105TH CONGRESS 1ST SESSION H.R. 1777

To amend the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 to reform the financing of Federal elections, and for other purposes.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

JUNE 4, 1997

Mr. MEEHAN (for himself, Mr. SHAYS, Mr. WAMP, Mr. MORAN of Virginia, Mrs. ROUKEMA, Mr. MCHALE, Mr. HORN, Mr. BARRETT of Wisconsin, Mr. CASTLE, Mr. MINGE, Mr. LEACH, Mr. BILBRAY, Mr. CAMPBELL, Mr. DUNCAN, Mrs. MORELLA, Mr. GREENWOOD, Mr. FRANKS of New Jersey, and Mr. METCALF) introduced the following bill; which was referred to the Committee on House Oversight, and in addition to the Committees on Commerce, and Government Reform and Oversight, 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

A BILL

- To amend the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 to reform the financing of Federal elections, and for other purposes.
 - 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.

- 4 This Act may be cited as the "Campaign Independ-
- 5 ence Restoration Act—Part II".

1 SEC. 2. TABLE OF CONTENTS.

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Sec. 2. Table of contents.

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- "Sec. 501. Candidates eligible to receive benefits.
- "Sec. 502. Limitation on expenditures.
- "Sec. 503. Benefits eligible candidates entitled to receive.
- "Sec. 504. Certification by Commission.
- "Sec. 505. Repayments; additional civil penalties."
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Subtitle A—Limitations on Political Action Committees and Large Contributions of Individuals

- Sec. 201. Limitations on activities of political action committees in Federal elections.
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- Sec. 231. Clarification of definitions relating to independent expenditures.
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- Sec. 301. Severability.
- Sec. 302. Expedited review of constitutional issues.
- Sec. 303. Effective date.
- Sec. 304. Regulations.

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1	TITLE I—HOUSE OF REPRESENT-
2	ATIVES ELECTION SPENDING
3	LIMITS AND BENEFITS
4	SEC. 101. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES ELECTION SPEND-
5	ING LIMITS AND BENEFITS.
6	The Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 is
7	amended by adding at the end the following new title:
8	"TITLE V—SPENDING LIMITS
9	AND BENEFITS FOR HOUSE
10	OF REPRESENTATIVES ELEC-
11	TION CAMPAIGNS
12	"SEC. 501. CANDIDATES ELIGIBLE TO RECEIVE BENEFITS.
13	"(a) IN GENERAL.—For purposes of this title, a can-
14	didate is an eligible House of Representatives candidate
15	if the Commission has certified, pursuant to section 504,
16	that the candidate—
17	"(1) meets the election cycle filing requirements
18	of subsection (b); and
19	"(2) meets the threshold contribution require-
20	ments of subsection (c).
21	"(b) FILING REQUIREMENTS.—
22	"(1) IN GENERAL.—The requirements of this
23	subsection are met if the candidate files with the
24	Commission under penalty of perjury a declaration
25	that—

1	"(A) the candidate and the candidate's au-
2	thorized committees—
3	"(i) will not exceed the expenditure
4	limits under section 502(a), (b), and (c),
5	"(ii) will not accept contributions in
6	excess of the election cycle expenditure
7	limit, reduced by any amounts transferred
8	to this election cycle from a preceding elec-
9	tion cycle,
10	"(iii) will not, in the event of a runoff
11	election, accept contributions in excess of
12	the runoff expenditure limit, reduced by
13	any amounts transferred to this election
14	cycle from a preceding election cycle,
15	"(iv) will not accept any contributions
16	in violation of section 315, and
17	"(v) will comply with the requirement
18	that, by the end of the election cycle, not
19	less than 60 percent of the total dollar
20	amount of all contributions from individ-
21	uals to the candidate or the candidate's
22	authorized committees (including any ex-
23	penditures, contributions, or loans made by
24	the candidate) shall come from individuals

2 and	
3 "(B) the candidate intends to make	use of
4 the benefits provided under section 503.	
5 "(2) DEADLINE FOR FILING DECLARATI	ION.—
6 The declaration under paragraph (1) shall be	e filed
7 the date the candidate files as a candidate f	or the
8 primary election. In the case of a candidate v	who is
9 not eligible to participate in a primary election	on but
10 qualifies for the general election ballot under	State
11 law, the declaration under paragraph (1) sh	all be
12 filed not later than the date the candidate qu	alifies
13 for the general election ballot under State law.'	".
14 "(3) NOTIFICATION.—A candidate who—	
15 "(A) files a declaration pursuant to	o sub-
16 section (b)(1) of this Act; and	
17 "(B) subsequently acts in a manner	incon-
18 sistent with any of the limitations or re-	equire-
19 ments of the declaration filed under subs	section
20 (b)(1) shall file a notification regarding	g such
21 acts with the Commission not later that	an 24
22 hours after the first such act inconsisten	t with
any of the limitations or requirements and	d shall
24 at the same time notify all other candidat	tes for
the same office by sending a copy of the	notifi-

1	action filed with the Commission by cartified
	cation filed with the Commission by certified
2	mail, return receipt requested.
3	"(c) Threshold Contribution Requirements.—
4	"(1) IN GENERAL.—The requirements of this
5	subsection are met if the candidate and the can-
6	didate's authorized committees have received allow-
7	able contributions during the applicable period in an
8	amount equal to 10 percent of the election cycle ex-
9	penditure limit under section 502(b), and file with
10	the Commission under penalty of perjury a state-
11	ment with supporting materials demonstrating that
12	this requirement has been met.
13	"(2) DEFINITIONS.—For purposes of this sec-
14	tion—
15	"(A) the term 'allowable contributions'
16	means contributions that are made as gifts of
17	money by an individual pursuant to a written
18	instrument identifying such individual as the
19	contributor, except that—
20	"(i) such term shall not include con-
21	tributions from individuals residing outside
22	the candidate's State to the extent such
23	contributions exceed 40 percent of the
24	amount set forth in paragraph (1),

