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H. R. 1201

94TH CONGRESS

2D SESSION

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IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

S.C. 437c(a) (1)), as so redesi

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FEBRUARY 28, 1976

Mr. Hays of Ohio (for himself, Mr. DENT, Mr. HAWKINS, Mr. ANNUNZIO, Mr. GAYDOS, Mr. JONES of Tennessee, Mr. MINISH, Mr. Rose, and Mr. John L. BURTON) introduced the following bill; which was referred to the Committee on House Administration

A BILL

To amend the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 to provide that members of the Federal Election Commission shall be appointed by the President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, and for other purposes.

- Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representa-1
- tives of the United States of America in Congress assembled. 2

3 SHORT TITLE

SECTION 1. This Act may be cited as the "Federal Elec-4 5 tion Campaign Act Amendments of 1976".

ii) one shall be appointed for a term of twi years ;...

1 TITLE I—AMENDMENTS TO FEDERAL ELECTION

CAMPAIGN ACT OF 1971

2

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION MEMBERSHIP 3 SEC. 101. (a) (1) The second sentence of section 309 4 (a) (1) of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 (2 5 U.S.C. 437c(a) (1)), as so redesignated by section 105, 6 hereinafter in this Act referred to as the "Act", is amended to 7 read as follows: "The Commission is composed of the Secre-8 tary of the Senate and the Clerk of the House of Representa-9 tives, ex officio and without the right to vote, and six mem-10 bers appointed by the President of the United States, by 11 and with the advice and consent of the Senate.". 12

(2) The last sentence of section 309 (a) (1) of the
Act (2 U.S.C. 437c (a) (1)), as so redesignated by section
105, is amended to read as follows: "No more than three
members of the Commission appointed under this paragraph
may be affiliated with the same political party.".

(b) Section 309 (a) (2) of the Act (2 U.S.C. 437c
(a) (2)), as so redesignated by section 105, is amended to
read as follows:

21 "(2) (A) Members of the Commission shall serve for
22 terms of six years, except that of the members first
23 appointed—

24 "(i) one shall be appointed for a term of one year;
25 "(ii) one shall be appointed for a term of two years;

	3
	"(iii) one shall be appointed for a term of three
2	years;
	"(iv) one shall be appointed for a term of four
4	years;
5	
6	years; and
7	"(vi) one shall be appointed for a term of six
8	years;
9	as designated by the President at the time of appointment,
10	except that of the members first appointed under this pro-
11	vision, no member affiliated with a political party shall be
12	appointed for a term that expires one year after another
13	member affiliated with the same political party.
14	"(B) An individual appointed to fill a vacancy oc-
15	curring other than by the expiration of a term of office
16	shall be appointed only for the unexpired term of the
17	member he succeeds.
18	"(C) Any vacancy occurring in the membership of
19	the Commission shall be filled in the same manner as in
20	the case of the original appointment.".
21	(c) (1) Section 309 (a) (3) of the Act (2 U.S.C.
22	437c (a) (3)), as so redesignated by section 105, is amended
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by adding at the end thereof the following new sentences:

"Members of the Commission shall not engage in any other

business, vocation, or employment. Any individual who is

23

24

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1 engaging in any other business, vocation, or employment
2 at the time such individual begins to serve as a member of
3 the Commission shall terminate or liquidate such activity
4 no later than one year after beginning to serve as such a
5 member.".

6 (2) Section 309 (b) of the Act (2 U.S.C. 437c (b)),
7 as so redesignated by section 105, is amended to read as
8 follows:

9 "(b) (1) The Commission shall administer, seek to 10 obtain compliance with, and formulate policy with respect 11 to, this Act and chapter 95 and chapter 96 of the Internal 12 Revenue Code of 1954. The Commission shall have exclu-13 sive and primary jurisdiction with respect to the civil 14 enforcement of such provisions.

15 "(2) Nothing in this Act shall be construed to limit, 16 restrict, or diminish any investigatory, informational, over-17 sight, supervisory, or disciplinary authority or function of 18 the Congress or any committee of the Congress with respect 19 to elections for Federal office.".

(3) The first sentence of section 309 (c) of the Act (2
U.S.C. 437 (c)), as so redesignated by section 105, is
amended by inserting immediately before the period at the
end thereof the following: ", except that the affirmative vote
of four members of the Commission shall be required in order
for the Commission to establish guidelines for compliance

1 with the provisions of this Act or with chapter 95 or chapter 96 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954, or for the Com-2 mission to take any action in accordance with paragraph (6), (7), (8), or (10) of section 310 (a)". (d) Section 309 of the Act (2 U.S.C. 437c), as so re-5 designated by section 105, is amended by adding at the end thereof the following new subsection: 7 "(g) The duties and functions of the Secretary of the 8 Senate and the Clerk of the House of Representatives under 9 this Act, as members of the Commission ex officio, shall be 10 limited to-11 12 "(1) the performance of duties under section 315 13 (d); and (d) and (d 14 "(2) the transmission to the Commission of reports and statements received by the Secretary of the Senate 15 or the Clerk of the House of Representatives under 16 section 315 (d) (1).". 17 (e) (1) The President shall appoint members of the 18 Federal Election Commission under section 309 (a) of the 19 Act (2 U.S.C. 437c (a)), as so redesignated by section 105 20 and as amended by this section, as soon as practicable after 21 the date of the enactment of this Act. commerced large 1 22 22 (2) The first appointments made by the President under 23 section 309 (a) of the Act (2 U.S.O. 4370 (a)), as so re-24

25 designated by section 105 and as amended by this section,

V.	1
d to be appointments to fill the unex-	1 CHANGES IN DEFINITIONS
pers serving on the Federal Election	2 SEC. 102. (a) Section 301 (a) (2) of the Act (2 U.S.C.
te of the enactment of this Act.	3 431 (a) (2)) is amended by striking out "held to" and
ving on the Federal Election Commis-	4 inserting in lieu thereof "which has authority to".
enactment of this Act may continue to	5 (b) Section 301 (e) (2) of the Act (2 U.S.C. 431 (e)
ers until members are appointed and	6 (2)) is amended by inserting "written" immediately before
a 309 (a) of the Act (2 U.S.C. 437c	7 "contract".
ted by section 105 and as amended by	8 (c) Section 301 (f) (4) of the Act (2 U.S.C. 431 (f)
at until appointed and qualified under	9 (4)) is amended—
ving on such Commission on such date	10 (1) by striking out "or" at the end of clause (F)
eginning on March 1, 1976, exercise	11 and at the end of clause (G);
functions as may be consistent with	12 (2) by inserting "or" immediately after the semi-
he Supreme Court of the United States	13 colon at the end of clause (H); and
inst Valeo, Secretary of the United	14 (3) by inserting immediately after clause (H) the
(numbered 75-436, 75-437) Janu-	15 following new clause:
10 - 20 and the Oliph Solador - 20	16 "(I) Any costs incurred by a candidate in con-
us of section 309 (a) (3) of the Act	17 nection with the solicitation of contributions by such
)), as so redesignated by section 105,	18 candidate, except that this clause shall not apply
ember of the Federal Election Com-	19 with respect to costs incurred by a candidate in ex-
elected or appointed officer or em-	20 cess of an amount equal to 20 per centum of the ex-
, legislative, or judicial branch of the	21 penditure limitation applicable to such candidate
shall not apply in the case of any	22 under section 320 (b), except that any such costs
member of such Commission on the	23 shall be reported in accordance with section 304
of this Act.	24 (b),",
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shall not be considered 1 2 pired terms of memb Commission on the da 3

(3) Members ser 4 sion on the date of the 5 serve as such membe 6 qualified under section 7 (a)), as so redesigna 8 this section, except th 9 this Act, members serv 10 of enactment may, be 11 only such powers and 12 the determinations of the 13 14 in Buckley et al. aga States Senate, et al. 15 16 ary 30, 1976).

17 (f) The provision (2 U.S.C. 437c (a) (3) 18 which prohibit any m 19 mission from being an 20 21 ployee of the executive Federal Government, 22 23 individual serving as a 24 date of the enactment

(d) Section 301 of the Act (2 U.S.C. 431) is
amended—
(1) in paragraph (m) thereof, by striking out
"and" at the end thereof;
(2) in paragraph (n) thereof, by striking out the
period at the end thereof and inserting in lieu thereof "; and"; and

8 (3) by adding at the end thereof the following new
9 paragraph:
0 "(0) 'Act' means the Federal Election Campaign Act

"(o) 'Act' means the Federal Election Campaign Act
of 1971, as amended, by the Federal Election Campaign Act
Amendments of 1974 and this Act.".

13 ORGANIZATION OF POLITICAL COMMITTEES

14 SEC. 103. Section 302 of the Act (2 U.S.C. 432) is 15 amended by striking out subsection (e) and by redesignat-16 ing subsection (f) as subsection (e).

REPORTS BY POLITICAL COMMITTEES AND CANDIDATES 17 SEC. 104. (a) Section 304 (a) (1) of the Act (2 U.S.C. 18 434 (a) (1)) is amended by adding at the end of subpara-19 graph (C) the following: ": Provided further. That in any 20 year in which a candidate is not on the ballot for election to 21 Federal office, such candidate and his authorized committees 22 shall only be required to file such reports not later than the 23 tenth day following the close of any calendar quarter in 24 which the candidate and his authorized committees received 25

contributions and made expenditures totaling in excess of 1 \$10,000, and such reports shall be complete as of the close 9 of such calendar quarter; except that any such report re-3 quired to be filed after December 31 of any calendar year 4 with respect to which a report is required to be filed under subparagraph (B) shall be filed as provided in such sub-6 paragraph.". 7 (b) Section 304 (a) (2) of the Act (2 U.S.C. 434 (a) 8 (2)) is amended as follows: "Each treasurer of a political 9 committee authorized by a candidate to raise contributions 10 or make expenditures on his behalf, other than the candi-11 date's principal campaign committee, shall file the reports 12 required under this section with the candidate's principal 13 campaign committee.". 14 (c) Section 304 (b) of the Act (2 U.S.C. 434 (b)) 15 is amended— 16 (1) by striking out "and" at the end of paragraph 17 (12);18 (2) by redesignating paragraph (13) as paragraph 19 (14); and (3) by inserting immediately after paragraph (12) the following new paragraph: 22 "(13) in the case of expenditures in excess of \$100 23 by a political committee other than an authorized com-24 mittee of a candidate expressly advocating the election 25 H.R. 12015-2

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or defeat of a clearly identified candidate, through a separate schedule (A) any information required by .9 paragraph (9), stated in a manner which indicates 3 whether the expenditures involved is in support of, or 4 in opposition to, a candidate; and (B) under penalty 5 of perjujry, a certification whether such expenditure is 6 made in cooperation, consultation, or concert, with, or 7 at the request or suggestion of, any candidate or any 8 authorized committee or agent of such candidate.". 9 10 (d) Section 304 (e) of the Act (2 U.S.C. 434 (c)) is 11 amended to read as follows: "(e) (1) Every person (other than a political com-12 13 mittee or candidate) who makes contributions or expenditures expressly advocating the election or defeat of a clearly 14 identified candidate, other than by contribution to a political 15 committee or candidate, in an aggregate amount in excess of 16 \$100 within a calendar year shall file with the Commission, 17 on a form prepared by the Commission, a statement contain-18 ing the information required of a person who makes a con-19 tribution in excess of \$100 to a candidate or political com-20 mittee and the information required of a candidate or politi-21 cal committee receiving such a contribution. 22 "(2) Statements required by this subsection shall be 23 24 filed on the dates on which reports by political committees

1 are filed. Such statements shall include (A) the information required by subsection (b) (9), stated in a manner indicat-2 ing whether the contribution or expenditure is in support of, 3 or opposition to, the candidate; and (B) under penalty of 4 perjury, a certification whether such expenditure is made in 5 cooperation, consultation, or concert, with, or at the request 6 or suggestion of, any candidate or any authorized committee. 7 or agent of such candidate. Any expenditure including but 8 not limited to those described in subsection (b) (13) of 9 \$1,000 or more made after the fifteenth day, but more than 10 forty-eight hours, before any election shall be reported within 11 forty-eight hours of such expenditure. 12

"(3) The Commission shall be responsible for expeditiously preparing indices which set forth, on a candidate-bycandidate basis, all expenditures separately including but not limited to those reported under subsection (b) (13) made with respect to each candidate, as reported under this subsection, and for periodically issuing such indices on a timely preelection basis.".

20 REPORTS BY CERTAIN PERSONS

SEC. 105. Title III of the Act (2 U.S.C. 431 et seq.) is amended by striking out section 308 thereof (2 U.S.C. 437a) and by redesignating section 309 through section 321 as section 308 through section 320, respectively.

1 CAMPAIGN DEPOSITORIES SEC. 106. The second sentence of section 308 (a) (1) 2 of the Act (2 U.S.C. 437b (a) (1)), as so redesignated by 8 section 105, is amended by inserting "single" immediately before "cheeking".

