the U.S. Constitution places on the rights of the Parties, as opposed to the rights of individual voters and candidates themselves.

The second presentation was by Commission member **Elaine C. Kamarck**, currently a senior fellow in the Governance Studies program at the Brookings Institute and the director of the Center for Effective Public Management at Brookings. Dr. Kamarck gave a historical overview of the Democratic presidential nominating process and described the gradual democratizing of the process throughout history, which has created a process that has become more open and democratic.

The final presentation was a panel discussion led by **Charlie Baker** and **Jeff Weaver**. Charlie Baker served as the Chief Administrative Officer of the Hillary for America campaign and Jeff Weaver is the former president of Our Revolution and served as campaign manager for Bernie Sanders' 2016 presidential campaign.

Mr. Baker and Mr. Weaver led a discussion on the Party and voters' interests in the presidential nominating process. Mr. Baker began with three points: (1) as the Commission discusses potential changes, to be aware of unintended consequences that may result and that you want to have a system that works under a variety of circumstances; (2) the Republicans have a real role in the establishing of the schedule; and (3) state parties run caucuses that are deeply underfunded and they do not have the resources to manage these processes. Mr. Weaver stressed the importance of a process that people perceive as fair and equitable to the participants. He also discussed the need to structure our nominating process to engage newcomers to the Party and those he referred to as "Democratically aligned" voters, who vote where they can in the Democratic primary process and who vote reliably Democratic in every general election, but who have chosen not to officially enroll in the Democratic Party.

On May 6th, the Commission heard three presentations on Party competitiveness, outreach, and engagement.

The first presentation, on building a strong Democratic Party, was led by **Tom McMahon, Artie Blanco, and Jim Zogby**. Mr. McMahon served as Executive Director of the DNC and implemented the “50 State Strategy” under Gov. Howard Dean. Ms. Blanco is the state director of For Nevada’s Future. Dr. Zogby is the founder and President of the Arab American Institute and serves on the Board of Our Revolution.

Mr. McMahon began by reviewing the strategy begun in 2005 to build a strong, proactive National Party with infrastructure in every state, which led to the 50 State Strategy. Ms. Blanco continued the conversation by discussing her experience working with the State Partnership Program (SPP) and the importance of developing strategies tailored to each state. Following this presentation, Dr. Zogby led a discussion, which emphasized efficiency and transparency in operating in the DNC and the importance of DNC-State Party partnerships.

The second presentation, which focused on mobilizing voters at all levels, was given by Commission members **Jane Kleeb, Yvette Lewis, and Jan Bauer**. Ms. Kleeb serves as Chair of the Nebraska State Democratic Party and is on the board of Our Revolution. Ms. Lewis is a DNC Member and previously served as Chair of the Maryland Democratic Party. Ms. Bauer is also a DNC member and served as Chair of the Story County Democratic Party in Iowa.

Ms. Kleeb began by discussing how voters connect with the Democratic Party. She described involvement in terms of different rungs of a ladder and said that the DNC needs to do more to make sure people know and have access to all of these rungs. Next, Ms. Lewis discussed the need to engage with voters through their desire to be involved. Ms. Bauer concluded the presentation by discussing voter mobilization and going through best practices for the Iowa caucuses.

The final presentation, which stressed empowering grassroots participation in the party, was given by Commission members Nomiki Konst and Emmy Ruiz. Ms. Konst, is an investigative reporter for The Young Turks. Ms. Ruiz was the Nevada Caucus director and Colorado State director for the 2016 Hillary Campaign and was political director for Annie’s List.

Ms. Konst began the presentation by noting that activists across the country are still holding protests, calling their representatives, and lobbying Capitol Hill, and they are also communicating, organizing, and acting over social media. Ms. Ruiz discussed the need for year-round campaigning and activating local grassroots supporters in order to best connect with voters at the local level.

