

“(i) maintains procedures to promptly determine the costs that may properly be charged to agency fee payors as costs of exclusive representation, and explains such procedures in the written notification required under subparagraph (B); and

“(ii) if any person challenges the costs which may be properly charged as costs of exclusive representation—

“(I) provides a mutually selected impartial decisionmaker to hear and decide such challenge pursuant to rules of discovery and evidence and subject to de novo review by the National Labor Relations Board or an applicable court; and

“(II) places in escrow amounts reasonably in dispute pending the outcome of the challenge.

“(E)(i) A labor organization that does not satisfy the requirements of subparagraphs (B), (C), and (D) shall finance any expenditures specified in subparagraphs (A), (B), or (C) of paragraph (2) only with funds legally collected under this Act for its separate segregated fund.

“(ii) For purposes of this paragraph, subparagraph (A) of paragraph (2) shall apply only with respect to communications expressly advocating the election or defeat of any clearly identified candidate for elective public office.”.

(c) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendments made by subsections (a) and (b) shall apply to contributions and expenditures made after the date of the enactment of this Act.

SEC. 7. INCREASED LIMITATION AMOUNT FOR CERTAIN CONTRIBUTIONS TO POLITICAL COMMITTEES OF STATE POLITICAL PARTIES.

Section 315(a)(1)(B) of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 (2 U.S.C. 441a(a)(1)(B)) is amended by inserting after “national” the following: “or State”.

SEC. 8. TRANSITION RULE RELATING TO EXCESS FUNDS OF CANDIDATES FOR THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

The limitations under section 315(i) of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 (as added by section 2) shall be applied to the funds of a candidate carried over from previous elections and shall take effect on the day after the date of the 1994 primary election. A candidate for the office of Representative in, or Delegate or Resident Commissioner to, the Congress, who, on the day after the date of the 1994 primary election, has campaign accounts containing amounts in excess of the contribution limit under section 315(i) of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 shall deposit such excess in a separate account subject to section 304 of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971. The amount so deposited shall be returned to contributors or available for any lawful purpose other than use, with respect to the individual for an election for the office of Representative, in, or Delegate or Resident Commissioner to, the Congress. For purposes of this section, excess funds are those funds which exceed twice the amount of funds raised from local individual residents after December 31, 1992. From the day after the date of the 1994 primary election until the date of the 1994 general election, a candidate may transfer excess funds from the separate account to the campaign account so long as a majority of the total funds contributed or transferred to the campaign account were raised from local individual residents after December 31, 1992. No funds may be transferred from a separate account of a candidate to a campaign account of the candidate after the date of the 1994 general election.

SEC. 9. DISCLOSURE OF ELECTION-RELATED ACTIVITY BY CORPORATIONS, LABOR ORGANIZATIONS AND NONPROFIT ORGANIZATIONS.

Section 304 of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 (2 U.S.C. 434) is amended by

adding at the end the following new subsection:

“(d) Any corporation, labor organization, or nonprofit organization that makes a payment for a communication or other activity that—

“(1) relates to any election for Federal office; and

“(2) in the case of a corporation or labor organization, by reason of subparagraph (A) or (B) of paragraph (2) of section 316(b), is not a contribution or expenditure;

shall report such payment to the Commission in the same manner as a contribution or expenditure, as the case may be, is reported by a principal campaign committee of a candidate for the House of Representatives or the Senate under this section.”.

SEC. 10. PROHIBITION OF BUNDLING OF CONTRIBUTIONS TO CANDIDATES BY POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEES AND LOBBYISTS.

Section 316 of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 (2 U.S.C. 441b) is amended by adding at the end the following new subsection:

“(c) No nonparty multicandidate political committee or person required to register under the Federal Regulation of Lobbying Act (2 U.S.C. 261 et seq.) may act as an intermediary or conduit with respect to a contribution to a candidate for Federal office.”.

SEC. 11. PROHIBITION OF TRANSFERS AMONG NONCANDIDATE, NONPARTY POLITICAL COMMITTEES.

Section 315 of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 (2 U.S.C. 441a), as amended by sections 2, 4, and 5, is further amended by adding at the end the following new subsection:

“(l) A noncandidate, nonparty political committee may not make contributions, or otherwise transfer funds, to any other noncandidate, nonparty political committee. As used in this subsection, the term ‘noncandidate, nonparty political committee’ means a political committee that is not an authorized committee of a candidate for Federal office and is not a political committee of a political party.”.

SEC. 12. PROHIBITION OF LEADERSHIP COMMITTEES; RESTRICTION ON CONTRIBUTIONS BETWEEN PRINCIPAL CAMPAIGN COMMITTEES.

(a) LEADERSHIP COMMITTEE PROHIBITION.—Section 302 of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 (2 U.S.C. 432) is amended by adding at the end the following new subsection:

“(j) A candidate for Federal office may not establish, maintain, finance, or control a political committee, other than the principal campaign committee of the candidate.”.

(b) PRINCIPAL CAMPAIGN COMMITTEE RESTRICTION.—Section 315 of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 (2 U.S.C. 441a), as amended by sections 2, 4, 5, and 11, is further amended by adding at the end the following new subsection:

“(m) A principal campaign committee of a candidate for Federal office may not make any contribution to any other principal campaign committee (other than the principal campaign committee of the same individual as a candidate for another Federal office).”.

SEC. 13. EFFECTIVE DATE.

The amendments made by this Act shall take effect on the date of the enactment of this Act.

It was decided in the { Yeas ..... 173 negative ..... } Nays ..... 263

- Barrett (NE) Hansen Paxon
Bartlett Hastert Petri
Barton Hayes Pombo
Bereuter Herger Porter
Bilirakis Hobson Portman
Bliley Hoekstra Poshard
Blute Hoke Pryce (OH)
Boehner Horn Quillen
Bunning Houghton Quinn
Burton Huffington Ramstad
Callahan Hunter Ravenel
Calvert Hutchinson Regula
Camp Hyde Ridge
Canady Inglis Roberts
Castle Inhofe Rogers
Coble Istook Rohrabacher
Collins (GA) Johnson (CT) Ros-Lehtinen
Combest Johnson, Sam Roth
Cooper Kasich Roukema
Costello Kim Royce
Cox King Santorum
Crane Kingston Saxton
Crapo Knollenberg Schaefer
Cunningham Kolbe Schiff
Deal Kyl Sensenbrenner
DeLay Lazio Shaw
Diaz-Balart Leach Shays
Dickey Levy Shuster
Doolittle Lewis (CA) Skeen
Dornan Lewis (FL) Smith (MI)
Dreier Lightfoot Smith (NJ)
Duncan Linder Smith (OR)
Dunn Livingston Smith (TX)
Everett Machtley Solomon
Ewing Margolies Spence
Fawell Mezvinsky Stearns
Fields (TX) McCandless Stenholm
Fish McCollum Stump
Franks (CT) McCrery Sundquist
Franks (NJ) McDade Talent
Gallegly McHugh Tauzin
Gallo McInnis Taylor (MS)
Gekas McKeon Taylor (NC)
Gilchrist McMillan Thomas (CA)
Gillmor Meyers Thomas (WY)
Gilman Mica Torkildsen
Gingrich Michel Upton
Goodlatte Miller (FL) Vucanovich
Goodling Minge Walker
Goss Molinari Walsh
Grams Moorhead Weldon
Grandy Morella Wolf
Greenwood Myers Young (AK)
Gunderson Nussle Young (FL)
Hall (TX) Oxley Zeliff
Hancock Packard Zimmer

NOES—263

- Abercrombie Clement Ford (TN)
Ackerman Clyburn Fowler
Andrews (ME) Coleman Frank (MA)
Andrews (NJ) Collins (IL) Frost
Andrews (TX) Collins (MI) Furse
Applegate Condit Gejdenson
Bacchus (FL) Conyers Gephardt
Baesler Coppersmith Geren
Baker (LA) Coyne Gibbons
Barca Cramer Glickman
Barcia Danner Gonzalez
Barlow Darden Gordon
Barrett (WI) de la Garza Green
Bateman de Lugo (VI) Gutierrez
Becerra DeFazio Hamburg
Beilenson DeLauro Hamilton
Bentley Dellums Harman
Berman Derrick Hastings
Bevill Deutsch Hefley
Bilbray Dicks Hefner
Bishop Dingell Hilliard
Blackwell Dixon Hinchey
Boehlert Dooley Hoagland
Bonilla Durbin Hochbrueckner
Bonior Edwards (CA) Holden
Borski Edwards (TX) Hoyer
Boucher Emerson Hughes
Brewster Engel Hutto
Brooks English (AZ) Inslee
Browder English (OK) Jacobs
Brown (CA) Eshoo Jefferson
Brown (FL) Evans Johnson (GA)
Brown (OH) Faleomavaega Johnson (SD)
Bryant (AS) Johnson, E. B.
Buyer Farr Johnson
Byrne Fazio Kanjorski
Cantwell Fields (LA) Kaptur
Cardin Filner Kennedy
Carr Fingerhut Kennelly
Chapman Flake Kildee
Clay Foglietta Kleczka
Clayton Ford (MI) Klein

140.9 [Roll No. 603]

AYES—173

Allard Arney Baker (CA)
Archer Bachus (AL) Ballenger

Klink	Neal (NC)	Skaggs
Klug	Norton (DC)	Skelton
Kopetski	Oberstar	Slattery
Kreidler	Obey	Slaughter
LaFalce	Olver	Smith (IA)
Lambert	Ortiz	Snowe
Lancaster	Orton	Spratt
Lantos	Owens	Stark
LaRocco	Pallone	Stokes
Laughlin	Parker	Strickland
Lehman	Pastor	Studds
Levin	Payne (NJ)	Stupak
Lewis (GA)	Payne (VA)	Swett
Lipinski	Pelosi	Swift
Lloyd	Penny	Synar
Long	Peterson (FL)	Tanner
Lowe	Peterson (MN)	Tejeda
Maloney	Pickett	Thompson
Mann	Pickle	Thornton
Manton	Pomeroy	Thurman
Manzullo	Price (NC)	Torres
Markey	Rahall	Torricelli
Martinez	Rangel	Towns
Matsui	Reed	Traficant
Mazzoli	Reynolds	Tucker
McCloskey	Richardson	Underwood (GU)
McCurdy	Roemer	Unsoeld
McDermott	Romero-Barcelo	Valentine
McHale	(PR)	Velazquez
McKinney	Rose	Vento
McNulty	Rostenkowski	Visclosky
Meehan	Rowland	Volkmer
Meek	Roybal-Allard	Washington
Menendez	Rush	Waters
Mfume	Sabo	Watt
Miller (CA)	Sanders	Waxman
Mineta	Sangmeister	Wheat
Mink	Sarpalius	Whitten
Moakley	Sawyer	Williams
Mollohan	Schenk	Wilson
Montgomery	Schroeder	Wise
Moran	Schumer	Woolsey
Murphy	Scott	Wyden
Murtha	Serrano	Wynn
Nadler	Sharp	Yates
Natcher	Shepherd	
Neal (MA)	Sisisky	

NOT VOTING—2

Clinger	Hall (OH)
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So the amendment was not agreed to.

After some further time,

The SPEAKER pro tempore, Mr. BEILENSEN, assumed the Chair.

When Mr. OBEY, Chairman, pursuant to House Resolution 319, reported the bill back to the House with an amendment adopted by the Committee.

The previous question having been ordered by said resolution.

The following amendment, reported from the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union, was agreed to:

Strike out all after the enacting clause and insert:

**SECTION 1. SHORT TITLE; TABLE OF CONTENTS.**

(a) SHORT TITLE.—This Act may be cited as the "House of Representatives Campaign Spending Limit and Election Reform Act of 1993".

(c) TABLE OF CONTENTS.—

Sec. 1. Short title; table of contents.

**TITLE I—CONTROL OF CONGRESSIONAL CAMPAIGN SPENDING**

**Subtitle A—[Reserved]**

**Subtitle B—Expenditure Limitations, Contribution Limitations, and Voter Communication Vouchers for Eligible House of Representatives Candidates**

Sec. 121. Provisions applicable to eligible House of Representatives candidates.

Sec. 122. Registration as eligible House of Representatives candidate.

Sec. 123. Definitions.

**TITLE II—LIMITATIONS ON POLITICAL COMMITTEE AND LARGE DONOR CONTRIBUTIONS THAT MAY BE ACCEPTED BY HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES CANDIDATES**

Sec. 201. Limitations on political committee and large donor contributions that may be accepted by House of Representatives candidates.

**TITLE III—INDEPENDENT EXPENDITURES**

Sec. 301. Clarification of definitions relating to independent expenditures.

Sec. 302. Reporting requirements for certain independent expenditures.

Sec. 303. Broadcast and cable independent expenditure communications against eligible House of Representatives candidates.

**TITLE IV—CONTRIBUTIONS AND EXPENDITURES BY POLITICAL PARTY COMMITTEES**

Sec. 401. Definitions.

Sec. 402. Contributions to political party committees.

Sec. 403. Provisions relating to national, State, and local party committees.

Sec. 404. Reporting requirements.

Sec. 405. Restrictions on fundraising by candidates and officeholders.

Sec. 406. Increase in authorized political committee contributions to congressional campaign committees.

Sec. 407. Increase in the amount that multicandidate political committees may contribute to national political party committees.

Sec. 408. Merchandising and affinity cards.

Sec. 409. Increased limitation amount for certain contributions to political committees of State political parties.

**TITLE V—CONTRIBUTIONS**

Sec. 501. Restrictions on bundling.

Sec. 502. Contributions by dependents not of voting age.

Sec. 503. Prohibition of acceptance by a candidate of cash contributions from any one person aggregating more than \$100.

