## Union Calendar No. 442

# 104TH CONGRESS H. R. 3024

[Report No. 104-713, Parts I and II]

### BILL

To provide a process leading to full self-government for Puerto Rico.

## SEPTEMBER 18, 1996

Reported from the Committee on Rules with an amendment, committed to the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union, and ordered to be printed

### Union Calendar No. 442

104TH CONGRESS 2D SESSION

### H.R.3024

[Report No. 104-713, Parts I and II]

To provide a process leading to full self-government for Puerto Rico.

### IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

March 6, 1996

Mr. Young of Alaska (for himself, Mr. Gallegly, Mr. Gingrich, Mr. Serrano, Mr. Kennedy of Rhode Island, Mr. Rahall, Mr. Romero-Barceló, Mr. Gilman, Mr. Burton of Indiana, Mr. Underwood, Mr. Calvert, Mr. Longley, Mr. Gene Green of Texas, Mr. Deutsch, and Mr. Klink) introduced the following bill; which was referred to the Committee on Resources, and in addition to the Committee on Rules, for a period to be subsequently determined by the Speaker, in each case for consideration of such provisions as fall within the jurisdiction of the committee concerned

July 26, 1996

Reported from the Committee on Resources with an amendment [Strike out all after the enacting clause and insert the part printed in italic]

July 26, 1996

Referral to Rules extended July 26, 1996 for a period no later than September 18, 1996

### September 18, 1996

Additional sponsors: Mr. BISHOP, Mr. CLYBURN, Mr. WILLIAMS, Mr. OWENS, Ms. NORTON, Mr. WYNN, Mr. HASTINGS OF Florida, Mr. FRAZER, Mr. ENGEL, Mr. HALL OF Ohio, Mr. HINCHEY, Mr. PAYNE OF New Jersey, Mr. Ackerman, Mr. Filner, Mr. Ortiz, Mr. Lewis of Georgia, Mr. Davis, Ms. Woolsey, Mr. Hyde, Mr. Gibbons, Mr. Barcia, Mr. Farr of California, Mr. Pombo, Mr. Stump, Mr. Forbes, Mr. Sawyer, Mr. Torres, Ms. Lofgren, Ms. Slaughter, Mr. Gilchrest, Mr. Richardson, Mr. Kim, Mr. Pickett, Mr. Doyle, Mr. de la Garza, Mr. Hansen, Mr. Fattah, Mr. Livingston, Mr. Skeen, Mr. Torkildsen,

Ms. Pelosi, Mr. Montgomery, Mr. Thompson, Mr. Funderburk, and Mr. Flanagan

Deleted sponsors: Ms. McKinney (added April 17, 1996; deleted May 23, 1996), and Mr. Towns (added April 17, 1996; deleted April 25, 1996)

### September 18, 1996

Reported from the Committee on Rules with an amendment, committed to the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union, and ordered to be printed

[Omit the part struck through in brackets and insert the part printed in boldface roman]

### A BILL

To provide a process leading to full self-government for Puerto Rico.

- 1 Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representa-
- 2 tives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,
- 3 SECTION 1. SHORT TITLE; TABLE OF CONTENTS.
- 4 (a) SHORT TITLE.—This Act may be eited as the
- 5 "United States-Puerto Rico Political Status Act".
- 6 (b) Table of Contents for
- 7 this Act is as follows:
  - Sec. 1. Short title.
  - Sec. 2. Findings.
  - Sec. 3. Policy.
  - Sec. 4. Process for Puerto Rican full self-government, including the initial decision stage, transition stage, and implementation stage.
  - Sec. 5. Requirements relating to referenda, including inconclusive referendum and applicable laws.
  - Sec. 6. Congressional procedures for consideration of legislation.
  - Sec. 7. Availability of funds for the referenda.
- 8 SEC. 2. FINDINGS.
- 9 The Congress finds the following:

- (1) Puerto Rico is an unincorporated and lo-cally self-governing territory of the United States, ceded to the United States and under this Nation's sovereignty pursuant to the Treaty of Paris ending the Spanish-American War in 1898. Article IX of the Treaty of Paris expressly recognizes the author-ity of Congress to provide for the political status of the inhabitants of the territory.
  - (2) United States citizenship was extended to Puerto Rico in 1917, as well as partial application of the United States Constitution.
  - (3) In the period 1950–1952, Congress authorized, amended, and then approved a constitution for Puerto Rico's local government, which is now called the "Commonwealth of Puerto Rico", without altering the territory's fundamental economic, political, and legal relationship with the United States.
  - (4) In the 1989 State of the Union Message, President George Bush urged the Congress to take the necessary steps to authorize a federally recognized process allowing the people of Puerto Rico, for the first time since the Treaty of Paris entered into force, to freely express their wishes regarding their future political status in a congressionally recognized

- referendum, a step in the process of self-determination which the Congress has yet to authorize.
  - (5) In November of 1993, the Government of Puerto Rico conducted a plebiscite initiated under local law on Puerto Rico's political status. In that vote none of the three status propositions received a majority of the votes cast. The results of that vote were: 48.6 percent commonwealth, 46.3 percent statehood, and 4.4 percent independence.
    - (6) In 1994, President William Jefferson Clinton established the Executive Branch Interagency Working Group on Puerto Rico to coordinate the review, development, and implementation of executive branch administrative policy concerning Puerto Rico in light of the November 1993 plebiseite in the islands.
    - (7) There have been inconsistent and conflicting interpretations of the 1993 plebiseite results, and under the Territorial Clause of the Constitution (article IV, section 3, clause 2), Congress has the authority and responsibility to determine Federal policy and clarify status issues in order to advance the self-determination process in Puerto Rico.
    - (8) On December 14, 1994, the Puerto Rico Legislature enacted Concurrent Resolution 62, which

requested the 104th Congress to respond to the results of the 1993 Puerto Rico Status Plebiscite and to indicate the next steps in resolving Puerto Rico's political status.

(9) Nearly 4,000,000 United States citizens live in the islands of Puerto Rico, which have been within the American political system and the United States customs territory for almost 100 years, making Puerto Rico the oldest, largest, and most populous United States island territory at the southeastern-most boundary of our Nation, located astride the strategic shipping lanes of the Atlantic Ocean and Caribbean Sea.

(10) Full self-government for Puerto Rico is attainable only through establishment of a political status either without or within United States sovereignty, under which Puerto Rico is no longer an unincorporated territory subject to the plenary authority of Congress arising from the Territorial Clause.