Following the presentation, the Commission discussed youth engagement, how to best engage with grassroots activists and small donors for non-presidential campaigns, and Party messaging.

## June 2-3, 2017 Meeting

The Commission held its second meeting in San Antonio, TX. The Commission heard two discussions the first day of the meeting. Former Texas Agriculture Commissioner **Jim Hightower**, Texas Democratic Party Chair **Gilberto Hinojosa**, and Commission member **Emmy Ruiz** addressed methods to involve new and unaffiliated voters in the Democratic Party. Former Colorado Party Chair Rick Palacio discussed how to make government-run primaries more accessible.

Mr. Hightower began the presentation by discussing the dilemma in liberal political circles of organizing across numerous issue-areas in order to develop the critical mass for pushing a progressive agenda. Mr. Hinojosa continued the presentation by discussing the success in Harris County in the 2016 elections. While in 2014 the Democrats lost every position, in 2016, they won every position contested on the ballot. This was due to large turnouts throughout the Houston area and very early organizing.

The Commission members also held a group discussion led by Ms. Ruiz on the need to expand the entry points into the party for those who want to find ways to participate. They discussed the importance of investments in State Parties in addition to a commitment to organizing and understanding the specific politics of the state as well as ideas to make the delegate selection process more transparent and inclusive.

Mr. Palacio pointed out that in Colorado in 2016, there was a reduced level of participation because they held a closed caucus system. This required voters to be registered for the party for at least a month to participate in the caucus. Mr. Palacio noted that the highest turnout states in the general election were Minnesota, Maine, New Hampshire, Colorado, Wisconsin, and Iowa, all states that allowed same-day voter registration for the general election.

Following this presentation, the Commission members discussed what State Parties can do to encourage participation, how the national Party can support these efforts.

On the meeting's second day, the Commission focused on the mechanics of the Party's delegate selection process and government-run primaries. The first presentation, led by DNC Party Affairs Director **Patrice Taylor**, dealt with the elements of government-run primaries. Ms. Taylor's presentation was followed by a discussion led by Commission members **David Huynh**, Director of Delegate Operations and Ballot Access for the Hillary for America campaign, and **Jeff Berman**, the Delegate Strategy consultant for the 2016 Hillary for America campaign.

Ms. Taylor began her presentation by outlining the delegate selection process. The 2016 cycle's selection process began in 2014 when the DNC's Rules and Bylaws Committee began drafting the rules that govern the process. Between January and April of 2015, state parties drafted their delegate selection plans. From June through September, the Rules and Bylaws Committee met monthly to review each State Party plan. Mr. Huynh and Mr. Berman led a discussion on how presidential campaigns approach the delegate selection process.

The second presentation of the day, which addressed current efforts to make government-run primaries more accessible, was led by **Hannah Fried**, who served on the Voter Protection teams for the Obama campaign in 2008 and 2012 and the 2016 Clinton campaign.

Ms. Fried began the presentation by explaining the different types of primaries. There are a number of factors that effect a voter's experience in the primaries that vary by state laws including, but not limited to: voter ID laws, voter registration deadlines, primary or caucus, whether state primaries are on the same day as the presidential primary, and whether there is early or absentee voting.

The Commission members then discussed how to encourage expanded use of primary elections, open versus closed primaries and the intersection of state laws and party rules, voter registration deadlines and how the Party can influence changes to encourage making voter registration easier.

## August 25-26, 2017 Meeting

The Commission held its third meeting on August 25th and 26th at the W City Center in Chicago, IL, where Commission members heard presentations on the history and function of caucuses, how the DNC engages with state parties, and the role of unpledged delegates in the presidential nominating process.

The first presentation was on how the caucus process works in the states by Iowa and Nevada caucus experts **Norm Sterzenbach**, **Pete D'Alessandro**, and **Cory Warfield**. Mr. Sterzenbach served as the Executive Director of the Iowa Democratic Party, overseeing the 2008 caucuses and the 2010 and 2012 coordinated campaigns. Mr. Alessandro was the Iowa Director for Bernie Sanders' 2016 campaign, and Mr. Warfield was the 2016 Nevada Caucus Director for the Nevada State Democratic Party.

