

115TH CONGRESS  
1ST SESSION

# H. R. 3953

To amend the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 to replace the Federal Election Commission with the Federal Election Administration, and for other purposes.

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## IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

OCTOBER 4, 2017

Mr. PRICE of North Carolina introduced the following bill; which was referred to the Committee on House Administration

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## A BILL

To amend the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 to replace the Federal Election Commission with the Federal Election Administration, 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; TABLE OF CONTENTS.**

4 (a) SHORT TITLE.—This Act may be cited as the  
5 “Federal Election Administration Act of 2017”.

6 (b) TABLE OF CONTENTS.—The table of contents of  
7 this Act is as follows:

Sec. 1. Short title; table of contents.

### TITLE I—FEDERAL ELECTION ADMINISTRATION

Sec. 101. Establishment of the Federal Election Administration.

- Sec. 102. Executive Schedule positions.
- Sec. 103. GAO examination of enforcement of campaign finance laws by the Department of Justice.
- Sec. 104. GAO study and report on appropriate funding levels.
- Sec. 105. Conforming amendments.

## TITLE II—TRANSITION PROVISIONS

- Sec. 201. Transfer of functions of Federal Election Commission.
- Sec. 202. Transfer of property, records, and personnel.
- Sec. 203. Repeals.
- Sec. 204. Conforming amendments.
- Sec. 205. Treatment of certain regulations.
- Sec. 206. Effective date.

# 1      **TITLE I—FEDERAL ELECTION** 2                      **ADMINISTRATION**

## 3      **SEC. 101. ESTABLISHMENT OF THE FEDERAL ELECTION AD-** 4                      **MINISTRATION.**

5            (a) IN GENERAL.—Title III of the Federal Election  
6 Campaign Act of 1971 (52 U.S.C. 30101 et seq.) is  
7 amended by adding at the end the following new subtitle:

## 8                      **“Subtitle B—Administrative** 9                      **Provisions**

## 10      **“CHAPTER 1—ESTABLISHMENT OF THE** 11      **FEDERAL ELECTION ADMINISTRATION**

## 12      **“SEC. 351. ESTABLISHMENT OF THE FEDERAL ELECTION** 13                      **ADMINISTRATION.**

14            “(a) IN GENERAL.—There is established the Federal  
15 Election Administration (in this Act referred to as the  
16 ‘Administration’).

17            “(b) INDEPENDENT ESTABLISHMENT.—The Admin-  
18 istration shall be an independent establishment (as defined  
19 in section 104 of title 5, United States Code).

1       “(c) PURPOSE.—The Administration shall admin-  
2   ister, seek to obtain compliance with, enforce, and formu-  
3   late policy in a manner that is consistent with the lan-  
4   guage and intent of Congress with respect to the following  
5   statutes:

6               “(1) This Act.

7               “(2) The Presidential Election Campaign Fund  
8   Act under chapter 95 of the Internal Revenue Code  
9   of 1986.

10              “(3) The Presidential Primary Matching Pay-  
11   ment Account Act under chapter 96 of the Internal  
12   Revenue Code of 1986.

13       “(d) EXCLUSIVE CIVIL JURISDICTION.—The Admin-  
14   istration shall have exclusive jurisdiction with respect to  
15   the civil enforcement of the statutes identified in sub-  
16   section (c).

17       “(e) VOTING REQUIREMENT.—All decisions of the  
18   Administration with respect to the exercise of its duties  
19   and powers under this Act, except those expressly reserved  
20   for decision by the Chair, shall be made by a majority vote  
21   of its members.

22       “(f) MEETINGS AND QUORUM.—

23              “(1) MEETINGS.—The Administration shall  
24   meet—

25                      “(A) at least once each month; and

1 “(B) at the call of the Chair.

2 “(2) QUORUM.—A majority of the members of  
3 the Administration shall constitute a quorum.

4 “(g) SEAL.—The Administration shall procure a  
5 proper seal, with such suitable inscriptions and devices as  
6 the President shall approve. This seal, to be known as the  
7 official seal of the Federal Election Administration, shall  
8 be kept and used to verify official documents, under such  
9 rules and regulations as the Administration may prescribe.  
10 Judicial notice shall be taken of the seal.

11 “(h) PRINCIPAL OFFICE.—The principal office of the  
12 Administration shall be in or near the District of Colum-  
13 bia, but the Administration may meet or exercise any of  
14 its powers anywhere in the United States.

15 **“SEC. 352. COMPOSITION OF THE FEDERAL ELECTION AD-**  
16 **MINISTRATION.**

17 “(a) IN GENERAL.—The Administration shall be  
18 composed of 5 members, 1 of whom shall serve as the  
19 Chair of the Administration. Not more than 2 members  
20 of the Administration shall be affiliated with the same po-  
21 litical party while serving as a member of the Administra-  
22 tion. For purposes of the preceding sentence, a member  
23 shall be treated as affiliated with a political party if such  
24 member was affiliated with such political party at any time  
25 during the 5-year period ending on the date on which such

1 individual is nominated to be a member of the Administra-  
2 tion.

3 “(b) APPOINTMENT.—

4 “(1) IN GENERAL.—Each member of the Ad-  
5 ministration shall be appointed by the President, by  
6 and with the advice and consent of the Senate.

7 “(2) CHAIR.—The President shall, at the time  
8 of nomination of the first 5 members of the Admin-  
9 istration, designate 1 of the 5 to serve as the Chair.  
10 Any individual appointed to succeed, or to fill the  
11 unexpired term of, that member (or any member  
12 succeeding that member) shall serve as the Chair.

13 “(3) QUALIFICATIONS.—

14 “(A) IN GENERAL.—The President may  
15 select an individual for service as a Member of  
16 the Commission if the individual has experience  
17 in election law and has a demonstrated record  
18 of integrity, impartiality, and good judgment.

19 “(B) ASSISTANCE OF BLUE RIBBON ADVI-  
20 SORY PANEL.—

21 “(i) IN GENERAL.—Prior to the regu-  
22 larly scheduled expiration of the term of a  
23 member of the Commission and upon the  
24 occurrence of a vacancy in the membership  
25 of the Commission prior to the expiration

1 of a term, the President shall convene a  
2 Blue Ribbon Advisory Panel that includes  
3 individuals representing each major polit-  
4 ical party and individuals who are inde-  
5 pendent of a political party and that con-  
6 sists of an odd number of individuals se-  
7 lected by the President from retired Fed-  
8 eral judges, former law enforcement offi-  
9 cials, or individuals with experience in elec-  
10 tion law, except that the President may not  
11 select any individual to serve on the panel  
12 who holds any public office at the time of  
13 selection.

14 “(ii) RECOMMENDATIONS.—With re-  
15 spect to each member of the Commission  
16 whose term is expiring or each vacancy in  
17 the membership of the Commission (as the  
18 case may be), the Blue Ribbon Advisory  
19 Panel shall recommend to the President at  
20 least one but not more than 3 individuals  
21 for nomination for appointment as a mem-  
22 ber of the Commission.

23 “(iii) PUBLICATION.—At the time the  
24 President submits to the Senate the nomi-  
25 nations for individuals to be appointed as

1 members of the Commission, the President  
 2 shall publish the Blue Ribbon Advisory  
 3 Panel’s recommendations for such nomina-  
 4 tions.

5 “(iv) EXEMPTION FROM FEDERAL AD-  
 6 VISORY COMMITTEE ACT.—The Federal  
 7 Advisory Committee Act (5 U.S.C. App.)  
 8 shall not apply to a Blue Ribbon Advisory  
 9 Panel convened under this subparagraph.

10 “(c) TERM OF OFFICE.—

11 “(1) IN GENERAL.—

12 “(A) CHAIR.—The Chair of the Adminis-  
 13 tration shall be appointed for a term of 10  
 14 years.

15 “(B) OTHER MEMBERS.—Subject to sub-  
 16 paragraph (C), the 4 members of the Adminis-  
 17 tration other than the Chair shall be appointed  
 18 for a term of 6 years.

19 “(C) INITIAL APPOINTMENTS.—Of the  
 20 members initially appointed under subpara-  
 21 graph (B), 2 members shall be appointed for a  
 22 term of 3 years.

23 “(2) LIMITATION TO ONE TERM.—A member of  
 24 the Administration may only serve 1 term, except  
 25 that—

1           “(A) an individual appointed under sub-  
2           paragraph (B) of paragraph (1) who is ap-  
3           pointed for the term described in subparagraph  
4           (C) of such paragraph may be appointed to a  
5           6-year term in addition to the term described in  
6           such subparagraph; and

7           “(B) an individual appointed under para-  
8           graph (4) to fill the remainder of an unexpired  
9           term that has less than  $\frac{1}{2}$  of the term remain-  
10          ing may be appointed to serve another term.

11          “(3) EXPIRED TERMS.—An individual may con-  
12          tinue to serve as a member of the Administration  
13          after the expiration of such individual’s term until  
14          the earlier of—

15               “(A) the date on which such individual’s  
16               successor has taken office; or

17               “(B) 1 year following the date on which  
18               the term of such member expired.

