

Union Calendar No. 263

105TH CONGRESS
2^D Session

H. R. 3485

[Report No. 105-457, Part I]

A BILL

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

MARCH 23, 1998

Referred to the Committee on the Judiciary and Ways and Means for a period ending not later than March 23, 1998, for consideration of such provisions of the bill and amendment reported from the Committee on House Oversight as fall within the jurisdiction of those committees pursuant to clause 1 (j) and (s), rule X

MARCH 23, 1998

Reported from the Committee on House Oversight with an amendment

MARCH 23, 1998

The Committees on the Judiciary and Ways and Means discharged; committed to the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union and ordered to be printed

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IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

MARCH 18, 1998

Mr. THOMAS introduced the following bill; which was referred to the Committee on House Oversight

MARCH 23, 1998

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MARCH 23, 1998

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[Strike out all after the enacting clause and insert the part printed in *italic*]

MARCH 23, 1998

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[For text of introduced bill, see copy of bill as introduced on March 18, 1998]

A BILL

To amend the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 to

reform the financing of campaigns for election for Federal office, 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 *“Campaign Reform and Election Integrity Act of 1998”.*

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

Sec. 1. Short title; table of contents.

TITLE I—VOLUNTARY CONTRIBUTIONS

Sec. 101. Prohibiting involuntary use of funds of employees of corporations and other employers and members of unions and organizations for political activities.

TITLE II—BANNING NONCITIZEN CONTRIBUTIONS

Sec. 201. Prohibiting noncitizen individuals from making contributions in connection with Federal elections.

Sec. 202. Increase in penalty for violations of ban.

TITLE III—IMPROVING REPORTING AND ENFORCEMENT

Sec. 301. Expediting reporting of information.

Sec. 302. Expansion of type of information reported.

Sec. 303. Promoting effective enforcement by Federal Election Commission.

Sec. 304. Banning acceptance of cash contributions greater than \$100.

Sec. 305. Protecting confidentiality of small contributions by employees of corporations and members of labor organizations.

Sec. 306. Disclosure and reports relating to polling by telephone or electronic device.

TITLE IV—EXCESSIVE SPENDING BY CANDIDATES FROM PERSONAL FUNDS

Sec. 401. Modification of limitations on contributions when candidates spend or contribute large amounts of personal funds.

TITLE V—ELECTION INTEGRITY

Subtitle A—Voter Eligibility Verification Pilot Program

Sec. 501. Voter eligibility pilot confirmation program.

Sec. 502. Authorization of appropriations.

Subtitle B—Other Measures to Protect Election Integrity

Sec. 511. Requiring inclusion of citizenship check-off and information with all applications for voter registration.

Sec. 512. Improving administration of voter removal programs.

**TITLE VI—REVISION AND INDEXING OF CERTAIN CONTRIBUTION
LIMITS AND PENALTIES**

Sec. 601. Increase in certain contribution limits.

Sec. 602. Indexing limits on certain contributions.

Sec. 603. Indexing amount of penalties and fines.

TITLE VII—RESTRICTIONS ON SOFT MONEY

Sec. 701. Ban on soft money of national political parties and candidates.

Sec. 702. Ban on disbursements of soft money by foreign nationals.

Sec. 703. Enforcement of spending limit on presidential and vice presidential candidates who receive public financing.

Sec. 704. Conspiracy to violate presidential campaign spending limits.

TITLE VIII—DISCLOSURE OF CERTAIN COMMUNICATIONS

Sec. 801. Disclosure of certain communications.

TITLE IX—EFFECTIVE DATE

Sec. 901. Effective date.

**TITLE I—VOLUNTARY
CONTRIBUTIONS**

**SEC. 101. PROHIBITING INVOLUNTARY USE OF FUNDS OF
EMPLOYEES OF CORPORATIONS AND OTHER
EMPLOYERS AND MEMBERS OF UNIONS AND
ORGANIZATIONS FOR POLITICAL ACTIVITIES.**

(a) IN GENERAL.—Section 316 of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 (2 U.S.C. 441b) is amended by adding at the end the following new subsection:

“(c)(1)(A) Except with the separate, prior, written, voluntary authorization of the individual involved, it shall be unlawful—

1 “(i) for any national bank or corporation de-
2 scribed in this section to collect from or assess a stock-
3 holder or employee any portion of any dues, initi-
4 ation fee, or other payment made as a condition of
5 employment which will be used for political activity
6 in which the national bank or corporation is engaged;
7 and

8 “(ii) for any labor organization described in this
9 section to collect from or assess a member or nonmem-
10 ber any portion of any dues, initiation fee, or other
11 payment which will be used for political activity in
12 which the labor organization is engaged.

