105th CONGRESS 1st Session

**S. 25** 

To reform the financing of Federal elections.

# IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

JANUARY 21, 1997

Mr. MCCAIN (for himself, Mr. FEINGOLD, Mr. THOMPSON, Mr. WELLSTONE, Mr. GRAHAM, Mr. KERREY, Mr. DODD, Mr. KERRY, Mr. BINGAMAN, Mr. GLENN, Mrs. MURRAY, Mr. KOHL, Mr. WYDEN, Ms. MOSELEY-BRAUN, Mr. REID, Mr. FORD, Mr. LEAHY, Mr. CLELAND, Mr. JOHNSON, Mr. DURBIN, Mrs. BOXER, Mr. LEVIN, Mr. HARKIN, Mr. BRYAN, Mr. MOY-NIHAN, Mr. LIEBERMAN, Ms. MIKULSKI, Mrs. FEINSTEIN, Mr. SAR-BANES, Mr. BYRD, Mr. ROBB, and Mr. DORGAN) introduced the following bill; which was read twice and referred to the Committee on Rules and Administration

SEPTEMBER 25, 1997

Committee discharged and ordered to be placed on the calendar

September 29, 1997

Modified pursuant to the order of September 23, 1997

# A BILL

To reform the financing of Federal elections.

- 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 cited as the
- 5 "Bipartisan Campaign Reform Act of 1997".

### 1 (b) TABLE OF CONTENTS.—The table of contents of

### 2 this Act is as follows:

Sec. 1. Short title; table of contents.

#### TITLE I—REDUCTION OF SPECIAL INTEREST INFLUENCE

- Sec. 101. Soft money of political parties.
- Sec. 102. Increased contribution limits for State committees of political parties and aggregate contribution limit for individuals.
- Sec. 103. Reporting requirements.

#### TITLE II—INDEPENDENT AND COORDINATED EXPENDITURES

- Sec. 201. Definitions.
- Sec. 202. Civil penalty.
- Sec. 203. Reporting requirements for certain independent expenditures.
- Sec. 204. Independent versus coordinated expenditures by party.
- Sec. 205. Coordination with candidates.

#### TITLE III—DISCLOSURE

- Sec. 301. Filing of reports using computers and facsimile machines; filing by Senate candidates with Commission.
- Sec. 302. Prohibition of deposit of contributions with incomplete contributor information.
- Sec. 303. Audits.
- Sec. 304. Reporting requirements for contributions of \$50 or more.
- Sec. 305. Use of candidates' names.
- Sec. 306. Prohibition of false representation to solicit contributions.
- Sec. 307. Soft money of persons other than political parties.
- Sec. 308. Campaign advertising.

#### TITLE IV—PERSONAL WEALTH OPTION

- Sec. 401. Voluntary personal funds expenditure limit.
- Sec. 402. Political party committee coordinated expenditures.

#### TITLE V—MISCELLANEOUS

- Sec. 501. Codification of Beck decision.
- Sec. 502. Use of contributed amounts for certain purposes.
- Sec. 503. Limit on congressional use of the franking privilege.
- Sec. 504. Prohibition of fundraising on Federal property.
- Sec. 505. Penalties for knowing and willful violations.
- Sec. 506. Strengthening foreign money ban.
- Sec. 507. Prohibition of contributions by minors.
- Sec. 508. Expedited procedures.
- Sec. 509. Initiation of enforcement proceeding.

# TITLE VI—SEVERABILITY; CONSTITUTIONALITY; EFFECTIVE DATE; REGULATIONS

- Sec. 601. Severability.
- Sec. 602. Review of constitutional issues.
- Sec. 603. Effective date.
- Sec. 604. Regulations.

# TITLE I—REDUCTION OF SPECIAL INTEREST INFLUENCE

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# 3 SEC. 101. SOFT MONEY OF POLITICAL PARTIES.

4 Title III of the Federal Election Campaign Act of
5 1971 (2 U.S.C. 431 et seq.) is amended by adding at the
6 end the following:

## 7 "SEC. 324. SOFT MONEY OF POLITICAL PARTIES.

8 "(a) NATIONAL COMMITTEES.—

9 "(1) IN GENERAL.—A national committee of a 10 political party (including a national congressional 11 campaign committee of a political party) and any of-12 ficers or agents of such party committees, shall not 13 solicit, receive, or direct to another person a con-14 tribution, donation, or transfer of funds, or spend 15 any funds, that are not subject to the limitations, 16 prohibitions, and reporting requirements of this Act.

17 "(2) APPLICABILITY.—This subsection shall 18 apply to an entity that is directly or indirectly estab-19 lished, financed, maintained, or controlled by a na-20 tional committee of a political party (including a na-21 tional congressional campaign committee of a politi-22 cal party), or an entity acting on behalf of a national 23 committee, and an officer or agent acting on behalf 24 of any such committee or entity.

25 "(b) STATE, DISTRICT, AND LOCAL COMMITTEES.—

1	"(1) IN GENERAL.—An amount that is ex-
2	pended or disbursed by a State, district, or local
3	committee of a political party (including an entity
4	that is directly or indirectly established, financed,
5	maintained, or controlled by a State, district, or
6	local committee of a political party and an officer or
7	agent acting on behalf of such committee or entity)
8	for Federal election activity shall be made from
9	funds subject to the limitations, prohibitions, and re-
10	porting requirements of this Act.
11	"(2) Federal election activity.—
12	"(A) IN GENERAL.—The term 'Federal
13	election activity' means—
14	"(i) voter registration activity during
15	the period that begins on the date that is
16	120 days before the date a regularly sched-
17	uled Federal election is held and ends on
18	the date of the election;
19	"(ii) voter identification, get-out-the-
20	vote activity, or generic campaign activity
21	conducted in connection with an election in
22	which a candidate for Federal office ap-
23	pears on the ballot (regardless of whether
24	a candidate for State or local office also
25	appears on the ballot); and

1	"(iii) a communication that refers to a
2	clearly identified candidate for Federal of-
3	fice (regardless of whether a candidate for
4	State or local office is also mentioned or
5	identified) and is made for the purpose of
6	influencing a Federal election (regardless
7	of whether the communication is express
8	advocacy).
9	"(B) EXCLUDED ACTIVITY.—The term
10	'Federal election activity' does not include an
11	amount expended or disbursed by a State, dis-
12	trict, or local committee of a political party
13	for—
13 14	for— "(i) campaign activity conducted sole-
14	"(i) campaign activity conducted sole-
14 15	"(i) campaign activity conducted sole- ly on behalf of a clearly identified can-
14 15 16	"(i) campaign activity conducted sole- ly on behalf of a clearly identified can- didate for State or local office, provided
14 15 16 17	"(i) campaign activity conducted sole- ly on behalf of a clearly identified can- didate for State or local office, provided the campaign activity is not a Federal elec-
14 15 16 17 18	"(i) campaign activity conducted sole- ly on behalf of a clearly identified can- didate for State or local office, provided the campaign activity is not a Federal elec- tion activity described in subparagraph
14 15 16 17 18 19	"(i) campaign activity conducted sole- ly on behalf of a clearly identified can- didate for State or local office, provided the campaign activity is not a Federal elec- tion activity described in subparagraph (A);
14 15 16 17 18 19 20	<ul> <li>"(i) campaign activity conducted solely on behalf of a clearly identified candidate for State or local office, provided the campaign activity is not a Federal election activity described in subparagraph (A);</li> <li>"(ii) a contribution to a candidate for</li> </ul>
14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21	<ul> <li>"(i) campaign activity conducted solely on behalf of a clearly identified candidate for State or local office, provided the campaign activity is not a Federal election activity described in subparagraph (A);</li> <li>"(ii) a contribution to a candidate for State or local office, provided the contribu-</li> </ul>