Sec. 504. Contributions to candidates from State and local committees of political parties to be aggregated.

Sec. 505. Prohibition of false representation to solicit contributions.

Sec. 506. Limited exclusion of advances by campaign workers from the definition of the term "contribution".

Sec. 507. Amendment to section 316 of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971.

Sec. 508. Prohibition of certain election-related activities of foreign nationals.

**TITLE VI—REPORTING REQUIREMENTS**

Sec. 601. Change in certain reporting from a calendar year basis to an election cycle basis.

Sec. 602. Personal and consulting services.

Sec. 603. Reduction in threshold for reporting of certain information by persons other than political committees.

Sec. 604. Computerized indices of contributions.

Sec. 605. Identification.

Sec. 606. Political committees.

Sec. 607. Use of candidates' names.

Sec. 608. Reporting requirements.

Sec. 609. Simultaneous registration of candidate and candidate's principal campaign committee.

**TITLE VII—FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION**

Sec. 701. Appearance as amici curiae.

Sec. 702. Federal Election Commission public service announcements.

Sec. 703. Authority to seek injunction.

Sec. 704. Expedited procedures.

Sec. 705. Insolvent political committees.

**TITLE VIII—BALLOT INITIATIVE COMMITTEES**

Sec. 801. Definitions relating to ballot initiatives.

Sec. 802. Amendment to definition of contribution.

Sec. 803. Amendment to definition of expenditure.

Sec. 804. Organization of ballot initiative committees.

Sec. 805. Registration of ballot initiative committees.

Sec. 806. Reporting by ballot initiative committees.

Sec. 807. Enforcement for ballot initiative committees.

Sec. 808. Prohibition on contributions and expenditures by ballot initiative committees.

**TITLE IX—MISCELLANEOUS**

Sec. 901. Broadcast rates and preemption.

Sec. 902. Campaign advertising amendments.

Sec. 903. Telephone voting by persons with disabilities.

Sec. 904. Transfer of presidential election financing provisions to Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971.

**TITLE X—HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES CAMPAIGN ELECTION FUNDING AND RELATED MATTERS**

Sec. 1001. Make Democracy Work Election Fund.

**TITLE XI—EFFECTIVE DATES; SEVERABILITY**

Sec. 1101. Effective date.

Sec. 1102. Severability.

Sec. 1103. Expedited review of constitutional issues.

Sec. 1104. Regulations.

Sec. 1105. Budget neutrality.

**TITLE I—CONTROL OF CONGRESSIONAL CAMPAIGN SPENDING**

**Subtitle A—[Reserved]**

**Subtitle B—Expenditure Limitations, Contribution Limitations, and Voter Communication Vouchers for Eligible House of Representatives Candidates**

**SEC. 121. PROVISIONS APPLICABLE TO ELIGIBLE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES CANDIDATES.**

(a) IN GENERAL.—The Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 is amended by adding at the end the following new title:

**"TITLE VI—EXPENDITURE LIMITATIONS, CONTRIBUTION LIMITATIONS, AND VOTER COMMUNICATION VOUCHERS FOR ELIGIBLE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES CANDIDATES**

**"SEC. 601. EXPENDITURE LIMITATIONS.**

"(a) IN GENERAL.—An eligible House of Representatives candidate may not, in an election cycle, make expenditures aggregating more than \$600,000.

"(b) RUNOFF ELECTION AND SPECIAL ELECTION AMOUNTS.—

"(1) RUNOFF ELECTION AMOUNT.—If an eligible House of Representatives candidate is a candidate in a runoff election, the candidate may make additional expenditures aggregating not more than \$200,000 in the election cycle.

"(2) SPECIAL ELECTION AMOUNT.—An eligible House of Representatives candidate who is a candidate in a special election may make expenditures aggregating not more than \$600,000 with respect to the special election.

“(c) CLOSELY CONTESTED PRIMARY.—If, as determined by the Commission, an eligible House of Representatives candidate in a contested primary election wins that primary election by a margin of 20 percentage points or less, the candidate may make additional expenditures aggregating not more than \$200,000 in the election cycle.

“(d) NONPARTICIPATING OPPONENT PROVISIONS.—

“(1) LIMITATION EXCEPTION.—The limitations imposed by subsections (a) and (b) do not apply in the case of an eligible House of Representatives candidate if any other general election candidate seeking nomination or election to that office—

“(A) is not an eligible House of Representatives candidate; and

“(B) receives contributions or makes expenditures in excess of 25 percent of the limitation under subsection (a).

“(2) CONTINUED ELIGIBILITY AND ADDITIONAL MATCHING FUNDS.—An eligible House of Representatives candidate referred to in paragraph (1)—

“(A) shall continue to be eligible for all benefits under this title; and

“(B) shall receive voter communication vouchers under section 604.

“(3) REPORTING REQUIREMENT.—A candidate for the office of Representative in, or Delegate or Resident Commissioner to, the Congress—

“(A) who is not an eligible House of Representatives candidate; and

“(B) who makes contributions in excess of \$50,000 of personal funds of the candidate and members of the candidate's immediate family to the authorized committee of the candidate or receives contributions or makes expenditures in excess of 25 percent of the limitation under subsection (a);

shall report that the threshold has been reached to the Clerk of the House of Representatives not later than 48 hours after reaching the threshold. The Clerk shall transmit a report received under this paragraph to the Commission as soon as possible (but no later than 4 working hours of the Commission) after such receipt, and the Commission shall transmit a copy to each other candidate for election to the same office within 48 hours of receipt.

“(e) EXEMPTION FOR LEGAL COSTS AND TAXES.—Any costs incurred by an eligible House of Representatives candidate or his or her authorized committee, or a Federal officeholder, for legal services or Federal, State, or local income and payroll taxes with respect to a candidate's authorized committees, or to comply with section 606, shall not be considered in the computation of amounts subject to limitation under this section.

“(f) EXEMPTION FOR ACCOUNTING OR FUND-RAISING COSTS.—

“(1) Any costs incurred by an eligible House of Representatives candidate or his or her authorized committee in connection with the solicitation of contributions on behalf of such candidate or for accounting services to ensure compliance with this Act shall not be considered in the computation of amounts subject to limitation under subsection (a) to the extent that the aggregate of such costs does not exceed 10 percent of the limitation under subsection (a).

“(2) An amount equal to 10 percent of salaries and overhead expenditures of an eligible House of Representatives candidate's campaign headquarters and offices shall not be considered in the computation of amounts subject to limitation under this section. Any amount excluded under this paragraph shall be applied against the accounting or fundraising expenditure exemption under paragraph (1).

“(g) CIVIL PENALTIES.—

“(1) LOW AMOUNT OF EXCESS EXPENDITURES.—Any eligible House of Representa-

tives candidate who makes expenditures that exceed a limitation under subsection (a) or subsection (b) by 2.5 percent or less shall pay to the Commission an amount equal to the amount of the excess expenditures.

“(2) MEDIUM AMOUNT OF EXCESS EXPENDITURES.—Any eligible House of Representatives candidate who makes expenditures that exceed a limitation under subsection (a) or subsection (b) by more than 2.5 percent and less than 5 percent shall pay to the Commission an amount equal to three times the amount of the excess expenditures.

“(3) LARGE AMOUNT OF EXCESS EXPENDITURES.—Any eligible House of Representatives candidate who makes expenditures that exceed a limitation under subsection (a) or subsection (b) by 5 percent or more shall pay to the Commission an amount equal to three times the amount of the excess expenditures plus a civil penalty in an amount determined by the Commission.

“(h) INDEXING.—The dollar amounts specified in subsections (a), (b), and (c) shall be adjusted at the beginning of each calendar year based on the increase in the price index determined under section 315(c), except that, for the purposes of such adjustment, the base period shall be calendar year 1992.

“(i) The limitations of this section do not apply in the case of any recall action held pursuant to State law.

**“SEC. 602. CONTRIBUTION LIMITATIONS.**

“(a) PERSONAL CONTRIBUTIONS.—An eligible House of Representatives candidate may not, with respect to an election cycle, make contributions or loans to his or her own campaign totaling more than \$50,000 from the personal funds of the candidate. The amount that the candidate may accept from persons referred to in section 315(i)(2) shall be reduced by the amount of contributions made under the preceding sentence. Contributions from the personal funds of a candidate may not be matched under section 604.

“(b) LIMITATION EXCEPTION.—The limitation imposed by subsection (a) does not apply in the case of an eligible House of Representatives candidate if any other candidate for that office—

“(1) is not an eligible House of Representatives general election candidate; and

“(2) makes contributions or loans to his or her own campaign totaling more than \$50,000 from his or her own personal funds.

**“SEC. 603. DECLARATION OF PARTICIPATION; CONTINUING ELIGIBILITY.**

“The Commission shall determine whether a candidate is eligible under this title and, by reason of such eligibility may receive benefits under this title. Such determination shall—

“(1) in the case of an initial determination, be based on a declaration of participation submitted by the candidate; and

“(2) in the case of a determination of continuing eligibility, be based on relevant additional information submitted in such form and manner as the Commission may require.

**“SEC. 604. VOTER COMMUNICATION VOUCHERS.**

“(a) IN GENERAL.—An eligible House of Representatives candidate shall be entitled to receive, with respect to the general election, an amount of voter communication vouchers equal to the amount of contributions from individuals received by the candidate, but not more than \$200,000, with not more than \$200 to be taken into account per individual.

“(b) SPECIFIC REQUIREMENTS.—A candidate for the office of Representative in, or Delegate or Resident Commissioner to, the Congress may receive voter communication vouchers under subsection (a) only if the candidate—

“(1) in an election cycle, has received 10 percent of the limit specified in section 601(a) in contributions from individuals, with

not more than \$200 to be taken into account per individual;

“(2) qualifies for the general election ballot;

“(3) has an opponent on the general election ballot; and

“(4) files a declaration of participation in which the candidate agrees to—

“(A) comply with the limitations under sections 601 and 315(i);

“(B) cooperate in the case of any audit by the Commission by furnishing such campaign records and other information as the Commission may require; and

“(C) comply with any repayment requirement under section 606.

“(c) WRITTEN INSTRUMENT REQUIREMENT.—No contribution in any form other than a gift of money made by a written instrument or a certification by the committee making the request that identifies the individual making the contribution by full name and address may be used as a basis for any matching payment under this section.

“(d) CERTIFICATION AND PAYMENT.—

“(1) CERTIFICATION.—Except as provided in paragraphs (2), (3), and (4) not later than 5 days after receiving a request for payment, the Commission shall certify for payment the amount requested under this section. The request by an eligible candidate to receive voter communications vouchers under this section shall contain—

“(A) such information and be made in accordance with such procedures as the Commission may provide by regulation; and

“(B) a verification signed by the candidate and the treasurer of the principal campaign committee of such candidate stating that the information furnished in support of the request, to the best of their knowledge, is correct and fully satisfies the requirements of this title.

“(2) PAYMENTS.—The initial payment of voter communication vouchers under subsection (a) to an eligible candidate shall be an amount equal to at least 10 percent of the limit specified in section 601(a). All payments shall be—

“(A) made not later than 48 hours after certification under paragraph (1); and

“(B) subject to proportional reduction in the case of insufficient funds.

“(3) PARTIAL CERTIFICATION.—If the Commission determines that any portion of a request does not meet the requirements for certification, the Commission shall withhold the certification for that portion only and inform the candidate as to how the candidate may correct the request.

“(4) CERTIFICATION WITHHELD.—The Commission may withhold certification if it determines that a candidate who is otherwise eligible has engaged in a pattern of activity indicating that the promises in the candidate's statement of participation cannot be relied upon.

“(e) CLOSELY CONTESTED PRIMARY.—If, as determined by the Commission, an eligible House of Representatives candidate in a contested primary election wins that primary election by a margin of 20 percentage points or less, the candidate shall be eligible to receive matching vouchers totaling not more than \$66,600, in addition to any other amount received under this section. The amount available under the preceding sentence is subject to the matching requirements of this section.

“(f) INDEPENDENT EXPENDITURE PROVISION.—If, with respect to a general election involving an eligible House of Representatives candidate, independent expenditures totaling \$10,000 are made against the eligible House of Representatives candidate or in favor of another candidate, the eligible House of Representatives candidate shall be entitled, in addition to any amount received under subsection (a), to voter communica-

tion vouchers equal to the amount of such independent expenditures, and expenditures may be made from such vouchers without regard to the limitations in section 601.

“(g) PROHIBITION OF CONVERSION TO PERSONAL USE.—An eligible candidate who receives voter communication vouchers under this section may not convert any amount to personal use or make any payments, directly or indirectly, to such candidate or to any members of the immediate family of the candidate.

“(h) INDEXING.—The dollar amount specified in subsections (a) and (e) (other than the amount taken into account per individual) shall be adjusted at the beginning of the calendar year based on the increase in the price index determined under section 315(c), except that, for the purposes of such adjustment, the base period shall be calendar year 1992.

“(i) USE OF VOTER COMMUNICATION VOUCHERS.—Voter communication vouchers shall be used by an eligible House of Representatives candidate—

“(1) to purchase broadcast time during the general election period in the same manner as other broadcast time may be purchased by the candidate;

“(2) to purchase print advertisements during the general election period;

“(3) to purchase voter contact campaign materials (brochures, bumper stickers, handbills, pins, posters, and yard signs) used during the general election period; or

“(4) to pay for postage expenses incurred during the general election period.