### 21 SEC. 3. POLICY.

In recognition of the significant level of local self-govcrnment which has been attained by Puerto Rico, and the desire by both the United States and Puerto Rico to enable the people of the territory to achieve full self-govern-

1	$\frac{ment\ through\ a\ self\text{-}determination\ process\ consistent\ with}{}$
2	United States and internationally recognized standards,
3	this Act is adopted with a commitment to encourage the
4	mutual development and implementation of procedures to
5	determine the political status of Puerto Rico.
6	SEC. 4. PROCESS FOR PUERTO RICAN FULL SELF-GOVERN-
7	MENT, INCLUDING THE INITIAL DECISION
8	STAGE, TRANSITION STAGE, AND IMPLEMEN-
9	TATION STAGE.
10	(a) Initial Decision Stage.—A referendum on
11	Puerto Rico's political status shall be held not later than
12	December 31, 1998. The referendum shall be held in ac-
13	cordance with the applicable provisions of Puerto Rico's
14	electoral law and other relevant statutes, and approval
15	must be by a majority of the valid votes east. The referen-
16	dum shall be on the following question:
17	"Which path leading to full self-government for Puer-
18	to Rico do you prefer to be developed through a transition
19	plan enacted by the Congress and approved by the people
20	of Puerto Rico?
21	"(1) A path of separate Puerto Rican sov-
22	ereignty leading to independence or free association,
23	in which—
24	"(A) Puerto Rico is a sovereign nation
25	with full authority and responsibility for its in-

ternal and external affairs, exercising in its own
name and right the powers of government with
respect to its territory and population, language
and culture, and determining its own relations
and participation in the community of nations;
"(B) a negotiated treaty of friendship and

cooperation or an international bilateral pact of free association terminable at will by either Puerto Rico or the United States, defines future relations between Puerto Rico and the United States, providing for cooperation and assistance in matters of shared interest as agreed and approved by Puerto Rico and the United States pursuant to this Act and their respective constitutional processes;

"(C) a constitution democratically instituted by the people of Puerto Rico, establishing a republican form of full self-government and securing the rights of citizens of the Puerto Rican nation, is the supreme law, and the Constitution and laws of the United States no longer apply in Puerto Rico;

"(D) Puerto Rico exercises the sovereign power to determine and control its own nationality and citizenship, and United States nation-

ality and citizenship conferred on the people of
Puerto Rico based upon birth in the territory
during the period in which the United States
exercised sovereignty and jurisdiction over
Puerto Rico is withdrawn in favor of Puerto
Rican nationality and citizenship, and the United States Congress has authority to prescribe
criteria for affected individuals to establish eligibility for retention of United States nationality and citizenship or naturalization in the
United States on a basis which does not create
an exception to the establishment and preservation of separate United States and Puerto
Rican nationality and citizenship;

"(E) upon recognition of Puerto Rico by
the United States as a sovereign nation and establishment of government-to-government relations on the basis of comity and reciprocity,
Puerto Rico's representation to the United
States is accorded full diplomatic status;

"(F) Puerto Rico is eligible for United States assistance provided on a government-to-government basis, including foreign aid or programmatic assistance, at levels determined at the discretion of Congress and the President;

1	"(G) property rights and previously ac-
2	quired rights vested by employment in Puerto
3	Rico or the United States are honored, and
4	where determined necessary such rights are
5	promptly adjusted and settled consistent with
6	government-to-government agreements imple-
7	menting the separation of sovereignty; and
8	"(H) Puerto Rico is outside the customs
9	territory of the United States, and trade be-
10	tween the United States and Puerto Rico is
11	based on a treaty.
12	"(2) A path under United States sovereignty
13	leading to statehood, in which—
14	"(A) the people of Puerto Rico are fully
15	self-governing with their rights secured under
16	the United States Constitution, which is the su-
17	preme law and has the same force and effect as
18	in the other States of the Union;
19	"(B) the sovereign State of Puerto Rico is
20	in permanent union with the United States, and
21	powers not delegated to the Federal Govern-
22	ment or prohibited to the States by the United
23	States Constitution are reserved to the people

1	"(C) United States citizenship of those
2	born in Puerto Rico is guaranteed and pro-
3	teeted to the same extent as those born in the
4	several States;
5	"(D) residents of Puerto Rico have equal
6	rights and benefits as well as equal duties and
7	responsibilities of citizenship, including payment
8	of Federal taxes, as those in the several States;
9	"(E) Puerto Rico is represented in the
10	United States Senate and the House of Rep-
11	resentatives proportionate to the population;
12	"(F) Puerto Rico is enfranchised to vote
13	for United States presidential and vice-presi-
14	dential electors proportionate to the population;
15	and
16	"(G) Puerto Rico adheres to the same lan-
17	guage requirement as in the several States.".
18	(b) Transition Stage.—
19	(1) Plan.—Within 180 days of the receipt of
20	the results of the referendum from the Government
21	of Puerto Rico certifying approval of a ballot choice
22	in a referendum held pursuant to subsection (a), the
23	President shall submit to Congress legislation for a
24	transition plan of 10 years minimum which leads to
25	full self-government for Puerto Rico consistent with

the terms of this Act and in full consultation with leaders of the three branches of the Government of Puerto Rico, the principal political parties of Puerto Rico, and other interested persons as may be appropriate.

(2) Congressional consideration.—The plan shall be considered by the Congress in accordance with section 6.

### (3) PUERTO RICAN APPROVAL.—

(A) Not later than 180 days after enactment of an Act pursuant to paragraph (1) providing for the transition to full self-government for Puerto Rico as approved in the initial decision referendum held under subsection (a), a referendum shall be held under the applicable provisions of Puerto Rico's electoral law on the question of approval of the transition plan.

(B) Approval must be by a majority of the valid votes east. The results of the referendum shall be certified to the President of the United States by the Government of Puerto Rico.

(4) EFFECTIVE DATE FOR TRANSITION PLAN.— Upon receipt of the results of the referendum under this subsection certifying approval of the transition plan, the President of the United States shall issue a proclamation announcing the effective date of the transition plan to full self-government for Puerto Rico.