POWERS OF COMMISSION SEC. 107. (a) Section 310 (a) of the Act (2 U.S.C. 7 437d (a)), as so redesignated by section 105, is amended-

(1) in paragraph (8) thereof, by inserting "de-9 velop such prescribed forms and to" immediately before 10 "make", and by inserting immediately after "Act" the 11 following: "and chapter 95 and chapter 96 of the In-12 ternal Revenue Code of 1954"; 13

(2) in paragraph (9) thereof, by striking out "and 14 sections 608" and all that follows through "States Code" 15 and inserting in lieu thereof "and chapter 95 and chap-16 ter 96 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954"; and 17 18 (3) by striking out paragraph (10) and redesignating paragraph (11) as paragraph (10). 19 (b) (1) Section 310 (a) (6) of the Act (2 U.S.C. 437d 20 (a) (6)), as so redesignated by section 105, is amended to 21 read as follows: 22

"(6) to initiate (through civil actions for injunc-23 tive, declaratory, or other appropriate relief), defend 24

(in the case of any civil action brought under section 1 313 (a) (9)), or appeal any civil action in the name of 2 the Commission for the purpose of enforcing the provi-3 sions of this Act and chapter 95 and chapter 96 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954, through its general counsel;". 6 (2) Section 310 of the Act (2 U.S.C. 437d), as so 7 redesignated by section 105, is amended by adding at the 8 end thereof the following new subsection: 0

"(e) Except as provided in section 313 (a) (9), the 10 power of the Commission to initiate civil actions under sub-11 section (a) (6) shall be the exclusive civil remedy for the 12 enforcement of the provisions of this Act.". 13

14 ADVISORY OPINIONS

SEC. 108. (a) Section 312 (a) of the Act (2 U.S.C. 15 437f(a)), as so redesignated by section 105, is amended to 16 read as follows: "Upon written request to the Commission 17 by any individual holding Federal office, any candidate for 18 Federal office, the Democratic Caucus and the Republican 19 Conference of each House of the Congress, or any political 20 committee, and the national committee of any political party, 21 the Commission shall render an advisory opinion, in writing, 22 within a reasonable time with respect to whether any specific transaction or activity by such individual, candidate, or

7 political committee would constitute a violation of this 2 chapter or of chapter 95 or chapter 96 of the Internal 3 Revenue Code of 1954.". (b) Section 312 (b) of the Act (2 U.S.C. 437f (b)), as 4 so redesignated by section 105, is amended as follows: "(b) (1) Notwithstanding any other provision of law, 6 any person with respect to whom an advisory opinion is rendered under subsection (a) who acts in good faith in 8 accordance with the provisions and findings of such advisory 9 opinion shall be presumed to be in compliance with the pro-10 vision of this chapter 95 or chapter 96 of the Internal Rev-11 enue Code of 1954, with respect to which such advisory 12 opinion is rendered. 13 "(2) (A) Any advisory opinion rendered by the Com-14 15 mission under subsection (a) shall apply only to the person requesting such advisory opinion and to any other person 16 directly involved in the specific transaction or activity with 17 respect to which such advisory opinion is rendered. The pro-18 visions of any such advisory opinion shall be made generally 19 applicable by the Commission in accordance with the provi-20 sions of subparagraph (B). 21 "(B) (i) The Commission shall, no later than thirty 22 days after rendering an advisory opinion with respect to a 23 request received under subsection (a), prescribe rules or 24 regulations relating to the transaction or activity involved if 25

the Commission determines that such transaction or activity is not subject to any existing rule or regulation prescribed 2 by the Commission. In any such case in which the Com-3 mission receives more than one request for an advisory 4 opinion, the Commission may not render more than one ad-5 visory opinion relating to the transaction or activity involved. 6 "(ii) Any rule or regulation prescribed by the Commission under this subparagraph shall be subject to the pro-8 visions of section 315 (c).". (c) Section 315 (c) (1) of the Act (2 U.S.C. 438 (c) 10 (1)), as so redesignated by section 105, is amended by 11 12 inserting "or under section 312 (b) (2) (B)" immediately after "under this section". (d) The amendments made by subsection (a) shall 14 apply to any advisory opinion rendered by the Federal Elec-15 tion Commission after October 15, 1974. ENFORCEMENT 17 SEC. 109. Section 313 of the Act (2 U.S.C. 437g), as 18 so redesignated by section 105, is amended to read as follows: 21 "ENFORCEMENT "SEC. 313. (a) (1) Any person who believes a viola-22 tion of this Act or of chapter 95 or chapter 96 of the Internal 23 Revenue Code of 1954, has occurred may file a complaint 24 with the Commission: Such complaint shall be in writing, 25

15

shall be signed and sworn to by the person filing such com-1 plaint, and shall be notarized. Any person filing such a com-2 plaint shall be subject to the provisions of section 1001 of 3 title 18, United States Code. The Commission may not con-4 duct any investigation under this section, or take any other action under this section, solely on the basis of a complaint of a person whose identity is not disclosed to the Commission. 7 "(2) The Commission, upon receiving a complaint un-8 der paragraph (1), or if it has reason to believe that any person has committed a violation of this Act or of chapter 10 11 95 or chapter 96 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954, shall notify the person involved of such apparent violation 12 and shall make an investigation of such violation in accord-13 14 ance with the provisions of this section. "(3) Any investigation under paragraph (2) shall be 15 16 conducted expeditionely and shall include an investigation,

conducted in accordance with the provisions of this section. 17 of reports and statements filed by any complainant under this 18 title, if such complainant is a candidate. Any notification or 19 investigation made under paragraph (2) shall not be made 20 public by the Commission or by any other person without 21 the written consent of the person receiving such notification 22 or the person with respect to whom such investigation is 23 24 made. "(4) The Commission shall, at the request of any person 25

who receives notice of an apparent violation under paragraph
(2), afford such person a reasonable opportunity to demonstrate that no action should be taken against such person by
the Commission under this Act.

"(5) (A) If the Commission determines that there is 5 reason to believe that any person has committed or is about to commit a violation of this Act or of chapter 95 or chapter 96 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954, the Commission shall make every endeavor for a period of not less than thirty days to correct or prevent such violation by informal methods 10 of conference, conciliation, and persuasion, and to enter into 11 a conciliation agreement with the person involved. A concili-12 ation agreement, unless violated, shall constitute an absolute 13 bar to any further action by the Commission, including bring-14 ing a civil proceeding under paragraph (B) of this section. 15 "(B) If the Commission is unable to correct or prevent 16 any such violation by such informal methods, the Commission 17 may, if the Commission determines there is probable cause to 18 believe that a violation has occurred or is about to occur, in-19 stitute a civil action for relief, including a permanent or tem-20 porary injunction, restraining order, or any other appropriate 21 order in the district court of the United States for the district 22 in which the person against whom such action is found, resides, or transacts business. 24 H.R. 12015-3

"(C) In any civil action instituted by the Commission
 under paragraph (B), the court shall grant a permanent or
 temporary injunction, restraining order, or other order upon
 a proper showing that the person involved has engaged or is
 about to engage in a violation of this Act or of chapter 95 or
 chapter 96 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954.

"(D) If the Commission determines that there is prob-8 able cause to believe that a knowing and willful violation as 9 defined in section 328 has occurred or is about to occur, it 10 may refer such apparent violation to the Attorney General of 11 the United States without regard to the limitations set forth 12 in paragraph (A) of this section.

"(6) If the Commission believes that there is clear and 13 14 convincing proof that a knowing and willful violation of the Act or chapter 95 or 96 of the Internal Revenue Code of 15 1954 has been committed, any conciliation agreement en-16 tered into by the Commission under paragraph (5) (A) may 17 include a requirement that the person involved in such con-18 ciliation agreement shall pay a civil penalty which does not 19 exceed the greater of (A) \$10,000; or (B) an amount equal 20 to 300 per centum of the amount of any contribution or ex-21 penditure involved in such violation. The Commission shall 22 make available to the public the results of any conciliation 23 attempt including any conciliation agreement entered into by. 24

the Commission and any determination by the Commission that no violation of the Act or chapter 95 or 96 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 has occurred. Any document containing such information, and any such agreement shall be

signed by the general counsel of the Commission.

"(7) In any civil action for relief instituted by the Commission under paragraph (5), if the court determines that the Commission has established through clear and convincing proof that the person involved in such civil action 9 has committed a knowing and willful violation of this Act or 10 of chapter 95 or 96 of the Internal Reventie Code of 1954, 11 the court may impose a civil penalty of not more than the 12 greater of (A) \$10,000; or (B) an amount equal to 300 13 per centum of the contribution or expenditure involved in 14 such violation. In any case in which such person has entered 15 16 into a conciliation agreement with the Commission under paragraph (5) (A), the Commission may institute a civil 17 18 action for relief under paragraph (5) if it believes that such person has violated any provision of such conciliation agree-19 ment, In order for the Commission to obtain relief in any 20 such civil action, it shall be sufficient for the Commission 21 to establish that such person has violated, in whole or in 22 part, any requirement of such conciliation agreement: 23 "(8) In any action brought under paragraph (5) or 24

1 paragraph (7) of this subsection, subpenas for witnesses 2 who are required to attend a United States district court may run into any other district. 3

"(9) (A) Any party aggrieved by an order of the 4 Commission dismissing a complaint filed by such party under 5 paragraph (1), or by a failure on the part of the Commission to act on such complaint in accordance with the provi-7 8 sions of this section within ninety days after the filing of such complaint, may file a petition with the United States 9 10 District Court for the District of Columbia. "(B) The filing of any action under subparagraph (A) 11 12 shall be made-13 "(i) in the case of the dismissal of a complaint by the Commission, no later than sixty days after such dis-14 missal; or 15 "(ii) in the case of a failure on the part of the 16 Commission to act on such complaint, no later than 17 sixty days after the ninety-day period specified in sub-18 paragraph (A). 19 "(C) In such proceeding the court may declare that the 20 dismissal of the complaint or the action, or the failure to act, 21 is contrary to law and may direct the Commission to proceed 22 in conformity with that declaration within thirty days, fail-23 ing which the complainant may bring in his own name a 24 civil action to remedy the violation complained of. 25

1 "(10) The judgment of the district court may be ap-2 pealed to the court of appeals and the judgment of the court of appeals affirming or setting aside, in whole or in 3 part, any such order of the district court shall be final, subject to review by the Supreme Court of the United States 5 upon certiorari or certification as provided in section 1254 of title 28, United States Code.

"(11) Any action brought under this subsection shall 8 be advanced on the docket of the court in which filed, and 9 put ahead of all other actions (other than other actions 10 brought under this subsection or under section 314). 11

"(12) If the Commission determines after an investiga-12 tion that any person has violated an order of the court 13 entered in a proceeding brought under paragraph (5) it 14 15 may petition the court for an order to adjudicate that per-16 son in civil contempt, except that if it believes the viola-17 tion to be knowing and willful it may instead petition the 18 court for an order to adjudicate that person in criminal contempt. 19

"(b) In any case in which the Commission refers an 20 apparent violation to the Attorney General, the Attorney 21 General shall respond by report to the Commission with 22 respect to any action taken by the Attorney General regard-23 ing such apparent violation. Each report shall be trans-24 mitted no later than sixty days after the date the Commis-25

sion refers any apparent violation, and at the close of every 1 thirty-day period thereafter until there is final disposition of 2 such apparent violation. The Commission may from time to 3 time prepare and publish reports on the status of such referrals.". DUTIES OF COMMISSION SEC. 110. (a) (1) Section 315 (a) (6) of the Act (2 7 8 U.S.C. 438(a) (6)), as so redesignated by section 105, is amended by inserting immediately before the semicolon at the end thereof the following: ", and to compile and maintain a 10 separate cumulative index of reports and statements filed 11 with it by political committees supporting more than one 12 candidate, which shall include a listing of the date of the 13 registration of any such political committee and the date 14 upon which any such political committee qualifies to make 15 expenditures under section 320 of title 18, United States 16 Code, and which shall be revised on the same basis and at 17 the same time as the other cumulative indices required under 18 this paragraph". 19

(2) Section 315 (a) (8) of the Act (2 U.S.C. 438 (a)
(8)), as so redesignated by section 105, is amended by inserting immediately before the semicolon at the end thereof
the following: ", and to give priority to auditing and field
investigating the verification for, and the receipt and use

of, any payments received by a candidate under chapter 95
 or chapter 96 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954".
 (b) Section 315(c) (2) of the Act (2 U.S.C. 438
 (c) (2)), as so redesignated by section 105, as amended—
 (1) by inserting ", in whole or in part," immediately after "disapprove"; and

7 (2) by inserting immediately after the second sentence thereof the following new sentences: "Whenever a committee of the House of Representatives reports any resolution relating to any such rule or regulation, it is at any time thereafter in order (even though a previous motion to the same effect has been disagreed to) to move to proceed to the consideration of the resolution. The motion is highly privileged and is not debatable. An amend-ment to the motion is not in order, and it is not in order to move to reconsider the vote by which the motion is agreed to or disagreed to.".
18 ADDITIONAL ENFORCEMENT AUTHORITY

19 SEC. 111. Section 407 (a) of the Act (2 U.S.C. 456 20 (a)) is amended by inserting immediately after "such title 21 III," the following: "the Commission shall make every en-22 deavor for a period of not less than thirty days to correct 23 such failure by informal methods of conference, conciliation; 1 and persuasion. If the Commission fails to correct such failure through such informal methods, then". 2 CONTRIBUTION AND EXPENDITURE LIMITATIONS SEC. 112. Title III of the Act (2 U.S.C. 431 et seq.), 4 as amended by section 105, is further amended by striking 5 section 316 as redesignated by section 105 and by redesig-6 nating section 320 as section 328 and by inserting immediately after section 319 and after section 315 as redesignated 8 9 by section 105 respectively the following new sections: "LIMITATIONS ON CONTRIBUTIONS AND EXPENDITURES 10 "SEC. 320. (a) (1) Except as otherwise provided by 11 paragraphs (2) and (3), no person shall make contribu-12 13 tions to any candidate with respect to any election for Federal office which, in the aggregate, exceed \$1,000, or to any 14 political committee in any calendar year which exceed, in 15 the aggregate, \$1,000. 16

"(2) No political committee (other than a principal 17 campaign committee) shall make contributions to (A) any 18 candidate with respect to any election for Federal office 19 which, in the aggregate, exceed \$5,000; or (B) to any 20 political committee which, in the aggregate, exceed \$5,000. 21 Contributions by the national committee of a political party 22 serving as the principal campaign committee of a candidate 23 for the office of President of the United States shall not 24 exceed the limitation imposed by the preceding sentence 25

purposes of this paragraph, the term 'political committee' 2 means an organization registered as a political committee 3 under section 303 for a period of not less than six months 4 which has received contributions from more than fifty per-5 sons and, except for any State political party organization, has made contributions to five or more candidates for Federal 7 office. For purposes of the limitations provided by paragraph 8 (1) and this paragraph, all contributions made by political committees established, financed, maintained, or controlled 10 by any person, including any parent, subsidiary, branch, 11 division, department, or local unit of such person, or by any 12 group of persons, shall be considered to have been made 13 by a single political committee, except that (A) nothing 14 in this sentence shall limit transfers between political com-15 mittees of funds raised through joint fundraising efforts; and 16 (B) this paragraph shall not apply to a political committee 17 established, financed, or maintained by the national com-18 mittee, or to a political committee established, financed, or 19 maintained by the State committee of a political party. 20 "(3) No individual shall make contributions aggregating 21

21 (5) It's married share made to a candidate in a year 22 more than \$25,000 in any calendar year. For purposes of this 23 paragraph, any contribution made to a candidate in a year 24 other than the calendar year in which the election is held 25 with respect to which such contribution was made, is con-

sidered to be made during the calendar year in which such
 clection is held.