“(j) UNEXPENDED VOUCHERS.—Any amount of voter communication vouchers received by an eligible House candidate under this title and not expended on or before the date of the general election shall be repaid within 60 days of the election, except that a reasonable amount may be retained for a period not exceeding 120 days after the date of the general election for the liquidation of obligations to pay expenditures for the general election incurred during the general election period. At the end of the 120-day period, any unexpended vouchers received under this title shall be promptly repaid.

**“SEC. 605. CLOSED CAPTIONING REQUIREMENT FOR TELEVISION COMMERCIALS OF ELIGIBLE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES CANDIDATES.**

“No eligible House of Representatives candidate may receive amounts under section 604 unless such candidate has certified to the Federal Election Commission that any television commercial prepared or distributed by the candidate will be prepared in a manner that contains, is accompanied by, or otherwise readily permits closed captioning of the oral content of the commercial to be broadcast by way of line 21 of the vertical blanking interval, or by way of comparable successor technologies.

**“SEC. 606. EXAMINATION AND AUDITS; REPAYMENTS.**

“(a) GENERAL ELECTION.—After each general election, the Commission shall conduct an examination and audit of the campaign accounts of 5 percent of the eligible House of Representatives candidates, as designated by the Commission through the use of an appropriate statistical method of random selection, to determine whether such candidates have complied with the conditions of eligibility and other requirements of this title. No other factors shall be considered in carrying out such an examination and audit. The Commission shall conduct an examination and audit of the accounts of all candidates from a congressional district where any eligible candidate is selected for examination and audit.

“(b) SPECIAL ELECTION.—After each special election, the Commission shall conduct an examination and audit of the campaign accounts of all eligible candidates in the elec-

tion to determine whether the candidates have complied with the conditions of eligibility and other requirements of this title.

“(c) AFFIRMATIVE VOTE.—The Commission may conduct an examination and audit of the campaign accounts of any eligible House of Representatives candidate in a general election if the Commission, by an affirmative vote of 4 members, determines that there exists reason to believe whether such candidate may have violated any provision of this title.

“(d) PAYMENTS.—If the Commission determines that any amount of a payment to a candidate under this title was in excess of the aggregate payments to which such candidate was entitled, the Commission shall so notify the candidate, and the candidate shall pay an amount equal to the excess.

**“SEC. 607. JUDICIAL REVIEW.**

“(a) JUDICIAL REVIEW.—Any agency action by the Commission made under the provisions of this title shall be subject to review by the United States Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia Circuit upon petition filed in such court within 30 days after the agency action by the Commission for which review is sought. It shall be the duty of the Court of Appeals, ahead of all matters not filed under this title, to advance on the docket and expeditiously take action on all petitions filed pursuant to this title.

“(b) APPLICATION OF TITLE 5.—The provisions of chapter 7 of title 5, United States Code, shall apply to judicial review of any agency action by the Commission.

“(c) AGENCY ACTION.—For purposes of this section, the term ‘agency action’ has the meaning given such term by section 551(13) of title 5, United States Code.

**“SEC. 608. PARTICIPATION BY COMMISSION IN JUDICIAL PROCEEDINGS.**

“(a) APPEARANCES.—The Commission is authorized to appear in and defend against any action instituted under this section and under section 607 either by attorneys employed in its office or by counsel whom it may appoint without regard to the provisions of title 5, United States Code, governing appointments in the competitive service, and whose compensation it may fix without regard to the provisions of chapter 51 and subchapter III of chapter 53 of such title.

“(b) INSTITUTION OF ACTIONS.—The Commission is authorized, through attorneys and counsel described in subsection (a), to institute actions in the district courts of the United States to seek recovery of any amounts determined under this title to be payable to the Secretary.

“(c) INJUNCTIVE RELIEF.—The Commission is authorized, through attorneys and counsel described in subsection (a), to petition the courts of the United States for such injunctive relief as is appropriate in order to implement any provision of this title.

“(d) APPEALS.—The Commission is authorized on behalf of the United States to appeal from, and to petition the Supreme Court for certiorari to review, judgments or decrees entered with respect to actions in which it appears pursuant to the authority provided in this section.

**“SEC. 609. REPORTS TO CONGRESS; CERTIFICATIONS; REGULATIONS.**

“(a) REPORTS.—The Commission shall, as soon as practicable after each election, submit a full report to the House of Representatives setting forth—

“(1) the expenditures (shown in such detail as the Commission determines appropriate) made by each eligible candidate and the authorized committees of such candidate;

“(2) the aggregate amount of voter communication vouchers certified by the Commission under section 604 for each eligible candidate; and

“(3) the amount of repayments, if any, required under section 606, and the reasons for each repayment required.

Each report submitted pursuant to this section shall be printed as a House document.

“(b) DETERMINATIONS BY COMMISSION.—All determinations (including certifications under section 604) made by the Commission under this title shall be final and conclusive, except to the extent that they are subject to examination and audit by the Commission under section 606 or judicial review under section 607.

“(c) RULES AND REGULATIONS.—The Commission is authorized to prescribe such rules and regulations, in accordance with the provisions of subsection (d), to conduct such audits, examinations and investigations, and to require the keeping and submission of such books, records, and information, as it deems necessary to carry out the functions and duties imposed on it by this title.

“(d) REPORT OF PROPOSED REGULATIONS.—The Commission shall submit to the House of Representatives a report containing a detailed explanation and justification of each rule, regulation, and form of the Commission under this title. No such rule, regulation, or form may take effect until a period of 30 legislative days has elapsed after the report is received. As used in this subsection—

“(1) the term ‘legislative day’ means any calendar day on which the House of Representatives is in session; and

“(2) the terms ‘rule’ and ‘regulation’ mean a provision or series of interrelated provisions stating a single, separable rule of law.”

(b) REPORT ON USING VOTER COMMUNICATION VOUCHERS FOR PRIMARY ELECTIONS.—The Commission shall submit to the House of Representatives, not later than January 1, 1997, a report containing an evaluation for expanding the use of voter communication vouchers in primary elections for eligible candidates to the House of Representatives for the election year 2000 and thereafter. The report shall include a detailed cost estimate for such expansion and options for financing the use of Voter Communication Vouchers in primary elections.

**SEC. 122. REGISTRATION AS ELIGIBLE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES CANDIDATE.**

(a) IN GENERAL.—Section 302(e) of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 (2 U.S.C. 432(e)) is amended by adding at the end the following new paragraph:

“(6)(A) In the case of a candidate for the office of Representative in, or Delegate or Resident Commissioner to, the Congress, who desires to be an eligible House of Representatives candidate, a declaration of participation of the candidate to abide by the limits specified in sections 601 and 315(i) and provide the information required under section 604(b)(4) shall be included in the designation required to be filed under paragraph (1).

“(B)(i) In the case of a candidate referred to in subparagraph (A), if the statement of candidacy does not include a declaration referred to in that paragraph, the candidate may amend the statement to include such declaration, if such amendment is filed under subsection (g) not later than 7 days after the earlier of—

“(I) the date the candidate qualifies for the general election ballot under State law; or

“(II) if, under State law, a primary or runoff election to qualify for the general election ballot occurs after September 1, the date the candidate wins the primary or runoff election.

“(ii) A declaration of participation that is included in a statement of candidacy or has been added by amendment under subparagraph (B) may not thereafter be revoked.”

**SEC. 123. DEFINITIONS.**

Section 301 of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 (2 U.S.C. 431) is amended by striking paragraph (19) and inserting the following new paragraphs:

“(19) The term ‘general election’ means any election which will directly result in the election of a person to a Federal office, but does not include an open primary election.

“(20) The term ‘general election period’ means, with respect to any candidate, the period beginning on the day after the date of the primary or runoff election for the specific office the candidate is seeking, whichever is later, and ending on the earlier of—

“(A) the date of such general election; or

“(B) the date on which the candidate withdraws from the campaign or otherwise ceases actively to seek election.

“(21) The term ‘immediate family’ means—

“(A) a candidate’s spouse;

“(B) a child, stepchild, parent, grandparent, brother, step-brother, sister or step-sister of the candidate or the candidate’s spouse; and

“(C) the spouse of any person described in subparagraph (B).

“(22) The term ‘primary election’ means an election which may result in the selection of a candidate for the ballot in a general election for a Federal office.

“(23) The term ‘primary election period’ means, with respect to any candidate, the period beginning on the day following the date of the last election for the specific office the candidate is seeking and ending on the earlier of—

“(A) the date of the first primary election for that office following the last general election for that office; or

“(B) the date on which the candidate withdraws from the election or otherwise ceases actively to seek election.

“(24) The term ‘runoff election’ means an election held after a primary election which is prescribed by applicable State law as the means for deciding which candidate will be on the ballot in the general election for a Federal office.

“(25) The term ‘runoff election period’ means, with respect to any candidate, the period beginning on the day following the date of the last primary election for the specific office such candidate is seeking and ending on the date of the runoff election for such office.

“(26) The term ‘voting age population’ means the resident population, 18 years of age or older, as certified pursuant to section 315(e).

“(27) The term ‘eligible House of Representatives candidate’ means a candidate for election to the office of Representative in, or Delegate or Resident Commissioner to, the Congress, who, as determined by the Commission under section 603, is eligible to receive matching vouchers and other benefits under title VI by reason of filing a declaration of participation under section 302(e) and complying with the continuing eligibility requirements under section 603.

“(28) The term ‘election cycle’ means—

“(A) in the case of a candidate or the authorized committees of a candidate, the term beginning on the day after the date of the most recent general election for the specific office or seat which such candidate seeks and ending on the date of the next general election for such office or seat; or

“(B) for all other persons, the term beginning on the first day following the date of the last general election and ending on the date of the next general election.”.

**TITLE II—LIMITATIONS ON POLITICAL COMMITTEE AND LARGE DONOR CONTRIBUTIONS THAT MAY BE ACCEPTED BY HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES CANDIDATES****SEC. 201. LIMITATIONS ON POLITICAL COMMITTEE AND LARGE DONOR CONTRIBUTIONS THAT MAY BE ACCEPTED BY HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES CANDIDATES.**

Section 315 of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 (2 U.S.C. 441a) is amended by adding at the end the following new subsections:

“(i)(1) A candidate for the office of Representative in, or Delegate or Resident Commissioner to, the Congress may not, with respect to an election cycle, accept contributions from political committees aggregating in excess of \$200,000.

“(2) A candidate for the office of Representative in, or Delegate or Resident Commissioner to, the Congress may not, with respect to an election cycle, accept contributions aggregating in excess of \$200,000 from persons other than political committees whose contributions total more than \$200.

“(3) In addition to the contributions under paragraphs (1) and (2), if an eligible House of Representatives candidate in a contested primary election wins that primary election by a margin of 20 percentage points or less, the candidate may accept contributions of—

“(A) not more than \$66,600 from political committees; and

“(B) not more than \$66,600 from persons referred to in paragraph (2).

“(4) In addition to the contributions under paragraphs (1) and (2), a House of Representatives candidate who is a candidate in a runoff election may accept contributions of (A) not more than \$100,000 from political committees; and (B) not more than \$100,000 from persons referred to in paragraph (2).

“(j) **NONPARTICIPATING OPPONENT PROVISIONS.**—The limitations imposed by section 315(i) do not apply in the case of an eligible House of Representatives candidate if any other candidate seeking nomination or election to that office—

“(1) is not an eligible House of Representatives general election candidate; and

“(2) makes contributions or loans to his or her own campaign totaling more than \$50,000 from his or her own personal funds.

“(k) **CIVIL PENALTIES.**—

“(1) **LOW AMOUNT OF EXCESS CONTRIBUTIONS.**—Any eligible House of Representatives candidate who accepts contributions that exceed the limitations under this section by 2.5 percent or less shall refund the excess contributions to the persons who made the contributions.

“(2) **MEDIUM AMOUNT OF EXCESS CONTRIBUTIONS.**—Any eligible House of Representatives candidate who accepts contributions that exceed the limitations under this section by more than 2.5 percent and less than 5 percent shall pay to the Commission an amount equal to three times the amount of the excess contributions.

“(3) **LARGE AMOUNT OF EXCESS CONTRIBUTIONS.**—Any eligible House of Representatives candidate who accepts contributions that exceed the limitations under this section by 5 percent or more shall pay to the Commission an amount equal to three times the amount of the excess contributions plus a civil penalty in an amount determined by the Commission.

“(l) **EXEMPTION FOR CERTAIN COSTS.**—Any amount—

“(1) accepted by a House of Representatives candidate; and

“(2) used for costs incurred under section 601(e) and (f) shall not be considered in the computation of amounts subject to limitation.

“(m) **INDEXING.**—The dollar amounts specified in section 315(i) shall be adjusted at the

beginning of the calendar year based on the increase in the price index determined under section 315(c), except that, for the purposes of such adjustment, the base period shall be calendar year 1992.

“(n) **TRANSFER PROVISION.**—The limitations imposed by section 315(i) apply without regard to amounts transferred from previous election cycles or other authorized committees of the same candidate. Candidates shall not be required to seek the redesignation of contributions in order to transfer such contributions to a later election cycle.”.

**TITLE III—INDEPENDENT EXPENDITURES****SEC. 301. CLARIFICATION OF DEFINITIONS RELATING TO INDEPENDENT EXPENDITURES.**

(a) **INDEPENDENT EXPENDITURE DEFINITION AMENDMENT.**—Section 301 of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 (2 U.S.C. 431) is amended by striking paragraphs (17) and (18) and inserting the following:

“(17)(A) The term ‘independent expenditure’ means an expenditure for an advertisement or other communication that—

“(i) contains express advocacy; and

“(ii) is made without the participation or cooperation of, or consultation with, a candidate or a candidate’s representative.

“(B) The following shall not be considered an independent expenditure:

“(i) An expenditure made by an authorized committee of a candidate for Federal office or a political committee of a political party.