1	"(ii) no more than \$200 of any con-
2	tribution from an individual shall be taken
3	into account; and
4	"(iii) such term shall not include any
5	contribution of an intermediary or conduit
6	within the meaning of section $301(a)(8)$;
7	and
8	"(B) the term 'applicable period' means—
9	"(i) the period beginning on January
10	1 of the calendar year preceding the cal-
11	endar year of the general election involved
12	and ending on the date of the general elec-
13	tion; or
14	"(ii) in the case of a special election
15	for the office of Representative in, or Dele-
16	gate or Resident Commissioner to, the
17	Congress, the period beginning on the date
18	the vacancy in such office occurs and end-
19	ing on the date of the general election.
20	"SEC. 502. LIMITATION ON EXPENDITURES.
21	"(a) Limitation on Use of Personal Funds.—
22	"(1) IN GENERAL.—The aggregate amount of
23	expenditures that may be made during an election
24	cycle by an eligible House of Representatives can-
25	didate or such candidate's authorized committees

1	from the sources described in paragraph (2) shall
2	not exceed 10 percent of the election cycle expendi-
3	ture limit under subsection (b).
4	"(2) Sources.—A source is described in this
5	subsection if it is—
6	"(A) personal funds of the candidate and
7	members of the candidate's immediate family;
8	Oľ
9	"(B) personal loans incurred by the can-
10	didate and members of the candidate's imme-
11	diate family.
12	"(b) Election Cycle Expenditure Limit.—
13	"(1) IN GENERAL.—Except as otherwise pro-
14	vided in this title, the aggregate amount of expendi-
15	tures for an election cycle by an eligible House of
16	Representatives candidate and the candidate's au-
17	thorized committees shall not exceed \$600,000.
18	"(2) INDEXING.—The amount under paragraph
19	(1) shall be increased as of the beginning of each
20	calendar year based on the increase in the price
21	index determined under section 315(c), except that
22	the base period shall be calendar year 1997.
23	"(c) Runoff Expenditure Limits.—The aggre-
24	gate amount of expenditures for a runoff election by an
25	eligible House of Representatives candidate and the can-

didate's authorized committees shall not exceed 20 percent
 of the election cycle expenditure limit under subsection
 (b).

4 "(d) PAYMENT OF TAXES.—The limitation under
5 subsection (b) shall not apply to any expenditure for Fed6 eral, State, or local taxes with respect to earnings on con7 tributions raised.

"(e) CONTESTED PRIMARY.—If, as determined by the 8 9 Commission, an eligible House of Representatives can-10 didate in a contested primary wins that primary election by a margin of 10 percent or less, the limitation contained 11 in subsection (b)(1) shall be increased by 30 percent for 12 13 such candidate, and such candidate shall be entitled to raise additional contributions not to exceed this amount. 14 15 "(f) Complying Candidates Running Against NONCOMPLYING CANDIDATES.— 16

17 "(1) If in the case of an election with more18 than one candidate where any candidate either—

"(A) fails to be certified as an eligible candidate by the Commission and has expended
personal funds in excess of 10 percent of the
election cycle limits contained in subsection (b)
or has received contributions or expended personal funds which in the aggregate exceed 70

percent of the election cycle limits contained in subsection (b), or

"(B) violates the limitations on expenditures of this Act, any eligible House of Representatives candidate in that election shall be
permitted to raise additional contributions up to
an amount equal to 50 percent of the election
cycle limit contained in subsection (b).

9 "(2) If the candidate who has failed to be cer-10 tified as an eligible candidate or who has violated 11 the limitations on expenditures of this Act has re-12 ceived contributions or expended personal funds 13 which, in the aggregate, exceed 120 percent of the 14 election cycle limits contained in this section, any eli-15 gible House of Representatives candidate in that 16 election shall be permitted to raise additional con-17 tributions up to an amount equal to 100 percent of 18 the election cycle limit contained in subsection (b).

19 "(3) In the event a noncomplying candidate as 20 defined in subparagraphs (A) or (B) of paragraph 21 (1) spends an amount equal to 105 percent of the 22 election cycle limit contained in subsection (b), the 23 election cycle limit contained in subsection (b) for an 24 eligible House of Representatives candidate in such 25 election shall be increased by 50 percent. In the

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event a noncomplying candidate spends an amount
 equal to 155 percent of the election cycle limit con tained in subsection (b), the election cycle limit in
 subsection (b) for an eligible House of Representa tives candidate in such election shall be increased by
 100 percent.

7 "(g) Responding to Independent Expendi-8 TURES.—In the event an eligible House of Representatives 9 candidate is notified pursuant to section 304(c)(4) by the 10 Commission that independent expenditures totaling in the aggregate \$25,000 or more have been made in the same 11 12 election in favor of another candidate or against such eligi-13 ble candidate, such eligible candidate shall be permitted to spend an amount equal to the amount of such independ-14 15 ent expenditures, without such expenditures being subject to such eligible candidates's election cycle expenditure 16 limit in subsection (b), as may be modified by subsection 17 18 (c), (e), or (f).

19 "SEC. 503. BENEFITS ELIGIBLE CANDIDATES ENTITLED TO 20 RECEIVE.

21 "For any election in which an eligible House of Rep22 resentatives candidate has at least one opponent who has
23 qualified for the ballot and who has raised in contributions
24 or expended in personal funds an amount equal to 10 per-

cent of the election cycle limit in section 502(b), such eligi ble candidate shall be entitled to receive—

3 "(1) the broadcast media rates provided under
4 section 315(b) of the Communications Act of 1934;
5 and

6 "(2) the reduced postage rates provided in sec7 tion 3626(e) of title 39, United States Code.

8 "SEC. 504. CERTIFICATION BY COMMISSION.

9 "(a) IN GENERAL.—The Commission shall determine 10 whether a candidate has met the requirements of this title 11 and, based upon that determination, shall issue a certifi-12 cation stating whether or not such candidate is eligible to 13 receive benefits under this title.

14 "(b) CERTIFICATION.—

"(1) ISSUANCE OF CERTIFICATION.—Upon re-15 16 ceipt of the declaration required under section 17 501(b) and the statement required under section 18 501(c), and such other information as the Commis-19 sion may by regulation require, the Commission 20 shall determine if such candidate meets the eligi-21 bility requirements in section 501 and, if so, shall 22 certify the candidate's eligibility for the benefits re-23 ferred to in section 503.