"(4) For purposes of this subsection-3 4 "(A) contributions to a named candidate made to any political committee authorized by such candidate to accept contributions on his behalf shall be considered to 6 7 be contributions made to such candidate; 8 "(B) (i) expenditures made by any person in cooperation, consultation, or concert, with, or at the request or suggestion of, a candidate, his authorized political 10 11DJIBIO committees, or their agents, shall be considered to be a contribution to such candidate; 12 "(ii) the financing by any person of the dissemina-13 tion, distribution, or republication, in whole or in part, 14 of any broadcast or any written, graphic, or other form 15 of campaign materials prepared by the candidate, his 16 campaign committees or their authorized agents shall be 17 considered to be an expenditure for purposes of this 18 paragraph; and 19 "(C) contributions made to or for the benefit of 20 any candidate nominated by a political party for election 21 to the office of Vice President of the United States shall 22 be considered to be contributions made to or for the bene-23 fit of the candidate of such party for election to the office 24 of President of the United States. 25

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1 "(5) The limitations imposed by paragraphs (1) and (2) of this subsection shall apply separately with respect 2 to each election, except that all elections held in any calendar 3 year for the office of President of the United States (except a general election for such office) shall be considered to be one election. 6 "(6) For purposes of the limitations imposed by this 7 section, all contributions made by a person, either directly or indirectly, on behalf of a particular candidate, including contributions which are in any way earmarked or otherwise directed through an intermediary or conduit to such candidate, shall be treated as contributions from such person to 12 such candidate. The intermediary or conduit shall report the 13 original source and the intended recipient of such contribution 14 to the Commission and to the intended recipient. "(b) No candidate for the office of President of the 16 United States who is eligible under section 9003 of the 17 Internal Revenue Code of 1954 (relating to condition for 18 eligibility for payments) or under section 9033 of the Inter-19 nal Revenue Code of 1954 (relating to eligibility for pav-20 ments) to receive payments from the Secretary of the Treasury or his delegate may make expenditures in excess of-22

23 "(A) \$10,000,000, in the case of a campaign for
24 nomination for election to such office, except the aggre25 gate of expenditures under this subparagraph in any one

State shall not exceed twice the greater of 8 cents multi-100 plied by the voting age population of the State (as certi-2 fied under subsection (f)), or \$100,000; or 3 "(B) \$20,000,000 in the case of a campaign for election to such office. 5 "(2) For purposes of this subsection— 6 "(A) expenditures made by or on behalf of any 7 11 vel has candidate nominated by a political party for election to 8 the office of Vice President of the United States shall be 9 considered to be expenditures made by or on behalf of 10 the candidate of such party for election to the office of 11 President of the United States; and 12 "(B) an expenditure is made on behalf of a candi-13 date, including a Vice Presidential candidate, if it is 14 made by-15 "(i) an authorized committee or any other agent of the candidate for the purposes of making 17 10 60 any expenditure; or 18 19 "(ii) any person authorized or requested by the candidate, an authorized committee of the candidate, 20 or an agent of the candidate, to make the expendi-21 $\mathbf{22}$ ture. "(c) (1) At the beginning of each calendar year (com-23 24 mencing in 1976), as there become available necessary data

25 from the Bureau of Labor Statistics of the Department of

Labor, the Secretary of Labor shall certify to the Commission and publish in the Federal Register the per centum 2 difference between the price index for the twelve months 3 preceding the beginning of such calendar year and the price 4 index for the base period. Each limitation established by subsection (b) and subsection (d) shall be increased by such per centum difference. Each amount so increased shall be the amount in effect for such calendar year. "(2) For purposes of paragraph (1) — "(A) The term 'price index' means the average over 10 a calendar year of the Consumer Price Index (all 11 items-United States city average) published monthly 12 by the Bureau of Labor Statistics; and 13 "(B) the term 'base period' means the calendar 14 year 1974. 15 "(d) (1) Notwithstanding any other provision of law 16 with respect to limitations on expenditures or limitations on 17 contributions, the national committee of a political party and 18 a State committee of a political party, including any sub-19 ordinate committee of a State committee, may make ex-20 nenditures in connection with the general election campaign 21 of candidates for Federal office, subject to the limitations 22 contained in paragraphs (2) and (3) of this subsection. 23

24 "(2) The national committee of a political party may
25 not make any expenditure in connection with the general

election campaign of any candidate for President of the United States who is affiliated with such party which exceeds 2 an amount equal to 2 cents multiplied by the voting age 3 population of the United States (as certified under subsection (g)). Any expenditure under this paragraph shall be in addition to any expenditure by a national committee of a political party serving as the principal campaign committee of a candidate for the office of the President of the 8 United States. "(3) The national committee of a political party, or 10 State committee of a political party, including any suba 11 ordinate committee of a State committee, may not make any 12 expenditure in connection with the general election cam-13 paign of a candidate for Federal office in a State who is 14 affiliated with such party which exceeds— 15 "(A) in the case of a candidate for election to 16 the office of Senator, or of Representative from a State 17 18 which is entitled to only one Representative, the greater of-19 "(i) 2 cents multiplied by the voting age popu-20 21 lation of the State (as certified under subsection 22 of candidates for Hederal office, sub or (g) ; or due solide large H to solid the solid office and the solid of 23 "(ii) \$20,000; and 24 "(B) in the case of a candidate for election to the

office of Representative, Delegate, or Resident Com-11% missioner in any other State, \$10,000.

"(e) During the first week of January 1975, and every subsequent year, the Secretary of Commerce shall certify to the Commission and publish in the Federal Register an estimate of the voting age population of the United States, 6 of each State, and of each congressional district as of the first day of July next preceding the date of certification. 8 The term 'voting age population' means resident population, 9 eighteen years of age or older. 10

"(f) No candidate or political committee shall know-11 ingly accept any contribution or make any expenditure in 12 violation of the provisions of this section. No officer or em-13 playee of a political committee shall knowingly accept a 14 contribution made for the benefit or use of a candidate, or 15 knowingly make any expenditure on behalf of a candidate, 16 in violation of any limitation imposed on contributions and 17 expenditures under this section. 18

"(g) The Commission shall prescribe rules under which 19 any expenditure by a candidate for Presidential nomination 20 for use in two or more States shall be attributed to such 21 candidate's expenditure limitation in each such State, based 22 on the voting age population in such State which can reason-23 24 ably be expected to be influenced by such expenditure.

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1 "CONTRIBUTIONS OF EXPENDITURES BY NATIONAL BANKS,

CORPORATIONS, OR LABOR ORGANIZATIONS 3 "SEC. 321. (a) It is unlawful for any national bank, or 4 any corporation organized by authority of any law of Congress, to make a contribution or expenditure in connection with any election to any political office, or in connection with any primary election or political convention or caucus held to select candidates for any political office, or for any corpo-8 ration whatever, or any labor organization to make a contribution or expenditure in connection with any election at 10 which Presidential and Vice Presidential electors or a Sena-11 tor or Representative in, or a Delegate or Resident Commis-12 sioner to Congress are to be voted for, or in connection with 13 any primary election or political convention, or caucus held 14 to select candidates for any of the foregoing offices, or for any 15 candidate, political committee, or other person to accept or 16 receive any contribution prohibited by this section. 17

"(b) For the purposes of this section 'labor organiza-18 tion' means any organization of any kind, or any agency or 19 employee representation committee or plan, in which employ-20 ees participate and which exist for the purpose, in whole or 21 in part, or dealing with employers concerning grievances; 22labor disputes, wages, rates of pay, hours of employment, or $\mathbf{23}$ conditions of work. As used in this section, the phrase 'con-24 tribution or expenditure' shall include any direct or indirect 25

1 payment, distribution, loan, advance, deposit, or gift of money, or any services, or anything of value (except a loan 2 of money by a national or State bank made in accordance with the applicable banking laws and regulations and in the ordinary course of business) to any candidate, campaign committee, or political party or organization, in connection with any election to any of the offices referred to in this sec-7 tion: but shall not include communications by a corporation to its stockholders and executive officers and their families or 9 10 by a labor organization to its members and their families on any subject; nonpartisan registration and get-out-the-vote 11 campaigns by a corporation aimed at its stockholders and 12 13 executive officers and their families, or by a labor organiza-14 tion aimed at its members and their families; the establish-15 ment, administration, and solicitation of contributions to a 16 separate segregated fund to be utilized for political purposes by a corporation or labor organization: Provided, That it 17 shall be unlawful for such a fund to make a contribution or 18 expenditure by utilizing money or anything of value secured 19 by physical force, job discrimination, financial reprisals, or 20 the threat of force, job discrimination, or financial reprisal; 21 or by dues, fees, or other moneys required as a condition of 22 membership in a labor organization or as a condition of 23 employment, or by moneys obtained in any commercial 24 transaction: And provided further, That it shall be unlawful 25

for a corporation or a separate segregated fund created by a corporation to solicit contributions from any person other 2: than its stockholders, executive officers, and their families or 8 for a labor organization or a separate segregated fund created 4 by a labor organization to solicit contributions from any person other than its members and their families: And provided 18 further, That notwithstanding any other law, any method of soliciting voluntary contributions or of facilitating the making 8 of voluntary contributions to a separate segregated fund established by a corporation, permitted to corporations, shall 10 also be permitted to labor organizations: And provided 11 further. That any corporation that utilizes a method of 12 13 soliciting voluntary contributions or facilitating the making of voluntary contributions, shall make available, on written 14 request, that method to a labor organization representing 15 any members working for that corporation. For the purposes 16 of this section the term 'executive officer' means an individual 17 employed by a corporation who is paid on a salary rather 18 than hourly basis and who has policymaking and supervisory 19 responsibilities. 20 "CONTRIBUTIONS BY GOVERNMENT CONTRACTORS 21 "SEC. 322. (a) It shall be unlawful for any person who 22 enters-23 24 "(1) into any contract with the United States or any department or agency thereof either for the rendi-25

tion of personal services or furnishing any material, 1.01 10. supplies, or equipment to the United States or any 2 . department or agency thereof or for selling any land or 3 building to the United States or any department or 4 10 agency thereof, if payment for the performance of such 5 contract or payment for such material, supplies, equip-6 ment, land, or building is to be made in whole or in part 7 from funds appropriated by the Congress, at any time 8 between the commence of negotiations for and the later 9 of (A) the completion of performance under, or (B) 10 the termination of negotiations for, such contract or 11 furnishing of material, supplies, equipment, land, or 12 buildings, directly or indirectly makes any contribution 13 of money or other thing of value; or promises expressly 14 or impliedly to make any such contribution, to any polit-15 16 ical party, committee, or candidate for public office or 17 to any person for any political purpose or use; or 18 "(2) or to solicit any such contribution from any such person for any such purpose during any such 19 20 de loganes authorized: or faite 20 period.

21 "(b) This section does not prohibit or make unlawful 22 the establishment or administration of, or the solicitation of 23 contributions to, any separate segregated fund by any cof-24 poration or labor organization for the purpose of influencing 25 the nomination for election, or election, of any person to

1 Federal office, unless the provisions of section 321 of this 2 title prohibit or make unlawful the establishment or adminis-3 tration of, or the solicitation of contributions to, such fund. "(c) For purposes of this section, the term 'labor orga-4 5 nization' has the meaning given it by section 321 of this 6 title. signal dei totter deut and kannyer tottard noopronient 7 "PUBLICATION OR DISTRIBUTION OF POLITICAL STATEMENTS 8 "SEC. 323. Whenever any person makes an expenditure 10 for the purpose of financing communications expressly advocating the election or defeat of a clearly identified candi-11 date through broadcasting stations, newspapers, magazines, 12 outdoor advertising facilities, direct mails, and other similar 13 types of general public political advertising, such communi-14 cation-15 "(1) if authorized by a candidate, his authorized 16 political committees or their agents, shall clearly and 17 conspicuously, in accordance with regulations prescribed 18 by the Commission, state that the communication has 19 been so authorized; or 20

21 "(2) if not authorized in accordance with para-22 graph (1), shall clearly and conspicuously, in accord-23 ance with regulations prescribed by the Federal Election 24 Commission, state that the communication is not au-25 thorized by any candidate, and state the name of the 1 person that made or financed the expenditure for the 2 communication, including, the case of a political com-3 mittee, the name of any affiliated or connected organi-4 zation as stated in section 303 (b) (2).

5 "CONTRIBUTIONS BY FOREIGN NATIONALS 6 "SEC. 324. (a) It shall be unlawful for a foreign na-7 tional directly or through any other person to make any con-8 tribution of money or other thing of value, or promises 9 expressly or impliedly to make any such contribution, in con-10 nection with an election to any political office or in connec-11 tion with any primary election, convention, or caucus held 12 to select candidates for any political office; or for any person 13 to solicit, accept, or receive any such contribution from any 14 such foreign national.

15 "(b) As used in this section, the term 'foreign national'16 means—

"(1) a foreign principal, as such term is defined by
section 1 (b) of the Foreign Agents Registration Act of
1938 (22 U.S.C. 611 (b)), except that the term 'foreign
national' shall not include any individual who is a citizen
of the United States; or

"(2) an individual who is not a citizen of the United
States and who is not lawfully admitted for permanent
residence, as defined by section 101 (a) (20) of the Immigration and Nationality Act (8 U.S.C. 1101 (a) (20)).

1 "PROHIBITION OF CONTRIBUTIONS IN NAME OF 2 ANOTHER 3 "SEC. 325. No person shall make a contribution in the name of another person or knowingly permit his 4 5 name to be used to effect such a contribution, and no person shall knowingly accept a contribution made by 6 7 one person in the name of another person. 8 "LIMITATION ON CONTRIBUTIONS OF CURRENCY 9 "SEC. 326. No person shall make contributions of 10 currency of the United States or currency of any foreign country to or for the benefit of any candidate which, in 11 100 the aggregate, exceeds \$100, with respect to any cam-12 paign of such candidate for nomination for election, or 13 for election, to Federal office. 14 15 "ACCEPTANCE OF EXCESSIVE HONORARIUMS "SEC. 327. No person while an elected or appointed 16 17 officer or employee of any branch of the Federal Govern-18 ment shall accept 19 "(1) any honorarium of more than \$1,000 (exclud-20 ing amounts accepted for actual travel and subsistence expenses) for any appearance, speech, or article; or 21 22 "(2) honorariums (not prohibited by paragraph 23 (1) of this section) aggregating more than \$15,000 in 24 any calendar year.

