# H. R. 3099

To reform the financing of Federal elections, and for other purposes.

#### IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

June 28, 2005

Mr. Tierney (for himself, Mr. Grijalva, Mr. Nadler, Ms. Baldwin, Mr. Blumenauer, Mr. Clay, Mr. Crowley, Mr. Davis of Illinois, Mr. Delahunt, Ms. Delauro, Mr. Farr, Mr. Frank of Massachusetts, Mr. Hinchey, Mr. Holt, Ms. Kaptur, Mr. Kind, Mr. Lantos, Ms. Lee, Mr. McDermott, Mr. McGovern, Mr. McNulty, Mr. Meehan, Mr. George Miller of California, Mr. Olver, Mr. Pascrell, Mr. Sanders, Ms. Schakowsky, Mr. Stark, Mr. Van Hollen, Mr. Waxman, Ms. Woolsey, and Ms. Eshoo) introduced the following bill; which was referred to the Committee on House Administration, and in addition to the Committees on Energy and Commerce and Government Reform, for a period to be subsequently determined by the Speaker, in each case for consideration of such provisions as fall within the jurisdiction of the committee concerned

## A BILL

To reform the financing of Federal elections, and for other purposes.

- 1 Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representa-
- 2 tives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,
- 3 SECTION 1. SHORT TITLE; TABLE OF CONTENTS.
- 4 (a) Short Title.—This Act may be cited as the
- 5 "Clean Money, Clean Elections Act".

#### 1 (b) Table of Contents of

#### 2 this Act is as follows:

Sec. 1. Short title; table of contents.

# TITLE I—CLEAN MONEY FINANCING OF HOUSE ELECTION CAMPAIGNS

Sec. 101. Findings and declarations.

Sec. 102. Eligibility requirements and benefits of Clean Money financing of House election campaigns.

# "TITLE V—CLEAN MONEY FINANCING OF HOUSE ELECTION CAMPAIGNS

"Sec. 501. Definitions.

"Sec. 502. Eligibility for Clean Money.

"Sec. 503. Requirements applicable to Clean Money candidates.

"Sec. 504. Seed money.

"Sec. 505. Certification by Commission.

"Sec. 506. Benefits for Clean Money candidates.

"Sec. 507. Administration of Clean Money.

"Sec. 508. Expenditures made from funds other than Clean Money.

"Sec. 509. Authorization of appropriations.

Sec. 103. Reporting requirements for expenditures of private money candidates.

Sec. 104. Transition rule for current election cycle.

# TITLE II—INDEPENDENT EXPENDITURES; COORDINATED POLITICAL PARTY EXPENDITURES

Sec. 201. Reporting requirements for independent expenditures.

Sec. 202. Limit on expenditures by political party committees.

Sec. 203. Treatment of coordinated expenditures as contributions.

#### TITLE III—VOTER INFORMATION

Sec. 301. Free broadcast time.

Sec. 302. Broadcast rates and preemption.

Sec. 303. Limit on Congressional use of the franking privilege.

# TITLE IV—RESTRUCTURING AND STRENGTHENING OF THE FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

Sec. 401. Appointment and terms of Commissioners.

Sec. 402. Audits.

Sec. 403. Authority to seek injunction.

Sec. 404. Standard for investigation.

Sec. 405. Petition for certiorari.

Sec. 406. Expedited procedures.

Sec. 407. Promoting expedited availability of FEC reports.

Sec. 408. Power to issue subpoena without signature of Chairperson.

#### TITLE V—MISCELLANEOUS PROVISIONS

Sec. 501. Severability.

Sec. 502. Review of constitutional issues.

Sec. 503. Effective date.

### TITLE I—CLEAN MONEY FINANC-

### 2 ING OF HOUSE ELECTION

### 3 **CAMPAIGNS**

- 4 SEC. 101. FINDINGS AND DECLARATIONS.
- 5 (a) Undermining of Democracy by Campaign
- 6 Contributions From Private Sources.—The Con-
- 7 gress finds and declares that the current system of pri-
- 8 vately financed campaigns for election to the House of
- 9 Representatives has the capacity, and is often perceived
- 10 by the public, to undermine democracy in the United
- 11 States by—
- 12 (1) violating the democratic principle of "one
- person, one vote" and diminishing the meaning of
- the right to vote by allowing monied interests to
- 15 have a disproportionate and unfair influence within
- the political process;
- 17 (2) diminishing or giving the appearance of di-
- minishing a Member of the House of
- 19 Representatives's accountability to constituents by
- compelling legislators to be accountable to the major
- 21 contributors who finance their election campaigns;
- 22 (3) creating a conflict of interest, perceived or
- real, by encouraging Members to take money from
- private interests that are directly affected by Federal
- 25 legislation;

- 1 (4) imposing large, unwarranted costs on tax-2 payers through legislative and regulatory outcomes 3 shaped by unequal access to lawmakers for cam-4 paign contributors;
  - (5) driving up the cost of election campaigns, making it difficult for qualified candidates without personal fortunes or access to campaign contributions from monied individuals and interest groups to mount competitive House of Representatives election campaigns;
  - (6) disadvantaging challengers, because large campaign contributors tend to give their money to incumbent Members, thus causing House of Representatives elections to be less competitive; and
  - (7) burdening incumbents with a preoccupation with fundraising and thus decreasing the time available to carry out their public responsibilities.
- 18 (b) Enhancement of Democracy by Providing 19 Clean Money.—Congress finds and declares that pro-
- 20 viding the option of the replacement of private campaign
- 21 contributions with clean money financing for all primary,
- 22 runoff, and general elections to the House of Representa-
- 23 tives would enhance American democracy by—
- 24 (1) helping to eliminate access to wealth as a 25 determinant of a citizen's influence within the polit-

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- ical process and to restore meaning to the principle
  of "one person, one vote";
  - (2) increasing the public's confidence in the accountability of Members to the constituents who elect them;
  - (3) eliminating the potentially inherent conflict of interest caused by the private financing of the election campaigns of public officials, thus restoring public confidence in the fairness of the electoral and legislative processes;
  - (4) reversing the escalating cost of elections and saving taxpayers billions of dollars that are (or that are perceived to be) currently misspent due to legislative and regulatory agendas skewed by the influence of contributions;
  - (5) creating a more level playing field for incumbents and challengers, creating genuine opportunities for all Americans to run for the House of Representatives, and encouraging more competitive elections; and
  - (6) freeing Members from the constant preoccupation with raising money, and allowing them more time to carry out their public responsibilities.

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1	SEC. 102. ELIGIBILITY REQUIREMENTS AND BENEFITS OF
2	CLEAN MONEY FINANCING OF HOUSE ELEC-
3	TION CAMPAIGNS.
4	The Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 (2
5	U.S.C. 431 et seq.) is amended by adding at the end the
6	following:
7	"TITLE V—CLEAN MONEY FI-
8	NANCING OF HOUSE ELEC-
9	TION CAMPAIGNS
10	"SEC. 501. DEFINITIONS.
11	"In this title:
12	"(1) Allowable contribution.—The term
13	'allowable contribution' means a qualifying contribu-
14	tion or seed money contribution.
15	"(2) CLEAN MONEY.—The term 'clean money'
16	means funds that are made available by the Com-
17	mission to a clean money candidate under this title.
18	"(3) CLEAN MONEY CANDIDATE.—The term
19	'clean money candidate' means a candidate for Mem-
20	ber of or Delegate or Resident Commissioner to the
21	Congress who is certified under section 505 as being
22	eligible to receive clean money.
23	"(4) CLEAN MONEY QUALIFYING PERIOD.—The
24	term 'clean money qualifying period' means the pe-
25	riod beginning on the date that is 180 days before
26	the date of the primary election and ending on the

1 date that is 30 days before the date of the general 2 election. In the event of a special election, the clean 3 money qualifying period shall begin on the earlier date of either the date that is 180 days before the 5 date of the special election or on the date of an-6 nouncement of such special election date if same as 7 within 180 days of the date of the special election. 8 It shall end on the date that is 30 days before the 9 date of the special election.