### (c) Implementation Stage.

- (1) PRESIDENTIAL RECOMMENDATION.—Not less than two years prior to the end of the period of the transition provided for in the transition plan approved under subsection (b), the President shall submit to Congress legislation with a recommendation for the implementation of full self-government for Puerto Rico consistent with the ballot choice approved under subsection (a).
- (2) Congressional consideration.—The plan shall be considered by the Congress in accordance with section 6.

### (3) Puerto rican approval.—

- (A) Within 180 days after enactment of the terms of implementation for full self-government for Puerto Rico, a referendum shall be held under the applicable provisions of Puerto Rico's electoral laws on the question of the approval of the terms of implementation for full self-government for Puerto Rico.
- (B) Approval must be by a majority of the valid votes cast. The results of the referendum

1	shall be certified to the President of the United
2	States by the Government of Puerto Rico.
3	(4) Effective date of full self-govern-
4	MENT.—The President of the United States shall
5	issue a proclamation announcing the date of imple-
6	mentation of full self-government for Puerto Rico,
7	upon receipt of the results of the referendum certify-
8	ing approval of the terms of implementation.
9	SEC. 5. REQUIREMENTS RELATING TO REFERENDA, IN-
10	CLUDING INCONCLUSIVE REFERENDUM AND
11	APPLICABLE LAWS.
12	(a) Applicable Laws.—
13	(1) Referenda under puerto rican
14	LAWS.—The referenda held under this Act shall be
15	conducted in accordance with the laws of Puerto
16	Rico, and voter eligibility for residents and non-
17	residents shall be determined by the Puerto Rico
18	State Election Commission.
19	(2) FEDERAL LAWS.—The Federal laws appli-
20	eable to the election of the Resident Commissioner
21	of Puerto Rico shall, as appropriate, also apply to
22	the referenda. Any reference in such Federal laws to
23	elections shall be considered, as appropriate, to be a
24	reference to the referenda, unless it would frustrate
25	the purposes of this Act.

- 1 (b) Certification of Reference Results.—The
- 2 results of each referendum held under this Act shall be
- 3 certified to the President of the United States and the
- 4 Senate and House of Representatives of the United States
- 5 by the Government of Puerto Rico.
- 6 (e) Consultation and Recommendations for In-
- 7 CONCLUSIVE REFERENDUM.—
- 8 (1) In General.—If a referendum provided in
- 9 this Act does not result in approval of a fully self-
- 10 governing status, the President, in full consultation
- 11 with leaders of the three branches of the Govern-
- 12 ment of Puerto Rico, the principal political parties
- of Puerto Rico, and other interested persons as may
- be appropriate, shall make recommendations to the
- 15 Congress within 180 days of receipt of the results of
- the referendum.
- 17 (2) Existing structure to remain in ef-
- 18 FECT.—If the inhabitants of the territory do not
- 19 achieve full self-governance through either integra-
- 20 tion into the Union or separate sovereignty in the
- 21 form of independence or free association, Puerto
- 22 Rico will remain an unincorporated territory of the
- 23 United States, subject to the authority of Congress
- 24 under Article IV, Section 3, Clause 2 of the United
- 25 States Constitution. In that event, the existing Com-

monwealth of Puerto Rico structure for local selfgovernment will remain in effect, subject to such
other measures as may be adopted by Congress in
the exercise of it's Territorial Clause powers to determine the disposition of the territory and status of
it's inhabitants.

### 7 [SEC. 6. CONGRESSIONAL PROCEDURES FOR CONSIDER-

### 8 ATION OF LEGISLATION.

**L**(a) IN GENERAL.—The Chairman of the Committee
10 on Energy and Natural Resources shall introduce legisla11 tion providing for the transition plan under section 4(b)
12 and the implementation recommendation under section
13 4(c), as appropriate, in the United States Senate and the
14 Chairman of the Committee on Resources shall introduce
15 such legislation in the United States House of Representa16 tives, providing adequate time for the consideration of the
17 legislation pursuant to the following provisions:

[(1) At any time after the close of the 180th calendar day beginning after the date of introduction of such legislation, it shall be in order for any Member of the United States House of Representatives or the United States Senate to move to discharge any committee of that House from further consideration of the legislation. A motion to discharge shall be highly privileged, and debate thereon shall be lim-

ly between those supporting and those opposing the motion. An amendment to the motion shall not be in order, and it shall not be in order to move to reconsider the vote by which the motion was agreed to or disagreed to.

[(2) At any time after the close of the 14th legislative day beginning after the last committee of that House has reported or been discharged from further consideration of such legislation, it shall be in order for any Member of that House to move to proceed to the immediate consideration of the legislation (such motion not being debatable), and such motion is hereby made of high privilege. An amendment to the motion shall not be in order, and it shall not be in order to move to reconsider the vote by which the motion was agreed to or disagreed to. For the purposes of this paragraph, the term "legislative day" means a day on which the United States House of Representatives or the United States Senate, as appropriate, is in session.

[(b) Commitment of Congress.—Enactment of this section constitutes a commitment that the United States Congress will vote on legislation establishing appro-

- 1 priate mechanisms and procedures to implement the politi-
- 2 cal status selected by the people of Puerto Rico.
- 3 (e) Exercise of Rulemaking Power.—The pro-
- 4 visions of this section are enacted by the Congress—
- 5 [(1) as an exercise of the rulemaking power of
- 6 the Senate and the House of Representatives and, as
- 7 such, shall be considered as part of the rules of each
- 8 House and shall supersede other rules only to the
- 9 extent that they are inconsistent therewith; and
- 10 \[ \frac{(2)}{(2)}\] with full recognition of the constitutional
- 11 right of either House to change the rules (so far as
- they relate to the procedures of that House) at any
- time, in the same manner, and to the same extent
- as in the case of any other rule of that House.
- 15 SEC. 6. CONGRESSIONAL PROCEDURES FOR CONSIDER-
- 16 ATION OF LEGISLATION.
- 17 (a) In General.—The majority leader of
- 18 the House of Representatives (or his des-
- 19 ignee) and the majority leader of the Senate
- 20 (or his designee) shall each introduce legisla-
- 21 tion (by request) providing for the transition
- 22 plan under section 4(b) and the implementa-
- 23 tion recommendation under section 4(c) not
- 24 later than 5 legislative days after the date of
- 25 receipt by Congress of the submission by the

- 1 President under that section, as the case may
- 2 **be.**
- 3 **(b) REFERRAL.—The legislation shall be re-**
- 4 ferred on the date of introduction to the ap-
- 5 propriate committee or committees in accord-
- 6 ance with rules of the respective Houses. The
- 7 legislation shall be reported not later than the
- 8 120th calendar day after the date of its intro-
- 9 duction. If any such committee fails to report
- 10 the bill within that period, that committee
- 11 shall be automatically discharged from con-
- 12 sideration of the legislation, and the legisla-
- 13 tion shall be placed on the appropriate cal-
- 14 endar.