Mr. Sterzenbach described the culture and pride surrounding the Iowa caucus. He explained that the caucus is an opportunity for people not just to show up and vote, but to become significant members within the Party and shape its direction. Mr. D'Alessandro continued the presentation by providing additional details about the process of the Iowa caucus. Mr. Warfield then continued the presentation by explaining the Nevada caucus. In 2016, the caucus had 84,000 individuals attend the caucus, with 14,000 registering the day-of. He also pointed out that about 40% of the caucus-goers are from diverse communities.

The second presentation for the day was given by **Greg Haffner** on the caucus process in the state of Washington. Mr. Haffner is the former Party Affairs Director for the Washington State Party, where he managed internal party business, including the delegate selection process.

Mr. Haffner described Washington's caucus process and focused on the state's absentee voting system, known as surrogate affidavits. While originally created for people who had

religious observance that prevented them from participating in the caucus, their use has expanded to include military service, disability, illness, and work schedule.

On the meeting's second day, the Commission focused on how the state parties and the DNC can work together to build a strong Democratic Party.

The first presentation, which addressed how the DNC's support of state parties leads to electoral success at all levels, was given by Executive Director of the Democratic Party of Oregon, **Brad Martin**. Mr. Martin pointed out that in 2016, there was increased funding, more communications between the DNC and State Parties, and more coordination for training and strategy. Moving forward, this funding for state parties is increasing in order to support core competencies, which include having a voter file manager, compliance team, work plan and strategy for expanding the organization and winning. The states regularly file reports on their accomplishments and performance to learn from best practices and encourage success.

Following Mr. Martin's presentation, the Commission members discussed investment strategies and the importance of early investment.

The second presentation, which focused on the role of unpledged delegates in the presidential nominating process, was led by DNC Director of Party Affairs **Patrice Taylor** and Commission member **Elaine Kamarck**. Dr. Kamarck began the presentation by providing an overview of the history and role of unpledged delegates in the DNC. Dr. Kamarck pointed out that while there have been fears of unpledged delegates swinging a nominating process to one candidate against the popular will of the voter, this has not occurred. Ms. Taylor then continued the discussion of the unpledged delegates.

After the second presentation, the members discussed the role of unpledged delegates in the nominating process and political and rules considerations for implementing the Commission mandate.

## October 18, 2017 Meeting

The Commission held its fourth meeting in Las Vegas, NV. The Commission heard two presentations on voter registration and working group updates.

The first presentation was a background on the New York Party registration and affiliation process by **Robert Brehm**. Robert Brehm is the New York Board of Election Co-Executive Director.

Mr. Brehm began his presentation with a brief overview of the primary process in New York. He explained that New York is a closed primary state for the presidential primaries and addressed the long time period between the deadline to change party affiliation and the deadline to register to vote. In New York, an individual who wants to change his or her party affiliation must do so months prior to the election, while the registration deadline is 25 days prior to the election.



During the second part of the meeting, Commission members heard updates from the Primary, Caucus, Unpledged Delegates, and Party Reform working groups. The first update was from the Primary group, which was convened by **Jeff Weaver** and **Charlie Baker**. They reported that this group was unanimous in its support for same-day voter registration and for better access to voting. Also, the group believes that states should be encouraged to move to primaries rather than caucuses to determine presidential preference. The Commission then discussed voter registration deadlines and ways the DNC can encourage states to make these more uniform and accessible.

The second group to give an update was the Caucus group convened by **Jane Kleeb** and **Wellington Webb**. They reviewed the Commission's mandate regarding caucuses. They then discussed various ways to make caucuses more open and accessible. The group is also looking into ways to streamline the realignment process and reporting of results.