19          “(4) VACANCIES.—An individual appointed  
20          upon a vacancy occurring before the expiration of  
21          the term for which the individual’s predecessor was  
22          appointed shall be appointed only for the unexpired  
23          term of the predecessor. Such vacancy shall be filled  
24          in the same manner as the original appointment.



1           “(5) PROHIBITING ENGAGEMENT WITH OTHER  
2       BUSINESS OR EMPLOYMENT DURING SERVICE.—A  
3       member of the Commission shall not engage in any  
4       other business, vocation, or employment. Any indi-  
5       vidual who is engaging in any other business, voca-  
6       tion, or employment at the time of his or her ap-  
7       pointment to the Commission shall terminate or liq-  
8       uidate such activity not later than 90 days after  
9       such appointment.

10       “(d) REMOVAL.—A member of the Administration  
11       may be removed by the President only for inefficiency, ne-  
12       glect of duty, or malfeasance in office.

13       **“SEC. 353. STAFF DIRECTOR.**

14       “(a) IN GENERAL.—There shall be in the Adminis-  
15       tration a staff director.

16       “(b) RESPONSIBILITIES.—The staff director—

17           “(1) shall assist the Administration in its ad-  
18       ministration and operations;

19           “(2) shall perform such responsibilities as the  
20       Administration shall prescribe; and

21           “(3) may, with the approval of the Chair—

22               “(A) appoint and fix the pay of such addi-  
23       tional personnel as the staff director considers  
24       appropriate without regard to the provisions of

1 title 5, United States Code, governing appoint-  
2 ments in the competitive service; and

3 “(B) procure temporary and intermittent  
4 services to the same extent as is authorized by  
5 section 3109(b) of title 5, United States Code,  
6 but at rates for individuals not to exceed the  
7 daily equivalent of the annual rate of basic pay  
8 in effect for grade GS–15 of the General Sched-  
9 ule (5 U.S.C. 5332).

10 “(c) APPOINTMENT.—The staff director shall be ap-  
11 pointed by the Chair, after consultation with the other  
12 members of the Administration.

13 “(d) OTHER ACTIVITIES.—An individual may not en-  
14 gage in any other business, vocation, or employment while  
15 serving as the staff director.

16 **“SEC. 354. GENERAL COUNSEL.**

17 “(a) IN GENERAL.—There shall be in the Adminis-  
18 tration a general counsel.

19 “(b) RESPONSIBILITIES.—The general counsel  
20 shall—

21 “(1) serve as the chief legal officer of the Ad-  
22 ministration;

23 “(2) provide legal assistance to the Administra-  
24 tion concerning its programs and policies;

1           “(3) advise and assist the Administration in  
2           carrying out its responsibilities under section 361;  
3           and

4           “(4) represent the Administration in any pro-  
5           ceeding in court or before an administrative law  
6           judge.

7           “(c) APPOINTMENT.—The general counsel shall be  
8           appointed by the Chair, subject to approval by majority  
9           vote of the members of the Administration.

10   **“SEC. 355. INSPECTOR GENERAL.**

11           “There shall be in the Administration an inspector  
12           general. The inspector general and the office of inspector  
13           general shall be subject to the Inspector General Act of  
14           1978 (5 U.S.C. App.).

15           **“CHAPTER 2—OPERATION OF THE**  
16           **FEDERAL ELECTION ADMINISTRATION**

17   **“SEC. 361. POWERS OF THE CHAIR AND ADMINISTRATION.**

18           “(a) CHAIR.—

19           “(1) IN GENERAL.—The Chair shall be the  
20           chief administrative officer of the Administration  
21           with the authority to administer the Administration  
22           and shall, after consultation with the other members  
23           of the Administration, have the power to appoint or  
24           remove the staff director and to establish the budget  
25           of the Administration.

1           “(2) OTHER POWERS.—The Chair has the  
2           power—

3                   “(A) to the fullest extent practicable, to re-  
4                   quest the assistance of other agencies and de-  
5                   partments of the United States, including the  
6                   personnel and facilities of such agencies and de-  
7                   partments and the heads of such agencies and  
8                   departments may make available to the Chair  
9                   such personnel, facilities, and other assistance,  
10                  with or without reimbursement;

11                  “(B) to appoint, assign, remove, and com-  
12                  pensate administrative law judges in accordance  
13                  with title 5, United States Code;

14                  “(C) to require, by special or general or-  
15                  ders, any person to submit, under oath, such  
16                  written reports and answers to questions as the  
17                  Chair may prescribe;

18                  “(D) to administer oaths or affirmations;

19                  “(E) to issue and enforce subpoenas in ac-  
20                  cordance with section 364;

21                  “(F) in any proceeding or investigation, to  
22                  order testimony to be taken by deposition be-  
23                  fore any person who is designated by the Chair  
24                  and has the power to administer oaths and, in  
25                  such instances, to compel testimony and the

1 production of evidence in the same manner as  
2 authorized under subparagraph (E);

3 “(G) to pay witnesses fees and mileage in  
4 accordance with section 364(d); and

5 “(H) to make independent budget requests  
6 to Congress in accordance with section 362.

7 “(b) ADMINISTRATION.—The Administration shall  
8 have the power—

9 “(1) to initiate, defend, or appeal, through the  
10 general counsel, any civil action in the name of the  
11 Administration to enforce the provisions of this Act  
12 and chapters 95 and 96 of the Internal Revenue  
13 Code of 1986;

14 “(2) to assess civil penalties for violations of  
15 this Act and chapters 95 and 96 of the Internal  
16 Revenue Code of 1986;

17 “(3) to issue cease-and-desist orders to prevent  
18 violations of this Act and chapters 95 and 96 of the  
19 Internal Revenue Code of 1986;

20 “(4) to establish procedures and schedules for  
21 agency adjudication that ensure timely enforcement  
22 of this Act and chapters 95 and 96 of the Internal  
23 Revenue Code of 1986;

24 “(5) to render advisory opinions under section  
25 363;

1 “(6) to develop prescribed forms, and to make,  
2 amend, and repeal rules, pursuant to section 365;

3 “(7) to establish procedures for alternative dis-  
4 pute resolution of violations of this Act or of chapter  
5 95 or 96 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986;

6 “(8) to conduct investigations and hearings ex-  
7 peditiously, to encourage voluntary compliance, and  
8 to report apparent violations to the appropriate law  
9 enforcement authorities; and

10 “(9) to transmit to the President and to Con-  
11 gress not later than June 1 of each year, a report  
12 which states in detail the activities of the Adminis-  
13 tration in carrying out its duties under this Act, and  
14 which includes any recommendations for any legisla-  
15 tive or other action the Administration considers ap-  
16 propriate.

17 **“SEC. 362. INDEPENDENT BUDGET REQUESTS AND LEGIS-**  
18 **LATIVE PROPOSALS.**

19 “(a) EXEMPTION FROM OMB OVERSIGHT.—When-  
20 ever the Chair submits any budget estimate or request to  
21 the President or the Office of Management and Budget,  
22 the Chair shall concurrently transmit a copy of such esti-  
23 mate or request to Congress.

24 “(b) AUTHORITY TO MAKE INDEPENDENT LEGISLA-  
25 TIVE RECOMMENDATIONS.—Whenever the Administration

1 submits any legislative recommendation, testimony, or  
2 comments on legislation requested by Congress or by any  
3 Member of Congress, to the President or the Office of  
4 Management and Budget, the Administration shall con-  
5 currently transmit a copy thereof to Congress or to the  
6 Member requesting the same. No officer or agency of the  
7 United States shall have any authority to require the Ad-  
8 ministration to submit its legislative recommendations,  
9 testimony, or comments on legislation, to any office or  
10 agency of the United States for approval, comments, or  
11 review, prior to the submission of such recommendations,  
12 testimony, or comments to Congress.

13 **“SEC. 363. ADVISORY OPINIONS.**

14 “(a) REQUESTS FOR ADVISORY OPINIONS.—

15 “(1) IN GENERAL.—Not later than 60 days  
16 after the Administration receives from a person a  
17 complete written request concerning the application  
18 of this Act, chapter 95 or 96 of the Internal Rev-  
19 enue Code of 1986, or a rule or regulation pre-  
20 scribed by the Administration, with respect to a spe-  
21 cific transaction or activity by the person, the Ad-  
22 ministration shall render a written advisory opinion  
23 relating to such transaction or activity to the person.

24 “(2) REQUESTS BY CANDIDATES.—If an advi-  
25 sory opinion is requested by a candidate, or any au-

1       thorized committee of such candidate, during the 60-  
2       day period before any election for Federal office in-  
3       volving the requesting party, the Administration  
4       shall render a written advisory opinion relating to  
5       such request not later than 20 days after the Ad-  
6       ministration receives a complete written request.