### 15 **(c) CONSIDERATION.**—

- 16 (1) After the 14th legislative day after
  17 the date on which the last committee of
  18 the House of Representatives or the Sen19 ate, as the case may be, has reported or
  20 been discharged from further consider21 ation of such legislation, it is in order
  22 after the legislation has been on the cal-
- 23 endar for 14 legislative days for any
- 24 Member of that House in favor of the leg-
- islation to move to proceed to the consid-

1 eration of the legislation (after consultation with the presiding officer of that 2 House as to scheduling) to move to pro-3 ceed to its consideration at any time after 4 the third legislative day on which the 5 6 Member announces to the respective 7 House concerned the Member's intention to do so. All points of order against the 8 motion to proceed and against consider-9 ation of that motion are waived. The mo-10 tion is highly privileged in the House of 11 12 Representatives and is privileged in the Senate and is not debatable. The motion 13 is not subject to amendment, or to a mo-14 15 tion to postpone, or to a motion to proceed to the consideration of other busi-16 17 ness. A motion to reconsider the vote by 18 which the motion is agreed to or dis-19 agreed to shall not be in order. If a mo-20 tion to proceed to the consideration of 21 the legislation is agreed to, the respective 22 House shall immediately proceed to consideration of the legislation without in-23 24 tervening motion (exception one motion to adjourn), order, or other business. 25

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(2)(A) In the House of Representatives, during consideration of the legislation in the Committee of the Whole, the first reading of the legislation shall be dispensed with. General debate shall be confined to the legislation, and shall not exceed 4 hours equally divided and controlled by a proponent and an opponent of the legislation. After general debate, the legislation shall be considered as read for amendment under the fiveminute rule. Consideration of the legislation for amendment shall not exceed 4 hours excluding time for recorded votes and quorum calls. At the conclusion of the bill for amendment, the Committee shall rise and report the bill to the House with such amendments as may have been adopted. The previous question shall be considered as ordered on the legislation and amendments thereto to final passage without intervening motion, except one motion to recommit with or without instructions. A motion to reconsider the

- vote on passage of the legislation shall not be in order.
- (B) In the Senate, debate on the legis-3 lation, and all amendments thereto and debatable motions and appeals in connec-5 tion therewith, shall be limited to not 6 7 more than 25 hours. The time shall be 8 equally divided between, and controlled by, the majority leader and the minority 9 leader or their designees. No amendment 10 11 that is not germane to the provisions of 12 such legislation shall be received. A motion to further limit debate is not debat-13 able. 14
  - (3) Appeals from the decisions of the Chair relating to the application of the rules of the Senate or the House of Representatives, as the case may be, to the procedure relating to the legislation described in subsection (a) shall be decided without debate.
- 22 (d) Consideration by Other House.—(1) 23 If, before the passage by one House of the leg-24 islation described in subsection (a) that was 25 introduced in that House, that House receives

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- 1 from the other House the legislation de-2 scribed in subsection (a)—
- (A) the legislation of the other House shall not be referred to a committee and may not be considered in the House that receives it otherwise than on final passage under subparagraph (B)(ii) or (iii); and
  - (B)(i) the procedure in the House that receives such legislation with respect to such legislation that was introduced in that House shall be the same as if no legislation had been received from the other House; but
  - (ii) in the case of legislation received from the other House that is identical to the legislation as engrossed by the receiving House, the vote on final passage shall be on the legislation of the other House; or
  - (iii) after passage of the legislation, the legislation of the other House shall be considered as amended with the text of the legislation just passed and shall be considered as passed, and that House

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- shall be considered to have insisted on its amendment and requested a conference with the other House.
- 4 (2) Upon disposition of the legislation
  5 described in subsection (a) that is re6 ceived by one House from the other
  7 House, it shall no longer be in order to
  8 consider such legislation that was intro9 duced in the receiving House.
- 10 (e) Upon receiving from the other House
  11 a message in which that House insists upon
  12 its amendment to the legislation and requests
  13 a conference with the House of Representa14 tives or the Senate, as the case may be, on the
  15 disagreeing votes thereon, the House receiv16 ing the request shall be considered to have
  17 disagreed to the amendment of the other
  18 House and agreed to the conference re19 quested by that House.
- 20 **(f) DEFINITION.**—For the purposes of this 21 section, the term "legislative day" means a 22 day on which the House of Representatives or 23 the Senate, as appropriate, is in session.

- (g) EXERCISE OF RULEMAKING POWER.—The
   provisions of this section are enacted by the
   Congress—
- 1 (1) as an exercise of the rulemaking
  power of the Senate and the House of
  Representatives and, as such, shall be
  considered as part of the rules of each
  House and shall supersede other rules
  only to the extent that they are inconsistent therewith; and
  - (2) with full recognition of the constitutional right of either House to change the rules (so far as they relate to the procedures of that House) at any time, in the same manner, and to the same extent as in the case of any other rule of that House.
- 18 SEC. 7. AVAILABILITY OF FUNDS FOR THE REFERENDA.
- 19 (a) IN GENERAL.—

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20 (1) AVAILABILITY OF AMOUNTS DERIVED FROM
21 TAX ON FOREIGN RUM.—During the period begin22 ning on October 1, 1996, and ending on the date the
23 President determines that all referenda required by
24 this Act have been held, the Secretary of the Treas25 ury, upon request from time to time by the Presi-

dent and in lieu of covering amounts into the treasury of Puerto Rico under section 7652(e)(1) of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986, shall make such amounts available to the President for the purposes

specified in subsection (b).

