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As head of Bryan Cave's Election Law and Government Ethics practice, Michael Toner is a widely respected election law expert and author on campaign finance matters.

He joined the firm in 2007 after serving as chairman of the Federal Election Commission in 2006. Toner served as an FEC Commissioner from 2002-2007.

A seasoned political veteran, Toner served as Chief Counsel of the Republican National Committee (RNC) in 2001-2002, as well as General Counsel of the Bush-Cheney transition team in Washington, D.C. and the Bush-Cheney 2000 presidential campaign in Austin, Texas. Prior to his tenure on the Bush-Cheney campaign, Toner was Deputy Counsel at the RNC from 1997-1999. He also was counsel to the Dole-Kemp presidential campaign in 1996.

Toner has written widely on campaign finance matters. Toner is a contributing author of three critically acclaimed books, including *The Year of Obama*, *The Sixth Year Itch*, and *Divided States of America: The Slash and Burn Politics of the 2004 Presidential Election*. Toner's articles have also been published in *The Washington Post*, *The New York Times*, *The Boston Globe*, *The Chicago Tribune*, *The Washington Times*, *The Hill*, and *Roll Call*.

Toner has appeared as a guest commentator on Fox News Channel, ABC News, CBS Evening news, Bloomberg News, Fox Business Network, C-SPAN and National Public Radio.

Publications

- "The Impact of Federal Election Laws on the 2008 Presidential Election," a chapter in *The Year of Obama*, edited by Larry Sabato (Pearson Education, Inc. 2009).
- "Emerging Campaign Finance Trends and Their Impact on the 2006 Election," a chapter with Melissa Laurenza in *The Sixth Year Itch*, edited by Larry Sabato (Pearson Education, Inc. 2008).
- "The Impact of the New Campaign Finance Law on the 2004 Presidential Election," a chapter in *Divided States of America*, edited by Larry Sabato (Pearson Education, Inc. 2006).
- "Observing the Restricted Speech Zone," with Robert F. Bauer, *Roll Call*, September 26, 2006.
- "Pass Pence-Wynn So We Can Fix Coordinated Expenditures," *Roll Call*, June 15, 2006.
- "Congress Should Pass Hensarling's Bill on Politics and the Internet," *Roll Call*, March 14, 2006.
- "Commissioner's Perspective: Permissible Corporate Involvement in Federal Elections," a chapter with Melissa Laurenza in *Corporate Political Activities 2005* (Practising Law Institute, 2005).
- "Modernizing the Presidential Public Financing System" with Scott E. Thomas, *The Hill*, December 7, 2005.

- “FEC Was Right To Allow Soft Money In Calif. Initiatives,” *Roll Call*, September 13, 2005.
- “527 Rules Needed Now,” *Roll Call*, January 27, 2004.
- “Congress Should Overhaul Presidential Funding System,” *Roll Call*, October 16, 2003.
- “Presidential Financing System Needs Overhaul,” *Chicago Tribune*, September 28, 2003.
- “Show us the Money, The Federal Election Commission’s Final Regulations,” *Washington Times*, August 8, 2003.
- “Soft Money for Party Conventions,” *Boston Globe*, August 7, 2003.
- “Reforming Campaign Finance,” *The Washington Post*, July 6, 2003.
- Legislative Recommendations Regarding Presidential Public Funding Program, with Scott E. Thomas, February 9, 2005.
- Legislative Recommendations Regarding Presidential Public Funding Program, with Scott E. Thomas, April 16, 2003.

Speaking Engagements

- "Federal Campaign Finance in the Wake of Changing Legislation and Recent Supreme Court Decisions." American Conference Institute, Washington, D.C., April 29, 2010.
- “Demystifying the Practical and Constitutional Effects of *Citizens United v. The Federal Election Commission*: The Future of Campaign Finance Law.” Georgetown Law School, Washington, D.C., April 13, 2010.
- "The Citizens United Case and Campaign Finance: A Victory for Free Speech or Threat to Democracy?" The Federalist Society, California Lutheran University, Thousand Oaks, CA, March 22, 2010.
- “A Major Landmark Ruling in the Citizens United v. FEC.” Bryan Cave LLP Webinar, Washington, D.C., February 25, 2010
- “The Supreme’s Citizens United: The Impact on Federal Elections.” The Heritage Foundation, Washington, D.C., February 4, 2010.
- “The Brave New World of Campaign Finance.” Thompson Reuters, Washington, D.C., January 27, 2010.
- "Association PAC Compliance Training." Public Affairs Council National PAC Conference, St. Petersburg, FL, February 22, 2010.
- "The Rules of the Road are Changing." Public Affairs Council National Grassroots Conference, Orlando, FL, January 22, 2010.
- "What's at Stake for You in Citizens United v. Federal Election Commission?" Public Affairs Council, Washington, D.C., September 3, 2009.
- “Symposium on the Rise of Election Litigation,” William & Mary Law School, Williamsburg, VA, March 20, 2009.
- “Trade Association PAC Legal Overview,” Public Affairs National PAC Conference, Orlando, FL, February 22, 2009.
- “Making Elections Work: The Law and the Process After November,” Panelist, AEI-Brookings Election Conference, Washington, DC, December 4, 2008.