7       “(b) RULEMAKING REQUIRED.—Any rule of law  
8       which is not stated in this Act or in chapter 95 or 96  
9       of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 may be initially pro-  
10      posed by the Administration only as a rule or regulation  
11      pursuant to procedures established in section 365. No  
12      opinion of an advisory nature may be issued by the Admin-  
13      istration or any other officer or employee of the Adminis-  
14      tration except in accordance with the provisions of this  
15      section.

16      “(c) RELIANCE ON ADVISORY OPINIONS.—

17             “(1) IN GENERAL.—Any advisory opinion ren-  
18      dered by the Administration under subsection (a)  
19      may be relied upon by—

20             “(A) any person involved in the specific  
21      transaction or activity with respect to which  
22      such advisory opinion is rendered; and

23             “(B) any person involved in any specific  
24      transaction or activity which is indistinguish-  
25      able in all its material aspects from the trans-



1           action or activity with respect to which such ad-  
2           visory opinion is rendered.

3           “(2) PROTECTION FROM LIABILITY.—Notwith-  
4           standing any other provisions of law, any person  
5           who relies upon any provision or finding of an advi-  
6           sory opinion in accordance with the provisions of  
7           paragraph (1) and who acts in good faith in accord-  
8           ance with the provisions and findings of such advi-  
9           sory opinion shall not, as a result of any such act,  
10          be subject to any sanction provided by this Act or  
11          by chapter 95 or 96 of the Internal Revenue Code  
12          of 1986.

13          “(d) NOTICE AND COMMENT.—

14                 “(1) PUBLICATION OF REQUESTS.—The Admin-  
15                 istration shall make public any request made under  
16                 subsection (a) for an advisory opinion.

17                 “(2) OPPORTUNITY TO COMMENT.—

18                         “(A) WRITTEN COMMENTS.—Before ren-  
19                         dering an advisory opinion, the Administration  
20                         shall accept written comments submitted by any  
21                         interested party within the 10-day period fol-  
22                         lowing the date on which the request is made  
23                         public.

24                         “(B) TESTIMONY.—To the extent that the  
25                         Commission provides an opportunity for a per-

1 son requesting an advisory opinion under this  
2 section (or counsel for such person) to appear  
3 before the Commission to present testimony in  
4 support of the request, and the person (or coun-  
5 sel) accepts such opportunity, the Commission  
6 shall provide a reasonable opportunity for an  
7 interested party who submitted written com-  
8 ments under subparagraph (A) in response to  
9 the request (or counsel for such interested  
10 party) to appear before the Commission to  
11 present testimony in response to the request.

12 “(e) JUDICIAL REVIEW.—

13 “(1) IN GENERAL.—Any person adversely af-  
14 fected by an advisory opinion rendered by the Ad-  
15 ministration may obtain judicial review of such advi-  
16 sory opinion by filing a petition in the United States  
17 Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia Cir-  
18 cuit.

19 “(2) SCOPE OF REVIEW.—For purposes of con-  
20 ducting the judicial review described in paragraph  
21 (1), the provisions of section 706 of title 5, United  
22 States Code, shall apply.

23 **“SEC. 364. ISSUANCE AND ENFORCEMENT OF SUBPOENAS.**

24 “(a) ISSUANCE BY THE CHAIR.—If the Administra-  
25 tion is conducting an investigation pursuant to section 371

1 or 372, the Chair shall, on behalf of the Administration,  
2 have the power to require by subpoena the attendance and  
3 testimony of witnesses and the production of all documen-  
4 tary evidence relating to the execution of the Administra-  
5 tion's duties.

6 “(b) ISSUANCE BY AN ADMINISTRATIVE LAW  
7 JUDGE.—Any administrative law judge presiding over an  
8 enforcement action pursuant to section 373 shall have the  
9 power to require by subpoena the attendance and testi-  
10 mony of witnesses and the production of all documentary  
11 evidence relating to the administrative law judge's duties.

12 “(c) ISSUANCE AND ENFORCEMENT OF SUB-  
13 POENAS.—

14 “(1) ISSUANCE.—Subpoenas issued under sub-  
15 section (a) or (b) shall bear the signature of the  
16 Chair or an administrative law judge, respectively,  
17 and shall be served by any person or class of persons  
18 designated by the Chair or administrative law judge  
19 for that purpose.

20 “(2) ENFORCEMENT.—In the case of contu-  
21 macy or failure to obey a subpoena issued under  
22 subsection (a) or (b), the Federal district court for  
23 the judicial district in which the subpoenaed person  
24 resides, is served, or may be found may issue an  
25 order requiring such person to appear at any des-

1        igned place to testify or to produce documentary  
2        or other evidence. Any failure to obey the order of  
3        the court may be punished by the court as a con-  
4        tempt of that court.

5        “(d) WITNESS ALLOWANCES AND FEES.—Section  
6        1821 of title 28, United States Code, shall apply to wit-  
7        nesses requested or subpoenaed to appear at any hearing  
8        of the Administration. The per diem and mileage allow-  
9        ances for witnesses shall be paid from funds available to  
10       pay the expenses of the Administration.

11       “(e) JURISDICTION.—Subpoenas for witnesses who  
12       are required to attend a Federal district court may run  
13       into any other district.

14       **“SEC. 365. RULEMAKING AUTHORITY.**

15       “(a) IN GENERAL.—The Administration may, pursu-  
16       ant to the provisions of chapter 5 of title 5, United States  
17       Code, prescribe such rules and regulations as the Adminis-  
18       tration deems necessary to carry out the provisions of this  
19       Act and chapters 95 and 96 of the Internal Revenue Code  
20       of 1986, including the authority to promulgate rules of  
21       practice and procedure for agency adjudications.

22       “(b) AUTHORITY TO PROMULGATE INDEPENDENT  
23       REGULATIONS.—Whenever the Administration promul-  
24       gates any regulation, it shall not be required to submit

1 such regulation for review or approval to the President  
2 or the Office of Management and Budget.

3 “(c) CONDUCT OF ACTIVITIES.—The Administration  
4 shall prepare written rules for the conduct of its activities,  
5 including procedures for the conduct of enforcement ac-  
6 tions under sections 371, 372, and 373.

7 “(d) FORMS.—

8 “(1) IN GENERAL.—The Administration shall  
9 prescribe forms necessary to implement this Act and  
10 chapters 95 and 96 of the Internal Revenue Code of  
11 1986.

12 “(2) PUBLIC PROTECTION.—Any forms pre-  
13 scribed by the Administration under paragraph (1),  
14 and any information-gathering activities of the Ad-  
15 ministration under this Act, shall not be subject to  
16 the provisions of section 3512 of title 44, United  
17 States Code.

18 “(e) RELIANCE UPON RULES AND REGULATIONS.—  
19 Notwithstanding any other provision of law, any person  
20 who relies upon any rule or regulation prescribed by the  
21 Administration in accordance with the provisions of this  
22 section and who acts in good faith in accordance with such  
23 rule or regulation shall not, as a result of such act, be  
24 subject to any sanction provided by this Act or by chapter  
25 95 or 96 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986.

1       “(f) CONSULTATION WITH IRS.—In prescribing  
2 rules, regulations, and forms under this section, the Ad-  
3 ministration and the Secretary of the Treasury shall con-  
4 sult and work together to promulgate rules, regulations,  
5 and forms which are mutually consistent. The Administra-  
6 tion shall report to Congress annually on the steps it has  
7 taken to comply with this subsection.

8       “(g) JUDICIAL REVIEW.—

9               “(1) IN GENERAL.—Any person adversely af-  
10       fected by a rule, regulation, or form promulgated by  
11       the Administration may obtain judicial review of  
12       such rule, regulation, or form by filing a petition in  
13       the United States Court of Appeals for the District  
14       of Columbia Circuit.

15               “(2) SCOPE OF REVIEW.—For purposes of con-  
16       ducting the judicial review described in paragraph  
17       (1), the provisions of section 706 of title 5, United  
18       States Code, shall apply.

19       “(h) RULE AND REGULATION DEFINED.—In this  
20 Act, the terms ‘rule’ and ‘regulation’ mean a provision or  
21 series of interrelated provisions stating a single, separable  
22 rule of law.

23       **“SEC. 366. LITIGATION AUTHORITY.**

24               “(a) IN GENERAL.—Notwithstanding sections 516  
25 and 518 of title 28, United States Code, and section 3106

1 of title 5, United States Code, the Administration is au-  
2 thorized to bring, appear in, defend against, and appeal  
3 any action instituted under this Act or chapter 95 or 96  
4 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986, in any court ei-  
5 ther—

6 “(1) by attorneys employed by the Administra-  
7 tion; or

8 “(2) by counsel whom it may appoint, on a tem-  
9 porary basis as may be necessary for such purpose,  
10 without regard to the provisions of title 5, United  
11 States Code, governing appointments in the competi-  
12 tive service, and whose compensation it may fix  
13 without regard to the provisions of chapter 51 and  
14 subchapter III of chapter 53 of such title.

15 “(b) COMPENSATION OF APPOINTED COUNSEL.—  
16 The compensation of counsel appointed on a temporary  
17 basis under subsection (a)(2) shall be paid out of any  
18 funds otherwise available to pay the compensation of em-  
19 ployees of the Administration.