- 6 (2) Use of unexpended amounts.—Follow-7 ing each referendum required by this Act and after 8 the end of the period specified in paragraph (1), the 9 President shall transfer all unobligated and unex-10 pended amounts received by the President under 11 paragraph (1) to the treasury of Puerto Rico for use 12 in the same manner and for the same purposes as 13 all other amounts covered into the treasury of Puer-14 to Rico under such section 7652(e)(1).
- 15 (b) Grants for Conducting Referenda and
  16 Voter Education.—From amounts made available
  17 under subsection (a)(1), the President shall make grants
  18 to the State Elections Commission of Puerto Rico for
  19 referenda held pursuant to the terms of this Act, as fol20 lows:
- 21 (1) 50 percent shall be available only for costs 22 of conducting the referenda.
- 23 (2) 50 percent shall be available only for voter
  24 education funds for the central ruling body of the
  25 political party or parties advocating a particular bal-

- 1 lot choice. In the case that more than one party is
- 2 advocating a ballot choice, the 50 percent shall be
- 3 apportioned equally among the parties.
- 4 (e) Additional Resources.—In addition to
- 5 amounts made available by this Act, the Puerto Rico Leg-
- 6 islature may allocate additional resources for administra-
- 7 tive and voter education costs to each party so long as
- 8 the distribution of funds is consistent with the apportion-
- 9 ment requirements of subsection (b).
- 10 SECTION 1. SHORT TITLE; TABLE OF CONTENTS.
- 11 (a) Short Title.—This Act may be cited as the
- 12 "United States-Puerto Rico Political Status Act".
- 13 (b) Table of Contents.—The table of contents for
- 14 this Act is as follows:
  - Sec. 1. Short title.
  - Sec. 2. Findings.
  - Sec. 3. Policy.
  - Sec. 4. Process for Puerto Rican full self-government, including the initial decision stage, transition stage, and implementation stage.
  - Sec. 5. Requirements relating to referenda, including inconclusive referendum and applicable laws.
  - Sec. 6. Congressional procedures for consideration of legislation.
  - Sec. 7. Availability of funds for the referenda.

### 15 SEC. 2. FINDINGS.

- 16 The Congress finds the following:
- 17 (1) Puerto Rico was ceded to the United States
- and came under this Nation's sovereignty pursuant to
- 19 the Treaty of Paris ending the Spanish-American
- War in 1898. Article IX of the Treaty of Paris ex-
- 21 pressly recognizes the authority of Congress to provide

- 1 for the political status of the inhabitants of the terri-2 tory.
  - (2) Consistent with establishment of United States nationality for inhabitants of Puerto Rico under the Treaty of Paris, Congress has exercised its powers under the Territorial Clause of the Constitution (article IV, section 3, clause 2) to provide by statute for the citizenship status of persons born in Puerto Rico, including extension of special statutory United States citizenship from 1917 to the present.
    - (3) Consistent with the Territorial Clause and rulings of the United States Supreme Court, partial application of the United States Constitution has been established in the unincorporated territories of the United States including Puerto Rico.
    - (4) In 1950 Congress prescribed a procedure for instituting internal self-government for Puerto Rico pursuant to statutory authorization for a local constitution. A local constitution was approved by the people, amended and conditionally approved by Congress, and thereupon given effect in 1952 after acceptance of congressional conditions by the Puerto Rico Constitutional Convention and an appropriate proclamation by the Governor. The approved constitution established the structure for constitutional government

in respect of internal affairs without altering Puerto Rico's fundamental political, social, and economic relationship with the United States and without restricting the authority of Congress under the Territorial Clause to determine the application of Federal law to Puerto Rico, resulting in the present "Commonwealth" structure for local self-government. The Commonwealth remains an unincorporated territory and does not have the status of "free association" with the United States as that status is defined under United States law or international practice.

(5) In 1953 the United States transmitted to the Secretary-General of the United Nations for circulation to its Members a formal notification that the United States no longer would transmit information regarding Puerto Rico to the United Nations pursuant to Article 73(e) of its Charter. The formal United States notification document informed the United Nations that the cessation of information on Puerto Rico was based on the "new constitutional arrangements" in the territory, and the United States expressly defined the scope of the "full measure" of local self-government in Puerto Rico as extending to matters of "internal government and administration, subject only to compliance with applicable provisions of the

- Federal Constitution, the Puerto Rico Federal Relations Act and the acts of Congress authorizing and approving the Constitution, as may be interpreted by judicial decision." Thereafter, the General Assembly of the United Nations, based upon consent of the inhabitants of the territory and the United States explanation of the new status as approved by Congress, adopted Resolution 748 (VIII) by a vote of 22 to 18 with 19 abstentions, thereby accepting the United States determination to cease reporting to the United Nations on the status of Puerto Rico.
  - (6) In 1960 the United Nations General Assembly approved Resolution 1541 (XV), clarifying that under United Nations standards regarding the political status options available to the people of territories yet to complete the process for achieving full self-government, the three established forms of full self-government are national independence, free association based on separate sovereignty, or full integration with another nation on the basis of equality.
  - (7) The ruling of the United States Supreme Court in the 1980 case Harris v. Rosario (446 U.S. 651) confirmed that Congress continues to exercise authority over Puerto Rico as territory "belonging to the United States" pursuant to the Territorial Clause

- found at Article IV, section 3, clause 2 of the United States Constitution, a judicial interpretation of Puerto Rico's status which is in accordance with the clear intent of Congress that establishment of local constitutional government in 1952 did not alter Puerto Rico's status as an unincorporated United States territory.
  - (8) In a joint letter dated January 17, 1989, cosigned by the Governor of Puerto Rico in his capacity as president of one of Puerto Rico's principal political parties and the presidents of the two other principal political parties of Puerto Rico, the United States was formally advised that ". . . the People of Puerto Rico wish to be consulted as to their preference with regards to their ultimate political status", and the joint letter stated ". . . that since Puerto Rico came under the sovereignty of the United States of America through the Treaty of Paris in 1898, the People of Puerto Rico have not been formally consulted by the United States of America as to their choice of their ultimate political status".
    - (9) In the 1989 State of the Union Message, President George Bush urged the Congress to take the necessary steps to authorize a federally recognized process allowing the people of Puerto Rico, for the first time since the Treaty of Paris entered into force,

- to freely express their wishes regarding their future political status in a congressionally recognized referendum, a step in the process of self-determination which the Congress has yet to authorize.
  - (10) In November of 1993, the Government of Puerto Rico conducted a plebiscite initiated under local law on Puerto Rico's political status. In that vote none of the three status propositions received a majority of the votes cast. The results of that vote were: 48.6 percent commonwealth, 46.3 percent statehood, and 4.4 percent independence.
    - (11) In 1994, President William Jefferson Clinton established the Executive Branch Interagency Working Group on Puerto Rico to coordinate the review, development, and implementation of executive branch policy concerning issues affecting Puerto Rico, including the November 1993 plebiscite.
  - (12) There have been inconsistent and conflicting interpretations of the 1993 plebiscite results, and under the Territorial Clause of the Constitution, Congress has the authority and responsibility to determine Federal policy and clarify status issues in order to advance the self-determination process in Puerto Rico.