24 "(2) REVOCATION.—The Commission shall re25 voke such certification if, based on relevant informa-

1	tion submitted in such form and manner as the
2	Commission may require or based on relevant infor-
3	mation that otherwise comes to its attention, it de-
4	termines a candidate—
5	"(A) violates any of the expenditure limits
6	under this title by making an aggregate amount
7	of expenditures that exceeds such limits by 5
8	percent or more;
9	"(B) uses a benefit made available to the
10	candidate under this title in a manner not pro-
11	vided for under this title; or
12	"(C) fails to continue to meet the require-
13	ments of this title.
14	"(3) TERMINATION OF BENEFITS.—A candidate
15	whose certification has been revoked under para-
16	graph (2) shall be ineligible for any further benefits
17	under this title for the duration of the election cycle.
18	"(c) Determination by Commission.—All deter-
19	minations (including certifications under this section)
20	made by the Commission under this title shall be final,
21	except to the extent that they are subject to examination
22	and audit by the Commission under section 505 and sub-
23	ject to judicial review.

1 "SEC. 505. REPAYMENTS; ADDITIONAL CIVIL PENALTIES.

2 "(a) REQUIRING REPAYMENT.—If the Commission 3 revokes the certification of a candidate as an eligible House of Representatives candidate, the Commission shall 4 5 so notify the candidate and the candidate shall pay to the provider of such benefits received an amount equal to the 6 difference between the amount the candidate paid for such 7 8 benefits and the amount the candidate would have paid 9 for such benefits if the candidate were not an eligible can-10 didate under this title.

11 "(b) CIVIL PENALTIES.—

12 "(1) LOW AMOUNT OF EXCESS EXPENDI13 TURES.—Any eligible House of Representatives can14 didate who makes expenditures that exceed a limita15 tion under this title by 2.5 percent or less shall pay
16 to the Commission an amount equal to the amount
17 of the excess expenditures.

18 "(2) MEDIUM AMOUNT OF EXCESS EXPENDI19 TURES.—Any eligible House of Representatives can20 didate who makes expenditures that exceed a limita21 tion under this title by more than 2.5 percent and
22 less than 5 percent shall pay to the Commission an
23 amount equal to 3 times the amount of the excess
24 expenditures.

25 "(3) LARGE AMOUNT OF EXCESS EXPENDI26 TURES.—Any eligible House of Representatives can•HR 1777 IH

1 didate who makes expenditures that exceed a limita-2 tion under this title by 5 percent or more shall pay 3 to the Commission an amount equal to 3 times the 4 amount of the excess expenditures plus a civil pen-5 alty to be imposed pursuant to the procedures of 6 section 309.". 7 SEC. 102. BROADCAST RATES AND PREEMPTION. 8 (a) BROADCAST RATES.—Section 315(b) of the Communications Act of 1934 (47 U.S.C. 315(b)) is amended— 9 10 (1) by striking "(b) The charges" and inserting 11 "(b)(1) The charges"; 12 (2) by redesignating paragraphs (1) and (2) as 13 subparagraphs (A) and (B), respectively; 14 (3) in paragraph (1)(A), as redesignated— 15 (A) by striking "forty-five" and inserting "30"; and 16 17 (B) by striking "lowest unit charge of the 18 station for the same class and amount of time 19 for the same period" and inserting "lowest 20 charge of the station for the same amount of 21 time for the same period on the same date"; 22 and 23 (4) by adding at the end the following new

24 paragraph:

1 "(2) In the case of an eligible House of Representa-2 tives candidate (as described in section 501(a) of the Fed-3 eral Election Campaign Act of 1971), the charges for the 4 use of a television or radio broadcasting station during 5 the 30-day period and 60-day period referred to in paragraph (1)(A) shall not exceed 50 percent of the lowest 6 7 charge described in paragraph (1)(A).". 8 (b) PREEMPTION; ACCESS.—Section 315 of such Act (47 U.S.C. 315) is amended— 9 10 (1) by redesignating subsections (c) and (d) as 11 subsections (d) and (e), respectively; and 12 (2) by inserting immediately after subsection 13 (b) the following subsection: 14 "(c)(1) Except as provided in paragraph (2), a li-15 censee shall not preempt the use, during any period specified in subsection (b)(1)(A), of a broadcasting station by 16 17 an eligible House of Representatives candidate who has purchased and paid for such use pursuant to subsection 18 19 (b)(2)."(2) If a program to be broadcast by a broadcasting 20 21 station is preempted because of circumstances beyond the 22 control of the broadcasting station, any candidate adver-

23 tising spot scheduled to be broadcast during that program24 may also be preempted.".

(c) REVOCATION OF LICENSE FOR FAILURE TO PER MIT ACCESS.—Section 312(a)(7) of the Communications
 Act of 1934 (47 U.S.C. 312(a)(7)) is amended—

4 (1) by inserting "or cable system" after "broad-5 casting station"; and

6 (2) by striking "his candidacy" and inserting
7 "the candidacy of such person, under the same
8 terms, conditions, and business practices as apply to
9 its most favored advertiser".

10 (d) JURISDICTION OVER TAKINGS CHALLENGE TO BROADCAST RATES.—The United States Court of Federal 11 12 Claims shall have exclusive jurisdiction over any action 13 challenging the constitutionality of the broadcast media rates required to be offered to political candidates under 14 15 section 503(1) of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 and section 315(b) of the Communications Act of 16 1934. Money damages shall be the sole and exclusive rem-17 18 edy in such cases, and only individuals or entities suffering 19 actual financial injury shall have standing to maintain 20 such an action.

(e) CONDITION OF RENEWAL OR NEW LICENSE.—
Section 307 of the Communications Act of 1934 (47)
U.S.C. 307) is amended by adding the following: "The
continuation of an existing license, the renewal of an expiring license, and the issuance of a new license shall be

expressly conditioned on the agreement by the licensee to
 abide by the provisions of section 503(1) of the Federal
 Election Campaign Act of 1971 and section 315(b) of this
 Act. The Commission shall take such action as it deems
 appropriate to assure compliance with this requirement.".