1	"(iii) the costs of a State, district, or
2	local political convention;
3	"(iv) the costs of grassroots campaign
4	materials, including buttons, bumper stick-
5	ers, and yard signs, that name or depict
6	only a candidate for State or local office;
7	"(v) the non-Federal share of a State,
8	district, or local party committee's admin-
9	istrative and overhead expenses (but not
10	including the compensation in any month
11	of an individual who spends more than 20
12	percent of the individual's time on Federal
13	election activity) as determined by a regu-
14	lation promulgated by the Commission to
15	determine the non-Federal share of a
16	State, district, or local party committee's
17	administrative and overhead expenses; and
18	"(vi) the cost of constructing or pur-
19	chasing an office facility or equipment for
20	a State, district or local committee.
21	"(c) Fundraising Costs.—An amount spent
22	by a national, State, district, or local committee of
23	a political party, by an entity that is established, fi-
24	nanced, maintained, or controlled by a national,
25	State, district, or local committee of a political

party, or by an agent or officer of any such committee or entity, to raise funds that are used, in whole
or in part, to pay the costs of a Federal election activity shall be made from funds subject to the limitations, prohibitions, and reporting requirements of
this Act.

7 "(d) TAX-EXEMPT ORGANIZATIONS.—A national, 8 State, district, or local committee of a political party (in-9 cluding a national congressional campaign committee of 10 a political party, an entity that is directly or indirectly established, financed, maintained, or controlled by any 11 12 such national, State, district, or local committee or its 13 agent, an agent acting on behalf of any such party committee, and an officer or agent acting on behalf of any 14 15 such party committee or entity), shall not solicit any funds for, or make or direct any donations to, an organization 16 17 that is described in section 501(c) of the Internal Revenue 18 Code of 1986 and exempt from taxation under section 501(a) of such Code (or has submitted an application to 19 the Secretary of the Internal Revenue Service for deter-20 21 mination of tax-exemption under such section).

22 "(e) CANDIDATES.—

23 "(1) IN GENERAL.—A candidate, individual
24 holding Federal office, or agent of a candidate or in25 dividual holding Federal office shall not solicit, re-

1	ceive, direct, transfer, or spend funds for a Federal
2	election activity on behalf of such candidate, individ-
3	ual, agent or any other person, unless the funds are
4	subject to the limitations, prohibitions, and reporting
5	requirements of this Act.
6	"(A) STATE LAW.—Paragraph (1) does not
7	apply to the solicitation or receipt of funds by
8	an individual who is a candidate for a State or
9	local office if the solicitation or receipt of funds
10	is permitted under State law for any activity
11	other than a Federal election activity.
12	"(B) FUNDRAISING EVENTS.—Paragraph
13	(1) does not apply in the case of a candidate
14	who attends, speaks, or is a featured guest at
15	a fundraising event sponsored by a State, dis-
16	trict, or local committee of a political party.".
17	SEC. 102. INCREASED CONTRIBUTION LIMITS FOR STATE
18	COMMITTEES OF POLITICAL PARTIES AND
19	AGGREGATE CONTRIBUTION LIMIT FOR INDI-
20	VIDUALS.
21	(a) Contribution Limit for State Committees
22	OF POLITICAL PARTIES.—Section 315(a)(1) of the Fed-
22 23	OF POLITICAL PARTIES.—Section 315(a)(1) of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 (2 U.S.C. 441a(a)(1))

1	(1) in subparagraph (B), by striking "or" at
2	the end;
3	(2) in subparagraph (C)—
4	(A) by inserting "(other than a committee
5	described in subparagraph (D))" after "com-
6	mittee"; and
7	(B) by striking the period at the end and
8	inserting "; or"; and
9	(3) by adding at the end the following:
10	"(D) to a political committee established and
11	maintained by a State committee of a political party
12	in any calendar year that, in the aggregate, exceed
13	\$10,000''.
14	(b) Aggregate Contribution Limit for Individ-
15	UAL.—Section 315(a)(3) of the Federal Election Cam-
16	paign Act of 1971 (2 U.S.C. $441a(a)(3)$ ) is amended by
17	striking "\$25,000" and inserting "\$30,000".
18	SEC. 103. REPORTING REQUIREMENTS.
19	(a) REPORTING REQUIREMENTS.—Section 304 of the
20	Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 (2 U.S.C. 434)
21	(as amended by section 203) is amended by adding at the
22	end the following:
23	"(e) Political Committees.—
24	"(1) NATIONAL AND CONGRESSIONAL POLITI-
25	CAL COMMITTEES.—The national committee of a po-

litical party, any national congressional campaign
 committee of a political party, and any subordinate
 committee of either, shall report all receipts and dis bursements during the reporting period.

5 "(2) OTHER POLITICAL COMMITTEES TO WHICH
6 SECTION 324 APPLIES.—A political committee (not
7 described in paragraph (1)) to which section
8 324(b)(1) applies shall report all receipts and dis9 bursements made for activities described in para10 graphs (2) and (3)(A)(v) of section 324(b).

11 "(3) ITEMIZATION.—If a political committee 12 has receipts or disbursements to which this sub-13 section applies from any person aggregating in ex-14 cess of \$200 for any calendar year, the political 15 committee shall separately itemize its reporting for 16 such person in the same manner as required in para-17 graphs (3)(A), (5), and (6) of subsection (b).

18 "(4) REPORTING PERIODS.—Reports required
19 to be filed under this subsection shall be filed for the
20 same time periods required for political committees
21 under subsection (a).".

(b) BUILDING FUND EXCEPTION TO THE DEFINITION OF CONTRIBUTION.—Section 301(8)(B) of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 (2 U.S.C. 431(8)(B))
is amended—

(1) by striking clause (viii); and 1 2 (2) by redesignating clauses (ix) through (xiv) 3 as clauses (viii) through (xiii), respectively. TITLE II—INDEPENDENT AND 4 COORDINATED EXPENDITURES 5 6 SEC. 201. DEFINITIONS. 7 (a) DEFINITION OF INDEPENDENT EXPENDITURE.— 8 Section 301 of the Federal Election Campaign Act (2) 9 U.S.C. 431) is amended by striking paragraph (17) and 10 inserting the following: 11 "(17) INDEPENDENT EXPENDITURE.— "(A) IN GENERAL.—The term 'independ-12 ent expenditure' means an expenditure by a 13 14 person-"(i) for a communication that is ex-15 16 press advocacy; and 17 "(ii) that is not provided in coordina-18 tion with a candidate or a candidate's 19 agent or a person who is coordinating with 20 a candidate or a candidate's agent.". 21 (b) DEFINITION OF EXPRESS ADVOCACY.—Section 22 301 of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 (2 23 U.S.C. 431) is amended by adding at the end the follow-24 ing: 25 "(20) Express Advocacy.—

1	"(A) IN GENERAL.—The term 'express ad-
2	vocacy' means a communication that advocates
3	the election or defeat of a candidate by—
4	"(i) containing a phrase such as 'vote
5	for', 're-elect', 'support', 'cast your ballot
6	for', '(name of candidate) for Congress',
7	'(name of candidate) in 1997', 'vote
8	against', 'defeat', 'reject', or a campaign
9	slogan or words that in context can have
10	no reasonable meaning other than to advo-
11	cate the election or defeat of 1 or more
12	clearly identified candidates;
13	"(ii) referring to 1 or more clearly
14	identified candidates in a paid advertise-
15	ment that is broadcast by a radio broad-
16	cast station or a television broadcast sta-
17	tion within 60 calendar days preceding the
18	date of an election of the candidate and
19	that appears in the State in which the elec-
20	tion is occurring, except that with respect
21	to a candidate for the office of Vice Presi-
22	dent or President, the time period is within
23	60 calendar days preceding the date of a
24	general election; or