- "(5) GENERAL ELECTION PERIOD.—The term 'general election period' means, with respect to a candidate, the period beginning on the day after the date of the primary or primary runoff election for the specific office that the candidate is seeking, whichever is later, and ending on the earlier of—
  - "(A) the date of the general election; or
- "(B) the date on which the candidate withdraws from the campaign or otherwise ceases actively to seek election.
- "(6) GENERAL RUNOFF ELECTION PERIOD.—
  The term 'general runoff election period' means,
  with respect to a candidate, the period beginning on
  the day following the date of the last general election
  for the specific office that the candidate is seeking

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1	and ending on the date of the runoff election for
2	that office.
3	"(7) House of representatives election
4	FUND.—The term 'House of Representatives Elec-
5	tion Fund' means the fund established by section
6	507(a).
7	"(8) Immediate family.—The term 'imme-
8	diate family' means—
9	"(A) a candidate's spouse;
10	"(B) a child, stepchild, parent, grand-
11	parent, brother, half-brother, sister, or half-sis-
12	ter of the candidate or the candidate's spouse;
13	and
14	"(C) the spouse of any person described in
15	subparagraph (B).
16	"(9) Major party candidate.—The term
17	'major party candidate' means a candidate of a po-
18	litical party of which a candidate for Member of or
19	Delegate or Resident Commissioner to the Congress,
20	for President, or for Governor in the preceding 5
21	years received, as a candidate of that party, 25 per-
22	cent or more of the total number of popular votes
23	received in the State (or Congressional district, if
24	applicable) by all candidates for the same office.

1	"(10) Personal funds.—The term 'personal
2	funds' means an amount that is derived from—
3	"(A) the personal funds of the candidate
4	or a member of the candidate's immediate fam-
5	ily; and
6	"(B) proceeds of indebtedness incurred by
7	the candidate or a member of the candidate's
8	immediate family.
9	"(11) Personal Use.—
10	"(A) IN GENERAL.—The term 'personal
11	use' means the use of funds to fulfill a commit-
12	ment, obligation, or expense of a person that
13	would exist irrespective of the candidate's elec-
14	tion campaign or individual's duties as a holder
15	of Federal office.
16	"(B) Inclusions.—The term 'personal
17	use' includes, but is not limited to—
18	"(i) a home mortgage, rent, or utility
19	payment;
20	"(ii) a clothing purchase;
21	"(iii) a noncampaign-related auto-
22	mobile expense;
23	"(iv) a country club membership;
24	"(v) a vacation or other noncampaign-
25	related trip;

1	"(vi) a household food item;
2	"(vii) a tuition payment;
3	"(viii) admission to a sporting event,
4	concert, theater, or other form of enter-
5	tainment not associated with an election
6	campaign; and
7	"(ix) dues, fees, and other payments
8	to a health club or recreational facility.
9	"(12) Primary election period.—The term
10	'primary election period' means the period beginning
11	on the date that is 90 days before the date of the
12	primary election and ending on the date of the pri-
13	mary election. In the event of a special primary elec-
14	tion, if applicable, the term 'primary election period'
15	means the period beginning on the date that is the
16	longer of 90 days before the date of such special pri-
17	mary election, or the date of establishment by the
18	appropriate election authority of the special primary
19	election date and ending on the date of the special
20	primary election.
21	"(13) Primary runoff election period.—
22	The term 'primary runoff election period' means,
23	with respect to a candidate, the period beginning on
24	the day following the date of the last primary elec-
25	tion for the specific office that the candidate is seek-

1	ing and ending on the date of the runoff election for
2	that office.
3	"(14) Private money candidate.—The term
4	'private money candidate' means a candidate for
5	Member of or Delegate or Resident Commissioner to
6	the Congress other than a clean money candidate.
7	"(15) QUALIFYING CONTRIBUTION.—The term
8	'qualifying contribution' means a contribution that—
9	"(A) is in the amount of \$5 exactly;
10	"(B) is made by an individual who is a
11	resident of the candidate's State and is other-
12	wise authorized to make a contribution under
13	this Act;
14	"(C) is made during the clean money
15	qualifying period; and
16	"(D) meets the requirements of section
17	502(a)(2)(D).
18	"(16) SEED MONEY CONTRIBUTION.—The term
19	'seed money contribution' means a contribution (or
20	contributions in the aggregate made by any 1 per-
21	son) of not more than \$100.
22	"(17) State.—The term 'State' includes the
23	District of Columbia, Puerto Rico, the Virgin Is-
24	lands, American Samoa, and Guam.

1	"SEC. 502. ELIGIBILITY FOR CLEAN MONEY.
2	"(a) Primary Election Period and Primary
3	RUNOFF ELECTION PERIOD.—
4	"(1) In general.—A candidate qualifies as $\epsilon$
5	clean money candidate during the primary election
6	period and primary runoff election period if the can-
7	didate files with the Commission a declaration
8	signed by the candidate and the treasurer of the
9	candidate's principal campaign committee, that the
10	candidate—
11	"(A) has complied and will comply with all
12	of the requirements of this title;
13	"(B) will not run in the general election as
14	a private money candidate; and
15	"(C) meets the qualifying contribution re-
16	quirement of paragraph (2).
17	"(2) Qualifying contribution require-
18	MENT.—
19	"(A) Major party candidates and cer-
20	TAIN INDEPENDENT CANDIDATES.—The re-
21	quirement of this paragraph is met if, during
22	the clean money qualifying period, a major
23	party candidate (or an independent candidate

who meets the minimum vote percentage re-

quired for a major party candidate under sec-

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1	tion 501(9)) receives 1,500 qualifying contribu-
2	tions.
3	"(B) OTHER CANDIDATES.—The require-
4	ment of this paragraph is met if, during the
5	clean money qualifying period, a candidate who
6	is not described in subparagraph (A) receives a
7	number of qualifying contributions that is at
8	least 150 percent of the number of qualifying
9	contributions that a candidate described in sub-
10	paragraph (A) in the same election is required
11	to receive under subparagraph (A).
12	"(C) Receipt of qualifying contribu-
13	TION.—A qualifying contribution shall—
14	"(i) be accompanied by the contribu-
15	tor's name and home address;
16	"(ii) be accompanied by a signed
17	statement that the contributor understands
18	the purpose of the qualifying contribution;
19	"(iii) be made by a personal check or
20	money order payable to the House of Rep-
21	resentatives Election Fund or by cash; and
22	"(iv) be acknowledged by a receipt
23	that is sent to the contributor with a copy
24	kept by the candidate for the Commission
25	and a copy kept by the candidate for the