6 (f) REGULATIONS.—The Federal Communications 7 Commission, in consultation with the Federal Election 8 Commission, shall issue regulations to modify the require-9 ments of section 315 of the Communications Act of 1934 10 (as amended by subsection (a)) in any cases where a li-11 censee establishes that such requirements would impose 12 significant economic hardship.

(g) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendments made by
this section shall apply to the general elections occurring
after the expiration of the 60-day period which begins on
the date of the enactment of this Act (and the election
cycles relating thereto).

18 SEC. 103. REDUCED POSTAGE RATES.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Section 3626(e) of title 39, United States Code, is amended—

21 (1) by redesignating paragraph (2) as para22 graph (3);

23 (2) in paragraph (3) (as so redesignated)—

24 (A) in subparagraph (A)—

1	(i) by striking "and the National" and
2	inserting "the National"; and
3	(ii) by inserting before the semicolon
4	the following: ", and, subject to paragraph
5	(2), the principal campaign committee of
6	an eligible House of Representatives can-
7	didate;";
8	(B) in subparagraph (B), by striking
9	"and" after the semicolon;
10	(C) in subparagraph (C), by striking the
11	period and inserting a semicolon; and
12	(D) by adding after subparagraph (C) the
13	following new subparagraphs:
14	"(D) the term 'principal campaign committee'
15	has the meaning given such term in section 301 of
16	the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971;
17	((E) the term (eligible House of Representa-
18	tives candidate' has the meaning given such term in
19	section 501(a) of the Federal Election Campaign
20	Act of 1971; and
21	"(F) the term 'voting age population' has the
22	meaning given such term in section 315(e) of the
23	Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971."; and
24	(3) by adding after paragraph (1) the following
25	new paragraph:

2 paign committee of an eligible House of Representatives 3 candidate, paragraph (1) shall not apply, with respect to 4 any election, except— 5 "(A) if the mail is sent to an individual in the 6 voting age population of the congressional district 7 involved; and 8 "(B) with respect to any individual under sub-9 paragraph (A), to the extent of not to exceed 3 10 pieces of mail.". 11 SEC. 104. CONTRIBUTION LIMIT FOR ELIGIBLE HOUSE OF 12 REPRESENTATIVES CANDIDATES. 13 Section 315(a)(1) of the Federal Election Campaign 14 Act of 1971 (2 U.S.C. 441a(a)(1)) is amended— 15 (1) by inserting "except as provided in subparagraph (B)," before "to" in subparagraph (A); 16 17 (2) by redesignating subparagraphs (B) and 18 (C) as subparagraphs (C) and (D), respectively; and 19 (3) by inserting immediately after subpara-20 graph (A) the following new subparagraph: "(B) to any eligible House of Representa-21 22 tives candidate under title V and the authorized 23 political committees of such candidate with re-24 spect to any general election for the office of 25 Representative in, or Delegate or Resident

"(2) In the case of mail sent by the principal cam-

1	Commissioner to, the Congress, which, in the
2	aggregate, exceed \$2,000, if—
3	"(i) any other candidate in the elec-
4	tion is a candidate who is not an eligible
5	House of Representatives candidate under
6	title V and for whom one of the following
7	applies:
8	"(I) The candidate expends per-
9	sonal funds in excess of 25 percent of
10	the applicable expenditure limit with
11	respect to the election under section
12	502.
13	"(II) The sum of the aggregate
14	amount of the contributions the can-
15	didate has received and the amount of
16	personal funds the candidate has ex-
17	pended exceeds 50 percent of the ap-
18	plicable expenditure limit with respect
19	to the election under section 502; or
20	"(ii) any other candidate in the elec-
21	tion is an eligible House of Representatives
22	candidate under title V who expends more
23	than the applicable expenditure limit with
24	respect to the election under section 502.".

1 SEC. 105. REPORTING REQUIREMENTS.

2 Section 304 of the Federal Election Campaign Act
3 of 1971 (2 U.S.C. 434) is amended by adding at the end
4 the following new subsections:

"(d)(1) The principal campaign committee of any 5 candidate for election as Representative in, or Delegate 6 7 or Resident Commissioner to, the Congress shall report 8 to the Commission if the amount of personal funds ex-9 pended by the candidate with respect to a general election exceeds the limitation described in section 502(a) and if 10 11 the amount of personal funds expended by the candidate with respect to a general election cycle exceeds 25 percent 12 13 of the applicable expenditure limit with respect to the elec-14 tion under section 502.

15 "(2) Any report under paragraph (1) shall be submit-16 ted within 48 hours of the date on which the amount of 17 personal funds expended exceeds the amount requiring the 18 submission of the report (or, if such date occurs after the 19 20th day, but more than 24 hours before the election in-20 volved, within 24 hours of such date).

"(3) Within 48 hours of receiving any report under
this subsection with respect to a candidate in a general
election (or within 24 hours in the case of a report required to be submitted to the Commission within 24
hours), the Commission shall notify each candidate in the

election who is an eligible House of Representatives can didate under title V of the report.

"(4) In this subsection, the term 'personal funds'
means personal funds of a candidate, the funds of the candidate's immediate family, and personal loans incurred by
the candidate and the candidate's immediate family.

"(e)(1) Except as provided in paragraph (4), the 7 8 principal campaign committee of any candidate for elec-9 tion as Representative in, or Delegate or Resident Com-10 missioner to, the Congress shall report to the Commission if the sum of the aggregate amount of the contributions 11 12 the candidate has received and the amount of personal 13 funds the candidate has expended with respect to a general election exceeds 50 percent of the applicable expendi-14 15 ture limit with respect to the election under section 502, if such sum exceeds 70 percent of such limit, and if such 16 sum exceeds 120 percent of such limit. 17

18 "(2) Any report under paragraph (1) shall be submit-19 ted within 48 hours of the date on which the sum of the 20 candidate's contributions and personal funds expended ex-21 ceeds the amount requiring the submission of the report 22 (or, if such date occurs after the 20th day, but more than 23 24 hours before the election involved, within 24 hours of 24 such date). 1 "(3) Within 48 hours of receiving any report under 2 this subsection with respect to a candidate in a general 3 election (or within 24 hours in the case of a report re-4 quired to be submitted to the Commission within 24 5 hours), the Commission shall notify each candidate in the 6 election who is an eligible House of Representatives can-7 didate under title V of the report.