"(iii) expressing unmistakable and un-
ambiguous support for or opposition to 1
or more clearly identified candidates when
taken as a whole and with limited ref-
erence to external events, such as proxim-
ity to an election.
"(B) VOTING RECORD AND VOTING GUIDE
EXCEPTION.—The term 'express advocacy' does
not include a printed communication that—
"(i) presents information in an edu-
cational manner solely about the voting
record or position on a campaign issue of
2 or more candidates;
"(ii) that is not made in coordination
with a candidate, political party, or agent
of the candidate or party; or a candidate's
agent or a person who is coordinating with
a candidate or a candidate's agent;
"(iii) does not contain a phrase such
as 'vote for', 're-elect', 'support', 'cast your
ballot for', '(name of candidate) for Con-
gress', '(name of candidate) in 1997', 'vote
against', 'defeat', or 'reject', or a campaign
slogan or words that in context can have
no reasonable meaning other than to urge

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1	the election or defeat of 1 or more clearly
2	identified candidates.".
3	(c) DEFINITION OF EXPENDITURE.—Section
4	301(9)(A) of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971
5	(2 U.S.C. 431(9)(A)) is amended—
6	(1) in clause (i), by striking "and" at the end;
7	(2) in clause (ii), by striking the period at the
8	end and inserting "; and"; and
9	(3) by adding at the end the following:
10	"(iii) a payment for a communication that is
11	express advocacy; and
12	"(iv) a payment made by a person for a com-
13	munication that—
14	"(I) refers to a clearly identified candidate;
15	"(II) is provided in coordination with the
16	candidate, the candidate's agent, or the political
17	party of the candidate; and
18	"(III) is for the purpose of influencing a
19	Federal election (regardless of whether the com-
20	munication is express advocacy).".
21	SEC. 202. CIVIL PENALTY.
22	Section 309 of the Federal Election Campaign Act
23	of 1971 (2 U.S.C. 437g) is amended—
24	(1) in subsection (a)—
25	(A) in paragraph $(4)(A)$ —

	10
1	(i) in clause (i), by striking "clause
2	(ii)" and inserting "clauses (ii) and (iii)";
3	and
4	(ii) by adding at the end the follow-
5	ing:
6	"(iii) If the Commission determines by an affirmative
7	vote of 4 of its members that there is probable cause to
8	believe that a person has made a knowing and willful viola-
9	tion of section 304(c), the Commission shall not enter into
10	a conciliation agreement under this paragraph and may
11	institute a civil action for relief under paragraph (6)(A).";
12	and
13	(B) in paragraph $(6)(B)$ , by inserting "(ex-
14	cept an action instituted in connection with a
15	knowing and willful violation of section
16	304(c))" after "subparagraph (A)"; and
17	(2) in subsection $(d)(1)$ —
18	(A) in subparagraph (A), by striking "Any
19	person" and inserting "Except as provided in
20	subparagraph (D), any person''; and
21	(B) by adding at the end the following:
22	"(D) In the case of a knowing and willful violation
23	of section 304(c) that involves the reporting of an inde-
24	pendent expenditure, the violation shall not be subject to
25	this subsection.".

PENDENT EXPENDITURES.
Section 304(c) of the Federal Election Campaign Act
of 1971 (2 U.S.C. 434(c)) is amended—
(1) in paragraph (2), by striking the undesig-
nated matter after subparagraph (C);
(2) by redesignating paragraph $(3)$ as para-
graph $(7)$ ; and
(3) by inserting after paragraph $(2)$ (as amend-
ed by paragraph $(1)$ ) the following:
"(d) TIME FOR REPORTING CERTAIN EXPENDI-
TURES.—
"(1) EXPENDITURES AGGREGATING \$1,000.—
"(A) INITIAL REPORT.—A person (includ-
ing a political committee) that makes or con-
tracts to make independent expenditures aggre-
gating \$1,000 or more after the 20th day, but
more than 24 hours, before the date of an elec-
tion shall file a report describing the expendi-
tures within 24 hours after that amount of
independent expenditures has been made.
"(B) Additional reports.—After a per-
son files a report under subparagraph (A), the
person shall file an additional report within 24
hours after each time the person makes or con-

gating an additional \$1,000 with respect to the same election as that to which the initial report relates.

4 "(2) EXPENDITURES AGGREGATING \$10,000.—

5 "(A) INITIAL REPORT.—A person (includ-6 ing a political committee) that makes or con-7 tracts to make independent expenditures aggre-8 gating \$10,000 or more at any time up to and 9 including the 20th day before the date of an 10 election shall file a report describing the ex-11 penditures within 48 hours after that amount 12 of independent expenditures has been made.

"(B) Additional reports.—After a per-13 14 son files a report under subparagraph (A), the 15 person shall file an additional report within 48 16 hours after each time the person makes or con-17 tracts to make independent expenditures aggre-18 gating an additional \$10,000 with respect to 19 the same election as that to which the initial re-20 port relates.

21 "(3) PLACE OF FILING; CONTENTS.—A report
22 under this subsection—

23 "(A) shall be filed with the Commission;24 and

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1	"(B) shall contain the information required
2	by subsection $(b)(6)(B)(iii)$ , including the name
3	of each candidate whom an expenditure is in-
4	tended to support or oppose.".
5	SEC. 204. INDEPENDENT VERSUS COORDINATED EXPENDI-
6	TURES BY PARTY.
7	Section 315(d) of the Federal Election Campaign Act
8	(2 U.S.C. 441a(d)) is amended—
9	(1) in paragraph (1), by striking "and $(3)$ " and
10	inserting ", $(3)$ , and $(4)$ "; and
11	(2) by adding at the end the following:
12	"(4) INDEPENDENT VERSUS COORDINATED EX-
13	PENDITURES BY PARTY.—
14	"(A) IN GENERAL.—On or after the date
15	on which a political party nominates a can-
16	didate, a committee of the political party shall
17	not make both expenditures under this sub-
18	section and independent expenditures (as de-
19	fined in section $301(17)$ ) with respect to the
20	candidate during the election cycle.
21	"(B) CERTIFICATION.—Before making a
22	coordinated expenditure under this subsection
23	with respect to a candidate, a committee of a
24	political party shall file with the Commission a
25	certification, signed by the treasurer of the

committee, that the committee has not and shall not make any independent expenditure with respect to the candidate during the same election cycle.

5 "(C) APPLICATION.—For the purposes of 6 this paragraph, all political committees estab-7 lished and maintained by a national political 8 party (including all congressional campaign 9 committees) and all political committees estab-10 lished and maintained by a State political party 11 (including any subordinate committee of a State 12 committee) shall be considered to be a single 13 political committee.

14 "(D) TRANSFERS.—A committee of a po-15 litical party that submits a certification under 16 subparagraph (B) with respect to a candidate 17 shall not, during an election cycle, transfer any 18 funds to, assign authority to make coordinated 19 expenditures under this subsection to, or receive 20 a transfer of funds from, a committee of the po-21 litical party that has made or intends to make 22 an independent expenditure with respect to the 23 candidate.".