20 “(c) INDEPENDENCE FROM ATTORNEY GENERAL.—  
21 In pursuing an action under this section, the Administra-  
22 tion may act independently of the Attorney General.

23 **“SEC. 367. AVAILABILITY OF REPORTS.**

24 “(a) IN GENERAL.—The Administration shall—

1           “(1) prepare, publish, and furnish to all persons  
2           required to file reports and statements under this  
3           Act a manual recommending uniform methods of  
4           bookkeeping and reporting;

5           “(2) develop a filing, coding, and cross-indexing  
6           system consistent with the purposes of this Act;

7           “(3) within 48 hours after the time of the re-  
8           ceipt by the Administration of reports and state-  
9           ments filed with the Administration, make them  
10          available for public inspection, and copying, at the  
11          expense of the person requesting such copying, ex-  
12          cept that any information copied from such reports  
13          or statements may not be sold or used by any person  
14          for the purpose of soliciting contributions or for  
15          commercial purposes, other than using the name and  
16          address of any political committee to solicit contribu-  
17          tions from such committee;

18          “(4) keep such designations, reports, and state-  
19          ments for a period of 10 years from the date of re-  
20          ceipt and maintain computerized records of such  
21          designations, reports, and statements thereafter;

22          “(5)(A) compile and maintain a cumulative  
23          index of designations, reports, and statements filed  
24          under this Act, publish the index at regular inter-



1       vals, and make the index available for purchase di-  
2       rectly or by mail;

3           “(B) compile, maintain, and revise a separate  
4       cumulative index of reports and statements filed by  
5       multicandidate committees, including in such index a  
6       list of multicandidate committees; and

7           “(C) compile and maintain a list of multi-  
8       candidate committees, which shall be revised and  
9       made available monthly;

10          “(6) prepare and publish periodically lists of  
11       authorized committees which fail to file reports as  
12       required by this Act; and

13          “(7) serve as a national clearinghouse for the  
14       compilation of information and review of procedures  
15       with respect to the administration of Federal elec-  
16       tions.

17          “(b) PSEUDONYMS.—For purposes of subsection  
18       (a)(3), a political committee may submit 10 pseudonyms  
19       on each report filed in order to protect against the illegal  
20       use of names and addresses of contributors, but only if  
21       such committee attaches a list of such pseudonyms to the  
22       appropriate report. The Administration shall exclude these  
23       lists from the public record.

1       “(c) CONTRACTS.—The Administration may enter  
2 into contracts for the purpose of performing the duties  
3 described in subsection (a).

4       “(d) AVAILABILITY OF REPORTS.—Reports or other  
5 information described in subsection (a) shall be available  
6 to the public, except that—

7               “(1) copies shall be made available without cost,  
8       upon request, to agencies and branches of the Fed-  
9       eral Government; and

10              “(2) information made available as a result of  
11       the application of paragraph (7) of such subsection  
12       shall be made available to the public only upon the  
13       payment of the cost thereof.

14   **“SEC. 368. AUDITS AND FIELD EXAMINATIONS.**

15       “(a) IN GENERAL.—The Administration may, in ac-  
16 cordance with the provisions of this section, conduct audits  
17 and field investigations of any political committee required  
18 to file a report under section 304.

19       “(b) PRIORITY.—All audits and field investigations  
20 concerning the verification for, and receipt and use of, any  
21 payments received by a candidate or committee under  
22 chapter 95 or 96 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986  
23 shall be given priority.

24       “(c) AUDITS AND FIELD EXAMINATIONS WHERE  
25 THRESHOLDS NOT MET.—

1           “(1) INTERNAL REVIEW.—The Administration  
2       shall conduct an internal review of reports filed by  
3       selected committees to determine if the reports filed  
4       by a particular committee meet the threshold re-  
5       quirements for substantial compliance with the Act.  
6       Such thresholds for compliance shall be established  
7       by the Administration.

8           “(2) AUDITS AND FIELD EXAMINATIONS.—The  
9       Administration may vote to conduct an audit and  
10      field investigation of any committee which it deter-  
11      mines under paragraph (1) does not meet the  
12      threshold requirements established by the Adminis-  
13      tration. Such audits shall be commenced within 30  
14      days of such vote, except that any audit under the  
15      provisions of this subsection of an authorized com-  
16      mittee of a candidate shall be commenced within 6  
17      months of the election for which such committee is  
18      authorized.

19      “(d) RANDOM AUDITS.—

20           “(1) IN GENERAL.—In addition to any audits  
21      conducted under subsection (c), the Administration  
22      may, subject to paragraph (2), conduct audits of any  
23      committee selected at random to ensure compliance  
24      with this Act. The selection of any committee under  
25      this paragraph shall be based on standards and pro-

cedures adopted by the Administration, except that in any calendar year such audits may be initiated against no more than 3 percent of all authorized candidate campaign committees.

“(2) APPLICABLE RULES.—

“(A) IN GENERAL.—If the Administration selects a committee for audit under paragraph (1), the Administration shall promptly notify the committee of the selection and commence the audit within 30 days of the selection.

“(B) SPECIAL RULES FOR AUTHORIZED COMMITTEES.—If the committee selected under paragraph (1) is an authorized committee of a candidate, the audit—

“(i) shall be commenced and actively undertaken within 6 months of the election for which the committee is authorized; and

“(ii) may examine compliance with this Act only with respect to that election.

“(3) EXCEPTION.—This subsection shall not apply to an authorized committee of a candidate for President or Vice President subject to audit under section 9007 or 9038 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986.

1 **“SEC. 369. CONGRESSIONAL OVERSIGHT.**

2 “Nothing in this Act shall be construed to limit, re-  
3 strict, or diminish any investigatory, informational, over-  
4 sight, supervisory, or disciplinary authority or function of  
5 Congress or any committee of Congress with respect to  
6 elections for Federal office.

7 **“CHAPTER 3—ENFORCEMENT**

8 **“SEC. 371. INITIATION OF ENFORCEMENT ACTIONS BY AD-**  
9 **MINISTRATION.**

10 “(a) IN GENERAL.—The Administration may initiate  
11 a civil enforcement action under section 373 if, after con-  
12 ducting an investigation, the Administration finds reason-  
13 able grounds to believe that a violation of this Act or of  
14 chapter 95 or 96 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986  
15 has occurred or is about to occur.

16 “(b) BASIS FOR FINDINGS.—The Administration  
17 may make a finding under subsection (a) based on any  
18 information available to the Administration, including the  
19 filing of a complaint under section 372.

20 “(c) NOTICE AND OPPORTUNITY TO DEMONSTRATE  
21 NO VIOLATION.—Prior to initiating an enforcement action  
22 under subsection (a), the Administration shall give any  
23 person under investigation notice and the opportunity to  
24 demonstrate that there are no reasonable grounds to be-  
25 lieve a violation has occurred or is about to occur, but the

1 Administration’s decision on such matter shall not be sub-  
2 ject to judicial review.

3 **“SEC. 372. COMPLAINT TO INITIATE ENFORCEMENT AC-**  
4 **TION.**

5 “(a) FILING OF COMPLAINT.—

6 “(1) IN GENERAL.—Any person may file a com-  
7 plaint with the Administration alleging a violation of  
8 this Act or of chapter 95 or 96 of the Internal Rev-  
9 enue Code of 1986.

10 “(2) TECHNICAL REQUIREMENTS.—A complaint  
11 filed under paragraph (1) shall be—

12 “(A) in writing, signed, and sworn to by  
13 the person filing such complaint;

14 “(B) notarized; and

15 “(C) made under penalty of perjury and  
16 subject to the provisions of section 1001 of title  
17 18, United States Code.

18 “(3) ACTION BY THE ADMINISTRATION.—Sub-  
19 ject to paragraph (4), based on the allegations in a  
20 complaint filed under paragraph (1), and such inves-  
21 tigations the Administration deems necessary and  
22 appropriate, the Administration may—

23 “(A) initiate a civil enforcement action  
24 under section 373 if the Administration finds

1 reasonable grounds to believe a violation has oc-  
2 curred or is about to occur; or

3 “(B) dismiss the complaint.

4 “(4) PROHIBITION OF ANONYMOUS COM-  
5 PLAINTS.—The Commission may not conduct any  
6 investigation or take any other action under this sec-  
7 tion solely on the basis of a complaint of a person  
8 whose identity is not disclosed to the Administration.

9 “(5) RECOVERY OF COSTS.—Any person who  
10 has filed a complaint under paragraph (1) shall be  
11 entitled to recover from the Administration up to  
12 \$1,000 of the costs incurred in preparing and filing  
13 the complaint if, based on the complaint, the Admin-  
14 istration—

15 “(A) makes a finding under section 373(a)  
16 that a person has violated (or is about to vio-  
17 late) the Act; or

18 “(B) enters into a conciliation agreement  
19 with a person under section 373(c).