- 1 (13) On December 14, 1994, the Puerto Rico
  2 Legislature enacted Concurrent Resolution 62, which
  3 requested the 104th Congress to respond to the results
  4 of the 1993 Puerto Rico Status Plebiscite and to indi5 cate the next steps in resolving Puerto Rico's political
  6 status.
  - in the islands of Puerto Rico, which have been under United States sovereignty and within the United States customs territory for almost 100 years, making Puerto Rico the oldest, largest, and most populous United States island territory at the southeasternmost boundary of our Nation, located astride the strategic shipping lanes of the Atlantic Ocean and Caribbean Sea.
    - (15) Full self-government for Puerto Rico is attainable only through establishment of a political status which is based on either separate Puerto Rican sovereignty and nationality or full and equal United States nationality and citizenship through membership in the Union and under which Puerto Rico is no longer an unincorporated territory subject to the plenary authority of Congress arising from the Territorial Clause.

### 1 SEC. 3. POLICY.

- 2 In recognition of the significant level of local self-gov-
- 3 ernment which has been attained by Puerto Rico, and the
- 4 responsibility of the Federal Government to enable the peo-
- 5 ple of the territory to freely express their wishes regarding
- 6 political status and achieve full self-government, this Act
- 7 is adopted with a commitment to encourage the development
- 8 and implementation of procedures through which the per-
- 9 manent political status of the people of Puerto Rico can
- 10 be determined.
- 11 SEC. 4. PROCESS FOR PUERTO RICAN FULL SELF-GOVERN-
- 12 MENT, INCLUDING THE INITIAL DECISION
- 13 STAGE, TRANSITION STAGE, AND IMPLEMEN-
- 14 TATION STAGE.
- 15 (a) Initial Decision Stage.—A referendum on
- 16 Puerto Rico's political status shall be held not later than
- 17 December 31, 1998. The referendum shall be held pursuant
- 18 to this Act and in accordance with the applicable provisions
- 19 of Puerto Rico's electoral law and other relevant statutes
- 20 consistent with this Act. Approval of a status option must
- 21 be by a majority of the valid votes cast. The referendum
- 22 shall be on the following questions presented on the ballot
- 23 as options A and B in a side-by-side format in Parts I
- 24 *and II*:

1	"PART I
2	"Instructions: Mark the option you choose. Ballots
3	with both options marked in Part I will not be counted.
4	"A. Puerto Rico should continue the present Common-
5	wealth structure for self-government with respect to internal
6	affairs and administration, subject to the provisions of the
7	Constitution and laws of the United States which apply to
8	Puerto Rico. Puerto Rico remains a locally self-governing
9	unincorporated territory of the United States, and continu-
10	ation or modification of current Federal law and policy to
11	Puerto Rico remains within the discretion of Congress. The
12	ultimate status of Puerto Rico will be determined through
13	a process authorized by Congress which includes self-deter-
14	mination by the people of Puerto Rico in periodic referenda.
15	If you agree, mark here .
16	"B. Puerto Rico should complete the process leading
17	to full self-government through separate Puerto Rican sov-
18	ereignty or United States sovereignty as defined in Part
19	II of this ballot. Full self-government will be achieved in
20	accordance with a transition plan approved by the Congress
21	and the people of Puerto Rico in a later vote. A third vote
22	will take place at the end of the transition period in which
23	the people of Puerto Rico will be able to approve final im-
24	plementation of full self-government. This will establish a

1	permanent political status under the constitutional system
2	chosen by the people. If you agree, mark here:
3	"PART II
4	"Instructions: Mark the option you choose. Ballots
5	with both options marked in Part II will not be counted.
6	"If full self-government is approved by the majority
7	of voters, which path leading to full self-government for
8	Puerto Rico do you prefer to be developed through a transi-
9	tion plan enacted by the Congress and approved by the peo-
10	ple of Puerto Rico?
11	"A. Puerto Rico should become fully self-governing
12	through separate sovereignty leading to independence or free
13	association as defined below. If you agree, mark here:
14	"The path of separate Puerto Rican sovereignty lead-
15	ing to independence or free association is one in which—
16	"(1) Puerto Rico is a sovereign nation with full
17	authority and responsibility for its internal and ex-
18	ternal affairs and has the capacity to exercise in its
19	own name and right the powers of government with
20	respect to its territory and population;
21	"(2) a negotiated treaty of friendship and co-
22	operation, or an international bilateral pact of free
23	association terminable at will by either Puerto Rico
24	or the United States, defines future relations between
25	Puerto Rico and the United States, providing for co-

- operation and assistance in matters of shared interest as agreed and approved by Puerto Rico and the United States pursuant to this Act and their respective constitutional processes;
- "(3) a constitution democratically instituted by the people of Puerto Rico, establishing a republican form of full self-government and securing the rights of citizens of the Puerto Rican nation, is the supreme law, and the Constitution and laws of the United States no longer apply in Puerto Rico;
- "(4) The people of Puerto Rico owe allegiance to the sovereign nation of Puerto Rico and have the nationality, and citizenship thereof; United States sovereignty, nationality, and citizenship in Puerto Rico is ended; birth in Puerto Rico and relationship to persons with statutory United States citizenship by birth in the former territory are not bases for United States nationality or citizenship, except that persons who had such United States citizenship have a statutory right to retain United States nationality and citizenship for life, by entitlement or election as provided by the United States Congress, based on continued allegiance to the United States: Provided, That such persons will not have this statutory United States nationality and citizenship status upon having

- or maintaining allegiance, nationality, and citizenship rights in any sovereign nation other than the United States:
  - "(5) upon recognition of Puerto Rico by the United States as a sovereign nation and establishment of government-to-government relations on the basis of comity and reciprocity, Puerto Rico's representation to the United States is accorded full diplomatic status:
    - "(6) Puerto Rico is eligible for United States assistance provided on a government-to-government basis, including foreign aid or programmatic assistance, at levels subject to agreement by the United States and Puerto Rico;
    - "(7) property rights and previously acquired rights vested by employment under laws of Puerto Rico or the United States are honored, and where determined necessary such rights are promptly adjusted and settled consistent with government-to-government agreements implementing the separation of sovereignty; and
    - "(8) Puerto Rico is outside the customs territory of the United States, and trade between the United States and Puerto Rico is based on a treaty.