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1	SEC. 205. COORDINATION WITH CANDIDATES.
2	(a) Definition of Coordination With Can-
3	DIDATES.—
4	(1) SECTION $301(8)$ .—Section $301(8)$ of the
5	Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 (2 U.S.C.
6	431(8)) is amended—
7	(A) in subparagraph (A)—
8	(i) by striking "or" at the end of
9	clause (i);
10	(ii) by striking the period at the end
11	of clause (ii) and inserting "; or"; and
12	(iii) by adding at the end the follow-
13	ing:
14	"(iii) anything of value provided by a
15	person in coordination with a candidate for
16	the purpose of influencing a Federal elec-
17	tion, regardless of whether the value being
18	provided is a communication that is ex-
19	press advocacy, in which such candidate
20	seeks nomination or election to Federal of-
21	fice."; and
22	(B) by adding at the end the following:
23	"(C) The term 'provided in coordination
24	with a candidate' includes—
25	"(i) a payment made by a person in
26	cooperation, consultation, or concert with,

1	at the request or suggestion of, or pursu-
2	ant to any general or particular under-
3	standing with a candidate, the candidate's
4	authorized committee, or an agent acting
5	on behalf of a candidate or authorized
6	committee;
7	"(ii) a payment made by a person for
8	the production, dissemination, distribution,
9	or republication, in whole or in part, of any
10	broadcast or any written, graphic, or other
11	form of campaign material prepared by a
12	candidate, a candidate's authorized com-
13	mittee, or an agent of a candidate or au-
14	thorized committee (not including a com-
15	munication described in paragraph
16	(9)(B)(i) or a communication that ex-
17	pressly advocates the candidate's defeat);
18	"(iii) a payment made by a person
19	based on information about a candidate's
20	plans, projects, or needs provided to the
21	person making the payment by the can-
22	didate or the candidate's agent who pro-
23	vides the information with the intent that
24	the payment be made;

1	"(iv) a payment made by a person if,
2	in the same election cycle in which the pay-
3	ment is made, the person making the pay-
4	ment is serving or has served as a member,
5	employee, fundraiser, or agent of the can-
6	didate's authorized committee in an execu-
7	tive or policymaking position;
8	"(v) a payment made by a person if
9	the person making the payment has served
10	in any formal policy making or advisory
11	position with the candidate's campaign or
12	has participated in formal strategic or for-
13	mal policymaking discussions with the can-
14	didate's campaign relating to the can-
15	didate's pursuit of nomination for election,
16	or election, to Federal office, in the same
17	election cycle as the election cycle in which
18	the payment is made;
19	"(vi) a payment made by a person if,
20	in the same election cycle, the person mak-
21	ing the payment retains the professional
22	services of any person that has provided or
23	is providing campaign-related services in
24	the same election cycle to a candidate in
25	connection with the candidate's pursuit of

1	nomination for election, or election, to
2	Federal office, including services relating
3	to the candidate's decision to seek Federal
4	office, and the person retained is retained
5	to work on activities relating to that can-
6	didate's campaign;
7	"(vii) a payment made by a person
8	who has engaged in a coordinated activity
9	with a candidate described in clauses (i)
10	through (vi) for a communication that
11	clearly refers to the candidate and is for
12	the purpose of influencing an election (re-
13	gardless of whether the communication is
14	express advocacy);
15	"(viii) direct participation by a person
16	in fundraising activities with the candidate
17	or in the solicitation or receipt of contribu-
18	tions on behalf of the candidate;
19	"(ix) communication by a person with
20	the candidate or an agent of the candidate,
21	occurring after the declaration of can-
22	didacy (including a pollster, media consult-
23	ant, vendor, advisor, or staff member), act-
24	ing on behalf of the candidate, about ad-
25	vertising message, allocation of resources,

1	fundraising, or other campaign matters re-
2	lated to the candidate's campaign, includ-
3	ing campaign operations, staffing, tactics,
4	or strategy; or
5	"(x) the provision of in-kind profes-
6	sional services or polling data to the can-
7	didate or candidate's agent.
8	"(D) For purposes of subparagraph (C),
9	the term 'professional services' includes services
10	in support of a candidate's pursuit of nomina-
11	tion for election, or election, to Federal office
12	such as polling, media advice, direct mail, fund-
13	raising, or campaign research.
14	"(E) For purposes of subparagraph (C),
15	all political committees established and main-
16	tained by a national political party (including
17	all congressional campaign committees) and all
18	political committees established and maintained
19	by a State political party (including any subor-
20	dinate committee of a State committee) shall be
21	considered to be a single political committee.".
22	(2) Section $315(a)(7)$ .—Section $315(a)(7)$ (2)
23	U.S.C. 441a(a)(7)) is amended by striking subpara-
24	graph (B) and inserting the following:

1 "(B) a thing of value provided in coordina-2 tion with a candidate, as described in section 3 301(8)(A)(iii), shall be considered to be a con-4 tribution to the candidate, and in the case of a 5 limitation on expenditures, shall be treated as 6 an expenditure by the candidate. 7 (b) MEANING OF CONTRIBUTION OR EXPENDITURE 8 FOR THE PURPOSES OF SECTION 316.—Section 316(b)(2) 9 of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 (2 U.S.C. 441b(b)) is amended by striking "shall include" and in-10 11 serting "includes a contribution or expenditure, as those 12 terms are defined in section 301, and also includes". TITLE III—DISCLOSURE 13 14 SEC. 301. FILING OF REPORTS USING COMPUTERS AND 15 FACSIMILE MACHINES; FILING BY SENATE 16 CANDIDATES WITH COMMISSION. 17 (a) Use of Computer and Facsimile Machine.— 18 Section 302(a) of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 19 1971 (2 U.S.C. 434(a)) is amended by striking paragraph (11) and inserting the following: 20 "(11)(A) The Commission shall promulgate a 21 22 regulation under which a person required to file a 23 designation, statement, or report under this Act—

24 "(i) is required to maintain and file a des-25 ignation, statement, or report for any calendar

1	year in electronic form accessible by computers
2	if the person has, or has reason to expect to
3	have, aggregate contributions or expenditures in
4	excess of a threshold amount determined by the
5	Commission; and
6	"(ii) may maintain and file a designation,
7	statement, or report in electronic form or an al-
8	ternative form, including the use of a facsimile
9	machine, if not required to do so under the reg-
10	ulation promulgated under clause (i).
11	"(B) The Commission shall make a designation,
12	statement, report, or notification that is filed elec-
13	tronically with the Commission accessible to the pub-
14	lic on the Internet not later than 24 hours after the
15	designation, statement, report, or notification is re-
16	ceived by the Commission.
17	"(C) In promulgating a regulation under this
18	paragraph, the Commission shall provide methods
19	(other than requiring a signature on the document
20	being filed) for verifying designations, statements,
21	and reports covered by the regulation. Any document
22	verified under any of the methods shall be treated
23	for all purposes (including penalties for perjury) in
24	the same manner as a document verified by signa-
25	ture.".