20 “(b) NOTICE AND OPPORTUNITY TO DEMONSTRATE  
21 NO VIOLATION.—Prior to initiating an enforcement action  
22 under subsection (a)(3)(A), the Administration shall give  
23 any person named in a complaint notice and an oppor-  
24 tunity to demonstrate that there are no reasonable  
25 grounds to believe a violation described in such subsection

1 has occurred or is about to occur, but the Administration's  
2 determination under subsection (a)(3) shall not be subject  
3 to judicial review in an action brought by such person.

4 “(c) FAILURE BY THE ADMINISTRATION TO TAKE  
5 TIMELY ACTION.—

6 “(1) IN GENERAL.—If the Administration—

7 “(A) dismisses a complaint filed under  
8 subsection (a); or

9 “(B) fails to initiate a civil enforcement ac-  
10 tion under section 373 within 180 days of the  
11 filing of such a complaint,

12 the person filing the complaint under subsection (a)  
13 may seek judicial review of the Administration's dis-  
14 missal, or failure to act, in Federal district court in  
15 the District of Columbia or in the district in which  
16 such person resides.

17 “(2) SCOPE OF REVIEW.—The court shall re-  
18 view the Administration's dismissal of the complaint  
19 or failure to act in accordance with the provisions of  
20 section 706 of title 5, United States Code.

21 “(3) COURT ORDERS.—The court may order  
22 the Administration to initiate an enforcement action  
23 or to conduct a further investigation of the com-  
24 plaint within a time set by the court.



1   **“SEC. 373. CIVIL ENFORCEMENT ACTIONS.**

2           “(a) IN GENERAL.—The Administration shall have  
3 the authority to impose a civil monetary penalty under sec-  
4 tion 375, issue a cease-and-desist order under section 376,  
5 or do both, if the Administration finds, by an order made  
6 on the record after notice and an opportunity for hearing  
7 before an administrative law judge pursuant to subchapter  
8 II of chapter 5 of title 5, United States Code, that a per-  
9 son has violated (or, in the case of a cease-and-desist  
10 order, has violated or is about to violate) this Act or chap-  
11 ter 95 or 96 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986. The  
12 general counsel shall represent the Administration in any  
13 proceeding before an administrative law judge.

14           “(b) NOTICE AND REQUEST FOR HEARING.—

15               “(1) NOTICE.—If the Administration finds  
16 under section 371 or 372 that there are reasonable  
17 grounds to believe a violation has occurred or is  
18 about to occur, the Administration shall serve writ-  
19 ten notice of the charges on each respondent, and  
20 shall conduct such further investigation as the Ad-  
21 ministration deems necessary and appropriate.

22               “(2) REQUEST FOR HEARING.—Each respond-  
23 ent shall have an opportunity to request, prior to the  
24 date that is 30 days after the date on which the no-  
25 tice is received, a hearing on the charges before an  
26 administrative law judge.

1           “(3) EFFECT OF FAILURE TO REQUEST A  
2       HEARING.—If no hearing is requested, the Adminis-  
3       tration shall make a finding on the charges, and  
4       shall issue whatever relief the Administration deems  
5       appropriate under sections 375 and 376.

6       “(c) CONCILIATION.—

7           “(1) PROCEDURES FOR ENTERING INTO CON-  
8       CILIATION AGREEMENTS.—

9           “(A) IN GENERAL.—If the respondent re-  
10       quests a hearing under subsection (b)(2), the  
11       Administration shall attempt, for a period that  
12       does not exceed 60 days (or 15 days if the hear-  
13       ing is requested within 60 days of an election),  
14       to correct or prevent such violation by informal  
15       methods of conference, conciliation, and persua-  
16       sion, and to enter into a conciliation agreement  
17       with the respondent. In the case of a hearing  
18       that is requested at a time other than within 60  
19       days of an election, the period for conciliation  
20       shall not be less than 30 days unless an agree-  
21       ment is reached before then.

22           “(B) INCLUSION OF CIVIL MONETARY PEN-  
23       ALTIES.—A conciliation agreement may include  
24       a requirement that the person involved in such  
25       conciliation shall pay a civil monetary penalty

1           that does not exceed the amounts set forth in  
2           subsection (a) of section 375 or, in the case of  
3           a knowing and willful violation, the amounts set  
4           forth in subsection (b) of such section. The con-  
5           ciliation agreement may also include the re-  
6           quirement that the person involved consent to  
7           the terms of a cease-and-desist order, as pro-  
8           vided in section 376.

9           “(C) REPRESENTATION BY GENERAL  
10          COUNSEL.—The general counsel shall represent  
11          the Administration in any negotiations for a  
12          conciliation agreement and any such concilia-  
13          tion agreement shall be subject to the approval  
14          of the Administration.

15          “(D) BAR TO FURTHER ACTION.—A con-  
16          ciliation agreement, unless violated, is a com-  
17          plete bar to any further action by the Adminis-  
18          tration.

19          “(2) CONFIDENTIALITY.—No action by the Ad-  
20          ministration or any other person, and no informa-  
21          tion derived in connection with any conciliation at-  
22          tempt by the Administration may be made public by  
23          the Administration, without the written consent of  
24          the respondent, except that if a conciliation agree-  
25          ment is agreed upon and signed by the Administra-

1       tion and the respondent, the Administration shall  
2       make such agreement public.

3               “(3) VIOLATION OF CONCILIATION AGREE-  
4       MENT.—In any case in which a person has entered  
5       into a conciliation agreement with the Administra-  
6       tion under paragraph (1), the Administration may  
7       institute a civil action for relief if the Administration  
8       believes the person has violated any provision of  
9       such conciliation agreement. Such civil action shall  
10      be brought in the Federal district court for the dis-  
11      trict in which the respondent resides or has its prin-  
12      cipal place of business, or for the District of Colum-  
13      bia. Such court shall have jurisdiction to issue any  
14      relief appropriate under sections 375 and 376. For  
15      the Administration to obtain relief in any such ac-  
16      tion, the Administration need only establish that the  
17      person has violated, in whole or in part, any require-  
18      ment of such conciliation agreement.

19           “(d) HEARING.—At the request of any respondent,  
20      a hearing on the charges served under subsection (b)(1)  
21      shall be conducted before an administrative law judge, who  
22      shall make such findings of fact and conclusions of law  
23      as the administrative law judge deems appropriate. The  
24      administrative law judge shall also have the authority to  
25      impose a civil monetary penalty on the respondent, issue

1 a cease-and-desist order, or both. The decision of the ad-  
2 ministrative law judge shall constitute final agency action  
3 unless an appeal is taken under subsection (e).

4 “(e) APPEAL TO ADMINISTRATION.—

5 “(1) RIGHT TO APPEAL.—The general counsel  
6 and each respondent shall each have a right to ap-  
7 peal to the Administration from any final determina-  
8 tion made by an administrative law judge.

9 “(2) REVIEW OF ALJ DETERMINATIONS.—In  
10 the event of an appeal under paragraph (1), the Ad-  
11 ministration shall review the determination of the  
12 administrative law judge to determine whether—

13 “(A) a finding of material fact is not sup-  
14 ported by substantial evidence;

15 “(B) a conclusion of law is erroneous;

16 “(C) the determination of the administra-  
17 tive law judge is contrary to law or to the duly  
18 promulgated rules or decisions of the Adminis-  
19 tration;

20 “(D) a prejudicial error of procedure was  
21 committed; or

22 “(E) the decision or the relief ordered is  
23 otherwise arbitrary, capricious, or an abuse of  
24 discretion.

1           “(3) FINAL AGENCY ACTION.—The decision of  
2           the Administration shall constitute final agency ac-  
3           tion.

4           “(f) JUDICIAL REVIEW.—

5           “(1) IN GENERAL.—Any party aggrieved by a  
6           final agency action and who has exhausted all ad-  
7           ministrative remedies, including requesting a hearing  
8           before an administrative law judge and appealing an  
9           adverse decision of an administrative law judge to  
10          the Administration, may obtain judicial review of  
11          such action in the United States Court of Appeals  
12          for any circuit wherein such person resides or has its  
13          principal place of business, or in the United States  
14          Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia Cir-  
15          cuit.

16          “(2) SCOPE OF REVIEW.—For purposes of con-  
17          ducting the judicial review described in paragraph  
18          (1), the provisions of section 706 of title 5, United  
19          States Code, shall apply.

20          “(3) PETITION FOR JUDICIAL REVIEW.—To ob-  
21          tain judicial review under paragraph (1), an ag-  
22          grieved party described in such paragraph shall file  
23          a petition with the court during the 30-day period  
24          beginning on the date on which the order was  
25          issued. A copy of such petition shall be transmitted

1       forthwith by the clerk of the court to the Adminis-  
2       tration, and thereupon the Administration shall file  
3       in the court the record upon which the order com-  
4       plained of was entered, as provided in section 2112  
5       of title 28, United States Code.