13 “(B) An authorization described in subparagraph (A)
14 shall remain in effect until revoked and may be revoked
15 at any time. Each entity collecting from or assessing
16 amounts from an individual with an authorization in effect
17 under such subparagraph shall provide the individual with
18 a statement that the individual may at any time revoke
19 the authorization.

20 “(2)(A) Prior to the beginning of any 12-month period
21 (as determined by the corporation), each corporation de-
22 scribed in this section shall provide each of its shareholders
23 with a notice containing the following:

1 “(i) *The proposed aggregate amount for disburse-*
2 *ments for political activities by the corporation for*
3 *the period.*

4 “(ii) *The individual’s applicable percentage and*
5 *applicable pro rata amount for the period.*

6 “(iii) *A form that the individual may complete*
7 *and return to the corporation to indicate the individ-*
8 *ual’s objection to the disbursement of amounts for po-*
9 *litical activities during the period.*

10 “(B) *It shall be unlawful for a corporation to which*
11 *subparagraph (A) applies to make disbursements for politi-*
12 *cal activities during the 12-month period described in such*
13 *subparagraph in an amount greater than—*

14 “(i) *the proposed aggregate amount for such dis-*
15 *bursements for the period, as specified in the notice*
16 *provided under subparagraph (A); reduced by*

17 “(ii) *the sum of the applicable pro rata amounts*
18 *for such period of all shareholders who return the*
19 *form described in subparagraph (A)(iii) to the cor-*
20 *poration prior to the beginning of the period.*

21 “(C) *In this paragraph, the following definitions shall*
22 *apply:*

23 “(i) *The term ‘applicable percentage’ means,*
24 *with respect to a shareholder of a corporation, the*
25 *amount (expressed as a percentage) equal to the num-*

1 *ber of shares of the corporation (within a particular*
2 *class or type of stock) owned by the shareholder at the*
3 *time the notice described in subparagraph (A) is pro-*
4 *vided, divided by the aggregate number of such shares*
5 *owned by all shareholders of the corporation at such*
6 *time.*

7 *“(ii) The term ‘applicable pro rata amount’*
8 *means, with respect to a shareholder for a 12-month*
9 *period, the product of the shareholder’s applicable per-*
10 *centage for the period and the proposed aggregate*
11 *amount for disbursements for political activities by*
12 *the corporation for the period, as specified in the no-*
13 *tice provided under subparagraph (A).*

14 *“(3)(A) Prior to the beginning of any 12-month period*
15 *(as determined by the organization), each organization ex-*
16 *empt from Federal taxation under section 501 of the Inter-*
17 *nal Revenue Code of 1986 (other than a labor organization)*
18 *shall provide each of its members with a notice containing*
19 *the following:*

20 *“(i) The proposed aggregate amount for disburse-*
21 *ments for political activities by the organization for*
22 *the period.*

23 *“(ii) The individual’s applicable percentage and*
24 *applicable pro rata amount for the period.*

1 “(iii) A form that the individual may complete
2 and return to the organization to indicate the indi-
3 vidual’s objection to the disbursement of amounts for
4 political activities during the period.

5 “(B) It shall be unlawful for an organization to which
6 subparagraph (A) applies to make disbursements for politi-
7 cal activities during the 12-month period described in such
8 subparagraph in an amount greater than—

9 “(i) the proposed aggregate amount for such dis-
10 bursements for the period, as specified in the notice
11 provided under subparagraph (A); reduced by

12 “(ii) the sum of the applicable pro rata amounts
13 for such period of all members who return the form
14 described in subparagraph (A)(iii) to the organiza-
15 tion prior to the beginning of the period.

16 “(C) In this paragraph, the following definitions shall
17 apply:

18 “(i) The term ‘applicable percentage’ means,
19 with respect to a member of an organization, the
20 amount (expressed as a percentage) equal to the total
21 dues or membership fees paid by the member for the
22 period involved, divided by the total amount of dues
23 or fees paid by all members of the organization for
24 such period.