“(ii) An expenditure made by a person who, during the election cycle, has made a contribution to a candidate, where the expenditure is in support of that candidate or in opposition to another candidate for the same office.

“(iii) An expenditure made by a person, or a political committee established, maintained or controlled by such person, who is required to register, under section 308 of the Federal Regulation of Lobbying Act (2 U.S.C. 267) or the Foreign Agents Registration Act (22 U.S.C. 611) or any successor Federal law requiring a person who is a lobbyist or foreign agent to register.

“(iv) An expenditure made by a person who, during the election cycle, has communicated with or received information from a candidate or a representative of that candidate regarding activities that have the purpose of influencing that candidate’s election to Federal office, where the expenditure is in support of that candidate or in opposition to another candidate for that office.

“(v) An expenditure if, in the same election cycle, the person making the expenditure is or has been—

“(I) authorized to raise or expend funds on behalf of the candidate or the candidate’s authorized committees; or

“(II) serving as a member, employee, or agent of the candidate’s authorized committees in an executive or policymaking position.

“(18) The term ‘express advocacy’ means, when a communication is taken as a whole and with limited reference to external events, an expression of support for or opposition to a specific candidate, to a specific group of candidates, or to candidates of a particular political party, or a suggestion to take action with respect to an election, such as to vote for or against, make contributions to, or participate in campaign activity.”.

(b) **CONTRIBUTION DEFINITION AMENDMENT.**—Section 301(8)(A) of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 (2 U.S.C. 431(8)(A)) is amended—

(1) in clause (i), by striking “or” after the semicolon at the end;

(2) in clause (ii), by striking the period at the end and inserting “; or”; and

(3) by adding at the end the following new clause:

“(iii) any payment or other transaction referred to in paragraph (17)(A)(i) that does not qualify as an independent expenditure under paragraph (17)(A)(ii).”.

**SEC. 302. REPORTING REQUIREMENTS FOR CERTAIN INDEPENDENT EXPENDITURES.**

Section 304(c) of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 (2 U.S.C. 434(c)) is amended—

(1) in paragraph (2), by striking out the undesignated matter after subparagraph (C);

(2) by redesignating paragraph (3) as paragraph (8); and

(3) by inserting after paragraph (2), as amended by paragraph (1), the following new paragraphs:

“(3)(A) Any person (including a political committee) making an independent expenditure (including those described in subsection (b)(6)(B)(iii) of this section) aggregating \$1,000 or more made after the 20th day, but more than 24 hours, before any election shall file a report within 24 hours after such independent expenditure is made.

“(B) Any person (including a political committee) making an independent expenditure aggregating \$5,000 or more made at any time up to and including the 20th day before any election shall file a report within 48 hours after such independent expenditure is made. An additional report shall be filed each time independent expenditures aggregating \$5,000 are made with respect to the same election as the initial report filed under this section.

“(C) Such report shall be filed with the Clerk of the House of Representatives, the Secretary of the Senate, or the Commission, whichever is applicable, and the Secretary of State of the State involved and shall contain the information required by subsection (b)(6)(B)(iii) of this section, including whether the independent expenditure is in support of, or in opposition to, the candidate involved. The Clerk of the House of Representatives and the Secretary of the Senate shall as soon as possible (but not later than 4 working hours of the Commission) after receipt of a report transmit it to the Commission. Not later than 48 hours after the Commission receives a report, the Commission shall transmit a copy of the report to each candidate seeking nomination or election to that office.

“(D) For purposes of this section, the term ‘made’ includes any payment and any action taken to incur an obligation for payment.

“(4)(A) If any person (including a political committee) intends to make independent expenditures totaling \$5,000 during the 20 days before an election, such person shall file a report no later than the 20th day before the election.

“(B) Such report shall be filed with the Clerk of the House of Representatives, the Secretary of the Senate, or the Commission, whichever is applicable, and the Secretary of State of the State involved, and shall identify each candidate whom the expenditure is actually intended to support or to oppose. The Clerk of the House of Representatives and the Secretary of the Senate shall as soon as possible (but not later than 4 working hours of the Commission) after receipt of a report transmit it to the Commission. Not later than 48 hours after the Commission receives a report under this paragraph, the Commission shall transmit a copy of the statement to each candidate identified.

“(5) The Commission may make its own determination that a person has made, or has incurred obligations to make, independent expenditures with respect to any Federal election which in the aggregate exceed the applicable amounts under paragraph (3) or (4). The Commission shall notify each candidate in such election of such determination within 24 hours of making it.

“(6) At the same time as an eligible candidate who has qualified under section 604(b) is notified under paragraph (3), (4), or (5) with respect to expenditures during a general election period, the Commission shall certify eligibility to receive benefits under section 604(b).

“(7) The Clerk of the House of Representatives and the Secretary of the Senate shall make any report received under this subsection available for public inspection and copying in the same manner as the Commission under section 311(a)(4), and shall preserve such statements in the same manner as the Commission under section 311(a)(5).”.

**SEC. 303. BROADCAST AND CABLE INDEPENDENT EXPENDITURE COMMUNICATIONS AGAINST ELIGIBLE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES CANDIDATES.**

Section 315 of the Communications Act of 1934 (47 U.S.C. 315) is amended—

(1) by redesignating subsections (c) and (d) as subsections (e) and (f), respectively; and

(2) by inserting immediately before subsection (e) as redesignated the following new subsection:

“(d) If any person makes an independent expenditure through a communication on a broadcasting station or a cable system (as defined in section 602 of this Act) that expressly advocates the defeat of an eligible House of Representatives candidate, or the election of the opponent of an eligible House of Representatives candidate (regardless of whether such opponent is an eligible candidate), the licensee or cable operator, as applicable, shall, not later than one week after the communication (or not later than 24 hours after the communication, if the communication occurs not more than one week before the election) transmit to such candidate—

“(1) a statement of the date and time of the communication;

“(2) a script or tape recording of the communication, or an accurate summary of the communication if a script or tape recording is not available; and

“(3) an offer of an equal opportunity for such candidate to use the broadcasting station or cable system to respond to the communication at a charge determined in accordance with subsection (b).”.

**TITLE IV—CONTRIBUTIONS AND EXPENDITURES BY POLITICAL PARTY COMMITTEES**

**SEC. 401. DEFINITIONS.**

(a) CONTRIBUTION AND EXPENDITURE EXCEPTIONS.—(1) Clause (xii) of section 301(8)(B) of Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 (2 U.S.C. 431(8)(B)(xii)) is amended—

(A) by inserting “in connection with volunteer activities” after “such committee”; and

(B) by striking “and” at the end of subclause (2), by inserting “and” at the end of subclause (3), and by adding at the end the following new subclause:

“(4) such activities are conducted solely by, and any materials are prepared for distribution, and are distributed solely by, volunteers;”.

(2) Clause (ix) of section 301(9)(B) of Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 (2 U.S.C. 431(9)(B)(ix)) is amended—

(A) by inserting “in connection with volunteer activities” after “such committee”; and

(B) by striking “and” at the end of subclause (2); and

(C) by adding at the end the following new subclause:

“(4) such activities are conducted solely by, and any materials are prepared for distribution and are distributed solely by, volunteers; and”.

(b) GENERIC ACTIVITIES; STATE PARTY GRASSROOTS FUND.—Section 301 of Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 (2 U.S.C. 431), as amended by section 123, is further amend-

ed by adding at the end the following new paragraphs:

“(29) The term ‘generic campaign activity’ means any campaign activity conducted by a political party to promote a political party rather than any Federal or non-Federal candidate and which does not identify any Federal or non-Federal candidate.

“(30) The term ‘State Party Grassroots Fund’ means a separate segregated fund established and maintained by a State committee of a political party solely for purposes of making expenditures and other disbursements described in section 323(d).”.

**SEC. 402. CONTRIBUTIONS TO POLITICAL PARTY COMMITTEES.**

(a) INDIVIDUAL CONTRIBUTIONS TO POLITICAL PARTY COMMITTEES.—Paragraph (1) of section 315(a) of Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 (2 U.S.C. 441a(a)(1)) is amended by striking “or” at the end of subparagraph (B), by redesignating subparagraph (C) as subparagraph (D), and by inserting after subparagraph (B) the following new subparagraph:

“(C) to—

“(i) a State Party Grassroots Fund established and maintained by a State committee of a political party in any calendar year which, in the aggregate, exceed \$20,000;

“(ii) any other political committee established and maintained by a State committee of a political party in any calendar year which, in the aggregate, exceed \$5,000, except that the aggregate contributions described in this subparagraph which may be made by a person to the State Party Grassroots Fund and all committees of a State Committee of a political party in any State in any calendar year shall not exceed \$20,000; or”.

(b) MULTICANDIDATE COMMITTEE CONTRIBUTIONS TO STATE PARTY.—Paragraph (2) of section 315(a) of Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 (2 U.S.C. 441a(a)(2)) is amended by striking “or” at the end of subparagraph (B), by redesignating subparagraph (C) as subparagraph (D), and by inserting after subparagraph (D) the following new subparagraph:

“(C) to—

“(i) a State Party Grassroots Fund established and maintained by a State committee of a political party in any calendar year which, in the aggregate, exceed \$15,000;

“(ii) to any other political committee established and maintained by a State committee of a political party which, in the aggregate, exceed \$5,000,

except that the aggregate contributions described in this subparagraph which may be made by a multicandidate political committee to the State Party Grassroots Fund and all committees of a State Committee of a political party in any State in any calendar year shall not exceed \$15,000; or”.

(c) OVERALL LIMIT.—Paragraph (3) of section 315(a) of Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 (2 U.S.C. 441a(a)(3)) is amended to read as follows:

“(3)(A) No individual shall make contributions during any election cycle (as defined in section 301(29)(B)) which, in the aggregate, exceed \$60,000.

“(B) No individual shall make contributions during any calendar year—

“(i) to all candidates and their authorized political committees which, in the aggregate, exceed \$25,000; or

“(ii) to all political committees established and maintained by State committees of a political party which, in the aggregate, exceed \$20,000.

“(C) For purposes of subparagraph (B)(i), any contribution made to a candidate or the candidate’s authorized political committees in a year other than the calendar year in which the election is held with respect to

which such contribution is made shall be treated as made during the calendar year in which the election is held.”

**SEC. 403. PROVISIONS RELATING TO NATIONAL, STATE, AND LOCAL PARTY COMMITTEES.**

(a) **SOFT MONEY OF COMMITTEES OF POLITICAL PARTIES.**—Title III of Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 (2 U.S.C. 431 et seq.) is amended by adding after section 322 the following new section:

**“SEC. 323. POLITICAL PARTY COMMITTEES.**

“(a) **LIMITATIONS ON NATIONAL COMMITTEE.**—(1) A national committee of a political party and the congressional campaign committees of a political party may not solicit or accept contributions or transfers not subject to the limitations, prohibitions, and reporting requirements of this Act.

“(2) Paragraph (1) shall not apply to contributions—

“(A) that—

“(i) are to be transferred to a State committee of a political party and are used solely for activities described in clauses (xi) through (xvii) of paragraph (9)(B) of section 301;

“(ii) are described in section 301(8)(B)(viii); and

“(B) with respect to which contributors have been notified that the funds will be used solely for the purposes described in subparagraph (A).

“(b) **ACTIVITIES SUBJECT TO THIS ACT.**—Any amount solicited, received, expended, or disbursed directly or indirectly by a national, State, district, or local committee of a political party with respect to any of the following activities shall be subject to the limitations, prohibitions, and reporting requirements of this Act:

“(A) Any get-out-the-vote activity conducted during a calendar year in which an election for the office of President is held.

“(B) Any other get-out-the-vote activity unless subsection (c)(2) applies to the activity.

“(C) Any generic campaign activity.

“(D) Any activity that identifies or promotes a Federal candidate, regardless of whether—

“(i) a State or local candidate is also identified or promoted; or

“(ii) any portion of the funds disbursed constitutes a contribution or expenditure under this Act.

“(E) Voter registration.

“(F) Development and maintenance of voter files during an even-numbered calendar year.

“(G) Any other activity that—

“(i) significantly affects a Federal election, or

“(ii) is not otherwise described in section 301(8)(B)(xvii).

Any amount spent to raise funds that are used, in whole or in part, in connection with activities described in the preceding paragraphs shall be subject to the limitations, prohibitions, and reporting requirements of this Act.

“(c) **GET-OUT-THE-VOTE ACTIVITIES BY STATE, DISTRICT, AND LOCAL COMMITTEES OF POLITICAL PARTIES.**—(1) Except as provided in paragraph (2), any get-out-the-vote activity for a State or local candidate, or for a ballot measure, which is conducted by a State, district, or local committee of a political party shall be subject to the limitations, prohibitions, and reporting requirements of this Act.

“(2) Paragraph (1) shall not apply to any activity which the State committee of a political party certifies to the Commission is an activity which—

“(A) is conducted during a calendar year other than a calendar year in which an election for the office of President is held,

“(B) is exclusively on behalf of (and specifically identifies only) one or more State or local candidates or ballot measures, and

“(C) does not include any effort or means used to identify or turn out those identified to be supporters of any Federal candidate (including any activity that is undertaken in coordination with, or on behalf of, a candidate for Federal office).

“(d) **STATE PARTY GRASSROOTS FUNDS.**—(1) A State committee of a political party may make disbursements and expenditures from its State Party Grassroots Fund only for—

“(A) any generic campaign activity;

“(B) payments described in clauses (v), (x), and (xii) of paragraph (8)(B) and clauses (iv), (viii), and (ix) of paragraph (9)(B) of section 301;

“(C) subject to the limitations of section 315(d), payments described in clause (xii) of paragraph (8)(B), and clause (ix) of paragraph (9)(B), of section 301 on behalf of candidates other than for President and Vice President;

“(D) voter registration; and

“(E) development and maintenance of voter files during an even-numbered calendar year.