"PENALTY FOR VIOLATIONS 1 "SEC. 328. Any person, following the enactment of this 2 section, who knowingly and willfully commits a violation of 3 any provision or provisions of this Act which involves the making, receiving, or reporting of any contribution or 5 expenditure having a value in the aggregate of \$5,000 or more during a calendar year shall be fined in an amount which does not exceed the greater of \$25,000 or 300 per centum of the amount of any contribution or expenditure involved in such violation, imprisoned for not more than one 10 year, or both. 11 "FRAUDULENT MISREPRESENTATION OF CAMPAIGN 12 AUTHORITY 13 "SEC. 316. No person, being a candidate for Federal 14 office or an employee or agent of such a candidate shall. 15 "(1) fraudulently misrepresent himself or any com-16 mittee or organization under his control as speaking or 17 writing or otherwise acting for or on behalf of any other 18 candidate or political party or employed or agent thereof 19 on a matter which is damaging to such other candidate or 20 political party or employee or agent thereof; or 21 "(2) participate in or conspire to participate in any 22 plan, scheme, or design to violate paragraph (1).". 23 24 437d (a) (7)), as so redesignated by section 105, is amend40

SAVINGS PROVISION ON REPEALED SECTIONS
 SEC. 113. Title III of the Act (2 U.S.C. 431 et seq.),
 as amended by sections 105 and 112 is further amended by
 adding the following new section:

"SAVINGS PROVISION ON REPEALED SECTIONS .5 "SEC. 329. Except as otherwise provided by the Act, the 6 repeal by this Act of any section or penalties shall not have 7 the effect to release or extinguish any penalty, forfeiture, or 8 9 liability incurred under such sections or penalties, and such sections or penalties shall be treated as remaining in force for 10 the purpose of sustaining any proper action or prosecution for 11 the enforcement of any penalty, forfeiture, or liability.". 12 PRINCIPAL CAMPAIGN COMMITTEES 13

SEC. 114. Section 302 (f) of the Act (2 U.S.C. 432 14 (f)) is amended by adding at the end thereof the follow-15 ing new sentence: "Any occasional, isolated, or incidental 16 17 support of a candidate shall not be construed as support of such candidate for purposes of the preceding sentence.". 18 TECHNICAL AND CONFORMING AMENDMENTS 19 SEC. 115. (a) Section 306 (d) of the Act (2 U.S.C. 20 436(d)) is amended by inserting immediately after "304 21 (a) (1) (C)," the following: "304 (c),". 22 (b) (1) Section 310(a) (7) of the Act (2 U.S.C. 23 437d (a) (7)), as so redesignated by section 105, is amend-24 ed by striking out "313" and inserting in lieu thereof "312". 25

1 (c) (1) Section 9002 (3) of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 (defining Commission) is amended by striking 9 out "310 (a) (1)" and inserting in lieu thereof "309 (a) 4 Presidential election shall certify to the Commissi"(1) (2) Section 9032 (3) of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 (defining Commission) is amended by striking out 7 "310(a) (1)" and inserting in lieu thereof "309(a) (1)". TITLE II—AMENDMENTS TO TITLE 18, 9 UNITED STATES CODE 10 REPEAL OF CERTAIN PROVISIONS SEC. 201. (a) Chapter 29 of title 18, United States 11 Code, is amended by striking out sections 591, 608, 610, 611, 612, 613, 614, 615, 616, and 617. 13 (b) The table of sections for chapter 29 of title 18; 14

15 United States Code, is amended by striking out the items 16 relating to sections 591, 608, 610, 611, 612, 613, 614, 615, 616, and 617. 17 TITLE III-AMENDMENTS TO INTERNAL 18 **REVENUE CODE OF 1954** 19 ENTITLEMENT OF ELIGIBLE CANDIDATES FOR PAYMENTS 20 SEC. 301. Section 9004 of the Internal Revenue Code 21 of 1954 (relating to entitlement of eligible candidates to pav-22 ments) is amended by adding at the end thereof the fol-23 lowing new subsections: 24

all particular and

1 "(d) EXPENDITURES FROM PERSONAL FUNDS.-In order to be eligible to receive any payment under section 2 9006, the candidate of a major, minor, or new party in a 3 Presidential election shall certify to the Commission, under 4 penalty of perjury, that such candidate shall not knowingly 5 make expenditures from his personal funds, or the personal 6 funds of his immediate family, in connection with his cam-7 paign for election to the office of President in excess of, in 8 the aggregate, \$50,000. For purposes of this subsection, 9 expenditures from personal funds made by a Vice-Presi-10 dential candidate of a major, minor, or new party in a Presi-11 dential election shall be considered to be expenditures by the 12 Presidential candidate of such party. 13

14 "(e) DEFINITION OF IMMEDIATE FAMILY.—For pur15 poses of subsection (d), the term 'immediate family' means
16 a candidate's spouse, and any child, parent, grandparent',
17 brother, or sister of the candidate, and the spouses of such
18 persons.".

19PAYMENTS TO ELIGIBLE CANDIDATES20SEC. 302. Section 9006 of the Internal Revenue Code21of 1954 (relating to payments to eligible candidates) is22amended by striking out subsection (b) thereof and by23redesignating subsection (c) and subsection (d) as sub-24section (b) and subsection (c), respectively.

1 REVIEW OF REGULATIONS
2 SEC. 303. (a) Section 9009 (c) (2) of the Internal
3 Revenue Code of 1954 (relating to review of regulations)
4 is amended—
5 (1) by inserting ", in whole or in part," immedi-
6 ately after "disapprove"; and
7 (2) by inserting immediately after the first sen-
8 tence thereof the following new sentences: "Whenever
9 a committee of the House of Representatives reports
10 any resolution relating to any such rule or regulation,
11 it is at any time thereafter in order (even though a
12 previous motion to the same effect has been disagreed
13 to) to move to proceed to the consideration of the
14 resolution. The motion is highly privileged and is not
15 debatable. An amendment to the motion is not in order,
16 and it is not in order to move to reconsider the vote
17 by which the motion is agreed to or disagreed to.".
18 (b) Section 9039 (c) (2) of the Internal Revenue Code
19 of 1954 (relating to review of regulations) is amended-
20 (1) by inserting ", in whole or in part," immedi-
21 ately after "disapprove"; and
22 (2) by inserting immediately after the first sen-
23 tence thereof the following new sentences: "Whenever
24 a committee of the House of Representatives reports any
on funds of his immediate family, in connection with fins

resolution relating to any such rule or regulation, it is at 1 any time thereafter in order (even though a previous 2 motion to the same effect has been disagreed to) to move 3 to proceed to the consideration of the resolution. The motion is highly privileged and is not debatable. An 5 amendment to the motion is not in order, and it is not 6 in order to move to reconsider the vote by which the 7 motion is agreed to or disagreed to.". 8 ELIGIBILITY FOR PAYMENTS 9 SEC. 304. Section 9033 (b) (1) of the Internal Revenue 10 Code of 1954 (relating to expense limitation; declaration of 11 intent; minimum contributions) is amended by striking out 12 "limitation" and inserting in lieu thereof "limitations". 13 QUALIFIED CAMPAIGN EXPENSE LIMITATION 14 SEC. 305. (a) Section 9035 of the Internal Revenue 15 16 Code of 1954 (relating to qualified campaign expense lim-17 itation) is amended-(1) in the heading thereof, by striking out "LIMITA-18

19 TION" and inserting in lieu thereof "LIMITATIONS";
20 (2) by inserting "(a) EXPENDITURE LIMITA21 TIONS.—" immediately before "No candidate";
22 (3) by inserting immediately after "States Code"
23 the following: ", and no candidate shall knowingly make
24 expenditures from his personal funds, or the personal
25 funds of his immediate family, in connection with his

campaign for nomination for election to the office of President in excess of, in the aggregate, \$50,000"; and (4) by adding at the end thereof the following new subsection: "(b) DEFINITION OF IMMEDIATE FAMILY .-- For purposes of this section, the term 'immediate family' means a candidate's spouse, and any child, parent, grandparent, brother, or sister of the candidate, and the spouses of such persons.". (h) The table of sections for chapter 96 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 is amended by striking out the item relating to section 9035 and inserting in lieu thereof the following new item: "Sec. 9035. Qualified campaign expense limitations.". TECHNICAL AND CONFORMING AMENDMENTS SEC. 306. (a) Section 9008 (b) (5) of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 (relating to adjustment of entitlements) is amended-(1) by striking out "section 608(c) and section 608 (f) of title 18, United States Code," and inserting in lieu thereof "section 320 (b) and section 320 (d) of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971"; and

(2) by striking out "section 608 (d) of such title"
and inserting in lieu thereof "section 320 (c) of such
Act".

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1 (b) Section 9034 (b) of the Internal Revenue Code of 2 1954 (relating to limitations) is amended by striking out 3 "section 608 (c) (1) (A) of title 18, United States Code," 4 and inserting in lieu thereof "section 320(b) (1) (A) of the 5 Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971". 6 (c) Section 9035 (a) of the Internal Revenue Code of 7 1954 (relating to expenditure limitations), as so redesignated 8 by section 305(a), is amended by striking out "section 608 (c) (1) (A) of title 18, United States Code," and in-9 serting in lieu thereof "section 320(b) (1) (A) of the Fed-10 11 eral Election Campaign Act of 1971".

94TH CONGRESS H. R. 12015

A BILL

To amend the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 to provide that members of the Federal Election Commission shall be appointed by the President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, and for other purposes.

By Mr. HAYS of Ohio, Mr. DENT, Mr. HAWKINS, Mr. ANNUNZIO, Mr. GAYDOS, Mr. JONES OF Tennessee, Mr. MINISH, Mr. ROSE, and Mr. JOHN L. BURTON

FEBRUARY 23, 1976 Referred to the Committee on House Administration

94TH CONGRESS

2D SESSION

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

R. 12406

Максн 11, 1976

Mr. HAYS OF Ohio (for himself, Mr. THOMPSON, Mr. DENT, Mr. BRADEMAS, Mr. HAWKINS, Mr. ANNUNZIO, Mr. GAYDOS, Mr. JONES OF TENDESSEE, Mr. MINISH, Mr. ROSE, and Mr. JOHN L. BURFON) introduced the following bill; which was referred to the Committee on House Administration

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To amend the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 to provide that members of the Federal Election Commission shall be appointed by the President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, 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,

SHORT TITLE

4 SECTION 1. This Act may be cited as the "Federal
5 Election Campaign Act Amendments of 1976".

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1 TITLE I—AMENDMENTS TO FEDERAL ELECTION

CAMPAIGN ACT OF 1971

3 FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION MEMBERSHIP

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4 SEC. 101. (a) (1) The second sentence of section 309 5 (a) (1) of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 (2 6 U.S.C. 473c (a) (1)), as so redesignated by section 105, 7 hereinafter in this Act referred to as the "Act", is amended 8 to read as follows: "The Commission is composed of the 9 Secretary of the Senate and the Clerk of the House of Rep-10 resentatives, ex officio and without the right to vote, and 6 11 members appointed by the President of the United States, 12 by and with the advice and consent of the Senate.".

(2) The last sentence of section 309 (a) (1) of the Act
(2) U.S.C. 437c (a) (1)), as so redesignated by section
105, is amended to read as follows: "No more than 3 members of the Commission appointed under this paragraph may
be affiliated with the same political party.".

(b) Section 309 (a) (2) of the Act (2 U.S.C. 437c
(a) (2)), as so redesignated by section 105, is amended to
read as follows:

"(2) (A) Members of the Commission shall serve for
terms of 6 years, except that of the members first appointed—
"(i) one shall be appointed for a term of 1 year;
"(ii) one shall be appointed for a term of 2 years;
"(iii) one shall be appointed for a term of 3 years;

"(iv) one shall be appointed for a term of 4 years; a member fol "(v) one shall be appointed for a term of 5 years; 2 3 no later than I year after beginning to ser bnas such8 "(vi) one shall be appointed for a term of 6 years; as designated by the President at the time of appointment, 5 except that of the members first appointed under this sub-6 paragraph, no member affiliated with a political party shall be appointed for a term that expires 1 year after another 8 member affiliated with the same political party. "(B) A member of the Commission may serve on the 10 Commission after the expiration of his term until his suc-11 cessor has taken office as a member of the Commission. 12 "(C) An individual appointed to fill a vacancy oc-13 14 curring other than by the expiration of a term of office shall be appointed only for the unexpired term of the 15 member he succeeds. 16 "(D) Any vacancy occurring in the membership of 17 the Commission shall be filled in the same manner as in 18 the case of the original appointment.". 19 (c) (1) Section 309 (a) (3) of the Act (2 U.S.C. 20 21 437c(a) (3)), as so redesignated by section 105, is amended by adding at the end thereof the following new sentences: 22"Members of the Commission shall not engage in any other 23 24 business, vocation, or employment. Any individual who is

25 engaging in any other business, vocation, or employment

at the time such individual begins to serve as a member of
 the Commission shall terminate or liquidate such activity
 no later than 1 year after beginning to serve as such a
 member.".

5 (2) Section 309 (b) of the Act (2 U.S.C. 437c (b)), 6 as so redesignated by section 105, is amended to read as 7 follows:

8 "(b) (1) The Commission shall administer, seek to 9 obtain compliance with, and formulate policy with respect 10 to, this Act and chapter 95 and chapter 96 of the Internal 11 Revenue Code of 1954. The Commission shall have exclu-12 sive primary jurisdiction with respect to the civil enforce-13 ment of such provisions.

"(2) Nothing in this Act shall be construed to limit, restrict, or diminish any investigatory, informational, oversight, supervisory, or disciplinary authority or function of the Congress or any committee of the Congress with respect to elections for Federal office.".

(3) The first sentence of section 309 (c) of the Act (2 20 U.S.C. 437 (c)), as so redesignated by section 105, is 21 amended by inserting immediately before the period at the 22 end thereof the following: ", except that the affirmative vote 23 of 4 members of the Commission shall be required in order 24 for the Commission to establish guidelines for compliance 25 with the provisions of this Act or with chapter 95 or chapter

1 96 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954, or for the Commission to take any action in accordance with paragraph 2 (6), (7), (8), or (10) of section 310 (a)". 3 (d) (1) The President shall appoint members of the 4 Federal Election Commission under section 309 (a) of the 5 Act (2 U.S.C. 437c (a)), as so redesignated by section 105 6 and as amended by this section, as soon as practicable after the date of the enactment of this Act. 8 (2) The first appointments made by the President under 9 section 309 (a) of the Act (2 U.S.C. 437c (a)) as so re-10 designated by section 105 and as amended by this section, 11 shall not be considered to be appointments to fill the unex-12 pired terms of members serving on the Federal Election 13 Commission on the date of the enactment of this Act. 14 (3) Members serving on the Federal Election Commis-15 sion on the date of the enactment of this Act may continue to 16 serve as such members until members are appointed and 17 qualified under section 309 (a) of the Act (2 U.S.C. 437c 18 (a)), as so redesignated by section 105 and as amended by 19 this section, except that until appointed and qualified under 20 this Act, members serving on such Commission on such date 21 of enactment may, beginning on March 1, 1976, exercise 22 only such powers and functions as may be consistent with 23 the determinations of the Supreme Court of the United States 24 in Buckley et al. against Valeo, Secretary of the United 25

States Senate, et al. (numbered 75-436, 75-437) (Janu ary 30, 1976).

3 (e) The provisions of section 309 (a) (3) of the Act
4 (2 U.S.C. 437c (a) (3)), as so redesignated by section 105,
5 which prohibit any member of the Federal Election Com6 mission from being an elected or appointed officer or em7 ployee of the executive, legislative, or judicial branch of the
8 Federal Government, shall not apply in the case of any
9 individual serving as a member of such Commission on the
10 date of the enactment of this Act.