1 “(ii) The term ‘applicable pro rata amount’
 2 means, with respect to a member for a 12-month pe-
 3 riod, the product of the member’s applicable percent-
 4 age for the period and the proposed aggregate amount
 5 for disbursements for political activities by the orga-
 6 nization for the period, as specified in the notice pro-
 7 vided under subparagraph (A).

8 “(4) For purposes of this subsection, the term ‘political
 9 activity’ means any activity carried out for the purpose of
 10 influencing (in whole or in part) any election for Federal
 11 office, influencing the consideration or outcome of any Fed-
 12 eral legislation or the issuance or outcome of any Federal
 13 regulations, or educating individuals about candidates for
 14 election for Federal office or any Federal legislation, law,
 15 or regulations.”.

16 (b) *EFFECTIVE DATE.*—The amendment made by sub-
 17 section (a) shall apply to amounts collected or assessed on
 18 or after the date of the enactment of this Act.

19 **TITLE II—BANNING NONCITIZEN** 20 **CONTRIBUTIONS**

21 **SEC. 201. PROHIBITING NONCITIZEN INDIVIDUALS FROM** 22 **MAKING CONTRIBUTIONS IN CONNECTION** 23 **WITH FEDERAL ELECTIONS.**

24 (a) *PROHIBITION APPLICABLE TO ALL NONCITI-*
 25 *ZENS.*—Section 319(b)(2) of the Federal Election Cam-

1 *paign Act of 1971 (2 U.S.C. 441e(b)(2)) is amended by*
 2 *striking “and who is not lawfully admitted” and all that*
 3 *follows and inserting a period.*

4 *(b) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendment made by sub-*
 5 *section (a) shall apply with respect to contributions or ex-*
 6 *penditures made on or after the date of the enactment of*
 7 *this Act.*

8 **SEC. 202. INCREASE IN PENALTY FOR VIOLATIONS OF BAN.**

9 *(a) APPLICATION OF PENALTY TO FOREIGN NATION-*
 10 *ALS AND CITIZENS WHO SOLICIT OR ACCEPT FOREIGN*
 11 *PAYMENTS.—Section 319 of the Federal Election Campaign*
 12 *Act of 1971 (2 U.S.C. 441e) is amended—*

13 *(1) by redesignating subsection (b) as subsection*
 14 *(c); and*

15 *(2) by inserting after subsection (a) the following*
 16 *new subsection:*

17 *“(b) Notwithstanding any other provision of this Act,*
 18 *the amount or duration of any penalty, fine, or sentence*
 19 *imposed on any person who violates subsection (a) shall be*
 20 *200 percent of the amount or duration which is otherwise*
 21 *provided for under this Act or any other applicable law.”.*

22 *(b) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendments made by this*
 23 *section shall apply with respect to violations occurring on*
 24 *or after the date of the enactment of this Act.*

1 **TITLE III—IMPROVING**
2 **REPORTING AND ENFORCEMENT**

3 **SEC. 301. EXPEDITING REPORTING OF INFORMATION.**

4 (a) *PERMITTING CANDIDATES TO ELECT TO FILE RE-*
5 *PORTS FOR CONTRIBUTIONS AND EXPENDITURES MADE*
6 *WITHIN 90 DAYS OF ELECTION WITHIN 24 HOURS AND*
7 *POST ON INTERNET.—*

8 (1) *IN GENERAL.*—Section 304(a) of the Federal
9 *Election Campaign Act of 1971 (2 U.S.C. 434(a)) is*
10 *amended by adding at the end the following new*
11 *paragraph:*

12 “(12)(A) *Notwithstanding any other provision of this*
13 *Act, any authorized political committee of a candidate may*
14 *notify the Commission that, with respect to each contribu-*
15 *tion received or expenditure made by the committee during*
16 *the period which begins on the 90th day before an election*
17 *and ends at the time the polls close for such election, the*
18 *candidate elects to file any information required to be filed*
19 *with the Commission under this section with respect to such*
20 *contribution or expenditure within 24 hours after the re-*
21 *ceipt of the contribution or the making of the expenditure.*

22 “(B) *The Commission shall make the information filed*
23 *under this paragraph available on the Internet immediately*
24 *upon receipt.”.*

1 (2) *INTERNET DEFINED.*—Section 301(19) of
 2 such Act (2 U.S.C. 431(19)) is amended to read as
 3 follows:

4 “(19) The term ‘Internet’ means the international
 5 computer network of both Federal and non-Federal inter-
 6 operable packet-switched data networks.”.