“(2) Notwithstanding section 315(a)(4), no funds may be transferred by a State committee of a political party from its State Party Grassroots Fund to any other State Party Grassroots Fund or to any other political committee, except a transfer may be made to a district or local committee of the same political party in the same State if such district or local committee—

“(A) has established a separate segregated fund for the purposes described in paragraph (1); and

“(B) uses the transferred funds solely for those purposes.

“(e) **AMOUNTS RECEIVED BY GRASSROOTS FUND FROM STATE AND LOCAL CANDIDATE COMMITTEES.**—(1) Any amount received by a State Party Grassroots Fund from a State or local candidate committee for expenditures described in subsection (b) that are for the benefit of that candidate shall be treated as meeting the requirements of subsection (b) and section 304(e) if—

“(A) such amount is derived from funds which meet the requirements of this Act with respect to any limitation or prohibition as to source or dollar amount specified in section 315(a) (1)(A) and (2)(A); and

“(B) the State or local candidate committee—

“(i) maintains, in the account from which payment is made, records of the sources and amounts of funds for purposes of determining whether such requirements are met; and

“(ii) certifies that such requirements were met.

“(2) For purposes of paragraph (1)(A), in determining whether the funds transferred meet the requirements of this Act described in such paragraph—

“(A) a State or local candidate committee’s cash on hand shall be treated as consisting of the funds most recently received by the committee, and

“(B) the committee must be able to demonstrate that its cash on hand contains sufficient funds meeting such requirements as are necessary to cover the transferred funds.

“(3) Notwithstanding paragraph (1)—

“(A) any State Party Grassroots Fund receiving any transfer described in paragraph (1) from a State or local candidate committee shall be required to meet the reporting requirements of this Act, and shall submit to the Commission all certifications received, with respect to receipt of the transfer from such candidate committee; and

“(B) in the case of a subordinate committee of a State committee which maintains segregated accounts which are not commingled with other accounts of the State committee and which subordinate committee is

subject to reporting and contribution limitation requirements of State law, the certification required by this paragraph may be made by such subordinate committee.

“(4) For purposes of this subsection, a State or local candidate committee is a committee established, financed, maintained, or controlled by a candidate for other than Federal office.”

(b) **CONTRIBUTIONS AND EXPENDITURES.**—(1) Section 301(8)(B) of Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 (2 U.S.C. 431(8)(B)) is amended—

(A) in clause (viii), by inserting after “Federal office” the following: “or any amounts received by any committee of any National or State political party to support the operation of a television and radio broadcast facility”;

(B) by striking “and” at the end of clause (xiii);

(C) by striking clause (xiv); and

(D) by inserting after clause (xiii) the following new clauses:

“(xiv) any amount contributed to a candidate for other than Federal office;

“(xv) any amount received or expended to pay the costs of a State or local political convention;

“(xvi) any payment for campaign activities that are exclusively on behalf of (and specifically identify only) State or local candidates and do not identify any Federal candidate, and that are not activities described in section 323(b) (without regard to paragraph (6)(B)) or section 323(c)(1);

“(xvii) any payment for administrative expenses of a State or local committee of a political party, including expenses for—

“(I) overhead, including party meetings;

“(II) staff (other than individuals devoting a significant amount of their time to elections for Federal office and individuals engaged in conducting get-out-the-vote activities for a Federal election); and

“(III) conducting party elections or caucuses;

“(xviii) any payment for research pertaining solely to State and local candidates and issues;

“(xix) any payment for development and maintenance of voter files other than during the 1-year period ending on the date during an even-numbered calendar year on which regularly scheduled general elections for Federal office occur; and

“(xx) any payment for any other activity which is solely for the purpose of influencing, and which solely affects, an election for non-Federal office and which is not an activity described in section 323(b) (without regard to paragraph (6)(B)) or section 323(c)(1).”

(2) Section 301(9)(B) of Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 (2 U.S.C. 431(9)(B)), as amended by section 401, is further amended by striking “and” at the end of clause (ix), by striking the period at the end of clause (x) and inserting a semicolon, and by adding at the end the following new clauses:

“(xi) any amounts expended by any committee of any National or State political party to support the operation of a television and radio broadcast facility;

“(xii) any amount contributed to a candidate for other than Federal office;

“(xiii) any amount received or expended to pay the costs of a State or local political convention;

“(xiv) any payment for campaign activities that are exclusively on behalf of (and specifically identify only) State or local candidates and do not identify any Federal candidate, and that are not activities described in section 323(b) (without regard to paragraph (6)(B)) or section 323(c)(1);

“(xv) any payment for administrative expenses of a State or local committee of a political party, including expenses for—

“(I) overhead, including party meetings;

“(II) staff (other than individuals devoting a significant amount of their time to elections for Federal office and individuals engaged in conducting get-out-the-vote activities for a Federal election); and

“(III) conducting party elections or caucuses;

“(xvi) any payment for research pertaining solely to State and local candidates and issues;

“(xvii) any payment for development and maintenance of voter files other than during the 1-year period ending on the date during an even-numbered calendar year on which regularly scheduled general elections for Federal office occur; and

“(xviii) any payment for any other activity which is solely for the purpose of influencing, and which solely affects, an election for non-Federal office and which is not an activity described in section 323(b) (without regard to paragraph (6)(B)) or section 323(c)(1).”

(c) **LIMITATION APPLIED AT NATIONAL LEVEL.**—Paragraph (3) of section 315(d) of Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 (2 U.S.C. 441a(d)(3)) is amended by adding at the end the following new flush sentence:

“Notwithstanding the preceding sentence, the applicable congressional campaign committee of a political party shall make the expenditures described in this paragraph which are authorized to be made by a national or State committee with respect to a candidate in any State unless it allocates all or a portion of such expenditures to either or both of such committees.”

(d) **LIMITATIONS APPLY FOR ENTIRE ELECTION CYCLE.**—Section 315(d)(1) of Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 (2 U.S.C. 441a(d)(1)) is amended by adding at the end the following new sentence: “Each limitation under the following paragraphs shall apply to the entire election cycle for an office.”

#### SEC. 404. REPORTING REQUIREMENTS.

(a) **REPORTING REQUIREMENTS.**—Section 304 of Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 (2 U.S.C. 434) is amended by adding at the end the following new subsection:

“(d) **POLITICAL COMMITTEES.**—(1) The national committee of a political party and any congressional campaign committee of a political party, and any subordinate committee of either, shall report all receipts and disbursements during the reporting period, whether or not in connection with an election for Federal office.

“(2) A political committee (not described in paragraph (1)) to which section 323 applies shall report all receipts and disbursements including separate schedules for receipts and disbursements for State Grassroots Funds described in section 301(30).

“(3) Any political committee to which section 323 applies shall include in its report under paragraph (1) or (2) the amount of any transfer described in section 323(d)(2) and shall itemize such amounts to the extent required by section 304(b)(3)(A).

“(4) Any political committee to which paragraph (1) or (2) does not apply shall report any receipts or disbursements which are used in connection with a Federal election.

“(5) If a political committee has receipts or disbursements to which this subsection applies from any person aggregating in excess of \$200 for any calendar year, the political committee shall separately itemize its reporting for such person in the same manner as subsection (b) (3)(A), (5), or (6).

“(6) Reports required to be filed by this subsection shall be filed for the same time periods required for political committees under subsection (a).”

(b) **REPORT OF EXEMPT CONTRIBUTIONS.**—Section 301(8) of the Federal Election Cam-

paign Act of 1971 (2 U.S.C. 431(8)) is amended by adding at the end the following:

“(C) The exclusion provided in clause (viii) of subparagraph (B) shall not apply for purposes of any requirement to report contributions under this Act, and all such contributions aggregating in excess of \$200 shall be reported.”

(c) **REPORTS BY STATE COMMITTEES.**—Section 304 of Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 (2 U.S.C. 434), as amended by subsection (a), is amended by adding at the end the following new subsection:

“(e) **FILING OF STATE REPORTS.**—In lieu of any report required to be filed by this Act, the Commission may allow a State committee of a political party to file with the Commission a report required to be filed under State law if the Commission determines such reports contain substantially the same information.”

(d) **OTHER REPORTING REQUIREMENTS.**—

(1) **AUTHORIZED COMMITTEES.**—Paragraph (4) of section 304(b) of Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 (2 U.S.C. 434(b)(4)) is amended by striking “and” at the end of subparagraph (H), by inserting “and” at the end of subparagraph (I), and by adding at the end the following new subparagraph:

“(J) in the case of an authorized committee, disbursements for the primary election, the general election, and any other election in which the candidate participates;”

(2) **NAMES AND ADDRESSES.**—Subparagraph (A) of section 304(b)(5) of Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 (2 U.S.C. 434(b)(5)(A)) is amended—

(A) by striking “within the calendar year”, and

(B) by inserting “, and the election to which the operating expenditure relates” after “operating expenditure”.

#### SEC. 405. RESTRICTIONS ON FUNDRAISING BY CANDIDATES AND OFFICEHOLDERS.

Section 315 of Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 (2 U.S.C. 441a), as amended by section 201, is further amended by adding at the end the following new subsection:

“(o) **LIMITATIONS ON FUNDRAISING ACTIVITIES OF FEDERAL CANDIDATES AND OFFICEHOLDERS AND CERTAIN POLITICAL COMMITTEES.**—(1) For purposes of this Act, a candidate for Federal office, an individual holding Federal office, or any agent of the candidate or individual may not solicit funds to, or receive funds on behalf of, any Federal candidate or political committee, or any party or other multicandidate committee organized under State law to support more than one candidate for non-Federal office—

“(A) which are to be expended in connection with any election for Federal office unless such funds are subject to the limitations, prohibitions, and requirements of this Act; or

“(B) which are to be expended in connection with any election for other than Federal office unless such funds are not in excess of amounts permitted with respect to Federal candidates and political committees under subsections (a) (1) and (2), and are not from sources prohibited by such subsections with respect to elections to Federal office. The limitations of this subsection do not apply to the solicitation or receipt of funds by a Federal candidate on behalf of any committee or organization organized primarily for purposes other than the election of particular candidates for public office.

“(2)(A) The aggregate amount which a person described in subparagraph (B) may solicit from a multicandidate political committee for State committees described in subsection (a)(1)(C) (including subordinate committees) for any calendar year shall not exceed the dollar amount in effect under subsection (a)(2)(B) for the calendar year.

“(B) A person is described in this subparagraph if such person is a candidate for Fed-

eral office, an individual holding Federal office, an agent of such a candidate or individual, or any national, State, district, or local committee of a political party (including a subordinate committee) and any agent of such a committee.

“(3) The personal appearance or participation by a candidate for Federal office or individual holding Federal office in any fundraising event conducted by a committee of a political party or a candidate for other than Federal office shall not be treated as a solicitation for purposes of paragraph (1) if such candidate or individual does not receive, or make disbursements from, any funds resulting from such activity.

“(4) Paragraph (1) shall not apply to the solicitation or receipt of funds, or disbursements, by an individual who is a candidate for other than Federal office if such activity is permitted under State law.

“(5) For purposes of this subsection, an individual shall be treated as holding Federal office if such individual—

“(A) holds a Federal office; or

“(B) holds a position described in level I of the Executive Schedule under section 5312 of title 5, United States Code.”

#### SEC. 406. INCREASE IN AUTHORIZED POLITICAL COMMITTEE CONTRIBUTIONS TO CONGRESSIONAL CAMPAIGN COMMITTEES.

Section 315 of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 (2 U.S.C. 441a), as amended by sections 201 and 405 is further amended by adding at the end the following new subsection:

“(p) **AUTHORIZED POLITICAL COMMITTEE CONTRIBUTIONS TO CONGRESSIONAL CAMPAIGN COMMITTEE.**—For purposes of the limitations imposed by this section and notwithstanding any other provision of this section, the authorized political committees of a House of Representatives or United States Senate candidate shall not make contributions aggregating more than \$10,000 in any calendar year to the congressional campaign committees of a political party.”

#### SEC. 407. INCREASE IN THE AMOUNT THAT MULTICANDIDATE POLITICAL COMMITTEES MAY CONTRIBUTE TO NATIONAL POLITICAL PARTY COMMITTEES.

Section 315(a)(2)(B) of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 (2 U.S.C. 441a(a)(2)(B)) is amended by striking out “\$15,000” and inserting in lieu thereof “\$25,000”.

#### SEC. 408. MERCHANDISING AND AFFINITY CARDS.

Section 316 of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 (2 U.S.C. 441b) is amended by adding at the end the following new subsection:

“(c) Notwithstanding the provisions of this section or any other provision of this Act to the contrary, an amount received from a corporation (including a State-chartered or national bank) by any political committee (other than a separate segregated fund established under section 316(b)(2)(C)) shall be deemed to meet the limitations and prohibitions of this Act if such amount represents a commission or royalty on the sale of goods or services, or on the issuance of credit cards, by such corporation and if—

“(1) such goods, services, or credit cards are promoted by or in the name of the political committee as a means of contributing to or supporting the political committee and are offered to consumers using the name of the political committee or using a message, design, or device created and owned by the political committee, or both;

“(2) the corporation is in the business of merchandising such goods or services, or of issuing such credit cards;

“(3) the royalty or commission has been offered by the corporation to the political committee in the ordinary course of the corporation's business and on the same terms

and conditions as those on which such corporation offers royalties or commissions to nonpolitical entities;

"(4) all revenue on which the commission or royalty is based represents, or results from, sales to or fees paid by individual consumers in the ordinary course of retail transactions;

"(5) the costs of any unsold inventory of goods are ultimately borne by the political committee in accordance with rules to be prescribed by the Commission; and

"(6) except for any royalty or commission permitted to be paid by this subsection, no goods, services, or anything else of value is provided by such corporation to the political committee, provided that such corporation may advance or finance costs or extend credit in connection with the manufacture and distribution of goods, provision of services, or issuance of credit cards pursuant to this subsection if and to the extent such advance, financing, or extension is undertaken in the ordinary course of the corporation's business and is undertaken on similar terms by such corporation in its transactions with nonpolitical entities in like circumstances."