8 "(4) Paragraph (1) shall not apply to the principal
9 campaign committee of any candidate who is an eligible
10 House of Representatives candidate under title V.

"(5) In this subsection, the term 'personal funds'
means personal funds of a candidate, the funds of the candidate's immediate family, and personal loans incurred by
the candidate and the candidate's immediate family.

15 "(f)(1) The principal campaign committee of any candidate for election as Representative in, or Delegate or 16 Resident Commissioner to, the Congress shall report to 17 18 the Commission if the aggregate amount of funds expended by the candidate with respect to a general election 19 20 exceeds 105 percent of the applicable expenditure limit 21 with respect to the election under section 502 and if such 22 amount exceeds 155 percent of such limit.

23 "(2) Any report under paragraph (1) shall be submit24 ted within 48 hours of the date on which the amount of
25 funds expended exceeds the amount requiring the submis-

sion of the report (or, if such date occurs after the 20th
 day, but more than 24 hours before the election involved,
 within 24 hours of such date).

4 "(3) Within 48 hours of receiving any report under 5 this subsection with respect to a candidate in a general 6 election (or within 24 hours in the case of a report re-7 quired to be submitted to the Commission within 24 8 hours), the Commission shall notify each candidate in the 9 election who is an eligible House of Representatives can-10 didate under title V of the report.".

TITLE II—REDUCTION OF 11 SPECIAL INTEREST INFLUENCE 12 Subtitle A—Limitations on Political 13 Action Committees and Large 14 **Contributions of Individuals** 15 SEC. 201. LIMITATIONS ON ACTIVITIES OF POLITICAL AC-16 17 TION COMMITTEES IN FEDERAL ELECTIONS. 18 (a) MODIFICATION OF LIMITS ON CONTRIBUTIONS BY POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEES.— 19 20(1) IN GENERAL.—Section 315(a)(2)(A) of such 21 Act (2 U.S.C. 441a(a)(2)(A)) is amended to read as 22 follows: 23 "(A) to any candidate and the candidate's au-24 thorized political committees with respect to any

25 election for Federal office—

1	"(i) in the case of a candidate for election
2	for the office of Representative to, or Delegate
3	or Resident Commissioner in, the Congress, to
4	the extent that the acceptance of the contribu-
5	tion will result in the aggregate amount of con-
6	tributions received by the candidate and the
7	committees to exceed 25 percent of the applica-
8	ble limit on expenditures with respect to the
9	election cycle involved under section 502, with-
10	out regard to whether or not the candidate is
11	an eligible House of Representatives candidate
12	under title V; or
13	"(ii) which, in the aggregate, exceed the
14	maximum amount which an individual may con-
15	tribute to the candidate and the candidate's au-
16	thorized political committees with respect to the
17	election under paragraph (1)(A);".
18	(2) Return of certain excess contribu-
19	TIONS.—Section 315(f) of such Act (2 U.S.C.
20	441a(f)) is amended—
21	(A) by striking "(f)" and inserting
22	"(f)(1)"; and
23	(B) by adding at the end the following new
24	paragraph:

"(2) A candidate (or authorized committees of such
 candidate) who receives a contribution from a multican didate political committee in excess of the amount allowed
 under subsection (a)(2)(A)(i) shall return the amount of
 such excess contribution to the contributor.".

6 (b) PROHIBITION OF LEADERSHIP COMMITTEES.—
7 Section 302(e) of the Federal Election Campaign Act of
8 1971 (2 U.S.C. 432(e)) is amended—

9 (1) by amending paragraph (3) to read as fol-10 lows:

"(3) No political committee that supports or has supported more than one candidate may be designated as an
authorized committee, except that—

14 "(A) a candidate for the office of President 15 nominated by a political party may designate the na-16 tional committee of such political party as the can-17 didate's principal campaign committee, but only if 18 that national committee maintains separate books of 19 account with respect to its functions as a principal 20 campaign committee; and

"(B) a candidate may designate a political committee established solely for the purpose of joint
fundraising by such candidates as an authorized
committee."; and

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

3 "(6)(A) A candidate for Federal office or any individ-4 ual holding Federal office may not directly or indirectly 5 establish, finance, maintain, or control any Federal or non-Federal political committee other than a principal 6 7 campaign committee of the candidate, authorized committee, party committee, or other political committee des-8 9 ignated in accordance with paragraph (3). A candidate for 10 more than one Federal office may designate a separate principal campaign committee for each Federal office. 11 12 This paragraph shall not preclude a Federal officeholder 13 who is a candidate for State or local office from establishing, financing, maintaining, or controlling a political com-14 15 mittee for election of the individual to such State or local office. 16

"(B) For one year after the effective date of this
paragraph, any political committee established before such
date but which is prohibited under subparagraph (A) may
continue to make contributions. At the end of that period
such political committee shall disburse all funds by one
or more of the following means:

23 "(i) Making contributions to an entity qualified
24 under section 501(c)(3) of the Internal Revenue
25 Code of 1986 that is not established, maintained, fi-

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1	nanced, or controlled directly or indirectly by any
2	candidate for Federal office or any individual hold-
3	ing Federal office.
4	"(ii) Making a contribution to the treasury of
5	the United States.
6	"(iii) Making contributions to the national,
7	State, or local committees of a political party.
8	"(iv) Making contributions not to exceed
9	\$1,000 to candidates for elective office.".
10	SEC. 202. AGGREGATE LIMIT ON LARGE CONTRIBUTIONS.
11	Title III of the Federal Election Campaign Act of
12	1971 (2 U.S.C. 431 et seq.) is amended by adding at the
13	end the following new section:
14	"AGGREGATE LIMIT ON LARGE CONTRIBUTIONS FOR
15	HOUSE CANDIDATES
16	"Sec. 323. (a) IN GENERAL.—It shall be unlawful
17	for a candidate for election for the office of Representative
18	in, or Delegate or Resident Commissioner to, the Congress
19	(or the authorized committees of such candidate) to accept
20	any contribution from an individual in excess of \$250 to
21	the extent that the acceptance of such contribution will
22	cause the aggregate amount of contributions from individ-
23	uals in excess of $$250$ received by the candidate and the
24	candidate's authorized committees to exceed an amount
25	equal to 25 percent of the applicable election cycle spend-
26	ing limit with respect to the election under section 502,
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without regard to whether or not the candidate is an eligi ble House of Representatives candidate under title V.