7 (b) *REQUIRING REPORTS FOR ALL CONTRIBUTIONS*
 8 *MADE WITHIN 20 DAYS OF ELECTION; REQUIRING RE-*
 9 *PORTS TO BE MADE WITHIN 24 HOURS.*—Section
 10 304(a)(6)(A) of such Act (2 U.S.C. 434(a)(6)(A)) is amend-
 11 ed—

12 (1) by striking “after the 20th day, but more
 13 than 48 hours before any election” and inserting
 14 “during the period which begins on the 20th day be-
 15 fore an election and ends at the time the polls close
 16 for such election”; and

17 (2) by striking “48 hours” the second place it
 18 appears and inserting the following: “24 hours (or, if
 19 earlier, by midnight of the day on which the contribu-
 20 tion is deposited)”.

21 (c) *REQUIRING ACTUAL RECEIPT OF CERTAIN INDE-*
 22 *PENDENT EXPENDITURE REPORTS WITHIN 24 HOURS.*—

23 (1) *IN GENERAL.*—Section 304(c)(2) of such Act
 24 (2 U.S.C. 434(c)(2)) is amended in the matter follow-
 25 ing subparagraph (C)—

1 (A) by striking “shall be reported” and in-
 2 serting “shall be filed”; and

3 (B) by adding at the end the following new
 4 sentence: “Notwithstanding subsection (a)(5), the
 5 time at which the statement under this sub-
 6 section is received by the Secretary, the Commis-
 7 sion, or any other recipient to whom the notifi-
 8 cation is required to be sent shall be considered
 9 the time of filing of the statement with the recip-
 10 ient.”.

11 (2) CONFORMING AMENDMENT.—Section
 12 304(a)(5) of such Act (2 U.S.C. 434(a)(5)) is amend-
 13 ed by striking “or (4)(A)(ii)” and inserting “or
 14 (4)(A)(ii), or the second sentence of subsection (c)(2)”.

15 (d) *REQUIRING REPORTS OF CERTAIN FILERS TO BE*
 16 *TRANSMITTED ELECTRONICALLY; CERTIFICATION OF PRI-*
 17 *VATE SECTOR SOFTWARE.*—Section 304(a)(11)(A) of such
 18 Act (2 U.S.C. 434(a)(11)(A)) is amended by striking the
 19 period at the end and inserting the following: “, except that
 20 in the case of a report submitted by a person who reports
 21 an aggregate amount of contributions or expenditures (as
 22 the case may be) in all reports filed with respect to the elec-
 23 tion involved (taking into account the period covered by the
 24 report) in an amount equal to or greater than \$50,000, the
 25 Commission shall require the report to be filed and pre-

1 served by such means, format, or method. The Commission
 2 shall certify (on an ongoing basis) private sector computer
 3 software which may be used for filing reports by such
 4 means, format, or method.”.

5 (e) *CHANGE IN CERTAIN REPORTING FROM A CAL-*
 6 *NDAR YEAR BASIS TO AN ELECTION CYCLE BASIS.*—Sec-
 7 tion 304(b) of such Act (2 U.S.C. 434(b)) is amended by
 8 inserting “(or election cycle, in the case of an authorized
 9 committee of a candidate for Federal office)” after “cal-
 10 endar year” each place it appears in paragraphs (2), (3),
 11 (4), (6), and (7).

12 **SEC. 302. EXPANSION OF TYPE OF INFORMATION RE-**
 13 **PORTED.**

14 (a) *REQUIRING RECORD KEEPING AND REPORT OF*
 15 *SECONDARY PAYMENTS BY CAMPAIGN COMMITTEES.*—

16 (1) *REPORTING.*—Section 304(b)(5)(A) of the
 17 *Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971* (2 U.S.C.
 18 434(b)(5)(A)) is amended by striking the semicolon at
 19 the end and inserting the following: “, and, if such
 20 person in turn makes expenditures which aggregate
 21 \$500 or more in an election cycle to other persons
 22 (not including employees) who provide goods or serv-
 23 ices to the candidate or the candidate’s authorized
 24 committees, the name and address of such other per-

1 sons, together with the date, amount, and purpose of
 2 such expenditures;”.