- “Tenth Annual American Democracy Conference Panelist”, UVA Center for Politics, Charlottesville, VA, November 21, 2008.
- “Overview of the Honest Leadership and Open Government Act of 2007: New Challenges and Strategies for Government Relations and PAC Professionals,” 2008 Vocus Users’ Conference, Washington, DC, June 5, 2008.
- “Pollsters and Pundits,” Council of American Survey Research Organizations Client Conference, New York City, NY, June 3, 2008.
- “Overview of the Honest Leadership and Open Government Act of 2007,” Portland Cement Association, Chicago, IL, April 29, 2008.
- “The Presidential Public Financing System,” Cornell Law School, Ithaca, NY, April 17, 2008.
- “The Presidential Public Financing System and Emerging Trends in Campaign Finance,” University of Richmond, Richmond, VA, April 4, 2008.
- “Trade Association and Membership Organization PAC Legal Overview,” Public Affairs Council National PAC Conference, St. Petersburg, FL, February 25, 2008.
- “The Growing Legalization of American Politics,” Maxwell School, Syracuse University, Syracuse, NY, October 26, 2007.
- “Recent Trends at the Federal Election Commission,” Chamber of Commerce C-100 Retreat, Uncasville, CT, June 25, 2007.
- “Enforcement Cases at the Federal Election Commission,” American Association of Oral and Maxillofacial Surgeons, Washington, DC, April 17, 2007.
- “The FEC and the Federal Election Laws: A Review of the FEC’s Major Actions in 2006 and a Look Ahead to 2007 and 2008.” National PAC Conference Public Affairs Council, Miami, FL, February 28, 2007.
- “The Effect of the McCain-Feingold Law on Politics,” Federalist Society, University of Texas Law School, Austin, TX, February 19, 2007.
- “ReDEMption – Analyzing the 2006 Midterms,” Panelist, 9th Annual American Democracy Conference, “The 2006 Midterm Elections and the 2008 Presidential Election,” UVA Center for Politics, Washington, DC, November 30, 2006.
- “The Growing Importance of PACs under the McCain-Feingold Law,” National Association of Broadcasters PAC Biennial Post-Election Conference, Palm Beach, FL, November 15-17, 2006.
- “FEC Rulemakings on Internet Regulation,” Law and Politics Workshop, William & Mary Law School, Williamsburg, VA, October 19-20, 2006.
- “FEC Commissioner’s Perspectives,” Practicing Law Institute, Washington, DC, September 14-15, 2006.
- “How the FEC is Responding to Ethics Concerns in the Recent Regulations and in Enforcement,” Public Affairs Council, Washington, DC, August 9, 2006.
- “Advice from the FEC Chairman: Corporate and PAC Compliance,” NABPAC Rap Session, Washington, DC, July 18, 2006.
- “Regulation of Leadership PACs: Media and the 2006 Elections,” Campaign Legal Center Roundtable Discussion, Washington, DC, July 17, 2006.
- “Politics and the Web,” U.S. Chamber of Commerce C-100 Meeting, The Greenbrier, White Sulphur Springs, WV, June 24-27, 2006.

- BCRA: Major Changes to the Federal Election Laws,” Vocus Conference, Washington, DC, May 24, 2006.
- “Keeping Your Association Straight with Campaign Finance/Political Issues in an Election Year,” Health Care Trade Associations General Counsel Forum, Washington, DC, March 15, 2006.
- “The Future of PACs,” Public Affairs Council PAC Conference, Miami, FL, February 13, 2006.

Congressional Testimony

- Testimony of Federal Election Commission Chairman Michael E. Toner and Vice Chairman Robert D. Lenhard on Indian Tribes and the Federal Election Campaign Act before the Senate Committee on Indian Affairs, February 8, 2006.
- Testimony of Federal Election Commission Vice Chairman Michael E. Toner Regarding Regulation of On-Line Political Speech before the House Administration Committee, September 22, 2005.
- Testimony of Commissioner Michael E. Toner before The Committee on House Administration, May 20, 2004.

Congressional Papers

- Legislative Recommendations Regarding Presidential Public Funding Program, with Scott E. Thomas, February 9, 2005.
- Legislative Recommendations Regarding Presidential Public Funding Program, with Scott E. Thomas, April 16, 2003.

Professional Affiliations

- Adjunct law professor, William and Mary Law School
- Lecturer, University of Virginia
- Trustee, American Council of Young Political Leaders