1	election authorities in the candidate's
2	State.
3	"(D) Deposit of qualifying contribu-
4	TIONS IN HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES ELEC-
5	TION FUND.—
6	"(i) IN GENERAL.—Not later than the
7	date that is 1 day after the date on which
8	the candidate is certified under section
9	505, a candidate shall remit all qualifying
10	contributions to the Commission for de-
11	posit in the House of Representatives Elec-
12	tion Fund.
13	"(ii) Candidates that are not
14	CERTIFIED.—Not later than the last day of
15	the clean money qualifying period, a can-
16	didate who has received qualifying con-
17	tributions and is not certified under section
18	505 shall remit all qualifying contributions
19	to the Commission for deposit in the
20	House of Representatives Election Fund.
21	"(3) Time to file declaration.—A declara-
22	tion under paragraph (1) shall be filed by a can-
23	didate not later than the date that is 30 days before
24	the date of the primary election. With respect to any
25	special primary election, a declaration under para-

1	graph (1) shall be filed by a candidate not later than
2	the date that is 30 days before the special primary
3	election.
4	"(b) General Election Period.—
5	"(1) In general.—A candidate qualifies as a
6	clean money candidate during the general election
7	period if—
8	"(A)(i) the candidate qualified as a clean
9	money candidate during the primary election
10	period (and primary runoff election period, if
11	applicable); or
12	"(ii) the candidate files with the Commis-
13	sion a declaration, signed by the candidate and
14	the treasurer of the candidate's principal com-
15	mittee, that the candidate—
16	"(I) has complied and will comply
17	with all the requirements of this title; and
18	"(II) meets the qualifying contribu-
19	tion requirement of subsection (a)(2);
20	"(B) the candidate files with the Commis-
21	sion a written agreement between the candidate
22	and the candidate's political party in which the
23	political party agrees not to make any expendi-
24	tures in connection with the general election of

the candidate in excess of the limit in section 315(d)(3)(C); and

"(C) the candidate's party nominated the candidate to be placed on the ballot for the general election or the candidate qualified to be placed on the ballot as an independent candidate, and the candidate is qualified under State law to be on the ballot.

"(2) Time to file declaration or statement required to be filed under paragraph (1) shall be filed by a candidate not later than the date that is 30 days before the date of the general election. With respect to any special general election, a declaration or statement required to be filed under paragraph (1) shall be filed by a candidate not later than the date that is 30 days before the date of the special general election.

"(c) GENERAL RUNOFF ELECTION PERIOD.—A candidate qualifies as a clean money candidate during the
general runoff election period if the candidate qualified as
a clean money candidate during the general election period.

1	"SEC. 503. REQUIREMENTS APPLICABLE TO CLEAN MONEY
2	CANDIDATES.
3	"(a) Contributions and Expenditures.—
4	"(1) Prohibition of Private Contribu-
5	TIONS.—Except as otherwise provided in this title,
6	during the election cycle of a clean money candidate,
7	the candidate shall not accept contributions other
8	than clean money from any source.
9	"(2) Prohibition of expenditures from
10	PRIVATE SOURCES.—Except as otherwise provided in
11	this title, during the election cycle of a clean money
12	candidate, the candidate shall not make expenditures
13	from any amounts other than clean money amounts.
14	"(b) Use of Personal Funds.—
15	"(1) In General.—A clean money candidate
16	shall not use personal funds to make an expenditure
17	except as provided in paragraph (2).
18	"(2) Exceptions.—A seed money contribution
19	or qualifying contribution from the candidate or a
20	member of the candidate's immediate family shall
21	not be considered to be use of personal funds.
22	"SEC. 504. SEED MONEY.
23	"(a) Seed Money Limit.—A clean money candidate
24	may accept seed money contributions in an aggregate
25	amount not exceeding \$35,000.

1	"(b) Contribution Limit.—Except as provided in
2	section 502(a)(2), a clean money candidate shall not ac-
3	cept a contribution from any person except a seed money
4	contribution (as defined in section 501).
5	"(c) Records.—A clean money candidate shall
6	maintain a record of the contributor's name, street ad-
7	dress, and amount of the contribution.
8	"(d) Use of Seed Money.—
9	"(1) In General.—A clean money candidate
10	may expend seed money for any election campaign-
11	related costs, including costs to open an office, fund
12	a grassroots campaign, or hold community meetings.
13	"(2) Prohibited Uses.—A clean money can-
14	didate shall not expend seed money for—
15	"(A) a television or radio broadcast; or
16	"(B) personal use.
17	"(e) Report.—Unless a seed money contribution or
18	expenditure made with a seed money contribution has
19	been reported previously under section 304, a clean money
20	candidate shall file with the Commission a report dis-
21	closing all seed money contributions and expenditures not
22	later than 48 hours after—
23	"(1) the earliest date on which the Commission
24	makes funds available to the candidate for an elec-

- 1 tion period under paragraph (1) or (2) of section
- 2 506(b); or
- 3 "(2) the end of the clean money qualifying pe-
- 4 riod,
- 5 whichever occurs first.
- 6 "(f) Time to Accept Seed Money Contribu-
- 7 TIONS.—A clean money candidate may accept seed money
- 8 contributions for an election from the day after the date
- 9 of the previous general election for the office to which the
- 10 candidate is seeking election through the earliest date on
- 11 which the Commission makes funds available to the can-
- 12 didate for an election period under paragraph (1) or (2)
- 13 of section 506(b).
- 14 "(g) Deposit of Unspent Seed Money Con-
- 15 TRIBUTIONS.—A clean money candidate shall remit any
- 16 unspent seed money to the Commission, for deposit in the
- 17 House of Representatives Election Fund, not later than
- 18 the earliest date on which the Commission makes funds
- 19 available to the candidate for an election period under
- 20 paragraph (1) or (2) of section 506(b).
- 21 "(h) Not Considered an Expenditure.—An ex-
- 22 penditure made with seed money shall not be treated as
- 23 an expenditure for purposes of section 506(f)(2).

#### SEC. 505. CERTIFICATION BY COMMISSION.

1	"SEC. 505. CERTIFICATION BY COMMISSION.
2	"(a) In General.—Not later than 5 days after a
3	candidate files a declaration under section 502, the Com-
4	mission shall—
5	"(1) determine whether the candidate meets the
6	eligibility requirements of section 502; and
7	"(2) certify whether or not the candidate is a
8	clean money candidate.
9	"(b) REVOCATION OF CERTIFICATION.—The Com-
0	mission may revoke a certification under subsection (a)
1	if a candidate fails to comply with this title.
2	"(c) Repayment of Benefits.—If certification is
3	revoked under subsection (b), the candidate shall repay
4	to the House of Representatives Election Fund an amount
5	equal to the value of benefits received under this title.
6	"SEC. 506. BENEFITS FOR CLEAN MONEY CANDIDATES.
7	"(a) In General.—A clean money candidate shall
8	be entitled to—
9	"(1) a clean money amount for each election
20	period to make or obligate to make expenditures
21	during the election period for which the clean money
22	is provided, as provided in subsection (e);
23	"(2) media benefits under section 315 of the
24	Communications Act of 1934 (47 U.S.C. 315); and
25	"(3) an aggregate amount of increase in the

clean money amount in response to certain inde-

1	pendent expenditures and expenditures of a private
2	money candidate under subsection (d) that, in the
3	aggregate, are in excess of 125 percent of the clean
4	money amount of the clean money candidate.
5	"(b) Payment of Clean Money Amount.—
6	"(1) Primary election.—The Commission
7	shall make funds available to a clean money can-
8	didate on the later of—
9	"(A) the date on which the candidate is
10	certified as a clean money candidate under sec-
11	tion 505; or
12	"(B) the date on which the primary elec-
13	tion period begins.
14	"(2) General election.—The Commission
15	shall make funds available to a clean money can-
16	didate not later than 48 hours after—
17	"(A) certification of the primary election
18	or primary runoff election result; or
19	"(B) the date on which the candidate is
20	certified as a clean money candidate under sec-
21	tion 505 for the general election,
22	whichever occurs first.
23	"(3) Runoff Election.—The Commission
24	shall make funds available to a clean money can-
25	didate not later than 48 hours after the certification