1	"B. Puerto Rico should become fully self-governing
2	through United States sovereignty leading to statehood as
3	defined below. If you agree, mark here:
4	"The path through United States sovereignty leading
5	to statehood is one in which—
6	"(1) the people of Puerto Rico are fully self-gov-
7	erning with their rights secured under the United
8	States Constitution, which is the supreme law and
9	has the same force and effect as in the other States
10	of the Union;
11	"(2) the sovereign State of Puerto Rico is in per-
12	manent union with the United States, and powers not
13	delegated to the Federal Government or prohibited to
14	the States by the United States Constitution are re-
15	served to the people of Puerto Rico or the State Gov-
16	ernment;
17	"(3) United States citizenship of those born in
18	Puerto Rico is guaranteed, protected and secured in
19	the same way it is for all United States citizens born
20	in the other States;
21	"(4) residents of Puerto Rico have equal rights
22	and benefits as well as equal duties and responsibil-
23	ities of citizenship, including payment of Federal
24	taxes, as those in the several States;

- 1 "(5) Puerto Rico is represented by two members 2 in the United States Senate and is represented in the 3 House of Representatives proportionate to the popu-4 lation;
  - "(6) United States citizens in Puerto Rico are enfranchised to vote in elections for the President and Vice President of the United States; and
- 8 "(7) Puerto Rico adheres to the same language 9 requirement as in the several States.".

## (b) Transition Stage.—

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- (1) PLAN.—(A) Within 180 days of the receipt of the results of the referendum from the Government of Puerto Rico certifying approval of a ballot choice of full self-government in a referendum held pursuant to subsection (a), the President shall develop and submit to Congress legislation for a transition plan of 10 years minimum which leads to full self-government for Puerto Rico consistent with the terms of this Act and in consultation with officials of the three branches of the Government of Puerto Rico, the principal political parties of Puerto Rico, and other interested persons as may be appropriate.
- (B) Additionally, in the event of a vote in favor of separate sovereignty, the Legislature of Puerto Rico, if deemed appropriate, may provide by law for

the calling of a constituent convention to formulate, in accordance with procedures prescribed by law, Puerto Rico's proposals and recommendations to implement the referendum results. If a convention is called for this purpose, any proposals and recommendations formally adopted by such convention within time limits of this Act shall be transmitted to Congress by the President with the transition plan required by this section, along with the views of the President regarding the compatibility of such proposals and recommendations with the United States Constitution and this Act, and identifying which, if any, of such proposals and recommendations have been addressed in the President's proposed transition plan.

(2) Congressional consideration.—The plan shall be considered by the Congress in accordance with section 6.

## (3) Puerto rican approval.—

(A) Not later than 180 days after enactment of an Act pursuant to paragraph (1) providing for the transition to full self-government for Puerto Rico as approved in the initial decision referendum held under subsection (a), a referendum shall be held under the applicable provi-

1	sions of Puerto Rico's electoral law on the ques-
2	tion of approval of the transition plan.
3	(B) Approval must be by a majority of the
4	valid votes cast. The results of the referendum
5	shall be certified to the President of the United
6	States.
7	(4) Effective date for transition plan.—
8	The President of the United States shall issue a proc-
9	lamation announcing the effective date of the transi-
10	tion plan to full self-government for Puerto Rico.
11	(c) Implementation Stage.—
12	(1) Presidential recommendation.—Not less
13	than two years prior to the end of the period of the
14	transition provided for in the transition plan ap-
15	proved under subsection (b), the President shall sub-
16	mit to Congress legislation with a recommendation
17	for the implementation of full self-government for
18	Puerto Rico consistent with the ballot choice approved
19	under subsection (a).
20	(2) Congressional consideration.—The plan
21	shall be considered by the Congress in accordance
22	with section 6.
23	(3) Puerto rican approval.—
24	(A) Within 180 days after enactment of the
25	terms of implementation for full self-government

1 for Puerto Rico, a referendum shall be held 2 under the applicable provisions of Puerto Rico's 3 electoral laws on the question of the approval of 4 the terms of implementation for full self-govern-5 ment for Puerto Rico. 6 (B) Approval must be by a majority of the 7 valid votes cast. The results of the referendum 8 shall be certified to the President of the United 9 States. 10 (4) Effective date of full self-govern-11 MENT.—The President of the United States shall issue 12 a proclamation announcing the date of implementa-13 tion of full self-government for Puerto Rico.

14 SEC. 5. REQUIREMENTS RELATING TO REFERENDA, IN-

15 CLUDING INCONCLUSIVE REFERENDUM AND

16 APPLICABLE LAWS.

## 17 (a) APPLICABLE LAWS.—

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(1) Referenda under this Act shall be conducted in accordance with the applicable laws of Puerto Rico, including laws of Puerto Rico under which voter eligibility is determined and which require United States citizenship and establish other statutory requirements for voter eligibility of residents and nonresidents.

- 1 (2) FEDERAL LAWS.—The Federal laws applica-2 ble to the election of the Resident Commissioner of 3 Puerto Rico shall, as appropriate and consistent with 4 this Act, also apply to the referenda. Any reference in 5 such Federal laws to elections shall be considered, as 6 appropriate, to be a reference to the referenda, unless 7 it would frustrate the purposes of this Act. 8 (b) Certification of Referenda Results.—The results of each referendum held under this Act shall be cer-10 tified to the President of the United States and the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States by the 12 Government of Puerto Rico. 13 (c) Consultation and Recommendations for In-14 CONCLUSIVE REFERENDUM.— 15 (1) In General.—If a referendum provided in 16 this Act does not result in approval of a fully self-gov-17 erning status, the President, in consultation with offi-18 cials of the three branches of the Government of Puer-19 to Rico, the principal political parties of Puerto Rico, 20 and other interested persons as may be appropriate, 21 shall make recommendations to the Congress within 22 180 days of receipt of the results of the referendum.
  - (2) Existing structure to remain in effect.—If the inhabitants of the territory do not achieve full self-governance through either integration

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into the Union or separate sovereignty in the form of independence or free association, Puerto Rico will remain an unincorporated territory of the United States, subject to the authority of Congress under Article IV, Section 3, Clause 2 of the United States Constitution. In that event, the existing Commonwealth of Puerto Rico structure for local self-government will remain in effect, subject to such other measures as may be adopted by Congress in the exercise of it's Territorial Clause powers to determine the disposition of the territory and status of it's inhabitants.