**SEC. 409. INCREASED LIMITATION AMOUNT FOR CERTAIN CONTRIBUTIONS TO POLITICAL COMMITTEES OF STATE POLITICAL PARTIES.**

Section 315(a)(1)(B) of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 (2 U.S.C. 441a(a)(1)(B)) is amended—

(1) by inserting after "(B)" the following: "notwithstanding any other provision of law,"; and

(2) by inserting after "national" the following: "or State".

**TITLE V—CONTRIBUTIONS**

**SEC. 501. RESTRICTIONS ON BUNDLING.**

Section 315(a)(8) of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 (2 U.S.C. 441a(a)(8)) is amended to read as follows:

"(8)(A) No person, either directly or indirectly, may act as a conduit or intermediary for any contribution to a candidate.

"(B)(i) Nothing in this section shall prohibit—

"(I) joint fundraising conducted in accordance with rules prescribed by the Commission by 2 or more candidates; or

"(II) fundraising for the benefit of a candidate that is conducted by another candidate.

"(ii) No other person may conduct or otherwise participate in joint fundraising activities with or on behalf of any candidate.

"(C) The term 'conduit or intermediary' means a person who transmits a contribution to a candidate or candidate's committee or representative from another person, except that—

"(i) a House of Representatives candidate or representative of a House of Representatives candidate is not a conduit or intermediary for the purpose of transmitting contributions to the candidate's principal campaign committee or authorized committee;

"(ii) a professional fundraiser is not a conduit or intermediary, if the fundraiser is compensated for fundraising services at the usual and customary rate;

"(iii) a volunteer hosting a fundraising event at the volunteer's home, in accordance with section 301(8)(b), is not a conduit or intermediary for the purposes of that event; and

"(iv) an individual is not a conduit or intermediary for the purpose of transmitting a contribution from the individual's spouse. For purposes of this section a conduit or intermediary transmits a contribution when receiving or otherwise taking possession of the contribution and forwarding it directly to the candidate or the candidate's committee or representative.

"(D) For purposes of this section, the term 'representative'—

"(i) shall mean a person who is expressly authorized by the candidate to engage in fundraising, and who, in the case of an individual, is not acting as an officer, employee, or agent of any other person;

"(ii) shall not include—

"(I) a political committee with a connected organization;

"(II) a political party;

"(III) a partnership or sole proprietorship;

"(IV) an organization prohibited from making contributions under section 316; or

"(V) a person required to register under section 308 of the Federal Regulation of Lobbying Act (2 U.S.C. 267) or the Foreign Agents Registration Act (22 U.S.C. 611) or any successor Federal law requiring a person who is a lobbyist or a foreign agent to register.

"(E) For purposes of this section, the term 'acting as an officer, employee, or agent of any other person' includes the following activities by a salaried officer, employee, or paid agent of a person described in subparagraph (D)(ii)(IV):

"(i) Soliciting contributions to a particular candidate in the name of, or by using the name of, such a person.

"(ii) Soliciting contributions to a particular candidate using other than the incidental resources of such a person.

"(iii) Soliciting contributions to a particular candidate under the direction or control of other salaried officers, employees, or paid agents of such a person.

For purposes of this subparagraph, the term 'agent' shall include any person (other than individual members of an organization described in subparagraph (b)(4)(C) of section 316) acting on authority or under the direction of such organization."

**SEC. 502. CONTRIBUTIONS BY DEPENDENTS NOT OF VOTING AGE.**

Section 315 of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 (2 U.S.C. 441a), as amended by sections 201, 405, and 406, is further amended by adding at the end the following new subsection:

"(q) For purposes of this section, any contribution by an individual who—

"(1) is a dependent of another individual; and

"(2) has not, as of the time of such contribution, attained the legal age for voting for elections to Federal office in the State in which such individual resides, shall be treated as having been made by such other individual. If such individual is the dependent of another individual and such other individual's spouse, the contribution shall be allocated among such individuals in the manner determined by them."

**SEC. 503. PROHIBITION OF ACCEPTANCE BY A CANDIDATE OF CASH CONTRIBUTIONS FROM ANY ONE PERSON AGGREGATING MORE THAN \$100.**

Section 321 of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 (2 U.S.C. 441g) is amended by inserting ", and no candidate or authorized committee of a candidate shall accept from any one person," after "make".

**SEC. 504. CONTRIBUTIONS TO CANDIDATES FROM STATE AND LOCAL COMMITTEES OF POLITICAL PARTIES TO BE AGGREGATED.**

Section 315(a) of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 (2 U.S.C. 441a(a)) is amended by adding at the end the following new paragraph:

"(9) Notwithstanding paragraph (5)(B), a candidate for Federal office may not accept, with respect to an election, any contribution from a State or local committee of a political party (including any subordinate committee of such committee), if such contribution, when added to the total of contributions previously accepted from all such com-

mittees of that political party, exceeds the limitation on contributions to a candidate under paragraph (2)(A)."

**SEC. 505. PROHIBITION OF FALSE REPRESENTATION TO SOLICIT CONTRIBUTIONS.**

Section 322 of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 (2 U.S.C. 441h) is amended—

(1) by inserting after "SEC. 322." the following: "(a)"; and

(2) by adding at the end the following:

"(b) No person shall solicit contributions by falsely representing himself as a candidate or as a representative of a candidate, a political committee, or a political party."

**SEC. 506. LIMITED EXCLUSION OF ADVANCES BY CAMPAIGN WORKERS FROM THE DEFINITION OF THE TERM "CONTRIBUTION".**

Section 301(8)(B) of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 (2 U.S.C. 431(8)(B)), as amended by section 403, is further amended—

(1) in clause (xix), by striking "and" after the semicolon at the end;

(2) in clause (xx), by striking the period at the end and inserting: "; and"; and

(3) by adding at the end the following new clause:

"(xxi) any advance voluntarily made on behalf of an authorized committee of a candidate by an individual in the normal course of such individual's responsibilities as a volunteer for, or employee of, the committee, if the advance is reimbursed by the committee within 10 days after the date on which the advance is made, and the value of advances on behalf of a committee does not exceed \$500 with respect to an election."

**SEC. 507. AMENDMENT TO SECTION 316 OF THE FEDERAL ELECTION CAMPAIGN ACT OF 1971.**

Section 316(b)(2) of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 (2 U.S.C. 441b(b)(2)) is amended—

(1) by striking "(2) For" and inserting "(2)(A) Except as provided in subparagraph (B), for";

(2) by redesignating subparagraphs (A), (B), and (C) as clauses (i), (ii), and (iii), respectively; and

(3) by adding at the end the following:

"(B) Expenditures by a corporation or labor organization for candidate appearances, candidate debates, voter guides, or voting records directed to the general public shall be considered contributions unless—

"(i) in the case of a candidate appearance, the appearance takes place on corporate or labor organization premises or at a meeting or convention of the corporation or labor organization, and all candidates for election to that office are notified that they may make an appearance under the same or similar conditions;

"(ii) in the case of a candidate debate, the organization staging the debate is either an organization described in section 301 whose broadcasts or publications are supported by commercial advertising, subscriptions or sales to the public, including a noncommercial educational broadcaster, or a nonprofit organization exempt from Federal taxation under section 501(c)(3) or 501(c)(4) of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 that does not endorse, support, oppose candidates or political parties and any such debate features at least 2 candidates competing for election to that office;

"(iii) in the case of a voter guide, the guide is prepared and distributed by a corporation or labor organization and consists of questions posed to at least two candidates for election to that office; and

"(iv) in the case of a voting record, the record is prepared and distributed by a corporation or labor organization and such preparation and distribution occurs either without consultation with any candidate whose record is included or in consultation with all such candidates;

provided that no communication made by a corporation or labor organization in connection with the candidate appearance, candidate debate, voter guide, or voting record contains express advocacy, or that no structure or format of the candidate appearance, candidate debate, voter guide, or voting record, nor any preparation or distribution of any such guide or record, reflects a purpose of influencing the election of a particular candidate."

**SEC. 508. PROHIBITION OF CERTAIN ELECTION-RELATED ACTIVITIES OF FOREIGN NATIONALS.**

Section 319 of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 (2 U.S.C. 441e) is amended by adding at the end the following new subsections:

"(c) A foreign national shall not directly or indirectly direct, control, influence or participate in any person's election-related activities, such as the making of contributions or expenditures in connection with elections for any local, State, or Federal office or the administration of a political committee.

"(d) A separate segregated fund established in accordance with section 316(b)(2)(C) involved in the making of contributions or expenditures in connection with elections for any Federal, State, or local office shall include the following statement on all printed materials produced for the purpose of soliciting contributions:

"It is unlawful for a foreign national to make any contribution of money or other thing of value to a political committee.'"

**TITLE VI—REPORTING REQUIREMENTS**

**SEC. 601. CHANGE IN CERTAIN REPORTING FROM A CALENDAR YEAR BASIS TO AN ELECTION CYCLE BASIS.**

Paragraphs (2), (3), (4), (6), and (7) of section 304(b) of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 (2 U.S.C. 434(b)(2), (3), (4), (6), and (7)), are amended by inserting after "calendar year" each place it appears the following: "(election cycle, in the case of an authorized committee of a candidate for Federal office)".

**SEC. 602. PERSONAL AND CONSULTING SERVICES.**

(a) **REPORTING BY POLITICAL COMMITTEES.**—Section 304(b)(5)(A) of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 (2 U.S.C. 434(b)(5)(A)), as amended by section 405, is further amended by inserting before the semicolon at the end the following: ", except that if a person to whom an expenditure is made is merely providing personal or consulting services and is in turn making expenditures to other persons (not including employees) who provide goods or services to the candidate or his or her authorized committees, the name and address of such other person, together with the date, amount and purpose of such expenditure shall also be disclosed".

(b) **RECORDKEEPING AND REPORTING BY PERSONS TO WHOM EXPENDITURES ARE PASSED THROUGH.**—Section 302 of Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 (2 U.S.C. 432) is amended by adding at the end the following new subsection:

"(j) The person described in section 304(b)(5)(A) who is providing personal or consulting services and who is in turn making expenditures to other persons (not including employees) for goods or services provided to a candidate shall maintain records of and shall provide to a political committee the information necessary to enable the political committee to report the information described in section 304(b)(5)(A)."

**SEC. 603. REDUCTION IN THRESHOLD FOR REPORTING OF CERTAIN INFORMATION BY PERSONS OTHER THAN POLITICAL COMMITTEES.**

Section 304(b)(3)(A) of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 (2 U.S.C. 434(b)(3)(A)) is

amended by striking "\$200" and inserting "\$100".

**SEC. 604. COMPUTERIZED INDICES OF CONTRIBUTIONS.**

Section 311(a) of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 (2 U.S.C. 438(a)) is amended—

(1) by striking "and" at the end of paragraph (9);

(2) by striking the period at the end of paragraph (10) and inserting "; and"; and

(3) by adding at the end the following new paragraph:

"(11) maintain computerized indices of contributions of \$200 or more."

**SEC. 605. IDENTIFICATION.**

Section 301(13)(A) of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 (2 U.S.C. 431(13)(A)) is amended by striking "mailing address" and inserting "permanent residence address".

**SEC. 606. POLITICAL COMMITTEES.**

Section 303(b) of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 (2 U.S.C. 433(b)) is amended—

(1) in paragraph (2), by inserting ", and if the organization or committee is incorporated, the State of incorporation" after "committee"; and

(2) by striking the "name and address of the treasurer" in paragraph (4) and inserting "the names and addresses of the officers, including the treasurer".

**SEC. 607. USE OF CANDIDATES' NAMES.**

Section 302(e)(4) of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 (2 U.S.C. 432(e)(4)) is amended to read as follows:

"(4)(A) The name of each authorized committee shall include the name of the candidate who authorized the committee under paragraph (1).

"(B) A political committee that is not an authorized committee shall not—

"(i) include the name of any candidate in its name, or

"(ii) except in the case of a national, State, or local party committee, use the name of any candidate in any activity on behalf of such committee in such a context as to suggest that the committee is an authorized committee of the candidate or that the use of the candidate's name has been authorized by the candidate."

**SEC. 608. REPORTING REQUIREMENTS.**

Section 304 of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 (2 U.S.C. 434), as amended by section 404, is further amended by adding at the end the following new subsection:

"(f) **WAIVER.**—The Commission may relieve any category of political committees of the obligation to file 1 or more reports required by this section, or may change the due dates of such reports, if it determines that such action is consistent with the purposes of this Act. The Commission may waive requirements to file reports in accordance with this subsection through a rule of general applicability or, in a specific case, may waive or change the due date of a report by notifying all political committees affected."

**SEC. 609. SIMULTANEOUS REGISTRATION OF CANDIDATE AND CANDIDATE'S PRINCIPAL CAMPAIGN COMMITTEE.**

Section 303(a) of Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 (2 U.S.C. 433(a)) is amended in the first sentence by striking "no later than 10 days after designation" and inserting "on the date of its designation".