1 of the primary or general election result (as applica-2 ble). 3 "(c) Money Amounts.— "(1) IN GENERAL.—Except as provided in para-4 5 graph (2), the clean money amount paid to a clean 6 money candidate with respect to an election shall be 7 equal to the applicable percentage of 80 percent of 8 the base amount for the election cycle involved, ex-9 cept that in no event may the amount determined 10 under this subsection for a clean money candidate 11 for an election cycle be less than the amount deter-12 mined under this subsection for the candidate for 13 the previous election cycle. 14 "(2) Reduction for uncontested elec-15 TIONS.—If a clean money candidate has no opposi-16 tion in an election for which a payment is made 17 under this section, the clean money amount paid 18 shall be 40 percent of the amount otherwise deter-19 mined under paragraph (1). 20 "(3) Definitions.— "(A) APPLICABLE PERCENTAGE.—In this 21 22 subsection, the 'applicable percentage' is as fol-

lows:

1	"(i) 25 percent, in the case of a can-
2	didate in a primary election who is not a
3	major party candidate.
4	"(ii) 40 percent, in the case of a
5	major party candidate in a primary elec-
6	tion.
7	"(iii) 60 percent, in the case of any
8	candidate in a general election.
9	"(B) Base amount.—In this subsection,
10	the term 'base amount' means (with respect to
11	an election cycle) the national average of all
12	amounts expended by winning candidates dur-
13	ing the 3 most recent general elections for
14	Member of, or Delegate or Resident Commis-
15	sioner to, the Congress preceding the election
16	cycle involved.
17	"(d) Matching Funds in Response to Inde-
18	PENDENT EXPENDITURES AND EXPENDITURES OF PRI-
19	VATE MONEY CANDIDATES.—
20	"(1) In general.—If the Commission—
21	"(A) receives notification under—
22	"(i) subparagraphs (A) or (B) of sec-
23	tion 304(c)(2) that a person has made or
24	obligated to make an independent expendi-
25	ture in an aggregate amount of \$1,000 or

1 more in an election period or that a person 2 has made or obligated to make an indeexpenditure 3 pendent in an aggregate amount of \$500 or more during the 20 days preceding the date of an election in 6 support of another candidate or against a 7 clean money candidate; or 8 "(ii) section 304(i)(1) that a private 9 money candidate has made or obligated to 10 make expenditures in an aggregate amount 11 in excess of 100 percent of the amount of 12 clean money provided to a clean money 13 candidate who is an opponent of the pri-14 vate money candidate in the same election; 15 and 16 "(B) determines that the aggregate 17 amount of expenditures reported under sub-18 paragraph (A) in an election period is in excess 19 of 125 percent of the amount of clean money 20 provided to a clean money candidate who is an 21 opponent of the private money candidate in the 22 same election or against whom the independent 23 expenditure is made, 24 the Commission shall make available to the clean

money candidate, not later than 24 hours after re-

ceiving a notification under subparagraph (A), an aggregate amount of increase in clean money in an amount equal to the aggregate amount of expenditures that is in excess of 125 percent of the amount of clean money provided to the clean money candidate as determined under subparagraph (B).

"(2) CLEAN MONEY CANDIDATES OPPOSED BY MORE THAN 1 PRIVATE MONEY CANDIDATE.—For purposes of paragraph (1), if a clean money candidate is opposed by more than 1 private money candidate in the same election, the Commission shall take into account only the amount of expenditures of the private money candidate that expends, in the aggregate, the greatest amount (as determined each time notification is received under section 304(i)(1)).

"(3) CLEAN MONEY CANDIDATES OPPOSED BY CLEAN MONEY CANDIDATES.—If a clean money candidate is opposed by a clean money candidate, the increase in clean money amounts under paragraph (1) shall be made available to the clean money candidate if independent expenditures are made against the clean money candidate or in behalf of the opposing clean money candidate in the same manner as the increase would be made available for a clean

1	money candidate who is opposed by a private money
2	candidate.
3	"(e) Limits on Matching Funds.—The aggregate
4	amount of clean money that a clean money candidate re-
5	ceives to match independent expenditures and the expendi-
6	tures of private money candidates under subsection (d)
7	shall not exceed 200 percent of the clean money amount
8	that the clean money candidate receives under subsection
9	(e).
10	"(f) Expenditures Made With Clean Money
11	Amounts.—
12	"(1) IN GENERAL.—The clean money amount
13	received by a clean money candidate shall be used
14	only for the purpose of making or obligating to make
15	expenditures during the election period for which the
16	clean money is provided.
17	"(2) Expenditures in excess of clean
18	MONEY AMOUNT.—A clean money candidate shall
19	not make expenditures or incur obligations in excess
20	of the clean money amount.
21	"(3) Prohibited Uses.—The clean money
22	amount received by a clean money candidate shall
23	not be—
24	"(A) converted to a personal use; or
25	"(B) used in violation of law.

"(4) Repayment; civil penalties.—

"(A) If the Commission determines that any benefit made available to a clean money candidate under this title was not used as provided for in this title, or that a clean money candidate has violated any of the spending limits or dates for remission of funds contained in this Act, the Commission shall so notify the candidate and the candidate shall pay to the House of Representatives' Election Fund an amount equal to the amount of benefits so used, or the amount spent in excess of the limits or the amount not timely remitted, as appropriate.

"(B) Any action by the Commission in accordance with this section shall not preclude enforcement proceedings by the Commission in accordance with section 309(a), including a referral by the Commission to the Attorney General in the case of an apparent knowing and willful violation of this title.