1	(b) Senate Candidates File With Commis-
2	SION.—Title III of the Federal Election Campaign Act of
3	1971 (2 U.S.C. 431 et seq.) is amended—
4	(1) in section 302, by striking subsection $(g)$
5	and inserting the following:
6	"(g) FILING WITH THE COMMISSION.—All designa-
7	tions, statements, and reports required to be filed under
8	this Act shall be filed with the Commission."; and
9	(2) in section 304—
10	(A) in subsection $(a)(6)(A)$ , by striking
11	"the Secretary or"; and
12	(B) in the matter following subsection
13	(c)(2), by striking "the Secretary or".
14	SEC. 302. PROHIBITION OF DEPOSIT OF CONTRIBUTIONS
14 15	SEC. 302. PROHIBITION OF DEPOSIT OF CONTRIBUTIONS WITH INCOMPLETE CONTRIBUTOR INFORMA-
15	WITH INCOMPLETE CONTRIBUTOR INFORMA-
15 16	<b>WITH INCOMPLETE CONTRIBUTOR INFORMA-</b> <b>TION.</b> Section 302 of Federal Election Campaign Act of
15 16 17	<b>WITH INCOMPLETE CONTRIBUTOR INFORMA-</b> <b>TION.</b> Section 302 of Federal Election Campaign Act of
15 16 17 18	WITH INCOMPLETE CONTRIBUTOR INFORMA- TION. Section 302 of Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 (2 U.S.C. 432) is amended by adding at the end
15 16 17 18 19	WITH INCOMPLETE CONTRIBUTOR INFORMA- TION. Section 302 of Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 (2 U.S.C. 432) is amended by adding at the end the following:
<ol> <li>15</li> <li>16</li> <li>17</li> <li>18</li> <li>19</li> <li>20</li> </ol>	WITH INCOMPLETE CONTRIBUTOR INFORMA- TION. Section 302 of Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 (2 U.S.C. 432) is amended by adding at the end the following: "(j) DEPOSIT OF CONTRIBUTIONS.—The treasurer of
<ol> <li>15</li> <li>16</li> <li>17</li> <li>18</li> <li>19</li> <li>20</li> <li>21</li> </ol>	WITH INCOMPLETE CONTRIBUTOR INFORMA- TION. Section 302 of Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 (2 U.S.C. 432) is amended by adding at the end the following: "(j) DEPOSIT OF CONTRIBUTIONS.—The treasurer of a candidate's authorized committee shall not deposit, ex-
<ol> <li>15</li> <li>16</li> <li>17</li> <li>18</li> <li>19</li> <li>20</li> <li>21</li> <li>22</li> </ol>	WITH INCOMPLETE CONTRIBUTOR INFORMA- TION. Section 302 of Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 (2 U.S.C. 432) is amended by adding at the end the following: "(j) DEPOSIT OF CONTRIBUTIONS.—The treasurer of a candidate's authorized committee shall not deposit, ex- cept in an escrow account, or otherwise negotiate a con-
<ol> <li>15</li> <li>16</li> <li>17</li> <li>18</li> <li>19</li> <li>20</li> <li>21</li> <li>22</li> <li>23</li> </ol>	WITH INCOMPLETE CONTRIBUTOR INFORMA- TION. Section 302 of Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 (2 U.S.C. 432) is amended by adding at the end the following: "(j) DEPOSIT OF CONTRIBUTIONS.—The treasurer of a candidate's authorized committee shall not deposit, ex- cept in an escrow account, or otherwise negotiate a con- tribution from a person who makes an aggregate amount

1 by this section with respect to the contributor is com-

(a) RANDOM AUDITS.—Section 311(b) of the Federal

2 plete.".

3 SEC. 303. AUDITS.

5	Election Campaign Act of 1971 (2 U.S.C. 438(b)) is
6	amended—
7	(1) by inserting "(1) IN GENERAL.—" before
8	"The Commission"; and
9	(2) by adding at the end the following:
10	"(2) RANDOM AUDITS.—
11	"(A) IN GENERAL.—Notwithstanding para-
12	graph (1), the Commission may conduct ran-
13	dom audits and investigations to ensure vol-
14	untary compliance with this Act. The selection
15	of any candidate for a random audit or inves-
16	tigation shall be based on criteria adopted by a
17	vote of at least 4 members of the Commission.
18	"(B) LIMITATION.—The Commission shall
19	not conduct an audit or investigation of a can-
20	didate's authorized committee under subpara-
21	graph (A) until the candidate is no longer a
22	candidate for the office sought by the candidate
23	in an election cycle.
24	"(C) APPLICABILITY.—This paragraph
25	does not apply to an authorized committee of a
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1	candidate for President or Vice President sub-
2	ject to audit under section 9007 or 9038 of the
3	Internal Revenue Code of 1986.".
4	(b) EXTENSION OF PERIOD DURING WHICH CAM-
5	PAIGN AUDITS MAY BE BEGUN.—Section 311(b) of the
6	Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 (2 U.S.C. 438(b))
7	is amended by striking "6 months" and inserting "12
8	months".
9	SEC. 304. REPORTING REQUIREMENTS FOR CONTRIBU-
10	TIONS OF \$50 OR MORE.
11	Section $304(b)(3)(A)$ of the Federal Election Cam-
12	paign Act at 1971 (2 U.S.C. 434(b)(3)(A) is amended—
13	(1) by striking "\$200" and inserting "\$50";
13 14	(1) by striking "\$200" and inserting "\$50"; and
14	and
14 15	and (2) by striking the semicolon and inserting ",
14 15 16	and (2) by striking the semicolon and inserting ", except that in the case of a person who makes con-
14 15 16 17	and (2) by striking the semicolon and inserting ", except that in the case of a person who makes con- tributions aggregating at least \$50 but not more
14 15 16 17 18	and (2) by striking the semicolon and inserting ", except that in the case of a person who makes con- tributions aggregating at least \$50 but not more than \$200 during the calendar year, the identifica-
14 15 16 17 18 19	and (2) by striking the semicolon and inserting ", except that in the case of a person who makes con- tributions aggregating at least \$50 but not more than \$200 during the calendar year, the identifica- tion need include only the name and address of the
<ol> <li>14</li> <li>15</li> <li>16</li> <li>17</li> <li>18</li> <li>19</li> <li>20</li> </ol>	and (2) by striking the semicolon and inserting ", except that in the case of a person who makes con- tributions aggregating at least \$50 but not more than \$200 during the calendar year, the identifica- tion need include only the name and address of the person;".
<ol> <li>14</li> <li>15</li> <li>16</li> <li>17</li> <li>18</li> <li>19</li> <li>20</li> <li>21</li> </ol>	and (2) by striking the semicolon and inserting ", except that in the case of a person who makes con- tributions aggregating at least \$50 but not more than \$200 during the calendar year, the identifica- tion need include only the name and address of the person;". SEC. 305. USE OF CANDIDATES' NAMES.

1	"(4)(A) The name of each authorized commit-
2	tee shall include the name of the candidate who au-
3	thorized the committee under paragraph (1).
4	"(B) A political committee that is not an au-
5	thorized committee shall not—
6	"(i) include the name of any can-
7	didate in its name; or
8	"(ii) except in the case of a national,
9	State, or local party committee, use the
10	name of any candidate in any activity on
11	behalf of the committee in such a context
12	as to suggest that the committee is an au-
13	thorized committee of the candidate or
14	that the use of the candidate's name has
15	been authorized by the candidate.".
16	SEC. 306. PROHIBITION OF FALSE REPRESENTATION TO
17	SOLICIT CONTRIBUTIONS.
18	Section 322 of the Federal Election Campaign Act
19	of 1971 (2 U.S.C. 441h) is amended—
20	(1) by inserting after "SEC. 322." the follow-
21	ing: "(a) IN GENERAL.—"; and
22	(2) by adding at the end the following:
23	"(b) Solicitation of Contributions.—No person
24	shall solicit contributions by falsely representing himself

or herself as a candidate or as a representative of a can didate, a political committee, or a political party.".