3 (2) *RECORD KEEPING.*—Section 302 of such Act
 4 (2 U.S.C. 432) is amended by adding at the end the
 5 following new subsection:

6 “(j) A person described in section 304(b)(5)(A) who
 7 makes expenditures which aggregate \$500 or more in an
 8 election cycle to other persons (not including employees)
 9 who provide goods or services to a candidate or a can-
 10 didate’s authorized committees shall provide to a political
 11 committee the information necessary to enable the commit-
 12 tee to report the information described in such section.”.

13 (3) *NO EFFECT ON OTHER REPORTS.*—Nothing
 14 in the amendments made by this subsection may be
 15 construed to affect the terms of any other record-
 16 keeping or reporting requirements applicable to can-
 17 didates or political committees under title III of the
 18 Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971.

19 (b) *INCLUDING REPORT ON CUMULATIVE CONTRIBU-*
 20 *TIONS AND EXPENDITURES IN POST ELECTION REPORTS.*—
 21 Section 304(a)(7) of such Act (2 U.S.C. 434(a)(7)) is
 22 amended—

23 (1) by striking “(7)” and inserting “(7)(A)”;
 24 and

1 (2) *by adding at the end the following new sub-*
 2 *paragraph:*

3 “(B) *In the case of any report required to be filed by*
 4 *this subsection which is the first report required to be filed*
 5 *after the date of an election, the report shall include a state-*
 6 *ment of the total contributions received and expenditures*
 7 *made as of the date of the election.”.*

8 (c) *INCLUDING INFORMATION ON AGGREGATE CON-*
 9 *TRIBUTIONS IN REPORT ON ITEMIZED CONTRIBUTIONS.—*
 10 *Section 304(b)(3) of such Act (2 U.S.C. 434(b)(3)) is*
 11 *amended—*

12 (1) *in subparagraph (A), by inserting after*
 13 *“such contribution” the following: “and the total*
 14 *amount of all such contributions made by such person*
 15 *with respect to the election involved”;* and

16 (2) *in subparagraph (B), by inserting after*
 17 *“such contribution” the following: “and the total*
 18 *amount of all such contributions made by such com-*
 19 *mittee with respect to the election involved”.*

20 **SEC. 303. PROMOTING EFFECTIVE ENFORCEMENT BY FED-**
 21 **ERAL ELECTION COMMISSION.**

22 (a) *REQUIRING FEC TO PROVIDE WRITTEN RE-*
 23 *SPONSES TO QUESTIONS.—*

24 (1) *IN GENERAL.—Title III of the Federal Elec-*
 25 *tion Campaign Act of 1971 (2 U.S.C. 431 et seq.) is*

1 *amended by inserting after section 308 the following*
 2 *new section:*

3 *“OTHER WRITTEN RESPONSES TO QUESTIONS*

4 *“SEC. 308A. (a) PERMITTING RESPONSES.—In addi-*
 5 *tion to issuing advisory opinions under section 308, the*
 6 *Commission shall issue written responses pursuant to this*
 7 *section with respect to a written request concerning the ap-*
 8 *plication of this Act, chapter 95 or chapter 96 of the Inter-*
 9 *nal Revenue Code of 1986, a rule or regulation prescribed*
 10 *by the Commission, or an advisory opinion issued by the*
 11 *Commission under section 308, with respect to a specific*
 12 *transaction or activity by the person, if the Commission*
 13 *finds the application of the Act, chapter, rule, regulation,*
 14 *or advisory opinion to the transaction or activity to be clear*
 15 *and unambiguous.*

16 *“(b) PROCEDURE FOR RESPONSE.—*

17 *“(1) ANALYSIS BY STAFF.—The staff of the Com-*
 18 *mission shall analyze each request submitted under*
 19 *this section. If the staff believes that the standard de-*
 20 *scribed in subsection (a) is met with respect to the re-*
 21 *quest, the staff shall circulate a statement to that ef-*
 22 *fect together with a draft response to the request to the*
 23 *members of the Commission.*