11 CHANGES IN DEFINITIONS

SEC. 102. (a) Section 301 (a) (2) of the Act (2 U.S.C. 12 431 (a) (2)) is amended by striking out "held to" and 13 inserting in lieu thereof "which has authority to". 14 (b) Section 301 (e) (2) of the Act (2 U.S.C. 431 (e) 15 (2)) is amended by inserting "written" immediately before 16 "contract", and by striking out "expressed or implied.". 17 (c) (1) Section 301 (e) (4) of the Act (2 U.S.C. 431 18 (e) (4)) is amended by inserting immediately before the 19 semicolon the following: ", except that this subparagraph 20 shall not apply (A) in the case of any legal or accounting 21 services rendered to or on behalf of the national committee of 22 political party, other than any legal or accounting services 23 a attributable to activity which directly furthers the election of 24

any designated candidate to Federal office; or (B) in the 1 case of any legal or accounting services rendered to or on behalf of a candidate or political committee solely for the .3 purpose of ensuring compliance with the provisions of this Act, chapter 29 of title 18, United States Code, or chapter 5 95 or chapter 96 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954". (2) Section 301 (e) (5) of the Act (2 U.S.C. 431 (e) 7 (5)) is amended— (A) in clause (E) thereof, by striking out "or" 9 at the end thereof; 10 (B) in clause (F) thereof, by inserting "or" im-11 mediately after the semicolon at the end thereof; and 12 13 (C) by inserting immediately after clause (F) the 14 following new clause: "(G) a gift, subscription, loan, advance, or 15 16 deposit of money or anything of value to a 17 national committee of a political party or a State committee of a political party which is specifi-18 19 cally designated for the purpose of defraying any cost incurred with respect to the construc-20 tion or purchase of any office facility which is 21 22 not acquired for the purpose of influencing the 23 election of any candidate in any particular elec-24 tion for Federal office, except that any such gift,

1 subscription, loan, advance, or deposit of money 2 or anything of value, and any such cost, shall be 3 reported in accordance with section 304 (b) ;". 4 (d) (1) Section 301 (f) (4) of the Act (2 U.S.C. 431 5 (f) (4)) is amended— 6 (A) by striking out "or" at the end of clause (F) 7 and at the end of clause (G); (B) by inserting "or" immediately after the semi-8 colon at the end of clause (H); and 9 (C) by inserting immediately after clause (H) the 10 11 following new clause: 12 "(I) any costs incurred by a candidate in 13 connection with the solicitation of contributions by such candidate, except that this clause shall 14 15 not apply with respect to costs incurred by a 16 candidate in excess of an amount equal to 20 17 percent of the expenditure limitation applicable 18 to such candidate under section 320 (b), except 19 that all such costs shall be reported in accord-20 ance with section 304 (b).". 21 (2) Section 301 (f) (4) of the Act (2 U.S.C. 431 (f) 22 (4)), as amended by paragraph (1), is further amended-23 (A) by redesignating clause (F) through clause 24 (I) as clause (G) through clause (J), respectively; and 25

1 (B) by inserting immediately after clause (E) the 2 following new clause: 3 "(F) the payment, by any person other 4 than a candidate or a political committee, of 5 compensation for legal or accounting services 6 rendered to or on behalf of the national com-7 mittee of a political party, other than services 8 attributable to activities which directly further 9 the election of any designated candidate to 10 Federal office, or for legal or accounting serv-11 ices rendered to or on behalf of a candidate or political committee solely for the purpose of 12 13 ensuring compliance with the provisions of this 14 Act, chapter 29 of title 18, United States Code, 15 or chapter 95 or chapter 96 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954;". 16 (e) Section 301 of the Act (2 U.S.C. 431) is 17 amended-18 19 (1) in paragraph (m) thereof, by striking out "and" at the end thereof; 20 21 (2) in paragraph (n) thereof, by striking out the 22 period at the end thereof; and 23 (3) by adding at the end thereof the following new 24 paragraphs: H.R. 12406-2 "(o) 'Act' means the Federal Election Campaign
 Act of 1971, as amended by the Federal Election Cam paign Act Amendments of 1974 and the Federal Elec tion Campaign Act Amendments of 1976;

5 "(p) 'independent expenditure' means an expendi-6 ture by a person expressly advocating the election or 7 defeat of a clearly identified candidate which is made 8 without cooperation or consultation with any candidate 9 or any authorized committee or agent of such candidate 10 and which is not made in concert with, or at the request 11 or suggestion of, any candidate or any authorized com-12 mittee or agent of such candidate; and 13 "(q) 'clearly identified' means (1) the name of the 14 candidate appears; (2) a photograph or drawing of the 15 candidate appears; or (3) the identity of the candidate is apparent by unambiguous reference.". 16 ORGANIZATION OF POLITICAL COMMITTEES 17 SEC. 103. Section 302 of the Act (2 U.S.C. 432) is 18 amended by striking out subsection (e) and by redesignat-19 ing subsection (f) as subsection (e). 20 REPORTS BY POLITICAL COMMITTEES AND CANDIDATES 21 SEC. 104. (a) Section 304 (a) (1) (C) of the Act (2 22 U.S.C. 434 (a) (1) (C)) is amended by inserting imme-23 diately before the period at the end thereof the following: 24 "except that, in any year in which a candidate is not on the 25

ballot for election to Federal office, such candidate and his authorized committees shall only be required to file such 2 reports not later than the tenth day following the close of 3 any calendar quarter in which the candidate and his authorized committees received contributions or made expenditures totaling in excess of \$10,000, and such reports shall be complete as of the close of such calendar quarter (except that any such report required to be filed after December 31 of any calendar year with respect to which a report is required to be filed under subparagraph (B) shall be filed as provided in such subparagraph)". (b) Section 304 (a) (2) of the Act (2 U.S.C. 434 (a) 12 (2)) is amended to read as follows: "(2) Each treasurer of a political committee authorized 14 by a candidate to raise contributions or make expenditures on 15 his behalf, other than the candidate's principal campaign 16 committee, shall file the reports required under this section 17 with the candidate's principal campaign committee.". 18 (c) Section 304 (b) of the Act (2 U.S.C. 434 (b)) is amended— 21 (1) by striking out "and" at the end of paragraph (12); see as a stabilities to estimate faithful a of the 22 (2) by redesignating paragraph (13) as paragraph 24 (14); and and ye beregerg arrol a no more image of

1 (3) by inserting immediately after paragraph (12) 2 the following new paragraph: 3 "(13) in the case of an independent expenditure in 4 excess of \$100 by a political committee, other than an 5 authorized committee of a candidate, expressly advocating the election or defeat of a clearly identified candidate, 6 through a separate schedule (A) any information re-7 quired by paragraph (9) stated in a manner which 8 9 indicates whether the independent expenditure involved 10 is in support of, or in opposition to, a candidate; and (B) under penalty of perjury, a certification whether such 11 12 independent expenditure is made in cooperation, consultation, or concert with, or at the request or suggestion 13 14 of, any candidate or any authorized committee or agent 15 of such candidate.". 16 (d) Section 304 (e) of the Act (2 U.S.C. 434 (e)) is 17 amended to read as follows: "(e) (1) Every person (other than a political com-18 19 mittee or candidate) who makes contributions or independent expenditures expressly advocating the election or defeat 20 of a chearly identified candidate, other than by contribution 21 to a political committee or candidate, in an aggregate amount $\mathbf{22}$ in excess of \$100 during a calendar year shall file with the 23 Commission, on a form prepared by the Commission, a state-24 ment containing the information required of a person who 25

1 makes a contribution in excess of \$100 to a candidate or 2 political committee and the information required of a candi-3 date or political committee receiving such a contribution. "(2) Statements required by this subsection shall be 4 filed on the dates on which reports by political committees 5 are filed. Such statements shall include (A) the information 6 required by subsection (b) (9), stated in a manner indicating whether the contribution or independent expenditure is in support of, or opposition to, the candidate; and (B) under 9 penalty of perjury, a certification whether such independent expenditure is made in cooperation, consultation, or concert 11 with, or at the request or suggestion of, any candidate or any 12 authorized committee or agent of such candidate. Any in-13 dependent expenditure, including those described in sub-14 section (b) (13), of \$1,000 or more made after the fifteenth 15 day, but more than 24 hours, before any election shall be 16 reported within 24 hours of such independent expenditure. 17 "(3) The Commission shall be responsible for expedi-18 tiously preparing indices which set forth, on a candidate-by-19 candidate basis, all expenditures separately, including those 20 21 reported under subsection (b) (13), made with respect to each candidate, as reported under this subsection, and for 22 periodically issuing such indices on a timely preelection 24 basis.".

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1 REPORTS BY CERTAIN PERSONS	1 (b) (1) Section 310 (a) (6) of the Act (2 U.S.C. 437d
2 SEC. 105. Title III of the Act (2 U.S.C. 431 et seq.)	2 (a) (6)), as so redesignated by section 105, is amended to
3 is amended by striking out section 308 thereof (2 U.S.C.	3 read as follows:
4 437a) and by redesignating section 309 through section 321	4 "(6) to initiate (through civil actions for injunc-
5 as section 308 through section 320, respectively.	5 tive, declaratory or other appropriate relief) defend
6 CAMPAIGN DEPOSITORIES	6 (in the case of any civil action brought under section
7 SEC. 106. The second sentence of section 308 (a) (1)	7 313 (a) (9)) or appeal any civil action in the name of
8 of the Act (2 U.S.C. 437b (a) (1)), as so redesignated by	8 the Commission for the purpose of enforcing the provi-
9 section 105, is amended by striking out "a checking ac-	9 sions of this Act and chapter 95 and chapter 96 of the
10 count" and inserting in lieu thereof "one or more checking	10 Internal Revenue Code of 1954, through its general
11 accounts, at the discretion of any such committee,".	11 counsel;".
12 POWERS OF COMMISSION	12 (2) Section 310 of the Act (2 U.S.C. 437d), as so
13 SEC. 107. (a) Section 310 (a) of the Act (2 U.S.C.	13 redesignated by section 105, is amended by adding at the
14 437d (a)), as so redesignated by section 105, is amended—	14 end thereof the following new subsection:
15 (1) in paragraph (8) thereof, by inserting "de-	15 "(e) Except as provided in section 313 (a) (9), the
16 velop such prescribed forms and to" immediately before	16 power of the Commission to initiate civil actions under sub-
17 "make", and by inserting immediately after "Act" the	17 section (a) (6) shall be the exclusive civil remedy for the
18 following: "and chapter 95 and chapter 96 of the In-	18 enforcement of the provisions of this Act.".
19 ternal Revenue Code of 1954";	19 ADVISORY OPINIONS
20 (2) in paragraph (9) thereof, by striking out "and	20 SEC. 108. (a) Section 312 (a) of the Act (2 U.S.C.
21 sections 608" and all that follows through "States Code"	21 437f (a)), as so redesignated by section 105, is amended to
22 and inserting in lieu thereof "and chapter 95 and chap-	22 read as follows:
23 ter 96 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954"; and	23 "SEC. 312. (a) Upon written request to the Commission
24 (3) by striking out paragraph (10) and redesig-	24 by any individual holding Federal office, any candidate for
25 nating paragraph (11) as paragraph (10).	25 Federal office, any political committee, or the national com-

1 mittee of any political party, the Commission shall render an advisory opinion, in writing, within a reasonable time 2 with respect to whether any specific transaction or activity 3 by such individual, candidate, or political committee would 4 constitute a violation of this Act or of chapter 95 or chapter 5 96 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954. No advisory 6 opinion shall be issued by the Commission or any of its 7 employees except in accordance with the provisions of this 8 section.". 9 (b) Section 312 (b) of the Act (2 U.S.C. 437 (b)), as 10 so redesignated by section 105. is amended to read as 11 follows: 12 "(b) (1) Notwithstanding any other provision of law, 13 any person who relies upon any provision or finding of an 14 advisory opinion in accordance with the provisions of para-15 graph (2) (A) and who acts in good faith in accordance 16 with the provisions and findings of such advisory opinion 17 shall not, as a result of any such act, be subject to any 18 sanction provided by this Act or by chapter 95 or chapter 96 19 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954. 20

"(2) (A) Any advisory opinion rendered by the Commission under subsection (a) may be relied upon by (i) any person involved in the specific transaction or activity with respect to which such advisory opinion is rendered; and (ii) any person involved in any specific transaction or ac-

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tivity which is similar to the transaction or activity with
 respect to which such advisory opinion is rendered.

"(B) (i) The Commission shall, no later than 30 days 3 after rendering an advisory opinion with respect to a 4 request received under subsection (a), transmit to the Con-5 gress proposed rules or regulations relating to the transaction or activity involved if such transaction or activity is not subject to any existing rule or regulation prescribed 8 by the Commission. In any such case in which the Com-9 10 mission receives more than one request for an advisory opinion involving the same or similar transactions or ac-11 tivities, the Commission may not render more than one 12 advisory opinion relating to the transactions or activities 13 involved. 14 "(ii) Any rule or regulation prescribed by the Com-15 16 mission under this subparagraph shall be subject to the pro-

(c) Section 315 (c) (1) of the Act (2 U.S.C. 438 (c)
(1)), as so redesignated by section 105, is amended by
inserting "or under section 312 (b) (2) (B)" immediately
after "under this section".
(d) The amendments made by this section shall apply
to any advisory opinion rendered by the Federal Election Commission after October 15, 1974.

visions of section 315 (c).".

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ENFORCEMENT
 SEC. 109. Section 313 of the Act (2 U.S.C. 437g), as
 so redesignated by section 105, is amended to read as fol lows:

5 "ENFORCEMENT

"SEC. 313. (a) (1) Any person who believes a vioka-7 tion of this Act or of chapter 95 or chapter 96 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954, has occurred may file a complaint 8 9 with the Commission. Such complaint shall be in writing, shall be signed and sworn to by the person filing such com-10 plaint, and shall be notarized. Any person filing such a 11 complaint shall be subject to the provisions of section 1001 12 of title 18, United States Code. The Commission may not 13 conduct any investigation under this section, or take any 14 other action under this section, solely on the basis of a com-15 plaint of a person whose identity is not disclosed to the 16 Commission. Notwithstanding any other provision of this 17 Act, the Commission shall not have the authority to inquire 18 into or investigate the utilization or activities of any staff 19 employee of any person holding Federal office without first 20 consulting with such person holding Federal office. An af-21 fidavit given by the person holding Federal office that such 22 staff employee is performing his regularly assigned duties 23 shall be a complete bar to any further inquiry or investiga-24 tion of the matter involved. 25

"(2) The Commission, if it has reasonable cause to be-1 lieve that any person has committed a violation of this Act 2 or of chapter 95 or chapter 96 of the Internal Revenue Code 3 of 1954, shall notify the person involved of such apparent violation and shall make an investigation of such violation in accordance with the provisions of this section. "(3) (A) Any investigation under paragraph (2) 7 shall be conducted expeditiously and shall include an in-8 vestigation, conducted in accordance with the provisions of this section, of reports and statements filed by any com-10 plainant under this title, if such complainant is a candidate! 11 "(B) Any notification or investigation made under 12 paragraph (2) shall not be made public by the Commission 13 or by any other person without the written consent of the person receiving such notification or the person with respect to whom such investigation is made. 16

"(4) The Commission shall, at the request of any person 17 who receives notice of an apparent violation under paragraph 18 (2), afford such person a reasonable opportunity to demonst 19 strate that no action shall be taken against such person by 20 the Commission under this Act. 21 "(5) (A) If the Commission determines that there is 22 reasonable cause to believe that any person has committed or 23 is about to commit a violation of this Act or of chapter 95 or 24 chapter 96 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954, the Com-25