# 3 SEC. 307. SOFT MONEY OF PERSONS OTHER THAN POLITI-4 CAL PARTIES.

5 (a) IN GENERAL.—Section 304 of the Federal Elec6 tion Campaign Act of 1971 (2 U.S.C. 434) (as amended
7 by section 103(c)) is amended by adding at the end the
8 following:

9 "(g) DISBURSEMENTS OF PERSONS OTHER THAN
10 POLITICAL PARTIES.—

11 "(1) IN GENERAL.—A person, other than a po-12 litical committee or a person described in section 13 501(d) of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986, that 14 makes an aggregate amount of disbursements in ex-15 cess of \$50,000 during a calendar year for activities 16 described in paragraph (2) shall file a statement 17 with the Commission—

18 "(A) on a monthly basis as described in
19 subsection (a)(4)(B); or

20 "(B) in the case of disbursements that are
21 made within 20 days of an election, within 24
22 hours after the disbursements are made.

23 "(2) ACTIVITY.—The activity described in this
24 paragraph is—

25 "(A) Federal election activity;

1	"(B) an activity described in section
2	316(b)(2)(A) that expresses support for or op-
3	position to a candidate for Federal office or a
4	political party; and
5	"(C) an activity described in subparagraph
6	(C) of section $316(b)(2)$ .
7	"(3) Applicability.—This subsection does not
8	apply to—
9	"(A) a candidate or a candidate's author-
10	ized committees; or
11	"(B) an independent expenditure.
12	"(4) CONTENTS.—A statement under this sec-
13	tion shall contain such information about the dis-
14	bursements made during the reporting period as the
15	Commission shall prescribe, including—
16	"(A) the aggregate amount of disburse-
17	ments made;
18	"(B) the name and address of the person
19	or entity to whom a disbursement is made in an
20	aggregate amount in excess of \$200;
21	"(C) the date made, amount, and purpose
22	of the disbursement; and
23	"(D) if applicable, whether the disburse-
24	ment was in support of, or in opposition to, a

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

14 (1) in subsection (a)—

15 (A) in the matter preceding paragraph
16 (1)—

17 (i) by striking "Whenever" and insert-18 ing "Whenever a political committee makes 19 a disbursement for the purpose of financ-20 ing any communication through any broad-21 casting station, newspaper, magazine, out-22 door advertising facility, mailing, or any 23 other type of general public political adver-24 tising, or whenever";

1	(ii) by striking "an expenditure" and
2	inserting "a disbursement"; and
3	(iii) by striking "direct"; and
4	(B) in paragraph (3), by inserting "and
5	permanent street address" after "name"; and
6	(2) by adding at the end the following:
7	"(c) Any printed communication described in sub-
8	section (a) shall—
9	"(1) be of sufficient type size to be clearly read-
10	able by the recipient of the communication;
11	"(2) be contained in a printed box set apart
12	from the other contents of the communication; and
13	"(3) be printed with a reasonable degree of
14	color contrast between the background and the
15	printed statement.
16	((d)(1) Any broadcast or cablecast communication
17	described in paragraphs (1) or (2) of subsection (a) shall
18	include, in addition to the requirements of that paragraph,
19	an audio statement by the candidate that identifies the
20	candidate and states that the candidate has approved the
21	communication.
22	((2) If a broadcast or cablecast communication de-
23	scribed in paragraph (1) is preadeast or cableeast by

"(2) If a broadcast or cablecast communication described in paragraph (1) is broadcast or cablecast by
means of television, the communication shall include, in

addition to the audio statement under paragraph (1), a
 written statement that—

3 "(A) appears at the end of the communication
4 in a clearly readable manner with a reasonable de5 gree of color contrast between the background and
6 the printed statement, for a period of at least 4 sec7 onds; and

8 "(B) is accompanied by a clearly identifiable9 photographic or similar image of the candidate.

10 "(e) Any broadcast or cablecast communication described in paragraph (3) of subsection (a) shall include, 11 in addition to the requirements of that paragraph, in a 12 13 spoken the following clearly manner, statement: 14 is responsible for the content of this advertisement.' (with the blank to be filled in with the 15 name of the political committee or other person paying 16 for the communication and the name of any connected or-17 18 ganization of the payor). If broadcast or cablecast by 19 means of television, the statement shall also appear in a clearly readable manner with a reasonable degree of color 20 21 contrast between the background and the printed state-22 ment, for a period of at least 4 seconds.".

# TITLE IV—PERSONAL WEALTH OPTION

3 SEC. 401. VOLUNTARY PERSONAL FUNDS EXPENDITURE 4 LIMIT.

5 Title III of the Federal Election Campaign Act of
6 1971 (2 U.S.C. 431 et seq.) (as amended by section 101)
7 is amended by adding at the end the following:

8 "SEC. 325. VOLUNTARY PERSONAL FUNDS EXPENDITURE 9 LIMIT.

10 "(a) Eligible Senate Candidate.—

11 "(1) PRIMARY ELECTION.—

"(A) DECLARATION.—A candidate is an eligible primary election Senate candidate if the
candidate files with the Commission a declaration that the candidate and the candidate's authorized committees will not make expenditures
in excess of the personal funds expenditure
limit.

19 "(B) TIME TO FILE.—The declaration
20 under subparagraph (A) shall be filed not later
21 than the date on which the candidate files with
22 the appropriate State officer as a candidate for
23 the primary election.

24 "(2) GENERAL ELECTION.—
	· ·
1	"(A) DECLARATION.—A candidate is an el-
2	igible general election Senate candidate if the
3	candidate files with the Commission—
4	"(i) a declaration under penalty of
5	perjury, with supporting documentation as
6	required by the Commission, that the can-
7	didate and the candidate's authorized com-
8	mittees did not exceed the personal funds
9	expenditure limit in connection with the
10	primary election; and
11	"(ii) a declaration that the candidate
12	and the candidate's authorized committees
13	will not make expenditures in excess of the
14	personal funds expenditure limit.
15	"(B) TIME TO FILE.—The declaration
16	under subparagraph (A) shall be filed not later
17	than 7 days after the earlier of—
18	"(i) the date on which the candidate
19	qualifies for the general election ballot
20	under State law; or
21	"(ii) if under State law, a primary or
22	run-off election to qualify for the general
23	election ballot occurs after September 1,
24	the date on which the candidate wins the
25	primary or runoff election.

1	"(b) Personal Funds Expenditure Limit.—
2	"(1) IN GENERAL.—The aggregate amount of
3	expenditures that may be made in connection with
4	an election by an eligible Senate candidate or the
5	candidate's authorized committees from the sources
6	described in paragraph $(2)$ shall not exceed \$50,000.
7	"(2) Sources.—A source is described in this
8	paragraph if the source is—
9	"(A) personal funds of the candidate and
10	members of the candidate's immediate family;
11	or
12	"(B) proceeds of indebtedness incurred by
13	the candidate or a member of the candidate's
14	immediate family.
15	"(c) Certification by the Commission.—
16	"(1) IN GENERAL.—The Commission shall de-
17	termine whether a candidate has met the require-
18	ments of this section and, based on the determina-
19	tion, issue a certification stating whether the can-
20	didate is an eligible Senate candidate.
21	"(2) TIME FOR CERTIFICATION.—Not later
22	than 7 business days after a candidate files a dec-
23	laration under paragraph $(1)$ or $(2)$ of subsection
24	(a), the Commission shall certify whether the can-
25	didate is an eligible Senate candidate.

"(3) REVOCATION.—The Commission shall re-1 2 voke a certification under paragraph (1), based on 3 information submitted in such form and manner as 4 the Commission may require or on information that 5 comes to the Commission by other means, if the 6 Commission determines that a candidate violates the 7 personal funds expenditure limit. "(4) DETERMINATIONS BY COMMISSION.—A 8 9 determination made by the Commission under this 10 subsection shall be final, except to the extent that 11 the determination is subject to examination and 12 audit by the Commission and to judicial review. "(d) PENALTY.—If the Commission revokes the cer-13 14 tification of an eligible Senate candidate— 15 "(1) the Commission shall notify the candidate 16 of the revocation; and 17 "(2) the candidate and a candidate's authorized 18 committees shall pay to the Commission an amount 19 equal to the amount of expenditures made by a na-20 tional committee of a political party or a State com-21 mittee of a political party in connection with the 22 general election campaign of the candidate under 23 section 315(d).".