6       **“SEC. 374. NOTIFICATION OF NONFILERS.**

7       “(a) NOTIFICATION.—Before taking any action under  
8       section 373 against any person who has failed to file a  
9       report required under section 304(a)(2)(A)(iii) for the cal-  
10      endar quarter immediately preceding the election involved,  
11      or in accordance with section 304(a)(2)(A)(i), the Admin-  
12      istration shall notify the person of such failure to file the  
13      required reports.

14      “(b) OPPORTUNITY FOR RESPONSE.—If a satisfac-  
15      tory response is not received within 4 business days after  
16      the date of notification, the Administration shall, pursuant  
17      to section 367(a)(6), publish before the election the name  
18      of the person and the report or reports such person has  
19      failed to file.

20      **“SEC. 375. CIVIL MONETARY PENALTIES.**

21      “(a) IN GENERAL.—Any person who violates this  
22      Act, or chapter 95 or 96 of the Internal Revenue Code  
23      of 1986, shall be liable to the United States for a civil  
24      monetary penalty for each violation which does not exceed  
25      the greater of \$5,000 or an amount equal to any contribu-

tion or expenditure involved in such violation. Such penalty shall be imposed by the Administration pursuant to section 373.

“(b) KNOWING AND WILLFUL VIOLATIONS.—Any person who commits a knowing and willful violation of this Act, or of chapter 95 or 96 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986, shall be liable to the United States for a civil monetary penalty for each violation which does not exceed the greater of \$10,000 or an amount equal to 200 percent of any contribution or expenditure involved in such violation (or, in the case of a violation of section 320, which is not less than 300 percent of the amount involved in the violation and is not more than the greater of \$50,000 or 1,000 percent of the amount involved in the violation). Such penalty shall be imposed by the Administration pursuant to section 373.

“(c) DETERMINATION OF CIVIL MONETARY PENALTY.—In determining the amount of a civil monetary penalty under this section with respect to a violation described in this section, the Administration or an administrative law judge shall take into account the nature, circumstances, extent, and gravity of the violation and, with respect to the violator, any prior violation, the degree of culpability, and such other matters as justice may require.

“(d) REFERRAL TO ATTORNEY GENERAL.—



1           “(1) IN GENERAL.—If the Administration de-  
2       termines that a knowing and willful violation of this  
3       Act which is subject to section 379, or a knowing  
4       and willful violation of chapter 95 or 96 of the Inter-  
5       nal Revenue Code of 1986, has occurred or is about  
6       to occur, the Administration may refer such appar-  
7       ent violation to the Attorney General without regard  
8       to any limitations set forth under section 373.

9           “(2) REPORTING BY THE ATTORNEY GEN-  
10      ERAL.—Whenever the Administration refers an ap-  
11      parent violation to the Attorney General, the Attor-  
12      ney General shall report to the Administration any  
13      action taken by the Attorney General regarding the  
14      apparent violation. Each report shall be transmitted  
15      within 60 days after the date the Administration re-  
16      fers an apparent violation, and every 30 days there-  
17      after until the final disposition of the apparent viola-  
18      tion.

19   **“SEC. 376. CEASE-AND-DESIST ORDERS.**

20      “(a) IN GENERAL.—If the Administration finds,  
21      after notice and opportunity for hearing under section  
22      373, that any person is violating, has violated, or is about  
23      to violate any provision of this Act, or chapter 95 or 96  
24      of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986, or any rule or regu-  
25      lation thereunder, the Administration may publish any

1 findings and enter an order requiring such person, or any  
2 other person that is, was, or would be a cause of the viola-  
3 tion due to an act or omission the person knew or should  
4 have known would contribute to such violation, to cease  
5 and desist from committing or causing such violation and  
6 any future violation of the same provision, rule, or regula-  
7 tion. Such order may, in addition to requiring a person  
8 to cease and desist from committing or causing a violation,  
9 require such person to comply (or to take steps to effect  
10 compliance) with such provision, rule, or regulation, upon  
11 such terms and conditions and within such time as the  
12 Administration may specify in such order.

13       “(b) TEMPORARY ORDER.—Whenever the Adminis-  
14 tration determines that an alleged violation or threatened  
15 violation specified in the notice initiating a civil enforce-  
16 ment action under section 373, or the continuation there-  
17 of, is likely to result in violation of this Act, or of chapter  
18 95 or 96 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986, and sub-  
19 stantial harm to the public interest, the Administration  
20 may apply to the Federal district court for the district in  
21 which the respondent resides or has its principal place of  
22 business, in which the alleged or threatened violation oc-  
23 curred or is about to occur, or for the District of Colum-  
24 bia, for a temporary restraining order or a preliminary  
25 injunction requiring the respondent to cease and desist

1 from the violation or threatened violation and to take such  
2 action to prevent the violation or threatened violation. The  
3 Administration may apply for such order without regard  
4 to any limitation under section 373.

5 **“SEC. 377. COLLECTION.**

6 “If any person fails to pay an assessment of a civil  
7 penalty—

8 “(1) after the order making the assessment has  
9 become a final order and such person has not timely  
10 filed a petition for judicial review of the order in ac-  
11 cordance with section 373(f)(3) or if the order of the  
12 Administration is upheld after judicial review; or

13 “(2) after a court in an action brought under  
14 section 373(c)(3) has entered a final judgment no  
15 longer subject to appeal in favor of the Administra-  
16 tion,

17 the Attorney General shall recover the amount assessed  
18 (plus interest at currently prevailing rates from the date  
19 of the expiration of the 30-day period referred to in section  
20 373(f)(3) or the date of such final judgment, as the case  
21 may be) in an action brought in any appropriate district  
22 court of the United States. In such an action, the validity,  
23 amount, and appropriateness of such penalty shall not be  
24 subject to review.

1 **“SEC. 378. CONFIDENTIALITY.**

2       “(a) PRIOR TO A FINDING OF REASONABLE  
3 GROUNDS.—Any proceedings conducted by the Adminis-  
4 tration prior to a finding that there are reasonable  
5 grounds to believe a violation of the law has occurred or  
6 is about to occur, including any investigation pursuant to  
7 section 371 or pursuant to a complaint filed under section  
8 372, shall be confidential and none of the Administration’s  
9 records concerning the complaint shall be made public, ex-  
10 cept that the person filing a complaint pursuant to section  
11 372 is permitted to make such complaint public.

12       “(b) AFTER A FINDING OF REASONABLE  
13 GROUNDS.—Except as provided in subsection (d), if the  
14 Administration makes a finding pursuant to section 371  
15 or 372 that there are reasonable grounds to believe that  
16 a violation of law has occurred or is about to occur—

17               “(1) the finding of the Administration as well  
18 as any complaint filed under section 372, any notice  
19 of charges, and any answer or similar documents  
20 filed with the Administration shall be made public;  
21 and

22               “(2) all proceedings conducted before an admin-  
23 istrative law judge under section 373, and all docu-  
24 ments used during such proceedings, shall be made  
25 public.

1       “(c) AFTER DISMISSAL OF A COMPLAINT OR CON-  
2 CLUSION OF PROCEEDINGS FOLLOWING A FINDING OF  
3 REASONABLE GROUNDS.—Subject to subsection (d), fol-  
4 lowing the Administration’s dismissal of a complaint filed  
5 under section 372 or the termination of proceedings fol-  
6 lowing a finding of reasonable grounds under section 371  
7 or 372, the Administration shall, not later than the date  
8 that is 30 days after such dismissal or termination, make  
9 public—

10           “(1) the complaint, any notice of charges, and  
11       any answer or similar documents filed with the Ad-  
12       ministration (unless such information has already  
13       been made public under subsection (b)(1));

14           “(2) any order setting forth the Administra-  
15       tion’s final action on the complaint;

16           “(3) any findings made by the Administration  
17       in relation to the action; and

18           “(4) all documentary materials and testimony  
19       constituting the record on which the Administration  
20       relied in taking its actions.

21 Subject to subsection (d), the affirmative disclosure re-  
22 quirement of this subsection is without prejudice to the  
23 right of any person to request and obtain records relating  
24 to an investigation under section 552 of title 5, United  
25 States Code.

1       “(d) CONFIDENTIALITY OF RECORDS AND PRO-  
2       CEEDINGS OTHERWISE SUBJECT TO DISCLOSURE.—

3               “(1) IN GENERAL.—The Administration shall  
4       issue regulations providing for the protection of in-  
5       formation the disclosure of which under subsection  
6       (b) or (c) would impair any person’s constitutionally  
7       protected right of privacy, freedom of speech, or  
8       freedom of association. The Administration shall  
9       also issue regulations addressing the application of  
10      exemptions from disclosure contained in section 552  
11      of title 5, United States Code, to records comprising  
12      the Administration’s investigative files. Such regula-  
13      tions shall consider the need to protect any person’s  
14      constitutionally protected rights to privacy, freedom  
15      of speech, and freedom of association, as well as the  
16      need to make information about the Administra-  
17      tion’s activities and decisions widely accessible to the  
18      public.