(3) Authority of congress to determine status.—Since current unincorporated territory status of the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico is not a permanent, unalterable or guaranteed status under the Constitution of the United States, Congress retains plenary authority and responsibility to determine a permanent status for Puerto Rico consistent with the national interest. The Congress historically has recognized a commitment to take into consideration the freely expressed wishes of the people of Puerto Rico regarding their future political status. This policy is consistent with respect for the right of self-determination in areas which are not fully self-governing, but does not constitute a legal restriction or binding limi-

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tation on the Territorial Clause powers of Congress to determine a permanent status of Puerto Rico. Nor does any such restriction or limitation arise from the Puerto Rico Federal Relations Act (48 U.S.C. 731 et seg.).

(4) Additional referenda.—To ensure that the Congress is able on a continuing basis to exercise its Territorial Clause powers with due regard for the wishes of the people of Puerto Rico respecting resolution of Puerto Rico's permanent future political status, in the event that a referendum conducted under section four is inconclusive as provided in this subsection, or a majority vote to continue the Commonwealth structure as a territory, there shall be another referendum in accordance with this Act prior to the expiration of a period of four years from the date such inconclusive results are certified or determined. This procedure shall be repeated every four years, but not in a general election year, until Puerto Rico's unincorporated territory status is terminated in favor of a recognized form of full self-government in accordance with this Act.

## 1 SEC. 6. CONGRESSIONAL PROCEDURES FOR CONSIDER-

pursuant to the following provisions:

- 3 (a) In General.—The Chairman of the Committee on 4 Energy and Natural Resources shall introduce legislation 5 providing for the transition plan under section 4(b) and 6 the implementation recommendation under section 4(c), as 7 appropriate, in the United States Senate and the Chairman 8 of the Committee on Resources shall introduce such legisla-9 tion in the United States House of Representatives, provid-10 ing adequate time for the consideration of the legislation
  - endar day beginning after the date of introduction of such legislation, it shall be in order for any Member of the United States House of Representatives or the United States Senate to move to discharge any committee of that House from further consideration of the legislation. A motion to discharge shall be highly privileged, and debate thereon shall be limited to not more than two hours, to be divided equally between those supporting and those opposing the motion. An amendment to the motion shall not be in order, and it shall not be in order to move to reconsider the vote by which the motion was agreed to or disagreed to.
    - (2) At any time after the close of the 14th legislative day beginning after the last committee of that

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- 1 House has reported or been discharged from further 2 consideration of such legislation, it shall be in order for any Member of that House to move to proceed to 3 4 the immediate consideration of the legislation (such motion not being debatable), and such motion is here-5 6 by made of high privilege. An amendment to the mo-7 tion shall not be in order, and it shall not be in order 8 to move to reconsider the vote by which the motion 9 was agreed to or disagreed to. For the purposes of this paragraph, the term "legislative day" means a day 10 11 on which the United States House of Representatives 12 or the United States Senate, as appropriate, is in ses-13 sion.
- 14 (b) COMMITMENT OF CONGRESS.—Enactment of this 15 section constitutes a commitment that the United States 16 Congress will vote on legislation establishing appropriate 17 mechanisms and procedures to implement the political sta-18 tus selected by the people of Puerto Rico.
- 19 (c) Exercise of Rulemaking Power.—The provi-20 sions of this section are enacted by the Congress—
- 21 (1) as an exercise of the rulemaking power of the 22 Senate and the House of Representatives and, as such, 23 shall be considered as part of the rules of each House 24 and shall supersede other rules only to the extent that 25 they are inconsistent therewith; and

1	(2) with full recognition of the constitutional
2	right of either House to change the rules (so far as
3	they relate to the procedures of that House) at any
4	time, in the same manner, and to the same extent as
5	in the case of any other rule of that House.
6	SEC. 7. AVAILABILITY OF FUNDS FOR THE REFERENDA.
7	(a) In General.—
8	(1) Availability of amounts derived from
9	TAX ON FOREIGN RUM.—During the period beginning
10	on October 1, 1996, and ending on the date the Presi-
11	dent determines that all referenda required by this
12	Act have been held, from the amounts covered into the
13	treasury of Puerto Rico under section 7652(e)(1) of
14	the Internal Revenue Code of 1986, the Secretary of
15	the Treasury—
16	(A) upon request and in the amounts iden-
17	tified from time to time by the President, shall
18	make the amounts so identified available to the
19	treasury of Puerto Rico for the purposes specified
20	in subsection (b); and
21	(B) shall transfer all remaining amounts to
22	the treasury of Puerto Rico, as under current
23	law.
24	(2) Report of Referenda expenditures.—
25	Within 180 days after each referendum required by

- 1 this Act, and after the end of the period specified in
- 2 paragraph (1), the President, in consultation with the
- 3 Government of Puerto Rico, shall submit a report to
- 4 the United States Senate and United States House of
- 5 Representatives on the amounts made available under
- 6 paragraph (1)(A) and all other amounts expended by
- 7 the State Elections Commission of Puerto Rico for
- 8 referenda pursuant to this Act.
- 9 (b) Grants for Conducting Referenda and
- 10 Voter Education.—From amounts made available under
- 11 subsection (a)(1), the Government of Puerto Rico shall make
- 12 grants to the State Elections Commission of Puerto Rico
- 13 for referenda held pursuant to the terms of this Act, as fol-
- 14 lows:
- 15 (1) 50 percent shall be available only for costs of
- 16 conducting the referenda.
- 17 (2) 50 percent shall be available only for voter
- 18 education funds for the central ruling body of the po-
- 19 litical party, parties, or other qualifying entities ad-
- 20 vocating a particular ballot choice. The amount allo-
- 21 cated for advocating a ballot choice under this para-
- graph shall be apportioned equally among the parties
- 23 advocating that choice.
- 24 (c) Addition to
- 25 amounts made available by this Act, the Puerto Rico Legis-

- $1 \ \ lature \ may \ allocate \ additional \ resources \ for \ administrative$
- 2 and voter education costs to each party so long as the dis-
- 3 tribution of funds is consistent with the apportionment re-
- 4 quirements of subsection (b).