"(g) Remitting of Clean Money Amounts.—Not later than the date that is 14 days after the last day of the applicable election period, a clean money candidate shall remit any unspent clean money amount to the Com-

I	mission for deposit in the House of Representatives Elec-
2	tion Fund.
3	"SEC. 507. ADMINISTRATION OF CLEAN MONEY.
4	"(a) House of Representatives Election
5	Fund.—
6	"(1) Establishment.—There is established in
7	the Treasury a fund to be known as the 'House of
8	Representatives Election Fund'.
9	"(2) Deposits.—The Commission shall deposit
10	unspent seed money contributions, qualifying con-
11	tributions, penalty amounts received under this title,
12	and amounts appropriated for clean money financing
13	in the House of Representatives Election Fund.
14	"(3) Funds.—The Commission shall withdraw
15	the clean money amount for a clean money can-
16	didate from the House of Representatives Election
17	Fund.
18	"(b) Regulations.—The Commission shall promul-
19	gate regulations to—
20	"(1) effectively and efficiently monitor and en-
21	force the limits on use of private money by clean
22	money candidates;
23	"(2) effectively and efficiently monitor use of
24	publicly financed amounts under this title, and

1	"(3) enable clean money candidates to monitor
2	expenditures and comply with the requirements of
3	this title.
4	"SEC. 508. EXPENDITURES MADE FROM FUNDS OTHER
5	THAN CLEAN MONEY.
6	"If a clean money candidate makes an expenditure
7	using funds other than funds provided under this title, the
8	Commission shall assess a civil penalty against the can-
9	didate in an amount that is not more than 10 times the
10	amount of the expenditure.
11	"SEC. 509. AUTHORIZATION OF APPROPRIATIONS.
12	"There are authorized to be appropriated to the
13	House of Representatives Election Fund such sums as are
14	necessary to carry out this title.".
15	SEC. 103. REPORTING REQUIREMENTS FOR EXPENDITURES
16	OF PRIVATE MONEY CANDIDATES.
17	Section 304 of the Federal Election Campaign Act
18	of 1971 (2 U.S.C. 434) is amended by adding at the end
19	the following:
20	"(i) Private Money Candidates.—
21	"(1) Expenditures in excess of clean
22	MONEY AMOUNTS.—Not later than 48 hours after
23	making or obligating to make an expenditure, a pri-
24	vate money candidate (as defined in section 501)
25	that makes or obligates to make expenditures, in an

aggregate amount in excess of 100 percent of the amount of clean money provided to a clean money candidate (as defined in section 501), during an election period (as defined by section 501) who is an opponent of the clean money candidate shall file with the Commission a report stating the amount of each expenditure (in increments of an aggregate amount of \$100) made or obligated to be made.

### "(2) Place of filing; notification.—

"(A) PLACE OF FILING.—A report under this subsection shall be filed with the Commission.

"(B) NOTIFICATION OF CLEAN MONEY CANDIDATES.—Not later than 24 hours after receipt of a report under this subsection, the Commission shall notify each clean money candidate seeking nomination for election to, or election to, the office in question, of the receipt of the report.

### "(3) Determinations by the commission.—

"(A) IN GENERAL.—The Commission may, on a request of a candidate or on its own initiative, make a determination that a private money candidate has made, or has obligated to 1 make, expenditures in excess of the applicable 2 amount in paragraph (1).

"(B) NOTIFICATION.—In the case of such a determination, the Commission shall notify each clean money candidate seeking nomination for election to, or election to, the office in question, of the making of the determination not later than 24 hours after making the determination.

"(C) Time to comply with request for determination.—A determination made at the request of a candidate shall be made not later than 48 hours after the date of the request.".

# 15 SEC. 104. TRANSITION RULE FOR CURRENT ELECTION 16 CYCLE.

17 (a) IN GENERAL.—During the election cycle in effect 18 on the date of enactment of this Act, a candidate may be certified as a clean money candidate (as defined in sec-19 tion 501 of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, 20 21 as added by section 102), notwithstanding the acceptance of contributions or making of expenditures from private 23 funds before the date of enactment that would, absent this section, disqualify the candidate as a clean money candidate. 25

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1	(b) Private Funds.—A candidate may be certified
2	as a clean money candidate only if any private funds ac-
3	cepted and not expended before the date of enactment of
4	this Act are—
5	(1) returned to the contributor; or
6	(2) submitted to the Federal Election Commis-
7	sion for deposit in the House of Representatives
8	Election Fund (as defined in section 501 of the Fed-
9	eral Election Campaign Act of 1971, as added by
10	section 102).
	TITLE II—INDEPENDENT EX-
11	
11 12	PENDITURES; COORDINATED
12	PENDITURES; COORDINATED
12 13	PENDITURES; COORDINATED POLITICAL PARTY EXPENDI-
12 13 14	PENDITURES; COORDINATED POLITICAL PARTY EXPENDITURES
12 13 14 15	PENDITURES; COORDINATED POLITICAL PARTY EXPENDITURES  SEC. 201. REPORTING REQUIREMENTS FOR INDEPENDENT
112 113 114 115 116 117	PENDITURES; COORDINATED POLITICAL PARTY EXPENDITURES  SEC. 201. REPORTING REQUIREMENTS FOR INDEPENDENT EXPENDITURES.
112 113 114 115 116 117	PENDITURES; COORDINATED POLITICAL PARTY EXPENDITURES  SEC. 201. REPORTING REQUIREMENTS FOR INDEPENDENT EXPENDITURES.  Section 304(c) of the Federal Election Campaign Act
12 13 14 15 16 17	PENDITURES; COORDINATED POLITICAL PARTY EXPENDITURES  SEC. 201. REPORTING REQUIREMENTS FOR INDEPENDENT EXPENDITURES.  Section 304(c) of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 (2 U.S.C. 434(c)) is amended—
12 13 14 15 16 17 18	PENDITURES; COORDINATED POLITICAL PARTY EXPENDITURES  SEC. 201. REPORTING REQUIREMENTS FOR INDEPENDENT EXPENDITURES.  Section 304(c) of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 (2 U.S.C. 434(c)) is amended—  (1) by striking "(c)(1) Every person" and in-
12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20	PENDITURES; COORDINATED POLITICAL PARTY EXPENDITURES  SEC. 201. REPORTING REQUIREMENTS FOR INDEPENDENT EXPENDITURES.  Section 304(c) of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 (2 U.S.C. 434(c)) is amended—  (1) by striking "(c)(1) Every person" and inserting the following:
12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21	PENDITURES; COORDINATED POLITICAL PARTY EXPENDITURES  SEC. 201. REPORTING REQUIREMENTS FOR INDEPENDENT EXPENDITURES.  Section 304(c) of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 (2 U.S.C. 434(c)) is amended—  (1) by striking "(c)(1) Every person" and inserting the following:  "(c) INDEPENDENT EXPENDITURES.—

1	(2) in paragraph (2), by redesignating subpara-
2	graphs (A), (B), and (C) as clauses (i), (ii), and
3	(iii), respectively, and adjusting the margins accord-
4	ingly;
5	(3) by redesignating paragraphs (2) and (3) as
6	subparagraphs (B) and (C), respectively, and adjust-
7	ing the margins accordingly; and
8	(4) by adding at the end the following:
9	"(2) House of representatives elections
10	WITH A CLEAN MONEY CANDIDATE.—
11	"(A) Independent expenditures more
12	THAN 20 DAYS BEFORE AN ELECTION.—
13	"(i) In General.—Not later than 48
14	hours after making an independent ex-
15	penditure, more than 20 days before the
16	date of an election, in support of an oppo-
17	nent of or in opposition to a clean money
18	candidate (as defined in section 501), a
19	person that makes independent expendi-
20	tures in an aggregate amount in excess of
21	\$1,000 during an election period (as de-
22	fined in section 501) shall file with the
23	Commission a statement containing the in-
24	formation described in clause (ii).