The next working group was the Unpledged Delegate working group convened by **Lucy Flores** and **David Huynh**. They discussed the Commission's mandate to revise and reduce the role of unpledged delegates in the presidential nominating process.

The final group, which focused on Party Reform, was convened by **Jorge Neri** and **Jim Zogby**. They discussed their thoughts on making the party more inclusive. They discussed the importance of bringing in more minority vendors. There is agreement in the group to increase participation, diversity, and transparency.

# Acknowledgements

The Commission wishes to express its appreciation to Commission Chair Jen O'Malley Dillon and Vice Chair Larry Cohen and all Commission members for their time and hard work throughout this process.

We would like to thank Chairman Tom Perez and the Officers of the Democratic National Committee for their leadership and support as well as the Members of the DNC, and our State Parties.

We would like to thank our Democratic National Committee colleagues for their invaluable assistance with the work of the Unity Reform Commission. In particular, Jess O'Connell, Chief Executive Officer; Sam Cornale, Chief of Staff; Laura Chambers, Chief Operating Officer; Patrice Taylor, Party Affairs Director; Amanda Brown Lierman, Political Director; Julie Greene, Director of the DNC Leadership Office; Lisa Hargrove Ware, Director of Meetings and Conferences; Maureen Garde, Executive Director, ASDC; Miles Fernandez, Director of the Secretary's Office; Xochitl Hinojosa, Communications Director; Michael Tyler, DNC National Press Secretary; Vedant Patel, Western Regional Press Secretary, and the Communications Department; Lauren Dillon, Research Director; Nick Bauer, Deputy Research Director; Tessa Simmons, Digital Director; PaaWee Rivera, Finance Department; Jack Vickers, Political Department; Jacob Burman, Party Affairs Deputy Director; and Alecia Dyer, Party Affairs Special Assistant.

We would also like to thank DNC Parliamentarian Helen McFadden, Becca Herries and Krista Harness for your support during this process. We would also like to thank all of the hotels where our meetings were held for making sure we had great accommodations.

Finally, thank you to all of the members of the public and activists who provided the Commission with invaluable input and suggestions both in person and online.



# Appendix

# Unity Reform Commission Resolution

## Section 1. Establishment of the Unity Reform 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 entire nominating process and to make recommended changes to the Charter regarding the nominating process with a specific focus on ensuring the process is accessible, transparent and inclusive.

**RESOLVED FURTHER:** That the Commission shall be known as the “Unity Reform Commission;” that it shall consist of 21 members including a chair and vice-chair, all with the right to vote on Commission business. The chair shall be Jennifer O’Malley Dillon and the vice-chair Larry Cohen. Secretary Clinton shall appoint nine members of the Commission and Senator Sanders shall appoint seven members of the Commission. The remaining three members shall be appointed by the National Chair of the DNC. To the extent possible, its membership shall be equally divided between men and women and shall be geographically and demographically diverse. The DNC shall provide the Commission with adequate staff and resources to carry out its mandate in accordance with this Resolution.

**RESOLVED FURTHER:** That the Unity Reform Commission shall issue its report and recommendations to the Rules and Bylaws Committee of the DNC no later than January 1, 2018. Upon completion of its report and recommendations, the Unity Reform Commission shall transmit the same to the RBC for its prompt consideration and action. In the event that Commission concludes the RBC failed to substantially adopt any recommendation within 6 months of receiving the Commission’s report and recommendation, the Commission shall have the recommendations placed before the full DNC at its next regularly scheduled meeting. The Commission shall remain in existence until the Commission concludes that its report and recommendations have been considered and voted on by the DNC.