**TITLE VII—FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION**

**SEC. 701. APPEARANCE AS AMICI CURIAE.**

Section 306(f) of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 (2 U.S.C. 437c(f)) is amended by striking out paragraph (4) and inserting in lieu thereof the following new paragraph:

"(4)(A) Notwithstanding the provisions of paragraph (2), or of any other provision of law, the Commission is authorized to appear

on its own behalf in any action related to the exercise of its statutory duties or powers in any court as either a party or as amicus curiae, either—

"(i) by attorneys employed in its office, or

"(ii) by counsel whom it may appoint, on a temporary basis as may be necessary for such purpose, without regard to the provisions of title 5, United States Code, governing appointments in the competitive service, and whose compensation it may fix without regard to the provisions of chapter 51 and subchapter III of chapter 53 of such title. The compensation of counsel so appointed on a temporary basis shall be paid out of any funds otherwise available to pay the compensation of employees of the Commission.

"(B) The authority granted under subparagraph (A) includes the power to appeal from, and petition the Supreme Court for certiorari to review, judgments or decrees entered with respect to actions in which the Commission appears pursuant to the authority provided in this section."

**SEC. 702. FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION PUBLIC SERVICE ANNOUNCEMENTS.**

Title III of Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 (2 U.S.C. 431 et seq.), as amended by sections 403 and 610, is further amended by inserting after section 324 the following new section:

**"SEC. 325. PUBLIC SERVICE ANNOUNCEMENTS.**

"(a) **IN GENERAL.**—Beginning on January 15, and continuing through April 15 of each year, the Federal Election Commission shall carry out a program, utilizing broadcast announcements and other appropriate means, to inform the public of the existence and purpose of the Make Democracy Work Election Fund and the role that individual citizens can play in the election process by voluntarily contributing to the Fund. The Commission shall seek to broadcast such announcements during prime time viewing hours in 30-second advertising segments equivalent to 200 gross rating points per network per week. The Commission shall attempt to ensure that the maximum number of taxpayers shall be exposed to these announcements. The Federal Election Commission shall attempt to utilize a variety of communications media, including television, cable, and radio networks, and individual television, cable, and radio stations, to provide similar announcements.

"(b) **GROSS RATING POINT.**—The term 'gross rating point' is a measure of the total gross weight delivered. It is the sum of the ratings for individual programs. Since a household rating period is 1 percent of the coverage base, 200 gross rating points means 2 messages a week per average household."

**SEC. 703. AUTHORITY TO SEEK INJUNCTION.**

Section 309(a) of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 (2 U.S.C. 437g(a)) is amended—

(1) by adding at the end the following new paragraph:

"(13)(A) If, at any time in a proceeding described in paragraph (1), (2), (3), or (4), the Commission believes that—

"(i) there is a substantial likelihood that a violation of this Act or of chapter 95 or chapter 96 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 is occurring or is about to occur;

"(ii) the failure to act expeditiously will result in irreparable harm to a party affected by the potential violation;

"(iii) expeditious action will not cause undue harm or prejudice to the interests of others; and

"(iv) the public interest would be best served by the issuance of an injunction, the Commission may initiate a civil action for a temporary restraining order or a temporary injunction pending the outcome of the proceedings described in paragraphs (1), (2), (3), and (4).

“(B) An Action under subparagraph (A) shall be brought in the United States district court for the district in which the defendant resides, transacts business, or may be found or in which the violation is occurring, has occurred, or is about to occur.”;

(2) in paragraph (7), by striking “(5) or (6)” and inserting “(5), (6), or (13)”;

(3) in paragraph (11), by striking “(6)” and inserting “(6) or (13)”.

**SEC. 704. EXPEDITED PROCEDURES.**

Section 309(a) of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 (2 U.S.C. 437g(a)), as amended by section 703, is further amended by adding at the end the following new paragraph:

“(14)(A) If the complaint in a proceeding was filed within 60 days immediately preceding a general election, the Commission may take action described in this subparagraph.

“(B) If the Commission determines, on the basis of facts alleged in the complaint and other facts available to it, that there is clear and convincing evidence that a violation of this Act or of chapter 95 or 96 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 has occurred, is occurring, or is about to occur and it appears that the requirements for relief stated in paragraph (13)(A)(ii), (iii), and (iv) are met, the Commission may—

“(i) order expedited proceedings, shortening the time periods for proceedings under paragraphs (1), (2), (3), and (4) as necessary to allow the matter to be resolved in sufficient time before the election to avoid harm or prejudice to the interests of the parties; or

“(ii) if the Commission determines that there is insufficient time to conduct proceedings before the election, immediately seek relief under paragraph (13)(A).

“(C) If the Commission determines, on the basis of facts alleged in the complaint and other facts available to it, that the complaint is clearly without merit, the Commission may—

“(i) order expedited proceedings, shortening the time periods for proceedings under paragraphs (1), (2), (3), and (4) as necessary to allow the matter to be resolved in sufficient time before the election to avoid harm or prejudice to the interests of the parties; or

“(ii) if the Commission determines that there is insufficient time to conduct proceedings before the election, summarily dismiss the complaint.”.

**SEC. 705. INSOLVENT POLITICAL COMMITTEES.**

(a) IN GENERAL.—Section 303(d) of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 (2 U.S.C. 433(d)) is amended by adding at the end the following new paragraph:

“(3) Proceedings by the Commission under paragraph (2) constitute the sole means, to the exclusion of proceedings under title 11, United States Code, by which a political committee that is determined by the Commission to be insolvent may compromise its debts, liquidate its assets, and terminate its existence.”.

(b) PROCEDURES.—Section 303(d)(2) of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 (2 U.S.C. 433(d)(2)) is amended by striking out “Nothing” and all that follows through “procedures” and inserting in lieu thereof “The Commission shall establish procedures to allow”.

**TITLE VIII—BALLOT INITIATIVE COMMITTEES**

**SEC. 801. DEFINITIONS RELATING TO BALLOT INITIATIVES.**

Section 301 of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 (2 U.S.C. 431), as amended by sections 123 and 401, is further amended by adding at the end the following new paragraphs:

“(31) The term ‘ballot initiative political committee’ means any committee, club, association, or other group of persons which makes ballot initiative expenditures or receives ballot initiative contributions in excess of \$1,000 during a calendar year.

“(32) The term ‘ballot initiative contribution’ means any gift, subscription, loan, advance, or deposit of money or anything of value made by any person for the purpose of influencing the outcome of any referendum or other ballot initiative voted on at the State, commonwealth, territory, or District of Columbia level which involves—

“(A) the election of candidates for Federal office and the permissible terms of those so elected; or

“(B) the regulation of speech or press, or any other right guaranteed under the United States Constitution.

“(33) The term ‘ballot initiative expenditure’ means any purchase, payment, distribution, loan, advance, deposit or gift of money or anything of value made by any person for the purpose of influencing the outcome of any referendum or other ballot initiative voted on at the state, commonwealth, territory, or District of Columbia level which involves—

“(A) the election of candidates for Federal office and the permissible terms of those so elected; or

“(B) the regulation of speech or press, or any other right guaranteed under the United States Constitution.”.

**SEC. 802. AMENDMENT TO DEFINITION OF CONTRIBUTION.**

Section 301(8)(B) of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 (2 U.S.C. 431(8)(B)), as amended by sections 403 and 506, is further amended—

(1) in clause (xx), by striking “and” after the semicolon;

(2) in clause (xxi), by striking the period and inserting “; and”;

(3) by adding at the end the following new clause:

“(xxii) a ballot initiative contribution.”.

**SEC. 803. AMENDMENT TO DEFINITION OF EXPENDITURE.**

Section 301(9)(B) of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 (2 U.S.C. 431(9)(B)), as amended by sections 401 and 403, is further amended—

(1) in clause (xvii), by striking “and” after the semicolon;

(2) in clause (xviii), by striking the period and inserting “; and”;

(3) by adding at the end the following new clause:

“(xix) a ballot initiative expenditure.”.

**SEC. 804. ORGANIZATION OF BALLOT INITIATIVE COMMITTEES.**

Section 302 of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 (2 U.S.C. 432), as amended by section 602, is further amended by adding at the end the following new subsection:

“(k) Every ballot initiative committee shall comply with the organizational and recordkeeping requirements of this section, with respect to all ballot initiative contributions and ballot initiative expenditures.”.

**SEC. 805. REGISTRATION OF BALLOT INITIATIVE COMMITTEES.**

Section 303 of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 (2 U.S.C. 433) is amended by adding at the end the following new subsection:

“(e) Every ballot initiative committee shall comply with the registration requirements of this section.”.

**SEC. 806. REPORTING BY BALLOT INITIATIVE COMMITTEES.**

Section 304 of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 (2 U.S.C. 434), as amended by sections 404 and 608, is further amended by adding at the end the following new subsection:

“(g) Every ballot initiative committee shall comply with the reporting requirements of subsections (a)(1), (a)(4), and (b), with respect to the reporting of all ballot initiative contributions and ballot initiative expenditures. The provisions of subsections

(a)(5), (7), and (8) shall apply to reports filed by ballot initiative committees.”.

**SEC. 807. ENFORCEMENT FOR BALLOT INITIATIVE COMMITTEES.**

Section 309 of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 (2 U.S.C. 437g) is amended by adding at the end the following new subsection:

“(e) The Commission may proceed in accordance with the requirements of this section, either on the basis of a complaint filed under subsection (a)(1) or on information ascertained in the normal course of carrying out its supervisory responsibilities, to determine whether a ballot initiative committee has complied with the requirements of sections 302, 303, and 304(a)(1), (a)(4) and (b).”.

**SEC. 808. PROHIBITION ON CONTRIBUTIONS AND EXPENDITURES BY BALLOT INITIATIVE COMMITTEES.**

Section 315 of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 (2 U.S.C. 441a), as amended by sections 201, 405, 406, and 502, is further amended by adding at the end the following new subsection:

“(r) Notwithstanding the provisions of subsection (a)(1), it shall be unlawful for any ballot initiative committee to make any contribution or expenditure for the purpose of influencing any election for Federal office.”.

**TITLE IX—MISCELLANEOUS**

**SEC. 901. BROADCAST RATES AND PREEMPTION.**

Section 315 of the Communications Act of 1934 (47 U.S.C. 315) is amended—

(1) in subsection (b)(1)—

(A) by striking “forty-five” and inserting “30”;

(B) by striking “sixty” and inserting “45”;

and

(C) by striking “lowest unit charge of the station for the same class and amount of time for the same period” and insert “lowest charge of the station for the same amount of time for the same period”; and

(2) by inserting after subsection (b) the following new subsection:

“(c)(1) Except as provided in paragraph (2), a licensee shall not preempt the use, during any period specified in subsection (b)(1), of a broadcasting station by a legally qualified candidate for public office who has purchased and paid for such use pursuant to the provisions of subsection (b)(1).

“(2) If a program to be broadcast by a broadcasting station is preempted because of circumstances beyond the control of the broadcasting station, any candidate advertising spot scheduled to be broadcast during that program may also be preempted.”.

**SEC. 902. CAMPAIGN ADVERTISING AMENDMENTS.**

Section 318 of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 (2 U.S.C. 441d) is amended—

(1) in the matter before paragraph (1) of subsection (a), by striking “Whenever” and inserting “Whenever a political committee makes a disbursement for the purpose of financing any communication through any broadcasting station, newspaper, magazine, outdoor advertising facility, mailing, or any other type of general public political advertising, or whenever”;

(2) in the matter before paragraph (1) of subsection (a), by striking “an expenditure” and inserting “a disbursement”;

(3) in the matter before paragraph (1) of subsection (a), by striking “direct”;

(4) in paragraph (3) of subsection (a), by inserting after “name” the following “and permanent street address”; and

(5) by adding at the end the following new subsections:

“(c) Any printed communication described in subsection (a) shall be—

“(1) of sufficient type size to be clearly readable by the recipient of the communication;

"(2) contained in a printed box set apart from the other contents of the communication; and

"(3) consist of a reasonable degree of color contrast between the background and the printed statement.

"(d)(1) Any communication described in subsection (a)(1) or subsection (a)(2) that is provided to and distributed by any broadcasting station or cable system (as such terms are defined in sections 315 and 602 (respectively) of the Communications Act of 1934) shall include, in addition to the requirements of subsections (a)(1) and (a)(2), an audio statement by the candidate that identifies the candidate and states that the candidate has approved the communication.

"(2) If a communication described in paragraph (1) contains any visual images, the statement required by paragraph (1) shall—

"(A) appear in a clearly readable manner with a reasonable degree of color contrast between the background and the printed statement, for a period of at least 4 seconds at the end of the communication; and

"(B) be accompanied by a clearly identifiable photographic or similar image of the candidate.

"(e) Any communication described in subsection (a)(3) that is provided to and distributed by any broadcasting station or cable system (as such terms are defined in sections 315 and 602 (respectively) of the Communications Act of 1934) shall include, in addition to the requirements of those subsections, in a clearly spoken manner, the following statement—

is responsible for the content of this advertisement.

with the blank to be filled in with the name of the political committee or other person paying for the communication and the name of any connected organization of the payor; and, if such communication contains visual images, shall also appear in a clearly readable manner with a reasonable degree of color contrast between the background and the printed statement, for a period of at least 4 seconds."

#### SEC. 903. TELEPHONE VOTING BY PERSONS WITH DISABILITIES.

(a) STUDY OF SYSTEMS TO PERMIT PERSONS WITH DISABILITIES TO VOTE BY TELEPHONE.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—The Federal Election Commission shall conduct a study to determine the feasibility of developing a system or systems by which persons with disabilities may be permitted to vote by telephone.