1	"(ii) Contents of Statement.—A
2	statement under subparagraph (A) shall
3	include a certification, under penalty of
4	perjury, that contains the information re-
5	quired by subsection (b)(6)(B)(iii).
6	"(iii) Additional statements.—An
7	additional statement shall be filed for each
8	aggregate of independent expenditures that
9	exceeds \$1,000.
10	"(B) Independent expenditures dur-
11	ING THE 20 DAYS PRECEDING AN ELECTION.—
12	Not later than 24 hours after making or obli-
13	gating to make an independent expenditure in
14	support of an opponent of or in opposition to a
15	clean money candidate in an aggregate amount
16	in excess of \$500, during the 20 days preceding
17	the date of an election, a person that makes or
18	obligates to make the independent expenditure
19	shall file with the Commission a statement stat-
20	ing the amount of each independent expenditure
21	made or obligated to be made.
22	"(C) Place of filing; notification.—
23	"(i) Place of filing.—A report or
24	statement under this paragraph shall be
25	filed with the Commission.

1	"(ii) Notification of clean money
2	CANDIDATES.—Not later than 24 hours,
3	but excluding the time from 5:00 p.m. Fri-
4	day through and until 9:00 a.m. the fol-
5	lowing Monday, and legal holidays after re-
6	ceipt of a statement under this paragraph,
7	the Commission shall notify each clean
8	money candidate seeking nomination for
9	election to, or election to, the office in
10	question of the receipt of a statement.
11	"(D) DETERMINATION BY THE COMMIS-
12	SION.—
13	"(i) In General.—The Commission
14	may, on request of a candidate or on its
15	own initiative, make a determination that a
16	person has made or obligated to make
17	independent expenditures with respect to a
18	candidate that in the aggregate exceed the
19	applicable amount under subparagraph
20	(A).
21	"(ii) Notification.—Not later than
22	24 hours after making a determination
23	under clause (i), the Commission shall no-

1	election of the making of the determina-
2	tion.
3	"(iii) Time to comply with re-
4	QUEST FOR DETERMINATION.—A deter-
5	mination made at the request of a can-
6	didate shall be made not later than 48
7	hours after the date of the request.".
8	SEC. 202. LIMIT ON EXPENDITURES BY POLITICAL PARTY
9	COMMITTEES.
10	Section 315(d)(3) of the Federal Election Campaign
11	Act of 1971 (2 U.S.C. 441a(d)(3)) is amended—
12	(1) in subparagraph (A)—
13	(A) in the matter preceding clause (i), by
14	striking "in the case" and inserting "except as
15	provided in subparagraph (C), in the case", and
16	(B) by striking "and" at the end;
17	(2) in subparagraph (B)—
18	(A) by striking "in the case" and inserting
19	"except as provided in subparagraph (C), in the
20	case", and
21	(B) by striking the period at the end and
22	inserting "; and; and
23	(3) by adding at the end the following:
24	"(C) in the case of an election to the office of
25	Representative in or Delegate or Resident Commis-

1	sioner to the Congress in which 1 or more can-
2	didates is a clean money candidate (as defined in
3	section 501), 10 percent of the amount of clean
4	money that a clean money candidate is eligible to re-
5	ceive for the general election period.".
6	SEC. 203. TREATMENT OF COORDINATED EXPENDITURES
7	AS CONTRIBUTIONS.
8	(a) In General.—Section 301(8) of the Federal
9	Election Campaign Act of 1971 (2 U.S.C. 431(8)) is
10	amended—
11	(1) in subparagraph (A)—
12	(A) by striking "or" at the end of clause
13	(i);
14	(B) by striking the period at the end of
15	clause (ii) and inserting "; or"; and
16	(C) by adding at the end the following:
17	"(iii) a payment made for a commu-
18	nication or anything of value that is for
19	the purpose of influencing an election for
20	Federal office and that is made in coordi-
21	nation with a candidate (as defined in sub-
22	paragraph (C))."; and
23	(2) by adding at the end the following:

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

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

person who has provided or is providing campaign-related services in the same election cycle to a candidate in connection with the candidate's pursuit of nomination for election, or election, to Federal office, including services relating to the candidate's decision to seek Federal office, and the payment is for services of which the purpose is to influence that candidate's election.

- "(D) For purposes of subparagraph (C)(vi), the term 'professional services' includes services in support of a candidate's pursuit of nomination for election, or election, to Federal office such as polling, media advice, direct mail, fundraising, or campaign research.".
- 17 (b) EXCEPTION FOR CLEAN MONEY CANDIDATES.—
  18 Section 315(a)(7) of such Act (2 U.S.C. 441a(a)(7)) is
  19 amended by striking paragraph (B) and inserting the fol20 lowing:

"(B)(i) except as provided in clause (ii), a payment made in coordination with a candidate (as described in section 301(8)(A)(iii)) shall be considered to be a contribution to the candidate, and, for the purposes of any provision of this Act that imposes

1	a limitation on the making of expenditures by a can-
2	didate, shall be treated as an expenditure by the
3	candidate for purposes of this paragraph, and
4	"(ii) in the case of a clean money candidate (as
5	defined in section 501), a payment made in coordi-
6	nation with a candidate by a committee of a political
7	party shall not be treated as a contribution to the
8	candidate for purposes of section 503(b)(1) or an ex-
9	penditure made by the candidate for purposes of sec-
10	tion $503(b)(2)$ ;".
11	TITLE III—VOTER INFORMATION
12	SEC. 301. FREE BROADCAST TIME.
13	Section 315 of the Communications Act of 1934 (47
14	U.S.C. 315) is amended—
15	(1) in subsection (a), in the third sentence, by
16	striking "within the meaning of this subsection" and
17	inserting "within the meaning of this subsection or
18	subsection (c)";
19	(2) by adding at the end the following:
20	"(f) Free Broadcast Time.—
21	"(1) Amount of time.—A clean money can-
22	didate shall be entitled to receive—
23	"(A) 30 minutes of free broadcast time
24	during each of the primary election period and
25	the primary runoff election period; and

1	"(B) 75 minutes of free broadcast time
2	during the general election period and general
3	runoff election period.
4	"(2) Time during which the broadcast is
5	SHOWN.—The broadcast time under paragraph (1)
6	shall be—
7	"(A) with respect to a television broadcast,
8	the time between 6:00 p.m. and 10:00 p.m. on
9	any day that falls on Monday through Friday;
10	"(B) with respect to a radio broadcast, the
11	time between 7:00 a.m. and 9:30 a.m. or be-
12	tween 4:30 p.m. and 7:00 p.m. on any day that
13	falls on Monday through Friday; or
14	"(C) with respect to any broadcast, such
15	other time to which the candidate and broad-
16	caster may agree.
17	"(3) Maximum required of any station.—
18	The amount of free broadcast time that any 1 sta-
19	tion is required to make available to any 1 clean
20	money candidate during each of the primary election
21	period, primary runoff election period, and general
22	election period shall not exceed 15 minutes."; and
23	(3) in subsection (e)—
24	(A) by striking "and" at the end of para-
25	graph (1);

1	(B) by striking the period at the end of
2	paragraph (2) and inserting a semicolon, and
3	by redesignating that paragraph as paragraph
4	(4);
5	(C) by inserting after paragraph (1) the
6	following:
7	"(2) the term 'clean money candidate' has the
8	meaning given in section 501 of the Federal Election
9	Campaign Act of 1971;
10	"(3) the terms 'general election period' and
11	'general runoff election period' have the meaning
12	given in section 501 of the Federal Election Cam-
13	paign Act of 1971;"; and
14	(D) by adding at the end the following:
15	"(5) the term 'primary election period' has the
16	meaning given in section 501 of the Federal Election
17	Campaign Act of 1971;
18	"(6) the term 'private money candidate' has the
19	meaning given in section 501 of the Federal Election
20	Campaign Act of 1971; and
21	"(7) the term 'primary runoff election period'
22	has the meaning given in section 501 of the Federal
23	Election Campaign Act of 1971.".