## 1SEC. 402. POLITICAL PARTY COMMITTEE COORDINATED2EXPENDITURES.

3 Section 315(d) of the Federal Election Campaign Act
4 of 1971 (2 U.S.C. 441a(d)) (as amended by section 204)
5 is amended by adding at the end the following:

6 "(5) This subsection does not apply to expendi-7 tures made in connection with the general election 8 campaign of a candidate for the Senate who is not 9 an eligible Senate candidate (as defined in section 10 325(a)).".

## 11 TITLE V—MISCELLANEOUS

## 12 SEC. 501. CODIFICATION OF BECK DECISION.

13 Section 8 of the National Labor Relations Act (29
14 U.S.C. 158) is amended by adding at the end the following
15 new subsection:

16 "(h) NONUNION MEMBER PAYMENTS TO LABOR OR-17 GANIZATION.—

18 "(1) IN GENERAL.—It shall be an unfair labor 19 practice for any labor organization which receives a 20 payment from an employee pursuant to an agree-21 ment that requires employees who are not members 22 of the organization to make payments to such orga-23 nization in lieu of organization dues or fees not to 24 establish and implement the objection procedure de-25 scribed in paragraph (2).

"(2) Objection procedure.—The objection
procedure required under paragraph (1) shall meet
the following requirements:
"(A) The labor organization shall annually
provide to employees who are covered by such
agreement but are not members of the organi-
zation—
"(i) reasonable personal notice of the
objection procedure, the employees eligible
to invoke the procedure, and the time,
place, and manner for filing an objection;
and
"(ii) reasonable opportunity to file an
objection to paying for organization ex-
penditures supporting political activities
unrelated to collective bargaining, includ-
ing but not limited to the opportunity to
file such objection by mail.
"(B) If an employee who is not a member
of the labor organization files an objection
under the procedure in subparagraph (A), such
organization shall—
"(i) reduce the payments in lieu of or-
ganization dues or fees by such employee
by an amount which reasonably reflects the

1 ratio that the organization's expenditures 2 supporting political activities unrelated to 3 collective bargaining bears to such organi-4 zation's total expenditures; "(ii) provide such employee with a 5 6 reasonable explanation of the organiza-7 tion's calculation of such reduction, includ-8 ing calculating the amount of organization 9 expenditures supporting political activities 10 unrelated to collective bargaining. 11 "(3) DEFINITION.—In this subsection, the term 12 'expenditures supporting political activities unrelated 13 to collective bargaining' means expenditures in con-14 nection with a Federal, State, or local election or in 15 connection with efforts to influence legislation unre-16 lated to collective bargaining.". 17 SEC. 502. USE OF CONTRIBUTED AMOUNTS FOR CERTAIN 18 PURPOSES. 19 Title III of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 20 1971 (2 U.S.C. 431 et seq.) is amended by striking section 21 313 and inserting the following: 22 "SEC. 313. USE OF CONTRIBUTED AMOUNTS FOR CERTAIN 23 PURPOSES. 24 "(a) PERMITTED USES.—A contribution accepted by a candidate, and any other amount received by an individ-25

1 ual as support for activities of the individual as a holder

2 of Federal office, may be used by the candidate or individ-

((1) for expenditures in connection with the

3 ual—

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5	campaign for Federal office of the candidate or indi-
6	vidual;
7	"(2) for ordinary and necessary expenses in-
8	curred in connection with duties of the individual as
9	a holder of Federal office;
10	"(3) for contributions to an organization de-
11	scribed in section 170(c) of the Internal Revenue
12	Code of 1986; or
13	"(4) for transfers to a national, State, or local
14	committee of a political party.
15	"(b) Prohibited Use.—
16	"(1) IN GENERAL.—A contribution or amount
17	described in subsection (a) shall not be converted by
18	any person to personal use.
19	"(2) CONVERSION.—For the purposes of para-
20	graph (1), a contribution or amount shall be consid-
21	ered to be converted to personal use if the contribu-
22	tion or amount is used to fulfill any commitment,
23	obligation, or expense of a person that would exist
24	irrespective of the candidate's election campaign or

1	individual's duties as a holder of Federal office-
2	holder, including—
3	"(A) a home mortgage, rent, or utility pay-
4	ment;
5	"(B) a clothing purchase;
6	"(C) a noncampaign-related automobile ex-
7	pense;
8	"(D) a country club membership;
9	"(E) a vacation or other noncampaign-re-
10	lated trip;
11	"(F) a household food item;
12	"(G) a tuition payment;
13	"(H) admission to a sporting event, con-
14	cert, theater, or other form of entertainment
15	not associated with an election campaign; and
16	"(I) dues, fees, and other payments to a
17	health club or recreational facility.".
18	SEC. 503. LIMIT ON CONGRESSIONAL USE OF THE FRANK-
19	ING PRIVILEGE.
20	Section 3210(a)(6) of title 39, United States Code,
21	is amended by striking subparagraph (A) and inserting
22	the following:
23	"(A) A Member of Congress shall not mail
24	any mass mailing as franked mail during a year
25	
25	in which there will be an election for the seat

1	held by the Member during the period between
2	January 1 of that year and the date of the gen-
3	eral election for that Office, unless the Member
4	has made a public announcement that the
5	Member will not be a candidate for reelection to
6	that year or for election to any other Federal
7	office.".
8	SEC. 504. PROHIBITION OF FUNDRAISING ON FEDERAL
9	PROPERTY.
10	Section 607 of title 18, United States Code, is
11	amended by—
12	(1) striking subsection (a) and inserting the fol-
13	lowing:
14	"(a) Prohibition.—
15	"(1) IN GENERAL.—It shall be unlawful for any
16	person to solicit or receive a donation of money or
17	other thing of value for a political committee or a
18	candidate for Federal, State or local office from a
19	person who is located in a room or building occupied
20	in the discharge of official duties by an officer or
21	employee of the United States. An individual who is
22	an officer or employee of the Federal Government,
23	including the President, Vice President, and Mem-
24	bers of Congress, shall not solicit a donation of
25	money or other thing of value for a political commit-

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1	tee or candidate for Federal, State or local office,
2	while in any room or building occupied in the dis-
3	charge of official duties by an officer or employee of
4	the United States, from any person.
5	"(2) PENALTY.—A person who violates this sec-
6	tion shall be fined not more than \$5,000, imprisoned
7	more than 3 years, or both.".
8	(2) inserting in subsection (b) after "Congress"
9	"or Executive Office of the President".
10	SEC. 505. PENALTIES FOR KNOWING AND WILLFUL VIOLA-
11	TIONS.
12	(a) Increased Penalties.—Section 309(a) of the
13	Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 (2 U.S.C.
14	437g(a)) is amended—
15	(1) in paragraphs $(5)(A)$ , $(6)(A)$ , and $(6)(B)$ ,
16	by striking "\$5,000" and inserting "\$10,000"; and
17	(2) in paragraphs $(5)(B)$ and $(6)(C)$ , by strik-
18	ing "\$10,000 or an amount equal to 200 percent"
19	and inserting "\$20,000 or an amount equal to 300
20	percent".
21	(b) Equitable Remedies.—Section 309(a)(5)(A) of
22	the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 (2 U.S.C.
23	437g(a)(5)) is amended by striking the period at the end
24	and inserting ", and may include equitable remedies or
25	penalties, including disgorgement of funds to the Treasury