3 "(b) EXCEPTION FOR CERTAIN CANDIDATES.—The
4 restrictions of subsection (a) shall not apply to any can5 didate with respect to whom section 315(a)(1)(B) (as
6 added by section 104 of the Campaign Independence Res7 toration Act Part II) applies.".

8 Subtitle B—Contributions

9 SEC. 211. CONTRIBUTIONS THROUGH INTERMEDIARIES10AND CONDUITS.

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) For purposes of the limitations imposed by 14 15 this section, all contributions made by a person, either directly or indirectly, on behalf of a particular candidate, 16 17 including contributions which are in any way earmarked or otherwise directed through an intermediary or conduit 18 19 to such candidate, shall be treated as contributions from 20 such person to such candidate. The intermediary or con-21 duit shall report the original source and the intended re-22 cipient of such contribution to the Commission and to the 23 intended recipient.

24 "(B) Contributions that a bundler delivers to can-25 didate or the candidate's authorized committee shall be

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1	treated as contributions from the bundler to the candidate
2	as well as from the original contributor.
3	"(C) For purposes of this paragraph, the following
4	definitions shall apply:
5	"(i) A 'bundler' means any of the following
6	intermediaries or conduits which delivers contribu-
7	tions from others (except as provided in subpara-
8	graph (D)):
9	"(I) A political committee (other than the
10	authorized campaign committee of the can-
11	didate receiving the funds).
12	"(II) Any officer, employee or agent of a
13	political committee.
14	"(III) A corporation, labor union, or part-
15	nership.
16	"(IV) Any officer, employee, or agent of a
17	corporation, labor union or partnership, but
18	only if acting on behalf of such entity.
19	"(V) A person whose activities are required
20	to be reported under the Lobbying Disclosure
21	Act of 1995 or a person whose activities are re-
22	quired to be reported pursuant to any successor
23	Federal law which requires reporting on the ac-
24	tivities of person who is a lobbyist or foreign
25	agent.

1	"(ii) 'Acting on behalf of such entity' means—
2	"(I) soliciting one or more contributions in
3	the name of such entity;
4	"(II) soliciting one or more contributions
5	using other than incidental resources of such
6	entity, and
7	"(III) soliciting one or more contributions
8	by directing a significant portion of the solicita-
9	tions to other officers, employees, agents, or
10	members of such entity.
11	"(iii) 'Deliver' means any method used by a
12	bundler to transmit contributions to a candidate
13	which communicates to the candidate (or to the per-
14	son who receives the contributions on behalf of the
15	candidate) that the bundler had solicited or collected
16	the contributions for the candidate, including (but
17	not limited to)—
18	"(I) personal delivery;
19	"(II) United States mail or other similar
20	services;
21	"(III) messenger service, or
22	"(IV) collection of the contributions at an
23	event or reception.
24	"(D) For purposes of this paragraph, the following
25	shall not be considered a 'bundler':

	33
1	"(i) A candidate or Federal office holder who
2	conducts fundraising efforts for the benefit of an-
3	other candidate.
4	"(ii) An individual who, using the individual's
5	personal resources and acting in the individual's own
6	name, solicits, collects, or conveys contributions to a
7	candidate or his agent, other than any individual de-
8	scribed in subparagraph (C)(i)(II) or (C)(i)(V).".
9	Subtitle C—Additional Prohibitions
10	on Contributions
11	SEC. 221. PROHIBITION OF CONTRIBUTIONS BY NONCITI-
12	ZENS AND OTHER INDIVIDUALS NOT QUALI-
13	FIED TO VOTE.
14	(a) Prohibition.—Section 319 of the Federal Elec-
15	tion Campaign Act of 1971 (2 U.S.C. 441e) is amended—
16	(1) in the heading, by adding "AND INDIVID-
17	UALS NOT QUALIFIED TO REGISTER TO
18	VOTE" at the end; and
19	(2) in subsection (a)—
20	(A) by striking "(a)" and inserting
21	"(a)(1)"; and
22	(B) by adding at the end the following new
23	paragraph:
24	((2) It shall be unlawful for an individual who
25	is not qualified to register to vote in a Federal elec-

1 tion to make a contribution, or to promise expressly 2 or impliedly to make a contribution, in connection 3 with a Federal election, or for any person to solicit, 4 accept, or receive a contribution in connection with a Federal election from an individual who is not 5 6 qualified to register to vote in a Federal election.". 7 (b) INCLUSION IN DEFINITION OF IDENTIFICA-8 TION.—Section 301(13) of such Act (2 U.S.C. 431(13)) is amended— 9

(1) in subparagraph (A), by striking "employer;" and inserting "employer, together with an
affirmation that the individual is an individual who
is not prohibited by section 319 from making a contribution" after "employer"; and

(2) in subparagraph (B) by inserting "and an
affirmation that the person is a person that is not
prohibited by section 319 from making a contribution" after "such person".

19 Subtitle D—Coordinated and

20 Independent Expenditures

21 SEC. 231. CLARIFICATION OF DEFINITIONS RELATING TO

22 INDEPENDENT EXPENDITURES.

23 (a) DEFINITION OF "INDEPENDENT EXPENDI24 TURE".—Section 301(17) of the Federal Election Cam-

1 paign Act of 1971 (2 U.S.C. 431(17)) is amended to read2 as follows:

3 "(17)(A) The term 'independent expenditure' means
4 an expenditure that—

5 "(i) contains express advocacy; and

6 "(ii) is made without the participation or co-7 operation of, or without consultation with, or with-8 out coordination with a candidate or a candidate's 9 authorized committee or agent (within the meaning 10 of section 301(8)(A)(iii).

"(B) The term 'independent expenditure' does not include an expenditure or payment made in coordination
with a candidate (within the meaning of section
301(8)(A)(iii)).".