(2) CONSULTATION.—The Federal Election Commission shall conduct the study described in paragraph (1) in consultation with State and local election officials, representatives of the telecommunications industry, representatives of persons with disabilities, and other concerned members of the public.

(3) CRITERIA.—The system or systems developed pursuant to paragraph (1) shall—

(A) propose a description of the kinds of disabilities that impose such difficulty in travel to polling places that a person with a disability who may desire to vote is discouraged from undertaking such travel;

(B) propose procedures to identify persons who are so disabled; and

(C) describe procedures and equipment that may be used to ensure that—

(i) only those persons who are entitled to use the system are permitted to use it;

(ii) the votes of persons who use the system are recorded accurately and remain secret;

(iii) the system minimizes the possibility of vote fraud; and

(iv) the system minimizes the financial costs that State and local governments would incur in establishing and operating the system.

(4) REQUESTS FOR PROPOSALS.—In developing a system described in paragraph (1), the

Federal Election Commission may request proposals from private contractors for the design of procedures and equipment to be used in the system.

(5) PHYSICAL ACCESS.—Nothing in this section is intended to supersede or supplant efforts by State and local governments to make polling places physically accessible to persons with disabilities.

(6) DEADLINE.—The Federal Election Commission shall submit to Congress the study required by this section not later than 1 year after the date of enactment of this Act.

#### SEC. 904. TRANSFER OF PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION FINANCING PROVISIONS TO FEDERAL ELECTION CAMPAIGN ACT OF 1971.

(a) GENERAL RULE.—The Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 is amended by adding at the end the following:

##### "TITLE VIII—FINANCING OF PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION CAMPAIGNS "Subtitle A—Presidential Election Campaign Fund

##### "Subtitle B—Presidential Primary Matching Payment Account".

(b) TRANSFER OF PROVISIONS FROM INTERNAL REVENUE CODE.—

(1) Sections 9001 through 9012 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 are hereby transferred to the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, inserted after the heading for subtitle A of title VIII of such Act (as added by subsection (a)), and redesignated as sections 801 through 812, respectively.

(2) Sections 9031 through 9042 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 are hereby transferred to the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, inserted after the heading for subtitle B of title VIII of such Act, and redesignated as sections 831 through 842, respectively.

(c) CONFORMING AMENDMENTS TO INTERNAL REVENUE CODE.—The Internal Revenue Code of 1986 is amended—

(1) by striking "section 9006(a)" in section 6096(a) and inserting "section 806(a) of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971",

(2) by striking subtitle H, and

(3) by striking the item relating to subtitle H in the table of subtitles.

(d) CONFORMING AMENDMENTS TO TRANSFERRED SECTIONS.—

(1) Each section transferred under subsection (b) is amended by striking each reference contained therein to another provision transferred and redesignated by subsection (b) and inserting a reference to the redesignated provision.

(2) Title VIII of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 (as amended by the foregoing provisions of this section) is amended—

(A) by striking "This chapter" each place it appears and inserting "This subtitle",

(B) by striking "this chapter" each place it appears and inserting "this subtitle",

(C) by striking "of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971" each place it appears,

(D) by striking "chapter 96" in section 803(e) and inserting "subtitle B",

(E) by striking "section 6096" in sections 806(a), 808(a), and 810(c) and inserting "section 6096 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986", and

(F) by striking "this subtitle" in section 810(c) and inserting "this title".

(e) SAVINGS PROVISIONS.—

(1) CONTINUATION OF FUNDS.—The fund established under section 806(a) of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 (as amended by this section) shall be treated for all purposes of law as a continuation of the fund established by section 9006(a) of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 (as in effect on the day before the date of the enactment of this Act). A similar rule shall apply to the accounts required under sections 808 and 837 of the Fed-

eral Election Campaign Act of 1971 (as so amended).

(2) REFERENCES TO TRANSFERRED PROVISIONS.—Any reference in any law, rule, regulation, or other official paper to a provision of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 which was transferred under subsection (b) shall be treated as reference to the appropriate provision of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971.

#### TITLE X—HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES CAMPAIGN ELECTION FUNDING AND RELATED MATTERS

##### SEC. 1001. MAKE DEMOCRACY WORK ELECTION FUND.

The Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 (2 U.S.C. 431 et seq.), as amended by section 121, is further amended by adding at the end the following new title:

##### "TITLE VII—MAKE DEMOCRACY WORK ELECTION FUND

##### "SEC. 701. ESTABLISHMENT AND OPERATION OF THE FUND.

"(a) IN GENERAL.—There is hereby established on the books of the Treasury of the United States a special fund to be known as the Make Democracy Work Election Fund (hereinafter in this title referred to as the 'Fund'). The amounts designated for the Fund shall remain available without fiscal limitation for purposes of providing benefits under title VI and making expenditures for the administration of the Fund. The Secretary shall maintain such accounts in the Fund as may be required by this title or which the Secretary determines to be necessary to carry out the provisions of this title.

"(b) PAYMENTS UPON CERTIFICATION.—Upon receipt of a certification from the Commission under section 604, except as provided in subsection (c), the Secretary shall issue within 48 hours to an eligible candidate the amount of voter communication vouchers certified by the Commission to the eligible candidate out of the Fund.

"(c) REDUCTIONS IN PAYMENTS IF FUNDS INSUFFICIENT.—If on June 1, 1996, or on June 1 of a Federal election year thereafter, the Secretary determines that the moneys in the account are not, or may not be, sufficient to satisfy the full entitlement of all eligible candidates, the Secretary shall withhold from such payment the amount necessary to assure that each eligible candidate will receive a pro rata share of the candidate's full entitlement. Amounts so withheld shall be paid when the Secretary determines that there are sufficient moneys in the account to pay such amounts, or portions thereof, to all eligible candidates from whom amounts have been withheld, but, if there are not sufficient moneys in the account to satisfy the full entitlement of an eligible candidate, the amounts so withheld shall be paid in such manner that each eligible candidate receives a pro rata share of the full entitlement, except that—

"(1) in special elections, a candidate shall receive the full entitlement not a pro rata share; and

"(2) a candidate who receives vouchers from the Fund in response to an independent expenditure as provided in section 604(f) shall receive the full entitlement not a pro rata share.

"(d) NOTIFICATION.—The Secretary shall notify the Commission and each eligible candidate by registered mail of any reduction of any payment by reason of subsection (c).

"(e) REDEEMABILITY OF VOUCHERS.—Voter communication vouchers issued and used as provided in this section shall be redeemable at face value by the Secretary through the facilities of the Treasury of the United States. The Secretary shall issue regulations providing for the redemption of voter communication vouchers through financial insti-

tutions which are insured by the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation or the Federal Savings and Loan Insurance Corporation. No financial institution may impose a fee or other charge for the redemption of voter communication vouchers."

TITLE XI—EFFECTIVE DATES; SEVERABILITY

SEC. 1101. EFFECTIVE DATE.

Except as otherwise provided in this Act, the amendments made by, and the provisions of, this Act shall take effect on the date of the enactment of this Act but shall not apply with respect to activities in connection with any election occurring before January 1, 1995.

SEC. 1102. SEVERABILITY.

(a) Except as provided in subsection (b), if any provision of this Act (including any amendment made by this Act), or the application of any such provision to any person or circumstance, is held invalid, the validity of any other provision of this Act, or the application of such provision to other persons and circumstances, shall not be affected thereby.

(b) If title VI of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, section 315(i) through (j) (as added by this Act), or section 701 (as added by this Act), or any part thereof, is held to be invalid, all provisions of, and amendments made by title VI, section 315(i) through (j) of this Act, or section 701 of this Act shall be treated as invalid.

SEC. 1103. EXPEDITED REVIEW OF CONSTITUTIONAL ISSUES.

(a) DIRECT APPEAL TO SUPREME COURT.—An appeal may be taken directly to the Supreme Court of the United States from any final judgment, decree, or order issued by any court finding any provision of this Act, or amendment made by this Act to be unconstitutional.

(b) ACCEPTANCE AND EXPEDITION.—The Supreme Court shall, if it has not previously ruled on the question addressed in the ruling below, accept jurisdiction over, advance on the docket, and expedite the appeal to the greatest extent possible.

SEC. 1104. REGULATIONS.

The Federal Election Commission shall prescribe any regulations required to carry out the provisions of this Act within 12 months after the effective date of this Act.

SEC. 1105. BUDGET NEUTRALITY.

The provisions of this Act (other than this section) shall not be effective and shall not be considered to be an estimate required under the procedures specified in section 252(d) of the Balanced Budget and Emergency Deficit Control Act of 1985 until the enactment of revenue legislation effectuating section 701 of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971.

The bill, as amended, was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, was read a third time by title.

Mrs. FOWLER moved to recommit the bill to the Committee on House Administration.

By unanimous consent, the previous question was ordered on the motion to recommit.

The question being put, viva voce, Will the House recommit said bill?

The SPEAKER pro tempore, Mr. BEILENSEN, announced that the yeas had it.

Mrs. FOWLER demanded a recorded vote on agreeing to said motion, which demand was supported by one-fifth of a quorum, so a recorded vote was ordered.

The vote was taken by electronic device.

It was decided in the negative { Yeas ..... 190 Nays ..... 240

140.10 [Roll No. 604] AYES—190

- Andrews (TX) Archer Armev Bachus (AL) Baker (CA) Baker (LA) Ballenger Barrett (NE) Bartlett Barton Bateman Bentley Bereuter Bilirakis Bliley Blute Boehner Bonilla Bunning Burton Buyer Callahan Calvert Camp Canady Castle Coble Collins (GA) Combest Costello Cox Crane Crapo Cunningham DeLay Diaz-Balart Dickey Doolittle Dornan Dreier Duncan Dunn Emerson English (OK) Everett Ewing Fawell Fields (TX) Fish Fowler Franks (CT) Franks (NJ) Frost Gallegly Gallo Gekas Geren Gilchrest Gillmor Gingrich Goodlatte Goodling Goss Grams

NOES—240

- Abercrombie Ackerman Andrews (ME) Andrews (NJ) Applegate Bacchus (FL) Baesler Barca Barcia Barlow Barrett (WI) Becerra Beilenson Berman Bevil Bilbray Bishop Blackwell Boehlert Bonior Borski Boucher Brewster Brooks Browder Brown (CA) Brown (FL) Brown (OH) Bryant Byrne Cantwell Cardin Carr Chapman Clay Clayton Clement Clyburn Coleman Collins (IL) Collins (MI) Condit Conyers Cooper Coppersmith Coyne Cramer Danner Darden de la Garza Deal DeFazio DeLauro Dellums Derrick Deutsch

- Paxon Pickett Pombo Porter Portman Poshard Pryce (OH) Quillen Quinn Ramstad Ravenel Regula Ridge Roberts Rogers Rohrabacher Ros-Lehtinen Rostenkowski Roth Roukema Rowland Royce Santorum Sarpalus Saxton Schaefer Schiff Sensenbrenner Shaw Shuster Sisisky Skeen Skelton Smith (MI) Smith (NJ) Smith (OR) Smith (TX) Snowe Solomon Spence Stearns Stenholm Stump Synar Talent Tanner Tauzin Taylor (MS) Taylor (NC) Thomas (CA) Thomas (WY) Torkildsen Upton Vucanovich Walker Walsh Weldon Wolf Young (AK) Young (FL) Zeliff

- Gordon Green Gutierrez Hamburg Hamilton Harman Hastings Hefner Hilliard Hinchey Hoagland Hochbrueckner Holden Hoyer Hughes Inslee Jefferson Johnson (GA) Johnson (SD) Johnson, E.B. Johnston Kanjorski Kaptur Kennedy Kennelly Kildee Kleczka Klein Klink Klug Kopetski Kreidler LaFalce Lancaster Lantos LaRocco Laughlin Lehman Levin Lewis (GA) Lipinski Long Lowey Machtley Maloney Mann Manton Margolies-Mezvinsky Markey Martinez Matsui Mazzoli McCloskey McDermott McHale McKinney McNulty Meehan MEEK Menendez Mfume Miller (CA) Mineta Minge Mink Moakley Mollohan Montgomery Moran Morella Murphy Murtha Nadler Natcher Neal (MA) Neal (NC) Oberstar Obey Olver Ortiz Owens Pallone Parker Pastor Payne (NJ) Payne (VA) Pelosi Penny Peterson (FL) Peterson (MN) Petri Pickle Pomeroy Price (NC) Rahall Rangel Reed Reynolds Richardson Roemer Rose Roybal-Allard Rush Sabo Sanders

NOT VOTING—3

- Allard Clinger Hall (OH)

So the motion to recommit was not agreed to.

The question being put, viva voce, Will the House pass said bill?

The SPEAKER pro tempore, Mr. GEPHARDT, announced that the yeas had it.

Mr. THOMAS of California demanded that the vote be taken by the yeas and nays, which demand was supported by one-fifth of the Members present, so the yeas and nays were ordered.

The vote was taken by electronic device.

It was decided in the affirmative { Yeas ..... 255 Nays ..... 175

140.11 [Roll No. 605] YEAS—255

- Abercrombie Ackerman Andrews (ME) Andrews (NJ) Andrews (TX) Bacchus (FL) Baesler Barca Barcia Barlow Barrett (WI) Becerra Beilenson Berman Bevil Bilbray Bilirakis Bishop Blackwell Blute Boehlert Bonior Borski Boucher Brooks Browder Brown (CA) Brown (FL) Brown (OH) Bryant Byrne Cantwell Cardin Chapman Clay Clayton Clement Clyburn Coleman Collins (IL) Collins (MI) Condit Conyers Cooper Coppersmith Costello Coyne Cramer Danner Darden de la Garza Deal DeFazio DeLauro Dellums Derrick Deutsch