24 *“(2) ISSUANCE OF RESPONSE.—Upon the expira-*
 25 *tion of the 3-day period beginning on the date the*
 26 *statement and draft response is circulated (excluding*

1 *weekends or holidays), the Commission shall issue the*
2 *response, unless during such period any member of*
3 *the Commission objects to issuing the response.*

4 “(c) *EFFECT OF RESPONSE.*—

5 “(1) *SAFE HARBOR.*—*Notwithstanding any other*
6 *provisions of law, any person who relies upon any*
7 *provision or finding of a written response issued*
8 *under this section and who acts in good faith in ac-*
9 *cordance with the provisions and findings of such re-*
10 *sponse shall not, as a result of any such act, be subject*
11 *to any sanction provided by this Act or by chapter*
12 *95 or chapter 96 of the Internal Revenue Code of*
13 *1986.*

14 “(2) *NO RELIANCE BY OTHER PARTIES.*—*Any*
15 *written response issued by the Commission under this*
16 *section may only be relied upon by the person in-*
17 *volved in the specific transaction or activity with re-*
18 *spect to which such response is issued, and may not*
19 *be applied by the Commission with respect to any*
20 *other person or used by the Commission for enforce-*
21 *ment or regulatory purposes.*

22 “(d) *PUBLICATION OF REQUESTS AND RESPONSES.*—
23 *The Commission shall make public any request for a writ-*
24 *ten response made, and the responses issued, under this sec-*
25 *tion. In carrying out this subsection, the Commission may*

1 *not make public the identity of any person submitting a*
 2 *request for a written response unless the person specifically*
 3 *authorizes the Commission to do so.*

4 “(e) *COMPILATION OF INDEX.*—*The Commission shall*
 5 *compile, publish, and regularly update a complete and de-*
 6 *tailed index of the responses issued under this section*
 7 *through which responses may be found on the basis of the*
 8 *subjects included in the responses.”.*

9 (2) *CONFORMING AMENDMENT.*—*Section*
 10 *307(a)(7) of such Act (2 U.S.C. 437d(a)(7)) is amend-*
 11 *ed by striking “of this Act” and inserting “and other*
 12 *written responses under section 308A”.*

13 (b) *STANDARD FOR INITIATION OF ACTIONS BY*
 14 *FEC.*—*Section 309(a)(2) of such Act (2 U.S.C. 437g(a)(2))*
 15 *is amended by striking “it has reason to believe” and all*
 16 *that follows through “of 1954,” and inserting the following:*
 17 *“it has a reason to investigate a possible violation of this*
 18 *Act or of chapter 95 or chapter 96 of the Internal Revenue*
 19 *Code of 1986 that has occurred or is about to occur (based*
 20 *on the same criteria applicable under this paragraph prior*
 21 *to the enactment of the Campaign Reform and Election In-*
 22 *tegrity Act of 1998),”.*

23 (c) *STANDARD FORM FOR COMPLAINTS; STRONGER*
 24 *DISCLAIMER LANGUAGE.*—

1 (1) *STANDARD FORM*.—Section 309(a)(1) of such
 2 Act (2 U.S.C. 437g(a)(1)) is amended by inserting
 3 after “shall be notarized,” the following: “shall be in
 4 a standard form prescribed by the Commission, shall
 5 not include (but may refer to) extraneous materials,”.

6 (2) *DISCLAIMER LANGUAGE*.—Section 309(a)(1)
 7 of such Act (2 U.S.C. 437g(a)(1)) is amended—

8 (A) by striking “(a)(1)” and inserting
 9 “(a)(1)(A)”; and

10 (B) by adding at the end the following new
 11 subparagraph:

12 “(B) The written notice of a complaint provided by
 13 the Commission under subparagraph (A) to a person alleged
 14 to have committed a violation referred to in the complaint
 15 shall include a cover letter (in a form prescribed by the
 16 Commission) and the following statement: ‘The enclosed
 17 complaint has been filed against you with the Federal Elec-
 18 tion Commission. The Commission has not verified or given
 19 official sanction to the complaint. The Commission will
 20 make no decision to pursue the complaint for a period of
 21 at least 15 days from your receipt of this complaint. You
 22 may, if you wish, submit a written statement to the Com-
 23 mission explaining why the Commission should take no ac-
 24 tion against you based on this complaint. If the Commis-

1 sion should decide to investigate, you will be notified and
 2 be given further opportunity to respond.”.