19              “(2) PETITION TO MAINTAIN CONFIDEN-  
20      TIALITY.—

21              “(A) IN GENERAL.—Any person who would  
22      be adversely affected by any disclosure of infor-  
23      mation about the person made pursuant to sub-  
24      section (b) or (c), or by the conduct in public  
25      of a hearing or other proceeding conducted pur-

1           suant to section 373, shall have the right to pe-  
2           tition the Administration to maintain the con-  
3           fidentiality of such information or such pro-  
4           ceeding on the ground that such information  
5           falls within the scope of any exemption from  
6           disclosure contained in section 552 of title 5,  
7           United States Code, or is prohibited from dis-  
8           closure under the Administration's regulations,  
9           the Constitution, or any other provision of law.  
10          Upon the receipt of such petition, the Adminis-  
11          tration shall make a prompt determination  
12          whether the information should be kept con-  
13          fidential, and shall withhold such information  
14          from disclosure pending this determination. The  
15          Administration shall notify the petitioner in  
16          writing of the determination.

17               “(B) REGULATIONS.—The Administration  
18          shall prescribe regulations governing the consid-  
19          eration of petitions under this paragraph. Such  
20          regulations shall provide for public notice of the  
21          pendancy of any petition filed under subpara-  
22          graph (A) and the right of any interested party  
23          to respond to or comment on such petition.

24               “(e) PENALTIES.—Any member or employee of the  
25          Administration, or any other person, who violates the pro-

visions of this section shall be fined not more than \$2,000.  
Any such member, employee, or other person who knowingly and willfully violates the provisions of this section shall be fined not more than \$5,000.

**“SEC. 379. CRIMINAL PENALTIES.**

“(a) KNOWING AND WILLFUL VIOLATIONS.—Any person who knowingly and willfully commits a violation of any provision of this Act that involves the making, receiving, or reporting of any contribution, donation, or expenditure—

“(1) aggregating \$25,000 or more during a calendar year shall be fined under title 18, United States Code, or imprisoned for not more than 5 years, or both; or

“(2) aggregating \$2,000 or more (but less than \$25,000) during a calendar year shall be fined under such title, or imprisoned for not more than 1 year, or both.

“(b) CONTRIBUTIONS OR EXPENDITURES BY NATIONAL BANKS, CORPORATIONS, OR LABOR ORGANIZATIONS.—In the case of a knowing and willful violation of section 316(b)(3), the penalties set forth in subsection (a) shall apply to each violation involving an amount aggregating \$250 or more during a calendar year. Such a viola-



1 tion of section 316(b)(3) may incorporate a violation of  
2 section 317(a), 320, or 321.

3 “(c) FRAUDULENT MISREPRESENTATION OF CAM-  
4 PAIGN AUTHORITY.—In the case of a knowing and willful  
5 violation of section 322, the penalties set forth in sub-  
6 section (a) shall apply without regard to whether the mak-  
7 ing, receiving, or reporting of a contribution or expendi-  
8 ture of \$1,000 or more is involved.

9 “(d) PROHIBITION OF CONTRIBUTIONS IN NAME OF  
10 ANOTHER.—Any person who knowingly and willfully com-  
11 mits a violation of section 320 involving an amount aggre-  
12 gating more than \$10,000 during a calendar year shall  
13 be—

14 “(1) imprisoned for not more than 2 years if  
15 the amount is less than \$25,000 and subject to im-  
16 prisonment under subsection (a) if the amount is  
17 \$25,000 or more;

18 “(2) fined not less than 300 percent of the  
19 amount involved in the violation and not more than  
20 the greater of—

21 “(A) \$50,000; or

22 “(B) 1,000 percent of the amount involved  
23 in the violation; or

1           “(3) both imprisoned as provided under para-  
2           graph (1) and fined as provided under paragraph  
3           (2).

4           “(e) EFFECT OF CONCILIATION AGREEMENTS.—

5           “(1) EVIDENCE OF LACK OF KNOWLEDGE AND  
6           INTENT.—In any criminal action brought for a viola-  
7           tion of any provision of this Act or of chapter 95 or  
8           96 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986, any de-  
9           fendant may evidence their lack of knowledge or in-  
10          tent to commit the alleged violation by introducing  
11          as evidence a conciliation agreement entered into be-  
12          tween the defendant and the Administration under  
13          section 373(c)(1) which specifically deals with the  
14          act or failure to act constituting such violation and  
15          which is still in effect.

16          “(2) CONSIDERATION BY COURTS.—In any  
17          criminal action brought for a violation of any provi-  
18          sion of this Act or of chapter 95 or 96 of the Inter-  
19          nal Revenue Code of 1986, the court before which  
20          such action is brought shall take into account, in  
21          weighing the seriousness of the violation and in con-  
22          sidering the appropriateness of the penalty to be im-  
23          posed if the defendant is found guilty, whether—

24                  “(A) the specific act or failure to act which  
25                  constitutes the violation for which the action

1           was brought is the subject of a conciliation  
 2           agreement entered into between the defendant  
 3           and the Administration under section 373(c)(1);

4           “(B) the conciliation agreement is in ef-  
 5           fect; and

6           “(C) the defendant is, with respect to the  
 7           violation involved, in compliance with the concil-  
 8           iation agreement.

9   **“SEC. 380. PERIOD OF LIMITATIONS.**

10        “No person shall be prosecuted, tried, or punished  
 11        for any violation of this Act, unless the indictment is found  
 12        or the information is instituted within 5 years after the  
 13        date of the violation.

14   **“SEC. 381. AUTHORIZATION OF APPROPRIATIONS.**

15        “For each fiscal year, there are authorized to be ap-  
 16        propriated to the Administration such sums as may be  
 17        necessary for the purpose of carrying out its functions  
 18        under this Act and under chapters 95 and 96 of the Inter-  
 19        nal Revenue Code of 1986.”.

20   **SEC. 102. EXECUTIVE SCHEDULE POSITIONS.**

21        (a) EXECUTIVE SCHEDULE LEVEL III POSITION.—  
 22        Section 5314 of title 5, United States Code, is amended  
 23        by adding at the end the following:

24           “Chair, Federal Election Administration.”.

1 (b) EXECUTIVE SCHEDULE LEVEL IV POSITIONS.—

2 Section 5315 of title 5, United States Code, is amended  
3 by adding at the end the following:

4 “Members (other than the Chair), Federal Elec-  
5 tion Administration.

6 “Inspector General, Federal Election Adminis-  
7 tration.”.

8 **SEC. 103. GAO EXAMINATION OF ENFORCEMENT OF CAM-**  
9 **PAIGN FINANCE LAWS BY THE DEPARTMENT**  
10 **OF JUSTICE.**

11 (a) EXAMINATION.—The Comptroller General of the  
12 United States shall conduct a thorough examination of the  
13 enforcement of the criminal provisions of the Federal  
14 Election Campaign Act of 1971 (52 U.S.C. 30101 et seq.)  
15 and chapters 95 and 96 of the Internal Revenue Code of  
16 1986 by the Attorney General.

17 (b) REPORT.—Not later than 1 year after the date  
18 of enactment of this Act, the Comptroller General shall  
19 submit to the Attorney General and Congress a report on  
20 the examination conducted under subsection (a) together  
21 with recommendations on how the Attorney General may  
22 improve the enforcement of the criminal provisions of the  
23 Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 (52 U.S.C. 30101  
24 et seq.) and chapters 95 and 96 of the Internal Revenue  
25 Code of 1986, including recommendations on the re-

1 sources that the Attorney General would require to effec-  
2 tively enforce such criminal provisions.

3 **SEC. 104. GAO STUDY AND REPORT ON APPROPRIATE**  
4 **FUNDING LEVELS.**

5 (a) STUDY.—The Comptroller General of the United  
6 States shall conduct an ongoing study on the level of fund-  
7 ing that constitutes an adequate level of resources for the  
8 Federal Election Administration to competently execute  
9 the responsibilities imposed on the Administration by this  
10 Act and the amendments made by this Act.

11 (b) REPORT.—Not later than 1 year after the date  
12 of enactment of this Act, and once every 2 years there-  
13 after, the Comptroller General shall submit to the Director  
14 of the Office of Management and Budget and Congress  
15 a report on the study conducted under subsection (a) to-  
16 gether with recommendations for such legislation and ad-  
17 ministrative action as the Comptroller General determines  
18 to be appropriate.

19 **SEC. 105. CONFORMING AMENDMENTS.**

20 (a) INDEPENDENT AGENCY.—Section 104 of title 5,  
21 United States Code, is amended—

22 (1) in paragraph (1), by striking “and” after  
23 the semicolon;

24 (2) in paragraph (2), by striking the period and  
25 inserting “; and”; and

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

3           “(3) the Federal Election Administration.”.

4       (b) COVERAGE UNDER INSPECTOR GENERAL ACT.—  
5       Section 8G(a)(2) of the Inspector General Act of 1978 (5  
6       U.S.C. App.) is amended by striking “Federal Election  
7       Commission” and inserting “Federal Election Administra-  
8       tion”.