## Section 2. Manner of Voting.

**RESOLVED FURTHER:** That the Unity Reform Commission shall consider and make appropriate recommendations regarding revisions to the Delegate Selection Rules for the 2020 Democratic National Convention with respect to the manner of voting used during the presidential nominating process with a goal of increasing voter participation and inclusion through grassroots engagement of the Party’s voter base during and in-between presidential election cycles. The Commission shall make recommendations to encourage the expanded use of primary elections. The Commission shall make specific recommendations regarding the steps necessary to ensure that, in states where caucuses are conducted, eligible voters’ ability to participate in the caucuses are protected. The Commission shall make recommendations as to how caucuses can be less burdensome and more inclusive, transparent and accessible to participants. Specific consideration shall be given to so-called firehouse caucuses and other methods that will permit expanded and higher volumes of voter participation. These steps shall include ensuring caucuses are

well-run, accessible, transparent and that the delegates allocated to the national convention fairly reflect the will of the voters expressed during the caucuses. The Commission shall make specific recommendations to streamline the caucus realignment process, including measures to accommodate increased voter participation and decrease the time necessary to conduct the caucus. The Commission shall make specific recommendations that requires caucuses to publish the specific headcount at all caucus locations and to maintain sufficient records to make a post-caucus review and re-canvass of the results possible.

**RESOLVED FURTHER:** That the Unity Reform Commission shall make recommendations to encourage the involvement in all elections of unaffiliated or new voters who seek to join the Democratic Party including through same-day registration and re-registration.

### **Section 3. Delegates.**

**RESOLVED FURTHER:** That the Unity Reform Commission shall consider and make appropriate recommendations for revisions to the Delegate Selection Rules for the 2020 Democratic National Convention to provide for a change in the manner by which unpledged party leader and elected official (PLEO) delegates participate in the presidential nominating process. In particular, the Commission shall make specific recommendations providing that Members of Congress, Governors and distinguished party leaders (DNC Charter Art. Two, Section 4(h)(ii)(1)-(6)) remain unpledged and free to support their nominee of choice, but that remaining unpledged delegates be required to cast their vote at the Convention for candidates in proportion to the vote received for each candidate in their state.

### **Section 4. Party Reforms.**

**RESOLVED FURTHER:** That the Unity Reform Commission shall consider and make appropriate recommendations as to: (1) how to make the party and its candidates more competitive in all regions of the country; (2) how to make the DNC and state parties full and accountable partners in the process of mobilizing voters and winning elections at all levels; (3) how to support and oversee Democratic efforts in legislative and congressional reapportionment and redistricting to ensure Democratic majorities in state legislatures and in Congress; (4) how to broaden the base of the party and empower rank and file Democrats at the grassroots level; and (5) how to expand the DNC's donor base (a) to make it less dependent on large contributions, (b) to get more people invested in the party, and (c) to enable the party to support important electoral programs.

### **Section 5. Status of Resolutions**

**RESOLVED FURTHER:** That the Unity Reform Commission may address other matters as may be identified and agreed to by the Chair and Vice-Chair.

# UNITY REFORM COMMISSION

**Jennifer O'Malley Dillon, Chair**  
*District of Columbia*

**Larry Cohen, Vice Chair**  
*District of Columbia*

**Charlie Baker**  
*Massachusetts*

**David Huynh**  
*Louisiana*

**James Roosevelt, Jr.**  
*Massachusetts*

**Jan Bauer**  
*Iowa*

**Elaine Kamarck**  
*Massachusetts*

**Emmy Ruiz**  
*Texas*

**Jeff Berman**  
*District of Columbia*

**Jane Kleeb**  
*Nebraska*

**Nina Turner**  
*Ohio*

**Lucy Flores**  
*California*

**Nomiki Konst**  
*New York*

**Jeff Weaver**  
*Virginia*

**Congresswoman  
Marcia Fudge**  
*Ohio*

**Yvette Lewis**  
*Maryland*

**Wellington Webb**  
*Colorado*

**Maya Harris**  
*New York*

**Gus Newport**  
*California*

**Jim Zogby**  
*District of Columbia*

**Jorge Neri**  
*Illinois*