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1 mission shall make every endeavor for a period of not less than 30 days to correct or prevent such violation by informal 2 3 methods of conference, conciliation, and persuasion, and to 4 enter into a conciliation agreement with the person involved, 5 except that, if the Commission has reasonable cause to 6 believe that— 7 "(i) any person has failed to file a report required 8 to be filed under section 304 (a) (1) (C) for the calendar quarter occurring immediately before the date of a 9 anoisi 10 general election; 11 "(ii) any person has failed to file a report required 12 to be filed no later than 10 days before an election; or 13 "(iii) on the basis of a complaint filed less than 14 45 days but more than 10 days before an election, any 15 person has committed a knowing and willful violation of this Act of chapter 95 or chapter 96 of the Internal 16 Revenue Code of 1954; 17 the Commission shall make every effort, for a period of 18 not less than one-half the number of days between the date 19 upon which the Commission determines there is reasonable 20 cause to believe such a violation has occurred and the date 21 the election involved, to correct or prevent such viola-22tion by informal methods of conference, conciliation, and 23 persuasion, and to enter into a conciliation agreement with 24 25 the person involved. A conciliation agreement, unless vio-

1 lated, shall constitute a complete bar to any further action by the Commission, including the bringing of a civil pro-2 ceeding under subparagraph (B). "(B) If the Commission is unable to correct or prevent any such violation by such informal methods, the Commission 5 may, if the Commission determines there is probable cause to 6 believe that a violation has occurred or is about to occur, institute a civil action for relief, including a permanent or tem-8 porary injunction, restraining order, or any other appropriate 9 order, including a civil penalty which does not exceed the 10 greater of \$5,000 or an amount equal to the amount of any 11 contribution or expenditure involved in such violation, in the 12 district court of the United States for the district in which 13 the person against whom such action is brought is found, 14 resides, or transacts business. 15 "(C) In any civil action instituted by the Commission 16

under subparagraph (B), the court shall grant a permanent 17 or temporary injunction, restraining order, or other order, in-18 cluding a civil penalty which does not exceed the greater 19 or \$5,000 or an amount equal to the amount of any contribu-20 tion or expenditure involved in such violation, upon a proper 21 showing that the person involved has engaged or is about to 22 engage in a violation of this Act or of chapter 95 or chapter 23 96 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954. 24

25 "(D) If the Commission determines that there is prob-

able cause to believe that a knowing and willful violation subnai) ject to and as defined in section 328 has occurred or is about 2 to occur, it may refer such apparent violation to the Attorney 3 General of the United States without regard to any limitation 4 set forth in subparagraph (A). 5 "(6) (A) If the Commission believes that there is 6 clear and convincing proof that a knowing and willful vjolation of this Act or chapter 95 or chapter 96 of the Internal 8 Revenue Code of 1954, has been committed, any concilia-9 tion agreement entered into by the Commission under para-10 graph (5) (A) may include a requirement that the person 11 involved in such conciliation agreement shall pay a civil 12 penalty which shall not exceed the greater of (i) \$10,000; 13 (ii) an amount equal to 200 percent of the amount of 14 any contribution or expenditure involved in such violation. 15 "(B) If the Commission believes that a violation of this 16 Act or of chapter 95 or chapter 96 of the Internal Revenue 17 Code of 1954 has been committed, a conciliation agreement 18 entered into by the Commission under paragraph (5) (A) 19 may include a requirement that the person involved in such 20 conciliation agreement shall pay a civil penalty which does 21 not exceed the greater of (i) \$5,000; or (ii) an amount 22 equal to the amount of the contribution or expenditure in-23 volved in such violation. 24 "(C) The Commission shall make available to the pub-25

lic (i) the results of any conciliation attempt, including any 1 conciliation agreement entered into by the Commission; and 2 (ii) any determination by the Commission that no violation 3 of the Act or of chapter 95 or chapter 96 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954, has occurred. "(7) In any civil action for relief instituted by the 6 Commission under paragraph (5), if the court determines 7 that the Commission has established through clear and con-8 vincing proof that the person involved in such civil action 9 has committed a knowing and willful violation of this Act or 10 of chapter 95 or chapter 96 of the Internal Revenue Code of 11 1954, the court may impose a civil penalty of not more than 12 the greater of (A) \$10,000; or (B) an amount equal to 200 13 percent of the contribution or expenditure involved in such 14 violation. In any case in which such person has entered 15 into a conciliation agreement with the Commission under 16 paragraph (5) (A), the Commission may institute a civil 17 action for relief under paragraph (5) if it believes that such 18 person has violated any provision of such conciliation agree-19 ment. In order for the Commission to obtain relief in any 20 such civil action, it shall be sufficient for the Commission 21 to establish that such person has violated, in whole or in 22 part, any requirement of such conciliation agreement. 23

24 "(8) In any action brought under paragraph (5) or
25 paragraph (7), subpens for witnesses who are required

to attend a United States district court may run into any
other district.

"(9) (A) Any party aggrieved by an order of the
Commission dismissing a complaint filed by such party under
paragraph (1), or by a failure on the part of the Commission to act on such complaint in accordance with the provisions of this section within 90 days after the filing of such
complaint, may file a petition with the United States District
Court for the District of Columbia.

10 "(B) The filing of any petition under subparagraph
11 (A) shall be made—

"(i) in the case of the dismissal of a complaint by
the Commission, no later than 60 days after such dismissal; or

"(ii) in the case of a failure on the part of the
Commission to act on such complaint, no later than
60 days after the 90-day period specified in subparagraph (A).

"(C) In any proceeding under this paragraph the court may declare that the dismissal of the complaint or the action, or the failure to act, is contrary to law and may direct the Commission to proceed in conformity with such declaration within 30 days, failing which the complainant may bring in his own name a civil action to remedy the violation involved in the original complaint. "(10) The judgment of the district court may be appealed to the court of appeals and the judgment of the court of appeals affirming or setting aside, in whole or in part, any such order of the district court shall be final, subject to review by the Supreme Court of the United States

6 upon certiorari or certification as provided in section 1254 7 of title 28, United States Code.

8 "(11) Any action brought under this subsection shall 9 be advanced on the docket of the court in which filed, and 10 put ahead of all other actions (other than other actions 11 brought under this subsection or under section 314).

"(12) If the Commission determines after an investiga-12 tion that any person has violated an order of the court 13 14 entered in a proceeding brought under paragraph (5) it may petition the court for an order to adjudicate such per-15 son in civil contempt, except that if it believes the viola-16 tion to be knowing and willful it may petition the court for 17 an order to adjudicate such person in criminal contempt. 18 "(b) In any case in which the Commission refers an 19 apparent violation to the Attorney General, the Attorney 20 General shall respond by report to the Commission with 21 respect to any action taken by the Attorney General regard-22 ing such apparent violation. Each report shall be trans-23 mitted no later than 60 days after the date the Commis-24 sion refers any apparent violation, and at the close of every 25

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1 30-day period thereafter until there is final disposition of 2 such apparent violation. The Commission may from time to time prepare and publish reports on the status of such 3 4 referrals. "(c) Any member of the Commission, any employee of 5 6 the Commission, or any other person who violates the pro-7 visions of subsection (a) (3) (B) shall be fined not more than \$2,000. Any such member, employee, or other person 8 who knowingly and willfully violates the provisions of 9 subsection (a) (3) (B) shall be fined not more than 10 \$5,000.". To it has the bar to not beed us suit to bar the proof of the 11 12 DUTIES OF COMMISSION 13 SEC. 110. (a) (1) Section 315 (a) (6) of the Act (2 14 U.S.C. 438(a) (6)), as so redesignated by section 105, is amended by inserting immediately before the semicolon at 15 the end thereof the following: ", and to compile and main-16 tain a separate cumulative index of reports and statements 17 filed with it by political committees supporting more than 18 one candidate, which shall include a listing of the date of the 19 registration of any such political committee and the date 20 upon which any such political committee qualifies to make 21 expenditures under section 320 (a) (2), and which shall be 22 revised on the same basis and at the same time as the other 23 cumulative indices required under this paragraph". 24 25 (2) Section 315 (a) (8) of the Act (2 U.S.C. 438 (a)

(8)), as so redesignated by section 105, is amended by in-1 serting immediately before the semicolon at the end thereof 2 the following: ", and to give priority to auditing and field investigating the verification for, and the receipt and use 4 of, any payments received by a candidate under chapter 95 5 or chapter 96 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954". 6 (b) Section 315(c) (2) of the Act (2 U.S.C. 438 7 (c) (2)), as so redesignated by section 105, is amended-(1) by inserting ", in whole or in part," immedi-9 ately after "disapprove"; and 10 (2) by inserting immediately after the second sen-11 tence thereof the following new sentences: "Whenever 12 a committee of the House of Representatives reports any 13 resolution relating to any such rule or regulation, it is at 14 any time thereafter in order (even though a previous 15 motion to the same effect has been disagreed to) to move 16 to proceed to the consideration of the resolution. The mo-17 tion is highly privileged and is not debatable. An amend-18 ment to the motion is not in order, and it is not in order 19 to move to reconsider the vote by which the motion is 20 agreed to or disagreed to.". 21 (c) Section 315 of the Act (2 U.S.C. 438), as so re-22 designated by section 105, is amended by adding at the 23 end thereof the following new subsection: 24 "(e) In any proceeding, including any civil or criminal 25

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enforcement proceeding against any person charged with 1 violating any provision of this Act or of chapter 95 or 2 chapter 96 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954, no rule, 3 regulation, guideline, advisory opinion, opinion of counsel or any other pronouncement by the Commission or by any 5 member, officer, or employee thereof (other than any rule or regulation of the Commission which takes effect under 7 subsection (c)) shall be used against any person, either as 8 having the force of law, as creating any presumption of 9 violation or of criminal intent, or as admissible in evidence 10 against such person, or in any other manner whatsoever.". 11 ADDITIONAL ENFORCEMENT AUTHORITY 12

SEC. 111. Section 407 (a) of the Act (2 U.S.C. 456 13 (a)) is amended by inserting immediately after "such title 14 15 III," the following: "the Commission shall (1) make every endeavor for a period of not less than 30 days to correct such 16 failure by informal methods of conference, conciliation, and 17 persuasion; or (2) in the case of any such failure which 18 occurs less than 45 days before the date of the election in-19 volved, make every endeavor for a period of not less than 20 one-half the number of days between the date of such failure 21 and the date of the election involved to correct such failure 22 by informal methods of conference, conciliation, and persua-23 sion, except that no action may be taken by the Commission 24 with respect to any complaint filed with the Commission 25

1 during the 5-day period immediately before an election until after the date of such election. If the Commission fails to 2 correct such failure through such informal methods, then". 4 CONTRIBUTION AND EXPENDITURE LIMITATIONS; PENALTIES 5 SEC. 112. (a) Title III of the Act (2 U.S.C. 431 et 6 seq.), as amended by section 105, is further amended by 7 striking out section 316, as so redesignated by section 105, 8 by striking out section 320, as so redesignated by section 105, 9 and by inserting immediately after section 319 the following 10 11 new sections: "LIMITATIONS ON CONTRIBUTIONS AND EXPENDITURES 12 "SEC. 320. (a) (1) Except as otherwise provided by 13 paragraphs (2) and (3), no person shall make contribu-14 tions to any candidate with respect to any election for Fed-15 eral office which, in the aggregate, exceed \$1,000, or to any 16 political committee in any calendar year which exceed, in 17 the aggregate, \$1,000. 18 "(2) No political committee (other than a principal 19 compaign committee) shall make contributions to (A) any 20 candidate with respect to any election for Federal office 21 which, in the aggregate, exceed \$5,000; or (B) to any po-22 litical committee in any calendar year which, in the aggre-23 gate, exceed \$5,000. Contributions by the national com-24 mittee of a political party serving as the principal campaign 25

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1 committee of a candidate for the office of President of the United States shall not exceed the limitation imposed by the 2 preceding sentence with respect to any other candidate for 3 'ederal office. For purposes of this paragraph, the term 4 'political committee' means an organization registered as a 5 political committee under section 303 for a period of not 6 7 less than 6 months which has received contributions from more than 50 persons and, except for any State political 8 party organization, has made contributions to 5 or more 9 candidates for Federal office. For purposes of the limitations 10 provided by paragraph (1) and this paragraph, all contribu-11 tions made by political committees established or financed 12 or maintained or controlled by any corporation, labor organi-13 zation, or any other person, including any parent, subsidiary, 14 branch, division, department, or local unit of such corpora-15 tion, labor organization, or any other person, or by any 16 group of such persons, shall be considered to have been made 17 by a single political committee, except that (A) nothing in 18 this sentence shall limit transfers between political commit-19 tees of funds raised through joint fundraising efforts; and 20 (B) for purposes of the limitations provided by paragraph 21 (1) and this paragraph, all contributions made by a single 22 political committee established or financed or maintained or 23 controlled by a national committee of a political party and 24 by a single political committee established or financed or 25

1 maintained or controlled by the State committee of a political party shall not be considered to have been made by a single political committee. In any case in which a corporation and 4 any of its subsidiaries, branches, divisions, departments, or 5 local units, or a labor organization and any of its subsidiaries, 6 branches, divisions, departments, or local units establish or 7 finance or maintain or control more than one separate segregated fund, all such separate segregated funds shall be 8 treated as a single separate segregated fund for purposes of the limitations prescribed by paragraph (1) and this 10 paragraph. 11 "(3) No individual shall make contributions aggregating 12 more than \$25,000 in any calendar year. For purposes of 13 this paragraph, any contribution made to a candidate in a 14 year other than the calendar year in which the election is 15 held with respect to which such contribution was made is 16 considered to be made during the calendar year in which 17 such election is held. 18 "(4) For purposes of this subsection-19 "(A) contributions to a named candidate made to 20 any political committee authorized by such candidate to 21 accept contributions on his behalf shall be considered to 22 be contributions made to such candidate; 23 "(B) (i) expenditures made by any person in coop-24

eration, consultation, or concert, with, or at the request

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1 or suggestion of, a candidate, his authorized political 2 committees, or their agents shall be considered to be a 3 contribution to such candidate;

4 "(ii) the financing by any person of the dissemina-5 tion, distribution, or republication, in whole or in part, 6 of any broadcast or any written, graphic, or other form 7 of campaign materials prepared by the candidate, his 8 campaign committees, or their authorized agents shall be 9 considered to be an expenditure for purposes of this 10 paragraph; and

"(C) contributions made to or for the benefit of 11 any candidate nominated by a political party for election 12 to the office of Vice President of the United States shall 13 be considered to be contributions made to or for the 14 benefit of the candidate of such party for election to the 15 office of President of the United States. 16 "(5) The limitations imposed by paragraphs (1) and 17 of this subsection shall apply separately with respect (2)18 to each election, except that all elections held in any calendar 19 year for the office of President of the President of the United 20 States (except a general election for such office) shall be 21 considered to be one election. 22

"(6) For purposes of the limitations imposed by this
section, all contributions made by a person, either directly
or indirectly, on behalf of a particular candidate, including

contributions which are in any way earmarked or otherwise 1 directed through an intermediary or conduit to such candi-2 date, shall be treated as contributions from such person to 3 such candidate. The intermediary or conduit shall report the 4 original source and the intended recipient of such contribu-5 tion to the Commission and to the intended recipient. 6 "(b) (1) No candidate for the office of President of the 7 United States who has established his eligibility under section 8 9003 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 (relating to 9 condition for eligibility for payments) or under section 9033 10 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 (relating to eligibility 11 for payments) to receive payments from the Secretary of the 12 Treasury or his delegate may make expenditures in excess 13 14 of-"(A) \$10,000,000, in the case of a campaign for 15 nomination for election to such office, except the aggre-16 17 gate of expenditures under this subparagraph in any one State shall not exceed twice the greater of 8 cents multi-18 plied by the voting age population of the State (as certi-19 fied under subsection (e)), or \$100,000; or 20

"(B) \$20,000,000 in the case of a campaign for
election to such office.
"(2) For purposes of this subsection—
"(A) expenditures made by or on behalf of any

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the office of Vice President of the United States shall be
 considered to be expenditures made by or on behalf of
 the candidate of such party for election to the office of
 President of the United States; and
 "(B) an expenditure is made on behalf of a candi date, including a candidate for the office of Vice Presi-

7 dent, if it is made by----

8 "(i) an authorized committee or any other 9 agent of the candidate for the purposes of making 10 any expenditure; or 11 "(ii) any person authorized or requested by the 12 candidate, an authorized committee of the candidate, 13 or an agent of the candidate, to make the expendi-14 ture.