(b) DEFINITION OF "EXPRESS ADVOCACY".—Section
301 of such Act (2 U.S.C. 431) is amended by adding
at the end the following:

18 "(20)(A) Subject to subparagraph (B), the term 'ex19 press advocacy' includes—

"(i) a communication that conveys a message
that advocates the election or defeat of a clearly
identified candidate for Federal office by using an
expression such as 'vote for', 'elect', 'support', 'vote
against', 'defeat', 'reject', '(name of candidate) for
Congress', 'vote pro-life', or 'vote pro-choice', accom-

panied by a listing or picture of a clearly identified candidate described as 'pro-life' or 'pro-choice', 'reject the incumbent', or a similar expression;

4 "(ii) a communication that is made through a 5 broadcast medium, newspaper, magazine, billboard, 6 direct mail, or similar type of general public commu-7 nication or political advertising that refers to a 8 clearly identified candidate, that a reasonable person 9 would understand as advocating the election or de-10 feat of the candidate, and that is made within 30 11 days before the date of a primary election (and is 12 targeted to the State in which the primary is occur-13 ring), or 60 days before a general election; or

14 "(iii) a communication that is made through a 15 broadcast medium, newspaper, magazine, billboard, 16 direct mail, or similar type of general public commu-17 nication or political advertising that refers to a 18 clearly identified candidate, that a reasonable person 19 would understand as advocating the election or de-20 feat of a candidate, that is made before the date 21 that is 30 days before the date of a primary election, 22 or 60 days before the date of a general election, and 23 that is made for the purpose of advocating the elec-24 tion or defeat of the candidate, as shown by one or 25 more factors such as a statement or action by the

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person making the communication, the targeting or
 placement of the communication, or the use by the
 person making the communication of polling, demo graphic, or other similar data relating to the can didate's campaign or election.

6 "(B) The term 'express advocacy' does not include 7 the publication or distribution of a communication that 8 is limited solely to providing information about the voting 9 record of elected officials on legislative matters and that 10 a reasonable person would not understand as advocating 11 the election or defeat of a particular candidate.".

12 SEC. 232. TREATMENT OF COORDINATED EXPENDITURES 13 AS CONTRIBUTIONS.

14 (a) IN GENERAL.—Section 301(8) of the Federal
15 Election Campaign Act of 1971 (2 U.S.C. 431(8)) is
16 amended—

17 (1) in subparagraph (A)—

18 (A) by striking "or" at the end of clause19 (i);

20 (B) by striking the period at the end of
21 clause (ii) and inserting "; or"; and
22 (C) by adding at the end the following:

23 "(iii) a payment made for a commu24 nication or anything of value that is for
25 the purpose of influencing an election for

1	Federal office and that is a payment made
2	in coordination with a candidate."; and
3	(2) by adding at the end the following:
4	"(C) For the purposes of subparagraph
5	(A)(iii), the term 'payment made in coordina-
6	tion with a candidate' includes—
7	"(i) a payment made by a person in
8	cooperation, consultation, or concert with,
9	at the request or suggestion of, or pursu-
10	ant to any general or particular under-
11	standing with a candidate, the candidate's
12	authorized committee, or an agent acting
13	on behalf of a candidate or authorized
14	committee;
15	"(ii) a payment made by a person for
16	the dissemination, distribution, or republi-
17	cation, in whole or in part, of any broad-
18	cast or any written, graphic, or other form
19	of campaign material prepared by a can-
20	didate, a candidate's authorized committee,
21	or an agent of a candidate or authorized
22	committee (not including a communication
23	described in subparagraph (B)(i) or a com-
24	munication that expressly advocates the
25	candidate's defeat);

1	"(iii) a payment made based on infor-
2	mation about a candidate's plans, projects,
3	or needs provided to the person making the
4	payment by the candidate or the can-
5	didate's agent who provides the informa-
6	tion with a view toward having the pay-
7	ment made;
8	"(iv) a payment made by a person if,
9	in the same election cycle in which the pay-
10	ment is made, the person making the pay-
11	ment is serving or has served as a member,
12	employee, fundraiser, or agent of the can-
13	didate's authorized committee in an execu-
14	tive or policymaking position;
15	"(v) a payment made by a person if
16	the person making the payment has served
17	in any formal policy or advisory position
18	with the candidate's campaign or has par-
19	ticipated in strategic or policymaking dis-
20	cussions with the candidate's campaign re-
21	lating to the candidate's pursuit of nomi-
22	nation for election, or election, to Federal
23	office, in the same election cycle as the
24	election cycle in which the payment is
25	made; and

1	"(vi) a payment made by a person if,
2	in the same election cycle, the person mak-
3	ing the payment retains the professional
4	services of any individual or person who
5	has provided or is providing campaign-re-
6	lated services in the same election cycle to
7	a candidate in connection with the can-
8	didate's pursuit of nomination for election,
9	or election, to Federal office, including
10	services relating to the candidate's decision
11	to seek Federal office, and the professional
12	is retained to work on activities relating to
13	that candidate's campaign.
14	"(D) For purposes of subparagraph
15	(C)(vi), the term 'professional services' includes
16	services in support of a candidate's pursuit of
17	nomination for election, or election, to Federal
18	office such as polling, media advice, direct mail,
19	fundraising, or campaign research.
20	(b) Application for Purposes of Contribution
21	LIMITS.—Section 315(a)(7)(B) of such Act (2 U.S.C.
22	441a(a)(7)(B)) is amended to read as follows:
23	"(B) Payments made in coordination with
24	a candidate, as described in section
25	301(8)(A)(iii), shall be considered to be con-

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1	tributions to such candidate, and in the case of
2	limitations on expenditures, shall be treated as
3	expenditures for purposes of this paragraph.".
4	(c) Application for Purposes of Contributions
5	OF CORPORATIONS AND LABOR ORGANIZATIONS.—Sec-
6	tion 316(b)(2) of such Act (2 U.S.C. 441b(b)) is amended
7	by striking "shall include" and inserting "includes a con-
8	tribution or expenditure, as those terms are defined in sec-
9	tion 301, and also includes".
10	SEC. 233. TREATMENT OF CERTAIN PARTY EXPENDITURES
11	AND COMMUNICATIONS CONTAINING EX-
12	PRESS ADVOCACY AS EXPENDITURES.
13	Section 301(9)(A) of the Federal Election Campaign
14	Act of 1971 (2 U.S.C. 431(9)(A)) is amended—
15	(1) by striking "and" at the end of clause (i);
16	(2) by striking the period at the end of clause
17	(ii) and inserting a semicolon; and
18	(3) by adding at the end the following:
19	"(iii) any payment during an election
20	year (or within 60 days before a special
21	election in a nonelection year) for a com-
22	munication that is made through any
23	broadcast medium, newspaper, magazine,
24	billboard, direct mail, or similar type of
25	general public communication or political