1	or community service requirements (including require-
2	ments to participate in public education programs).".
3	(c) Automatic Penalty for Late Filing.—Sec-
4	tion 309(a) of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971
5	(2 U.S.C. 437g(a)) is amended—
6	(1) by adding at the end the following:
7	"(13) Penalty for late filing.—
8	"(A) IN GENERAL.—
9	"(i) MONETARY PENALTIES.—The
10	Commission shall establish a schedule of
11	mandatory monetary penalties that shall
12	be imposed by the Commission for failure
13	to meet a time requirement for filing under
14	section 304.
15	"(ii) REQUIRED FILING.—In addition
16	to imposing a penalty, the Commission
17	may require a report that has not been
18	filed within the time requirements of sec-
19	tion 304 to be filed by a specific date.
20	"(iii) PROCEDURE.—A penalty or fil-
21	ing requirement imposed under this para-
22	graph shall not be subject to paragraph
23	(1), (2), (3), (4), (5), or (12).
24	"(B) FILING AN EXCEPTION.—

1	"(i) TIME TO FILE.—A political com-
2	mittee shall have 30 days after the imposi-
3	tion of a penalty or filing requirement by
4	the Commission under this paragraph in
5	which to file an exception with the Com-
6	mission.
7	"(ii) Time for Commission to
8	RULE.—Within 30 days after receiving an
9	exception, the Commission shall make a
10	determination that is a final agency action
11	subject to exclusive review by the United
12	States Court of Appeals for the District of
13	Columbia Circuit under section 706 of title
14	5, United States Code, upon petition filed
15	in that court by the political committee or
16	treasurer that is the subject of the agency
17	action, if the petition is filed within 30
18	days after the date of the Commission ac-
19	tion for which review is sought.";
20	(2) in paragraph $(5)(D)$ —
21	(A) by inserting after the first sentence the
22	following: "In any case in which a penalty or
23	filing requirement imposed on a political com-
24	mittee or treasurer under paragraph (13) has
25	not been satisfied, the Commission may insti-

1	tute a civil action for enforcement under para-
2	graph $(6)(A)$ ."; and
3	(B) by inserting before the period at the
4	end of the last sentence the following: "or has
5	failed to pay a penalty or meet a filing require-
6	ment imposed under paragraph (13)"; and
7	(3) in paragraph (6)(A), by striking "paragraph
8	(4)(A)" and inserting "paragraph (4)(A) or (13)".
9	SEC. 506. STRENGTHENING FOREIGN MONEY BAN.
10	Section 319 of the Federal Election Campaign Act
11	of 1971 (2 U.S.C. 441e) is amended—
12	(1) by striking the heading and inserting the
13	following: "CONTRIBUTIONS AND DONATIONS BY
14	FOREIGN NATIONALS"; and
15	(2) by striking subsection (a) and inserting the
16	following:
17	"(a) PROHIBITION.—It shall be unlawful for—
18	((1) a foreign national, directly or indirectly, to
19	make—
20	"(A) a donation of money or other thing of
21	value, or to promise expressly or impliedly to
22	make a donation, in connection with a Federal,
23	State, or local election to a political committee
24	or a candidate for Federal office; or

1	"(ii) a contribution or donation to a
2	committee of a political party; or
3	"(B) for a person to solicit, accept, or re-
4	ceive such contribution or donation from a for-
5	eign national.".
6	SEC. 507. PROHIBITION OF CONTRIBUTIONS BY MINORS.
7	Title III of the Federal Election Campaign Act of
8	1971 (2 U.S.C. 431 et seq.) (as amended by section $401$ )
9	is amended by adding at the end the following:
10	<b>"SEC. 326. PROHIBITION OF CONTRIBUTIONS BY MINORS.</b>
11	An individual who is 17 years old or younger shall
12	not make a contribution to a candidate or a contribution
13	or donation to a committee of a political party.".
14	SEC. 508. EXPEDITED PROCEDURES.
15	(a) IN GENERAL.—Section 309(a) of the Federal
16	Election Campaign Act of 1971 (2 U.S.C. $437g(a)$ ) (as
17	amended by section $505(c)$ ) is amended by adding at the
18	end the following:
19	((14)(A) If the complaint in a proceeding was
20	filed within 60 days preceding the date of a general
21	election, the Commission may take action described
22	in this subparagraph.
23	"(B) If the Commission determines, on the
24	basis of facts alleged in the complaint and other
25	facts available to the Commission, that there is clear

1	and convincing evidence that a violation of this Act
2	has occurred, is occurring, or is about to occur, the
3	Commission may order expedited proceedings, short-
4	ening the time periods for proceedings under para-
5	graphs $(1)$ , $(2)$ , $(3)$ , and $(4)$ as necessary to allow
6	the matter to be resolved in sufficient time before
7	the election to avoid harm or prejudice to the inter-
8	ests of the parties.
9	"(C) If the Commission determines, on the
10	basis of facts alleged in the complaint and other
11	facts available to the Commission, that the com-
12	plaint is clearly without merit, the Commission
13	may—
14	"(i) order expedited proceedings, shorten-
15	ing the time periods for proceedings under
16	paragraphs $(1)$ , $(2)$ , $(3)$ , and $(4)$ as necessary
17	to allow the matter to be resolved in sufficient
18	time before the election to avoid harm or preju-
19	dice to the interests of the parties; or
20	"(ii) if the Commission determines that
20 21	"(ii) if the Commission determines that there is insufficient time to conduct proceedings
21	there is insufficient time to conduct proceedings
21 22	there is insufficient time to conduct proceedings before the election, summarily dismiss the com-

1 (2 U.S.C. 437g(a)(5)) is amended by striking subpara2 graph (C) and inserting the following:

"(C) The Commission may at any time, by an affirm4 ative vote of at least 4 of its members, refer a possible
5 violation of this Act or chapter 95 or 96 of title 26, United
6 States Code, to the Attorney General of the United States,
7 without regard to any limitation set forth in this section.".

## 8 SEC. 509. INITIATION OF ENFORCEMENT PROCEEDING.

9 Section 309(a)(2) of the Federal Election Campaign
10 Act of 1971 (2 U.S.C. 437g(a)(2)) is amended by striking
11 "reason to believe that" and inserting "reason to inves12 tigate whether".

# 13 TITLE VI—SEVERABILITY; CON 14 STITUTIONALITY; EFFECTIVE

## 15 **DATE; REGULATIONS**

#### 16 SEC. 601. SEVERABILITY.

17 If any provision of this Act or amendment made by 18 this Act, or the application of a provision or amendment 19 to any person or circumstance, is held to be unconstitu-20 tional, the remainder of this Act and amendments made 21 by this Act, and the application of the provisions and 22 amendment to any person or circumstance, shall not be 23 affected by the holding.

### 1 SEC. 602. REVIEW OF CONSTITUTIONAL ISSUES.

2 An appeal may be taken directly to the Supreme 3 Court of the United States from any final judgment, de-4 cree, or order issued by any court ruling on the constitu-5 tionality of any provision of this Act or amendment made 6 by this Act.

## 7 SEC. 603. EFFECTIVE DATE.

8 Except as otherwise provided in this Act, this Act and 9 the amendments made by this Act take effect on the date 10 that is 60 days after the date of enactment of this Act 11 or January 1, 1998, whichever occurs first.

### 12 SEC. 604. REGULATIONS.

The Federal Election Commission shall prescribe any
regulations required to carry out this Act and the amendments made by this Act not later than 270 days after the
effective date of this Act.

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