15 "(c) (1) At the beginning of each calendar year (commencing in 1976), as there become available necessary data 16 from the Bureau of Labor Statistics of the Department of 17 Labor, the Secretary of Labor shall certify to the Commis-18 sion and publish in the Federal Register the per centum 20difference between the price index for the twelve months preceding the beginning of such calendar year and the price 21index for the base period. Each limitation established by sub-22 23 section (b) and subsection (d) shall be increased by such 24 per centum difference. Each amount so increased shall be the 25 amount in effect for such calendar year.

1 "(2) For purposes of paragraph (1) -

2 "(A) the term 'price index' means the average
3 over a calendar year of the Consumer Price Index (all
4 items—United States city average) published monthly
5 by the Bureau of Labor Statistics; and
6 "(B) the term 'base period' means the calendar
7 year 1974.

"(d) (1) Notwithstanding any other provision of law 8 with respect to limitations on expenditures or limitations on contributions, the national committee of a political party and 10 11 a State committee of a political party, including any subordinate committee of a State committee, may make ex-12 penditures in connection with the general election campaign of candidates for Federal office, subject to the limitations 14 contained in paragraphs (2) and (3) of this subsection. "(2) The national committee of a political party may 16 17 not make any expenditure in connection with the general election campaign of any candidate for President of the 18 United States who is affiliated with such party which exceeds 19 an amount equal to 2 cents multiplied by the voting age 20 population of the United States (as certified under subsec-21 tion (e)). Any expenditure under this paragraph shall be in addition to any expenditure by a national committee of 23 24 a political party serving as the principal campaign com36

mittee of a candidate for the office of the President of the
 United States.

"(3) The national committee of a political party, or 3 State committee of a political party, including any suba ordinate committee of a State committee, may not make any 5 expenditure in connection with the general election campaign of a candidate for Federal office in a State who is affiliated with such party which exceeds-"(A) in the case of a candidate for election to 9 the office of Senator, or of Representative from a State 10 11 which is entitled to only one Representative, the 12 greater of ----13 "(i) 2 cents multiplied by the voting age popu-14 lation of the State (as certified under subsection 15 . contained in paragraphs (2) and (2) adjacenting at benistron of

16 "(ii) \$20,000; and "(B) in the case of a candidate for election to the 17 office of Representative, Delegate, or Resident Com-18 missioner in any other State, \$10,000. 19 "(e) During the first week of January 1975, and every 20 subsequent year, the Secretary of Commerce shall certify 21 to the Commission and publish in the Federal Register an 22 estimate of the voting age population of the United States, 23of each State, and of each congressional district as of the 24 first day of July next preceding the date of certification, 25

1 The term 'voting age population' means resident population, 2 18 years of age or older. 3 "(f) No candidate or political committee shall know-4 ingly accept any contribution or make any expenditure in 5 violation of the provisions of this section. No officer or em-6 ployee of a political committee shall knowingly accept a 7 contribution made for the benefit or use of a candidate, or 8 knowingly make any expenditure on behalf of a candidate, in violation of any limitation imposed on contributions and expenditures under this section. "(g) The Commission shall prescribe rules under which 11 any expenditure by a candidate for nomination for election 12 to the office of President for use in 2 or more States shall be 13 attributed to such candidate's expenditure limitation in each 14 such State, based on the voting age population in such State 15 which can reasonably be expected to be influenced by such 16 expenditure. 17 "CONTRIBUTIONS OR EXPENDITURES BY NATIONAL BANKS, 18 19 CORPORATIONS, OR LABOR ORGANIZATIONS 20 "SEC. 321. (a) It is unlawful for any national bank, or any corporation organized by authority of any law of Con-21

22 gress, to make a contribution or expenditure in connection 23 with any election to any political office, or in connection with 24 any primary election or political convention or caucus held 25 to select candidates for any political office, or for any corpo-

ration whatever, or any labor organization to make a con-1 tribution or expenditure in connection with any election at 2 which Presidential and Vice Presidential electors or a Sena-3 tor or Representative in, or a Delegate or Resident Commissioner to, the Congress are to be voted for, or in connection 5 with any primary election or political convention, or caucus 6 held to select candidates for any of the foregoing offices, or 7 for any candidate, political committee, or other person know-8 ingly to accept or receive any contribution prohibited by this 9 section, or any officer or any director of any corporation or 10 any national bank, or any officer of any labor organization, 11 to consent to any contribution or expenditure by such cor-12 poration, national bank, or labor organization, as the case 13 may be, which is prohibited by this section. 14 "(b) (1) For purposes of this section the term 'labor 15 organization' means any organization of any kind, or any 16 agency or employee representation committee or plan, in 17 which employees participate and which exists for the pur-18 pose, in whole or in part, of dealing with employers con-19 cerning grievances, labor disputes, wages, rates of pay, hours 20 of employment, or contributions of work. 21

"(2) For purposes of this section, the term 'contribution or expenditure' shall include any direct or indirect payment, distribution, loan, advance, deposit, or gift of money, or any services, or anything of value (except a loan

1 of money by a national or State bank made in accordance with the applicable banking laws and regulations and in the 2 ordinary course of business) to any gandidate, campaign committee, or political party or organization, in connection with any election to any of the officers referred to in this sec-5 tion, but shall not include (A) communications by a corporation to its stockholders and executive officers and their families 7 or by a labor organization to its members and their families on any subject; (B) nonpartisan registration and get-out-the-9 vote campaigns by a corporation aimed at its stockholders 10 and executive officers and their families; or by a labor on-11 ganization aimed at its members and their families; and (C) 12 the establishment, administration, and solicitation of contribu-13 tions to a separate segregated fund to be utilized for political 14 purposes by a corporation or labor organization, except that 15 (i) it shall be unlawful for such a fund to make a contribu-16 tion or expenditure by utilizing money or anything of value 17 secured by physical force, job discrimination, financial re-18 priseds, or the threat of force, job discrimination, or financial 19 reprisal, or by dues, fees, or other moneys required as a con-20 dition of membership in a labor organization or as a condi-21 tion of employment, or by moneys obtained in any commer-22 cial transaction; (ii) it shall be unlawful for a corporation 23 or a separate segregated fund established by a corporation 24 to solicit contributions from any person other than its stock-25

1 holders, executive officers, and their families, for an incorpo-2 rated trade association or a separate segregated fund established by an incorporated trade association to solicit con-3 tributions from any person other than the stockholders and 4 executive officers of the member corporations of such trade 5 association and the families of such stockholders and execu-6 tive officers (to the extent that any such solicitation of such stockholders and executive officers, and their families, has 8 been separately and specifically approved by the member 9 corporation involved, and such member corporation has 10 11 not approved any such solicitation by more than one such trade association in any calendar year, or for a labor orga-12 nization or a separate segregated fund established by a 13 labor organization to solicit contributions from any person 14 other than its members and their families; (iii) notwith-15 standing any other law, any method of soliciting voluntary 16 contributions or of facilitating the making of voluntary con-17 tributions to a separate segregated fund established by a cor-18 poration, permitted to corporations, shall also be permitted to 19 labor organizations; and (iv) any corporation which uti-20 lizes a method of soliciting voluntary contributions or facili-21 tating the making of voluntary contributions, shall make 22 available, on written request, such method to a labor orga-23 nization representing any members working for such 24 corporation. 25

1 "(3) For purposes of this section the term 'executive officer' means an individual employed by a corporation who 2 3 is paid on a salary rather than hourly basis and who has 4 policymaking or supervisory responsibilities. 5 "CONTRIBUTIONS BY GOVERNMENT CONTRACTORS 6 "SEC. 322. (a) It shall be unlawful for any person 7 who enters-8 "(1) into any contract with the United States or any department or agency thereof either for the rendi-9 tion of personal services or furnishing any material, 10 supplies, or equipment to the United States or any 11 12 department or agency thereof or for selling any land or building to the United States or any department or 13 14 agency thereof, if payment for the performance of such 15 contract or payment for such material, supplies, equip-16 ment, land, or building is to be made in whole or in part from funds appropriated by the Congress, at any time 17 18 between the commencement of negotiations for and the 19 later of (A) the completion of performance under, or 20 (B) the termination of negotiations for, such contract or furnishing of material, supplies, equipment, land, or 21 22 buildings, directly or indirectly makes any contribution 23 of money or other thing of value, or promises expressly 24 or impliedly to make any such contribution, to any politas maintical committees, or their agents, shall clearly and

ical party, committee, or candidate for public office or 1 to any person for any political purpose or use; or 2 "(2) to solicit any such contribution from any 3 such person for any such purpose during any such period. 4 "(b) This section does not prohibit or make unlawful 5 the establishment or administration of, or the solicitation of 6 contributions to, any separate segregated fund by any cor-7 poration or labor organization for the purpose of influencing 8 the nomination for election, or election, of any person to 9 Federal office, unless the provisions of section 321 prohibit 10 make unlawful the establishment or administration of, or 11 or the solicitation of contributions to, such fund. 12 "(c) For purposes of this section, the term 'labor orga-13 nization' has the meaning given it by section 321. 14 "PUBLICATION OR DISTRIBUTION OF POLITICAL 15 STATEMENTS 16 "SEC. 323. Whenever any person makes an expenditure 17 for the purpose of financing any communication expressly 18 advocating the election or defeat of a clearly identified candi-19 date through any broadcasting station, newspaper, maga-20 zine, outdoor advertising facility, direct mailing, or other 21 similar type of general public political advertising, such com-22 munication-23 "(1) if authorized by a candidate, his authorized 24

25 political committees, or their agents, shall clearly and

conspicuously, in accordance with regulations prescribed
 by the Commission, state that such communication has
 been so authorized; or

"(2) if not authorized in accordance with paragraph (1), shall clearly and conspicuously, in accord-5 ance with regulations prescribed by the Commission, state that such communication is not authorized by any 7 candidate, and state the name of the person that made 8 or financed the expenditure for the communication, in-9 cluding, in the case of a political committee, the name 10 of any affiliated or connected organization as stated in 11 section 303 (b) (2). 12 "CONTRIBUTIONS BY FOREIGN NATIONALS 13 "SEC. 324. (a) It shall be unlawful for a foreign na-14 tional directly or through any other person to make any con-15 tribution of money or other thing of value, or to promise 16 expressly or impliedly to make any such contribution, in con-17 nection with an election to any political office or in connec-18 tion with any primary election, convention, or caucus held 19 to select candidates for any political office, or for any person 20 to solicit, accept, or receive any such contribution from any 21 such foreign national. 22 "(b) As used in this section, the term 'foreign national' 23 means—

"(1) a foreign principal, as such term is defined by

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section 1 (b) of the Foreign Agents Registration Act of 1 dimos 1938 (22 U.S.C. 611 (b)), except that the term 'foreign 2 national' shall not include any individual who is a citizen 3 of the United States; or 4 5 "(2) an individual who is not a citizen of the United States and who is not lawfully admitted for permanent 6 7 residence, as defined by section 101(a) (20) of the Immigration and Nationality Act (8 U.S.C. 1101 (a) 8 9 (20)). an off the statistic of zerold dependent operson (o 10 "PROHIBITION OF CONTRIBUTIONS IN NAME OF 11 ANOTHER "SEC. 325. No person shall make a contribution in 12 the name of another person or knowingly permit his name 13 14 to be used to effect such a contribution, and no person shall knowingly accept a contribution made by one person in the 15 name of another person. 16 17 "LIMITATION ON CONTRIBUTIONS OF CURRENCY "SEC. 326. (a) No person shall make contributions of 18 currency of the United States or currency of any foreign 19 country to or for the benefit of any candidate which, in the 20 aggregate, exceeds \$250, with respect to any campaign of 21 such candidate for nomination for election, or for election, 22 to Federal office. 23 24 "(b) Any person who knowingly and willfully violates the provisions of this section shall be fined in an amount 25

which does not exceed the greater of \$25,000 or 300 percent of the amount of the contribution involved. 2 "ACCEPTANCE OF EXCESSIVE HONORARIUMS 3 "SEC. 327. No person while an elected or appointed 4 officer or employee of any branch of the Federal Government shall accept— 7 "(1) any honorarium of more than \$1,000 (exclud-8 ing amounts accepted for actual travel and subsistence woller 9 expenses) for any appearance, speech, or article; or 10 "(2) honorariums (not prohibited by paragraph 11 (1) of this section) aggregating more than \$15,000 in any calendar year. 12 13 "PENALTY FOR VIOLATIONS 14 "SEC. 328. Any person who knowingly and willfully commits a violation of any provision or provisions of this 15 Act, other than the provisions of section 326, which in-16 volves the thaking, receiving, or reporting of any con-17 tribution or expenditure having a value, in the aggregate, 18 of \$5,000 or more during a calendar year shall be fined 19 in an amount which does not exceed the greater of \$25,000 20 or 300 percent of the amount of any contribution or expendi-21 ture involved in such violation, imprisoned for not more than one year, or both.". 23 (b) Title III of the Act (2 U.S.C. 431 et seq.), as 24

24 (b) fille fill of the Act (2 0.8.0. 431 et seq.), as 25 amended by section 105 and subsection (a), is further

46 amended by inserting immediately after section 315 the following new section: "FRAUDULENT MISREPRESENTATION OF CAMPAIGN AUTHORITY

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"SEC. 316. No person, being a candidate for Federal 5 office or an employee or agent of such a candidate shall-6 "(1) fraudulently misrepresent himself or any com-7 mittee or organization under his control as speaking or 8 writing or otherwise acting for or on behalf of any other 9 candidate or political party or employee or agent thereof 10 on a matter which is damaging to such other candidate or 11 political party or employee or agent thereof; or 12 "(2) participate in or conspire to participate in any 13 plan, scheme, or design to violate paragraph (1).". 14 SAVINGS PROVISION RELATING TO REPEALED SECTIONS 15 SEC. 113. Title III of the Act (2 U.S.C. 431 et seq.), 16 as amended by section 105 and section 112, is further 17 amended by adding at the end thereof the following new 18 section: 19 "SAVING PROVISION RELATING TO REPEALED SECTIONS 20 "SEC. 329. Except as otherwise provided by this Act, the 21 repeal by the Federal Election Campaign Act Amendments 22 of 1976 of any provision or penalty or penalties shall not 23 have the effect of releasing or extinguishing any penalty, for-24 feiture, or liability incurred under such provision or penalty, 25

and such provision or penalty shall be treated as remaining in 1 force for the purpose of sustaining any proper action or pros-2 ecution for the enforcement of any penalty, forfeiture, or 4 liability.". 5 PRINCIPAL CAMPAIGN COMMITTEES SEC. 114. Section 302 (f) of the Act (2 U.S.C. 432 6 (f)) is amended by adding at the end thereof the follow-7 8 ing new sentence: "Any occasional, isolated, or incidental 9 support of a candidate shall not be construed as support of 10 such candidate for purposes of the preceding sentence.". TERMINATION OF AUTHORITY OF COMMISSION 11 12 SEC. 115. Title IV of the Act (2 U.S.C. 451 et seq.) is amended by adding at the end thereof the following new 13 14 section: **"TERMINATION OF AUTHORITY OF COMMISSION** 15 "SEC. 409. (a) Notwithstanding any other provision of 16 this Act or any other provision of law, the authority of the 17 Commission to carry out the provisions of this Act, and chap-18 ter 95 and chapter 96 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954. 19 shall terminate at the close of March 31, 1977, if either 20 House of the Congress by appropriate action determines that such termination shall take effect pursuant to subsection (b). "(b) The appropriate committee of each House of the 23 Congress shall, commencing January 3, 1977, conduct a 24 review of the elections of candidates for Federal office conducted in 1976, the operation of chapter 95 and chapter 96
of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 with respect to such
elections, and the activities conducted by the Commission,
and report to their respective Houses not later than March 1,
1977. Such report shall include a recommendation of whether
the authority of the Commission shall be terminated on
March 31, 1977, as set forth in subsection (a).