1	advertising by a national, State, district, or
2	local committee of a political party, includ-
3	ing a congressional campaign committee of
4	a party, that refers to a clearly identified
5	candidate; and
6	"(iv) any payment for a communica-
7	tion that contains express advocacy.".
8	SEC. 234. REPORTING REQUIREMENTS FOR CERTAIN INDE-
9	PENDENT EXPENDITURES.
10	Section 304(c) of the Federal Election Campaign Act
11	of 1971 (2 U.S.C. 434(c)) is amended—
12	(1) in paragraph (2), by striking the undesig-
13	nated matter after subparagraph (C);
14	(2) by redesignating paragraph (3) as para-
15	graph (7) ; and
16	(3) by inserting after paragraph (2), as amend-
17	ed by paragraph (1), the following new paragraphs:
18	"(3)(A) Any person (including a political committee)
19	making independent expenditures as defined in section
20	301(17) and (18) with respect to a candidate in an elec-
21	tion aggregating \$1,000 or more made after the 20th day,
22	but more than 24 hours, before the election shall file a
23	report within 24 hours after such independent expendi-
24	tures are made. An additional report shall be filed each
25	time independent expenditures aggregating $$1,000$ are

made with respect to the same candidate after the latest
 report filed under this subparagraph.

3 "(B) Any person (including a political committee) 4 making independent expenditures with respect to a can-5 didate in an election aggregating \$10,000 or more made at any time up to and including the 20th day before the 6 7 election shall file a report within 48 hours after such inde-8 pendent expenditures are made. An additional report shall 9 be filed each time independent expenditures aggregating 10 \$10,000 are made with respect to the same candidate after the latest report filed under this paragraph. 11

12 "(C) A report under subparagraph (A) or (B) shall 13 be filed with the Commission and shall identify each can-14 didate whom the expenditure is actually intended to sup-15 port or to oppose. Not later than 2 business days after 16 the Commission receives a report, the Commission shall 17 transmit a copy of the report to each candidate seeking 18 nomination or election to that office.

"(D) For purposes of this section, an independent expenditure shall be considered to have been made upon the
making of any payment or the taking of any action to
incur an obligation for payment.

"(4) The Commission may, upon a request of a candidate or on its own initiative, make its own determination
that a person, including a political committee, has made,

1 or has incurred obligations to make, independent expenditures with respect to any candidate in any election which 2 3 in the aggregate exceed the applicable amounts under 4 paragraph (3). The Commission shall notify each can-5 didate in such election of such determination made within 2 business days after making it. Any determination made 6 7 at the request of a candidate shall be made within 48 8 hours of the request.

9 "(5) In the event that independent expenditures to-10 taling in the aggregate \$25,000 have been made in the same election in favor of another candidate or against an 11 12 eligible House of Representatives candidate under title V, 13 the Commission shall, within 2 business days, notify the eligible candidate that such candidate is entitled under 14 15 section 502(g) to raise additional contributions equaling the amount of such independent expenditures. At such 16 17 time as the aggregate amount the independent expenditures referred to in the preceding sentence, combined with 18 the expenditures of all other candidates in such election, 19 20 equals 100 percent of the applicable expenditure limit with 21 respect to the election under section 502, the Commission 22 shall, within 2 business days, notify the eligible candidate 23 that such candidate is entitled under section 502(g) to 24 make the expenditures provided for in section 502(g).

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1 ((6)(A) A person who reserves broadcast time the 2 payment for which would constitute an independent expenditure within the meaning of section 301(17) shall at 3 4 the time of the reservation— 5 "(i) inform the broadcast licensee that payment 6 for the broadcast time will constitute an independent 7 expenditure: "(ii) inform the broadcast licensee of the names 8 9 of all candidates for the office to which the proposed broadcast relates and state whether the message to 10 11 be broadcast is intended to be made in support of 12 or in opposition to each such candidate; and 13 "(iii) provide the broadcast licensee a copy of 14 the report described in paragraph (3). 15 "(B) For purposes of this paragraph, the term 'broadcast' includes any cablecast. 16 17 "(C) A licensee who is informed as described in sub-18 paragraph (A) shall— "(i) notify each such candidate described in 19 20 subparagraph (A)(ii) of the proposed making of the 21 independent expenditure; and 22 "(ii) allow any such candidate (other than a 23 candidate for whose benefit the independent expendi-24 ture is made) to purchase the same amount of 25 broadcast time immediately after the broadcast time

paid for by the independent expenditure, at the cost
 specified in section 315(b) of the Communications
 Act of 1934, as amended by section 102 of the Cam paign Independence Restoration Act Part II.".

5 **TITLE III—MISCELLANEOUS** 6 **PROVISIONS**

7 SEC. 301. SEVERABILITY.

8 If any provision of this Act, an amendment made by 9 this Act, or the application of such provision or amend-10 ment to any other person or circumstance is held to be 11 unconstitutional, the remainder of this Act, the amend-12 ments made by this Act, and the application of the provi-13 sions of such to any other person or circumstance shall 14 not be affected thereby.

15 SEC. 302. 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 interlocutory order or final judgment, decree, or order issued by any court ruling on the
constitutionality of any provision of this Act or amendment made by this Act.

(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, ad-

vance on the docket, and expedite the appeal to the great est extent possible.

3 SEC. 303. EFFECTIVE DATE.

Except as otherwise provided in this Act, the amendments made by, and the provisions of, this Act shall take
effect 60 days after the date of the enactment of this Act.

7 SEC. 304. REGULATIONS.

8 The Federal Election Commission shall prescribe any
9 regulations required to carry out this Act not later than
10 9 months after the effective date of this Act.