9       (c) COVERAGE OF PERSONNEL UNDER HATCH  
10      ACT.—Section 7323(b) of title 5, United States Code, is  
11      amended—

12           (1) in paragraph (1), by striking “Federal Elec-  
13      tion Commission” and inserting “Federal Election  
14      Administration”; and

15           (2) in paragraph (2)(B)(i)(I), by striking “Fed-  
16      eral Election Commission” and inserting “Federal  
17      Election Administration”.

18      (d) REMOVAL OF EXCLUSION FROM SENIOR EXECU-  
19      TIVE SERVICE.—Section 3132(a)(1) of title 5, United  
20      States Code, is amended by striking subparagraph (C) and  
21      by redesignating subparagraphs (D), (E), and (F) as sub-  
22      paragraphs (C), (D), and (E), respectively.

23      (e) SUBTITLE A.—Title III of the Federal Election  
24      Campaign Act of 1971 (52 U.S.C. 30101 et seq.) is  
25      amended by inserting before section 301 the following:

1   **“Subtitle A—General Provisions”.**

2                   **TITLE II—TRANSITION**

3                           **PROVISIONS**

4   **SEC. 201. TRANSFER OF FUNCTIONS OF FEDERAL ELEC-**  
5                           **TION COMMISSION.**

6           There are transferred to the Federal Election Admin-  
7   istration established under section 351 of the Federal  
8   Election Campaign Act of 1971 (as added by section 101)  
9   all functions that the Federal Election Commission exer-  
10   cised before the date described in section 206(a).

11   **SEC. 202. TRANSFER OF PROPERTY, RECORDS, AND PER-**  
12                           **SONNEL.**

13           (a) **PROPERTY AND RECORDS.**—The contracts, liabil-  
14   ities, records, property, and other assets and interests of,  
15   or made available in connection with, the offices and func-  
16   tions of the Federal Election Commission which are trans-  
17   ferred by this title are transferred to the Federal Election  
18   Administration.

19           (b) **PERSONNEL.**—The personnel employed in con-  
20   nection with the offices and functions of the Federal Elec-  
21   tion Commission which are transferred by this title are  
22   transferred to the Federal Election Administration.

1 **SEC. 203. REPEALS.**

2 (a) PROVISIONS OF THE FEDERAL ELECTION CAM-  
3 PAIGN ACT OF 1971.—The following provisions of the  
4 Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 are repealed:

5 (1) Section 306 (52 U.S.C. 30106).

6 (2) Section 307 (52 U.S.C. 30107).

7 (3) Section 308 (52 U.S.C. 30108).

8 (4) Section 309 (52 U.S.C. 30109).

9 (5) Section 310 (52 U.S.C. 30110).

10 (6) Section 311 (52 U.S.C. 30111).

11 (7) Section 314 (52 U.S.C. 30115).

12 (8) Section 406 (52 U.S.C. 30145).

13 (b) OTHER PROVISIONS.—Section 403 of the Bipar-  
14 tisan Campaign Reform Act of 2002 (52 U.S.C. 30110  
15 note) is repealed.

16 **SEC. 204. CONFORMING AMENDMENTS.**

17 (a) Title III of the Federal Election Campaign Act  
18 of 1971 (52 U.S.C. 30101 et seq.) is amended—

19 (1) in section 301, by striking paragraph (10)  
20 and inserting the following:

21 “(10) The term ‘Administration’ means the Federal  
22 Election Administration.”;

23 (2) by striking “Federal Election Commission”  
24 and inserting “Administration” each place it ap-  
25 pears; and



1           (3) by striking “Commission” and inserting  
2           “Administration” each place it appears.

3           (b) Section 3502(1)(B) of title 44, United States  
4 Code, is amended by striking “Federal Election Commis-  
5 sion” and inserting “Federal Election Administration”.

6           (c) Section 207(j)(7)(B)(i) of title 18, United States  
7 Code, is amended by striking “the Federal Election Com-  
8 mission by a former officer or employee of the Federal  
9 Election Commission” and inserting “the Federal Election  
10 Administration by a former officer or employee of the Fed-  
11 eral Election Commission or the Federal Election Admin-  
12 istration”.

13          (d) Section 103 of the Ethics in Government Act of  
14 1978 (5 U.S.C. App.) is amended—

15               (1) in subsection (e), by striking “the Federal  
16 Election Commission” and inserting “the Federal  
17 Election Administration”; and

18               (2) in subsection (k), by striking “the Federal  
19 Election Commission” and inserting “the Federal  
20 Election Administration”.

21          (e)(1) Section 9002(3) of the Internal Revenue Code  
22 of 1986 is amended to read as follows:

23               “(3) The term ‘Administration’ means the Fed-  
24 eral Election Administration established under sec-

1       tion 351 of the Federal Election Campaign Act of  
2       1971.”.

3       (2) Chapter 95 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986  
4 is amended by striking “Commission” and inserting “Ad-  
5 ministration” each place it appears.

6       (f)(1) Section 9032(3) of the Internal Revenue Code  
7 of 1986 is amended to read as follows:

8               “(3) The term ‘Administration’ means the Fed-  
9       eral Election Administration established under sec-  
10      tion 351 of the Federal Election Campaign Act of  
11      1971.”.

12      (2) Chapter 96 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986  
13 is amended by striking “Commission” and inserting “Ad-  
14 ministration” each place it appears.

15      (g) Section 3(c) of the Voting Accessibility for the  
16 Elderly and Handicapped Act (52 U.S.C. 20102(c)) is  
17 amended—

18              (1) in paragraph (1)—

19                      (A) by striking “Federal Election Commis-  
20                      sion” and inserting “Federal Election Adminis-  
21                      tration”; and

22                      (B) by striking “Commission” and insert-  
23                      ing “Administration”; and

1           (2) in paragraph (2), by striking “Federal Elec-  
2       tion Commission” and inserting “Federal Election  
3       Administration”.

4       (h) Section 6(a)(9) of the Lobbying Disclosure Act  
5       1995 (2 U.S.C. 1605(a)(9)) is amended by striking “the  
6       Federal Election Commission” and inserting “the Federal  
7       Election Administration”.

8       **SEC. 205. TREATMENT OF CERTAIN REGULATIONS.**

9       (a) REGULATIONS ON DISCLOSURE OF ELECTION-  
10      EERING COMMUNICATIONS.—

11           (1) IN GENERAL.—Effective on the date that is  
12      90 days after enactment of this Act, the regulations  
13      on disclosure of electioneering communications  
14      adopted by the Federal Election Commission and  
15      published in the Federal Register at page 419 of vol-  
16      ume 68 on January 3, 2003, and at page 5057 of  
17      volume 68 on January 31, 2003, as amended at  
18      page 72913 of volume 72 on December 26, 2007,  
19      are repealed.

20           (2) NEW REGULATIONS.—Not later than 90  
21      days after the date of the enactment of this Act, the  
22      Federal Election Commission shall promulgate new  
23      regulations on disclosure of electioneering commu-  
24      nications under section 304(f) of the Federal Elec-  
25      tion Campaign Act of 1971 (52 U.S.C. 30104(f)).

1       The regulations promulgated under this paragraph  
2       shall require the disclosure of the identification of all  
3       persons who make a contribution to a person who  
4       makes an electioneering communication and shall  
5       not limit such disclosure to only to persons who  
6       make contributions for the purpose of furthering  
7       electioneering communications, or any similar limita-  
8       tion on the scope of such disclosure.

9       (b) REGULATIONS ON SOLICITATIONS AT NON-FED-  
10      ERAL FUNDRAISING EVENTS.—

11           (1) IN GENERAL.—Effective on the date that is  
12       90 days after the date of the enactment of this Act,  
13       the regulations on participation by Federal can-  
14       didates and officeholders at non-Federal fundraising  
15       events adopted by the Federal Election Commission  
16       and published in the Federal Register at page 24383  
17       of volume 75 on May 5, 2010, are repealed.

18           (2) NEW REGULATIONS.—Not later than 90  
19       days after enactment of this Act, the Federal Elec-  
20       tion Commission shall promulgate new regulations  
21       on participation by Federal candidates and office-  
22       holders in non-Federal fundraising events. The regu-  
23       lations shall limit the participation by Federal can-  
24       didates and officeholders in such events to attend-  
25       ing, speaking, or being a featured guest at a fund-

1       raising event for a State, district, or local committee  
2       of a political party, and shall not allow Federal can-  
3       didates and officeholders to participate in or solicit  
4       funds at any other fundraising event where non-Fed-  
5       eral funds are raised.

6   **SEC. 206. EFFECTIVE DATE.**

7       (a) IN GENERAL.—Except as provided in section 205,  
8       this title and the amendments made by this title shall take  
9       effect on the date that is 6 months after the date of enact-  
10      ment of this Act.

11      (b) TERMINATION OF THE FEDERAL ELECTION COM-  
12      MISSION.—Notwithstanding any other provision of, or  
13      amendment made by, this Act, the members of the Federal  
14      Election Commission shall be removed from office on the  
15      date described in subsection (a).

○