8 "(c) Nothing in this section shall affect any proceed-9 ing pending in any court of the United States on the date of 10 the enactment of this section. The Attorney General of the 11 United States shall have the authority to act on behalf of the 12 United States in any such proceeding.".

TECHNICAL AND CONFORMING AMENDMENTS 13 SEC. 116. (a) Section 306 (d) of the Act (2 U.S.C. 14 436(d)) is amended by inserting immediately after "304 15 (a) (1) (C)," the following: "304 (c),". 16 (b) (1) Section 310 (a) (7) of the Act (2 U.S.C. 17 437d (a) (7)), as so redesignated by section 105, is amended 18 by striking out "313" and inserting in lieu thereof "312". 19 (c) (1) Section 9002 (3) of the Internal Revenue Code 20 of 1954 (defining Commission) is amended by striking out 21 "310 (a) (1)" and inserting in lieu thereof "309 (a) (1)". 22 (2) Section 9032 (3) of the Internal Revenue Code of 23 24 1954 (defining Commission) is amended by striking out "310 (a) (1)" and inserting in lieu thereof "309 (a) (1)". 25

1 TITLE II—AMENDMENTS TO TITLE 18, 2 UNITED STATES CODE REPEAL OF CERTAIN PROVISIONS 3 4 SEC. 201. (a) Chapter 29 of title 18, United States Code, is amended by striking out sections 608, 610, 611, 5 6 612, 613, 614, 615, 616, and 617. (b) The table of sections for chapter 29 of title 18, 7 United States Code, is amended by striking out the items 8 relating to sections 608, 610, 611, 612, 613, 614, 615; 9 10 616, and 617. 11 CHANGES IN DEFINITIONS SEC. 202. (a) Section 591 of title 18. United States 12 13 Code, is amended by striking out "602, 608, 610, 611, 614, 14 615, and 617" and insert in lieu thereof "and 602". (b) Section 591 (e) (4) of title 18, United States Code 15 16 is amended by inserting immediately before the semicolon the following: ", except that this subparagraph shall not 17 apply (A) in the case of any legal or accounting services 18 rendered to or on behalf of the national committee of a 19 political party, other than any legal or accounting services 20 attributable to any activity which directly furthers the elec-21 tion of any designated candidate to Federal office; or (B) 22 in the case of any legal or accounting services rendered 23 to or on behalf of a candidate or political committee solely 24 for the purpose of ensuring compliance with the provisions 25

of this chapter, the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, 1 or chapter 95 or chapter 96 of the Internal Revenue Code 2 of 1954". 3 (c) Section 591 (f) (4) of title 18, United States Code; 4 5 is amended— (1) by redesignating clause (F) through clause 6 (I) as clause (G) through clause (J), respectively; 7 S. United States Code is amanded by striking oubna iten8 9 (2) by inserting immediately after clause (E) the following new clause: 10 "(F) the payment, by any person other 11 than a candidate or a political committee, of 12 13 compensation for legal or accounting services rendered to or on behalf of the national com-14 mittee of a political party, other than services 15 Destal be 16 attributable to activities which directly further the election of any designated candidate to Fed-17 Herla digan 18 eral office, or for legal or accounting services 19 rendered to or on behalf of a candidate or politi-20 cal committee solely for the purpose of ensuring compliance with the provisions of this chapter, 21 ele odt madt the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, 22 () (10 (10)) or chapter 95 or chapter 96 of the Internal 23 mehren seeine 24 Revenue Code of 1954;".

1 TITLE III—AMENDMENTS TO INTERNAL REVENUE CODE OF 1954 2 ENTITLEMENT OF ELIGIBLE CANDIDATES TO PAYMENTS 3 4 SEC. 301. Section 9004 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 (relating to entitlement of eligible candidates to pay-5 ments) is amended by adding at the end thereof the fol-6 lowing new subsections: 7 "(d) EXPENDITURES FROM PERSONAL FUNDS .- In 8 order to be eligible to receive any payment under section 9 9006, the candidate of a major, minor, or new party in an election for the office of President shall certify to the Com-11 mission, under penalty of perjury, that such candidate shall 12 13 not knowingly make expenditures from his personal funds, or the personal funds of his immediate family, in connection 14 with his campaign for election to the office of President in 15 excess of, in the aggregate, \$50,000. For purposes of this 16 subsection, expenditures from personal funds made by a candi-17 date of a major, minor, or new party for the office of Vice 18 President shall be considered to be expenditures by the can-19 didate of such party for the office of President. 20 "(e) DEFINITION OF IMMEDIATE FAMILY.-For pur-21

poses of subsection (d), the term 'immediate family' means 22 23 a candidate's spouse, and any child, parent, grandparent,

brother, or sister of the candidate, and the spouses of such 1 persons.". 2 3 PAYMENTS TO ELIGIBLE CANDIDATES; INSUFFICIENT 4 AMOUNTS IN FUND 5 SEC. 302. (a) Section 9006 of the Internal Revenue 6 Code of 1954 (relating to payments to eligible candidates) 7 is amended by striking out subsection (b) thereof and by 8 redesignating subsection (c) and subsection (d) as sub-9 section (b) and subsection (c), respectively. (b) Section 9006(c) of the Internal Revenue Code 10 11 of 1954 (relating to insufficient amounts in fund), as so 12 redesignated by subsection (a), is amended by adding at 13 the end thereof the following new sentence: "In any case 14 in which the Secretary or his delegate determines that there are insufficient moneys in the fund to make payments under 15 subsection (b), section 9008 (b) (3), and section 9037 (b), 16 moneys shall not be made available from any other source for 17 the purpose of making such payments.". 18 19 PROVISION OF LEGAL OR ACCOUNTING SERVICES SEC. 303. Section 9008 (d) of the Internal Revenue 20 Code of 1954 (relating to limitation of expenditures) is 21 22 amended by adding at the end thereof the following new 23 paragraph: 24 "(4) PROVISION OF LEGAL OR ACCOUNTING SERV-ICES.—For purposes of this section, the payment, by 25. . .

any person other than the national committee of a politi-1600 cal party, of compensation to any person for any legal 2 or accounting services rendered to or on behalf of the 3 national committee of a political party shall not be 4 treated as an expenditure made by or on behalf of such 5 national committee with respect to the presidential nomi-6 nating convention of the political party involved.". 7 REVIEW OF REGULATIONS 8 SEC. 304. (a) Section 9009 (c) (2) of the Internal 9 10 Revenue Code of 1954 (relating to review of regulations) 11 is amended-(1) by inserting ", in whole or in part," immedi-12 ately after "disapprove"; and 13 (2) by inserting immediately after the first sen-14 tence thereof the following new sentences: "Whenever 15 a committee of the House of Representatives reports 16 any resolution relating to any such rule or regulation, 17 it is at any time thereafter in order (even though a 18 previous motion to the same effect has been disagreed 19 to) to move to proceed to the consideration of the 20 resolution. The motion is highly privileged and is not 21 debatable. An amendment to the motion is not in order, 22 and it is not in order to move to reconsider the vote 23 by which the motion is agreed to or disagreed to.". 24

(b) Section 9039 (c) (2) of the Internal Revenue Code 1 2 of 1954 (relating to review of regulations) is amended-(1) by inserting ", in whole or in part," immedi-3 ately after "disapprove"; and 4 (2) by inserting immediately after the first sen-5 tence thereof the following new sentences: "Whenever 6 a committee of the House of Representatives reports any 7 resolution relating to any such rule or regulation, it is at 8 any time thereafter in order (even though a previous 9 motion to the same effect has been disagreed to) to move 10 to proceed to the consideration of the resolution. The 11 motion is highly privileged and is not debatable. An 12 amendment to the motion is not in order, and it is not 13 14 in order to move to reconsider the vote by which the motion is agreed to or disagreed to.". 15 16 ELIGIBILITY FOR PAYMENTS SEC. 305. Section 9033 (b) (1) of the Internal Revenue 17 Code of 1954 (relating to expense limitation; declaration of 18 intent; minimum contributions) is amended by striking out 19 "limitation" and inserting in lieu thereof "limitations". 20 QUALIFIED CAMPAIGN EXPENSE LIMITATION 21 SEC. 306. (a) Section 9035 of the Internal Revenue 22 Code of 1954 (relating to qualified campaign expense limita-23 24 tion) is amended—

(1) in the heading thereof, by striking out "LIMITA-1 TION" and inserting in lieu thereof "LIMITATIONS"; 2 (2) by inserting "(a) EXPENDITURE LIMITA-3 TIONS.—" immediately before "No candidate"; 4 (3) by inserting immediately after "States Code" 5 the following: ", and no candidate shall knowingly make 6 expenditures from his personal funds, or the personal 7 funds of his immediate family, in connection with his 8 campaign for nomination for election to the office of 9 President in excess of, in the aggregate, \$50,000"; and 10 (4) by adding at the end thereof the following new 11 subsection: 12 "(b) DEFINITION OF IMMEDIATE FAMILY .- For pur-13 poses of this section, the term 'immediate family' means a 14 candidate's spouse, and any child, parent, grandparent, 15 brother, or sister of the candidate, and the spouses of such 16 persons.". 17 18 (b) The table of sections for chapter 96 of the In-19 ternal Revenue Code of 1954 is amended by striking out 20 the item relating to section 9035 and inserting in lieu thereof 21 the following new item: "Sec. 9035. Qualified campaign expense limitations.". RETURN OF FEDERAL MATCHING PAYMENTS 22 SEC. 307. (a) (1) Section 9002 (2) of the Internal 23 24 Revenue Code of 1954 (defining candidate) is amended by

adding at the end thereof the following new sentence: "The 1 term 'candidate' shall not include any individual who has 2 ceased actively to seek election to the office of President 3 of the United States or to the office of Vice President of the 4 United States, in more than one State.". 5 (2) Section 9003 of the Internal Revenue Code of 6 1954 (relating to condition for eligibility for payments) is 7 amended by adding at the end thereof the following new 8 subsection: 9

"(d) WITHDRAWAL BY CANDIDATE.—In any case in
which an individual ceases to be a candidate as a result of
the operation of the last sentence of section 9002(2),
such individual—

14 "(1) shall no longer be eligible to receive any15 payments under section 9006; and

"(2) shall pay to the Secretary, as soon as practicable after the date upon which such individual ceases
to be a candidate, an amount equal to the amount of
payments received by such individual under section 9006
which are not used to defray qualified campaign
expenses.".

(b) (1) Section 9032 (2) of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 (defining candidate) is amended by adding at the end thereof the following new sentence: "The term 'candidate' shall not include any individual who is not actively

1 conducting campaigns in more than one State in connection with seeking nomination for election to be President of the United States.". 3 (2) Section 9033 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 4 (relating to eligibility for payments) is amended by adding at the end thereof the following new subsection: "(c) WITHDRAWAL BY CANDIDATE.-In any case in 7 which an individual ceases to be a candidate as a result of 8 the operation of the last sentence of section 9032(2), such individual-10 "(1) shall no longer be eligible to receive any pavments under section 9037; and 12 "(2) notwithstanding the provisions of section 13 9038 (b) (3), shall pay to the Secretary, as soon as 14 practicable after the date upon which such individual 15 ceases to be a candidate, an amount equal to the amount 16 of payments received by such individual under section 17 9037 which are not used to defray qualified campaign 18 expenses.". 19 TECHNICAL AND CONFORMING AMENDMENTS 20 SEC. 308. (a) Section 9008 (b) (5) of the Internal 21 Revenue Code of 1954 (relating to adjustment of entitle-22 ments) is amended-23 (1) by striking out "section 608(c) and section 24

608 (f) of title 18, United States Code," and inserting

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in lieu thereof "section 320 (b) and section 320 (d) of
the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971"; and
(2) by striking out "section 608 (d) of such title"
and inserting in lieu thereof "section 320 (c) of such
Act".

(b) Section 9034 (b) of the Internal Revenue Code of
1954 (relating to limitations) is amended by striking out
"section 608 (c) (1) (A) of title 18, United States Code,"
and inserting in lieu thereof "section 320 (b) (1) (A) of the
Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971".

(c) Section 9035 (a) of the Internal Revenue Code of
1954 (relating to expenditure limitations), as so redesignated
by section 305 (a), is amended by striking out "section
608 (c) (1) (A) of title 18, United States Code," and inserting in lieu thereof "section 320 (b) (1) (A) of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971".

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PATH CONGRESS 2D SESSION H. R. 12406

A BILL

- To amend the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 to provide that members of the Federal Election Commission shall be appointed by the President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, and for other purposes.
- By Mr. Hays of Ohio, Mr. THOMPSON, Mr. DENT, Mr. BRADEMAS, Mr. HAWKINS, Mr. ANNUNZIO, Mr. GAYDOS, Mr. JONES OF TEnnessee, Mr. MINISH, Mr. Rose, and Mr. JOHN L. BURTON

MARCH 11, 1976 Referred to the Committee on House Administration

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