## 1 SEC. 302. BROADCAST RATES AND PREEMPTION.

2	(a) Broadcast Rates.—Section 315(b) of the Com-
3	munications Act of 1934 (47 U.S.C. 315(b)) is amended—
4	(1) in paragraph (1)(A), by striking "paragraph
5	(2)" and inserting "paragraphs (2) and (3)"; and
6	(2) by adding at the end the following:
7	"(3) CLEAN MONEY CANDIDATES.—In the case
8	of a clean money candidate, the charges for the use
9	of a television broadcasting station shall not exceed
10	50 percent of the lowest charge described in para-
11	graph (1)(A) during—
12	"(A) the 30 days preceding the date of a
13	primary or primary runoff election in which the
14	candidate is opposed; and
15	"(B) the 60 days preceding the date of a
16	general or special election in which the can-
17	didate is opposed.
18	"(4) Other house candidates.—In the case
19	of a candidate for election for Member of, or Dele-
20	gate or Resident Commissioner to, the Congress who
21	is not a clean money candidate, paragraph (1)(A)
22	shall not apply.
23	"(5) Rate cards.—A licensee shall provide to
24	a candidate for Member of or Delegate or Resident
25	Commissioner to the Congress a rate card that dis-
26	closes—

"(A) the rate charged under this sub-1 2 section; and 3 "(B) the method that the licensee uses to 4 determine the rate charged under this sub-5 section.". 6 (b) Preemption.—Section 315 of such Act (47) U.S.C. 315), as amended by section 301, is amended by 8 adding at the end the following: 9 "(g) Preemption.— 10 "(1) In General.—Except as provided in para-11 graph (2), a licensee shall not preempt the use of a 12 broadcasting station by a legally qualified candidate 13 for Member of or Delegate or Resident Commis-14 sioner to the Congress who has purchased and paid 15 for such use. "(2) CIRCUMSTANCES BEYOND CONTROL OF LI-16 17 CENSEE.—If a program to be broadcast by a broad-18 casting station is preempted because of cir-19 cumstances beyond the control of the broadcasting 20 station, any candidate advertising spot scheduled to 21 be broadcast during that program may also be pre-22 empted.". 23 (c) REVOCATION OF LICENSE FOR FAILURE TO PER-MIT ACCESS.—Section 312(a)(7) of such Act (47 U.S.C. 312(a)(7)) is amended—

1	(1) by striking "or repeated";
2	(2) by inserting "or cable system" after "broad-
3	casting station"; and
4	(3) by striking "his candidacy" and inserting
5	"the candidacy of the candidate, under the same
6	terms, conditions, and business practices as apply to
7	the most favored advertiser of the licensee".
8	SEC. 303. LIMIT ON CONGRESSIONAL USE OF THE FRANK-
9	ING PRIVILEGE.
10	Section 3210(a)(6) of title 39, United States Code,
11	is amended by striking subparagraph (A) and inserting
12	the following:
13	"(A)(i) Except as provided in clause (ii), a Member
14	of Congress shall not mail any mass mailing as franked
15	mail during the period which begins on the first day of
16	the primary election period (as described in section
17	501(12) of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971)
18	and ends on the date of the general election for that office
19	(other than any portion of such period between the date
20	of the primary election and the first day of the general
21	election period), unless the Member has made a public an-
22	nouncement that the Member will not be a candidate for
23	reelection in that year or for election to any other Federal
2.4	office

1	"(ii) A Member of Congress may mail a mass mailing
2	as franked mail if—
3	"(I) the purpose of the mailing is to commu-
4	nicate information about a public meeting; and
5	"(II) the content of the mailed matter includes
6	only the Representative's name, and the date, time,
7	and place of the public meeting.".
8	TITLE IV—RESTRUCTURING AND
9	STRENGTHENING OF THE
10	FEDERAL ELECTION COMMIS-
11	SION
12	SEC. 401. APPOINTMENT AND TERMS OF COMMISSIONERS.
13	(a) In General.—Section 306(a) of the Federal
14	Election Campaign Act of 1971 (2 U.S.C. 437c(a)) is
15	amended—
16	(1) in paragraph (1)—
17	(A) by striking "(1) There is established"
18	and inserting " $(1)(A)$ There is established";
19	(B) by striking the second sentence and in-
20	serting the following:
21	"(B) Composition of Commission.—The Commis-
22	sion is composed of 6 members appointed by the Presi-
23	dent, by and with the advice and consent of the United
24	States Senate, and 1 member appointed by the President

from among persons recommended by the Commission as provided in subparagraph (D)."; 3 (C) by striking "No more than" and in-4 serting the following: "(C) PARTY AFFILIATION.—Not more than"; and 5 6 (D) by adding at the end the following: 7 "(D) Nomination by Commission of Additional 8 Member.— 9 "(i) IN GENERAL.—The members of the Com-10 mission shall recommend to the President, by a vote 11 of 4 members, 3 persons for the appointment to the 12 Commission. 13 "(ii) Vacancy.—On vacancy of the position of 14 the member appointed under this subparagraph, a 15 member shall be appointed to fill the vacancy in the same manner as provided in clause (i)."; and 16 17 (2) in paragraphs (3) and (4), by striking 18 "(other than the Secretary of the Senate and the 19 Clerk of the House of Representatives)". 20 (b) Transition Rule.—Not later than 90 days after 21 the date of enactment of this Act, the Federal Election 22 Commission shall recommend persons for appointment 23 under section 306(a)(1)(D) of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, as added by subsection (a)(1)(D).

## 1 **SEC. 402. AUDITS.**2 Section 311

- 2 Section 311(b) of the Federal Election Campaign Act
- 3 of 1971 (2 U.S.C. 438(b)) is amended—
- 4 (1) by inserting "(1)" before "The Commis-
- 5 sion"; and
- 6 (2) by adding at the end the following:
- 7 "(2) Random audits.—
- 9 "(A) IN GENERAL.—Notwithstanding para-9 graph (1), after every primary, general, and 10 runoff election, the Commission may conduct 11 random audits and investigations to ensure vol-12 untary compliance with this Act.
- 13 "(B) SELECTION OF SUBJECTS.—The sub-14 jects of audits and investigations under this 15 paragraph shall be selected on the basis of im-16 partial criteria established by a vote of at least 17 4 members of the Commission.
- 18 "(C) EXCLUSION.—This paragraph does 19 not apply to an authorized committee of a can-20 didate for President or Vice President subject 21 to audit under chapter 95 or 96 of the Internal 22 Revenue Code of 1986.".
- 23 SEC. 403. AUTHORITY TO SEEK INJUNCTION.
- Section 309(a) of the Federal Election Campaign Act
- 25 of 1971 (2 U.S.C. 437g(a)) is amended—
- 26 (1) by adding at the end the following:

1	"(13) Authority to Seek Injunction.—
2	"(A) In general.—If, at any time in a pro-
3	ceeding described in paragraph (1), (2), (3), or (4),
4	the Commission believes that—
5	"(i) there is a substantial likelihood that a
6	violation of this Act is occurring or is about to
7	occur;
8	"(ii) the failure to act expeditiously will re-
9	sult in irreparable harm to a party affected by
10	the potential violation;
11	"(iii) expeditious action will not cause
12	undue harm or prejudice to the interests of oth-
13	ers; and
14	"(iv) the public interest would be best
15	served by the issuance of an injunction;
16	the Commission may initiate a civil action for a temporary
17	restraining order or preliminary injunction pending the
18	outcome of proceedings under paragraphs (1), (2), (3),
19	and (4).
20	"(B) Venue.—An action under subparagraph
21	(A) shall be brought in the United States district
22	court for the district in which the defendant resides,
23	transacts business, or may be found, or in which the
24	violation is occurring, has occurred, or is about to
25	occur.'';

(2) in paragraph (7), by striking "(5) or (6)" 1 2 and inserting "(5), (6), or (13)"; and 3 (3) in paragraph (11), by striking "(6)" and in-4 serting "(6) or (13)". SEC. 404. STANDARD FOR INVESTIGATION. 6 Section 309(a)(2) of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 (2 U.S.C. 437f(a)(2)) is amended by striking 8 "reason to believe that" and inserting "reason to open an investigation on whether". SEC. 405. PETITION FOR CERTIORARI. 11 Section 307(a)(6) of the Federal Election Campaign 12 Act of 1971 (2 U.S.C. 437d(a)) is amended by inserting "(including a proceeding before the Supreme Court on cer-13 tiorari)" after "appeal". 14 15 SEC. 406. EXPEDITED PROCEDURES. 16 Section 309(a) of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 (2 U.S.C. 437g(a)), as amended by section 403, 18 is amended by adding at the end the following: 19 "(14) Expedited Procedure.— 20 "(A) 60 days before a general elec-21 TION.—If the complaint in a proceeding was filed

within 60 days before the date of a general election,

the Commission may take action described in this

subparagraph.

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1 "(B) Resolution before an election.—If 2 the Commission determines, on the basis of facts al-3 leged in the complaint and other facts available to 4 the Commission, that there is clear and convincing 5 evidence that a violation of this Act has occurred, is 6 occurring, or is about to occur and it appears that 7 the requirements for relief stated in clauses (ii), (iii), 8 and (iv) of paragraph (13)(A) are met, the Commis-9 sion may—

- "(i) order expedited proceedings, shortening the time periods for proceedings under paragraphs (1), (2), (3), and (4) as necessary to allow the matter to be resolved in sufficient time before the election to avoid harm or prejudice to the interests of the parties; or
- "(ii) if the Commission determines that there is insufficient time to conduct proceedings before the election, immediately seek relief under paragraph (13)(A).
- "(C) MERITLESS COMPLAINTS.—If the Commission determines, on the basis of facts alleged in the complaint and other facts available to the Commission, that the complaint is clearly without merit, the Commission may—

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1	"(i) order expedited proceedings, short-
2	ening the time periods for proceedings under
3	paragraphs (1), (2), (3), and (4) as necessary
4	to allow the matter to be resolved in sufficient
5	time before the election to avoid harm or preju-
6	dice to the interests of the parties; or
7	"(ii) if the Commission determines that
8	there is insufficient time to conduct proceedings
9	before the election, summarily dismiss the com-
10	plaint.".
11	SEC. 407. PROMOTING EXPEDITED AVAILABILITY OF FEC
12	REPORTS.
	(a) Mandatory Electronic Filing.—Section
13	(a) Mandatory Electronic Filing.—Section 304(a)(11) of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971
13 14	
13 14 15	304(a)(11) of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971
13 14 15 16	304(a)(11) of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 (2 U.S.C. 434(a)(11)) is amended—
13 14 15 16 17	304(a)(11) of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 (2 U.S.C. 434(a)(11)) is amended—  (1) in subparagraph (A), by striking "under
13 14 15 16 17	304(a)(11) of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 (2 U.S.C. 434(a)(11)) is amended—  (1) in subparagraph (A), by striking "under this Act—" and all that follows and inserting
13 14 15 16 17 18	304(a)(11) of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 (2 U.S.C. 434(a)(11)) is amended—  (1) in subparagraph (A), by striking "under this Act—" and all that follows and inserting "under this Act shall be required to maintain and
13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20	304(a)(11) of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 (2 U.S.C. 434(a)(11)) is amended—  (1) in subparagraph (A), by striking "under this Act—" and all that follows and inserting "under this Act shall be required to maintain and file such designation, statement, or report in elec-
13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22	304(a)(11) of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 (2 U.S.C. 434(a)(11)) is amended—  (1) in subparagraph (A), by striking "under this Act—" and all that follows and inserting "under this Act shall be required to maintain and file such designation, statement, or report in electronic form accessible by computers.";
13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21	304(a)(11) of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 (2 U.S.C. 434(a)(11)) is amended—  (1) in subparagraph (A), by striking "under this Act—" and all that follows and inserting "under this Act shall be required to maintain and file such designation, statement, or report in electronic form accessible by computers.";  (2) in subparagraph (B), by striking "48

- 1 (b) Requiring Reports for All Contributions
- 2 Made to Any Political Committee Within 90 Days
- 3 OF ELECTION; REQUIRING REPORTS TO BE MADE WITH-
- 4 IN 24 HOURS.—Section 304(a)(6) of such Act (2 U.S.C.
- 5 434(a)(6)) is amended to read as follows:
- 6 "(6)(A) Each political committee shall notify the Sec-
- 7 retary or the Commission, and the Secretary of State, as
- 8 appropriate, in writing, of any contribution received by the
- 9 committee during the period which begins on the 90th day
- 10 before an election and ends at the time the polls close for
- 11 such election. This notification shall be made within 24
- 12 hours (or, if earlier, by midnight of the day on which the
- 13 contribution is deposited) after the receipt of such con-
- 14 tribution and shall include the name of the candidate in-
- 15 volved (as appropriate) and the office sought by the can-
- 16 didate, the identification of the contributor, and the date
- 17 of receipt and amount of the contribution.
- 18 "(B) The notification required under this paragraph
- 19 shall be in addition to all other reporting requirements
- 20 under this Act.".
- 21 SEC. 408. POWER TO ISSUE SUBPOENA WITHOUT SIGNA-
- TURE OF CHAIRPERSON.
- Section 307(a)(3) of the Federal Election Campaign
- 24 Act of 1971 (2 U.S.C. 437d(a)(3)) is amended by striking
- 25 ", signed by the chairman or the vice chairman,".

## 1 TITLE V—MISCELLANEOUS 2 PROVISIONS

- 3 SEC. 501. SEVERABILITY.
- 4 If any provision of this Act or amendment made by
- 5 this Act, or the application of a provision or amendment
- 6 to any person or circumstance, is held to be unconstitu-
- 7 tional, the remainder of this Act and amendments made
- 8 by this Act, and the application of the provisions and
- 9 amendment to any person or circumstance, shall not be
- 10 affected by the holding.
- 11 SEC. 502. REVIEW OF CONSTITUTIONAL ISSUES.
- 12 An appeal may be taken directly to the Supreme
- 13 Court of the United States from any final judgment, de-
- 14 cree, or order issued by any court ruling on the constitu-
- 15 tionality of any provision of this Act or amendment made
- 16 by this Act.
- 17 SEC. 503. EFFECTIVE DATE.
- 18 This Act and the amendments made by this Act shall
- 19 take effect on January 1, 2006.

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