3 **SEC. 304. BANNING ACCEPTANCE OF CASH CONTRIBUTIONS**
 4 **GREATER THAN \$100.**

5 Section 315 of the Federal Election Campaign Act of
 6 1971 (2 U.S.C. 441a) is amended by adding at the end the
 7 following new subsection:

8 “(i) No candidate or political committee may accept
 9 any contributions of currency of the United States or cur-
 10 rency of any foreign country from any person which, in
 11 the aggregate, exceed \$100.”.

12 **SEC. 305. PROTECTING CONFIDENTIALITY OF SMALL CON-**
 13 **TRIBUTIONS BY EMPLOYEES OF CORPORA-**
 14 **TIONS AND MEMBERS OF LABOR ORGANIZA-**
 15 **TIONS.**

16 Section 316(b) of the Federal Election Campaign Act
 17 of 1971 (2 U.S.C. 441b(b)) is amended by adding at the
 18 end the following new paragraph:

19 “(8)(A) Any corporation or labor organization (or sep-
 20 arate segregated fund established by such a corporation or
 21 such a labor organization) making solicitations of contribu-
 22 tions shall make such solicitations in a manner that ensures
 23 that the corporation, organization, or fund cannot deter-
 24 mine who makes a contribution of \$100 or less as a result

1 *of such solicitation and who does not make such a contribu-*
 2 *tion.*

3 “(B) Subparagraph (A) shall not apply with respect
 4 to any solicitation of contributions of a corporation from
 5 its stockholders.”.

6 **SEC. 306. DISCLOSURE AND REPORTS RELATING TO POLL-**
 7 **ING BY TELEPHONE OR ELECTRONIC DEVICE.**

8 *Title III of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971*
 9 *(2 U.S.C. 431 et seq.) is amended by adding at the end*
 10 *the following new section:*

11 “DISCLOSURE AND REPORTS RELATING TO POLLING BY
 12 TELEPHONE OR ELECTRONIC DEVICE

13 “SEC. 323. (a) DISCLOSURE OF IDENTITY OF PERSON
 14 PAYING EXPENSES OF POLL.—Any person who conducts a
 15 Federal election poll by telephone or electronic device shall
 16 disclose to each respondent the identity of the person paying
 17 the expenses of the poll. The disclosure shall be made at the
 18 end of the interview involved.

19 “(b) REPORTING CERTAIN INFORMATION.—In the case
 20 of any Federal election poll taken by telephone or electronic
 21 device during the 90-day period which ends on the date of
 22 the election involved—

23 “(1) if the results are not to be made public, the
 24 person who conducts the poll shall report to the Com-
 25 mission the total cost of the poll and all sources of
 26 funds for the poll; and

1 “(2) the person who conducts the poll shall re-
 2 port to the Commission the total number of households
 3 contacted and include with such report a copy of the
 4 poll questions.

5 “(c) *FEDERAL ELECTION POLL DEFINED.*—As used in
 6 this section, the term ‘Federal election poll’ means a sur-
 7 vey—

8 “(1) in which the respondent is asked to state a
 9 preference in a future election for Federal office; and

10 “(2) in which more than 1,200 households are
 11 surveyed.”.

12 **TITLE IV—EXCESSIVE SPENDING**
 13 **BY CANDIDATES FROM PER-**
 14 **SONAL FUNDS**

15 **SEC. 401. MODIFICATION OF LIMITATIONS ON CONTRIBU-**
 16 **TIONS WHEN CANDIDATES SPEND OR CON-**
 17 **TRIBUTE LARGE AMOUNTS OF PERSONAL**
 18 **FUNDS.**

19 (a) *IN GENERAL.*—Section 315 of the Federal Election
 20 Campaign Act of 1971 (2 U.S.C. 441a), as amended by sec-
 21 tion 304, is amended by adding at the end the following
 22 new subsection:

23 “(j)(1) Notwithstanding subsection (a), if in a general
 24 election a House candidate makes expenditures of personal
 25 funds (including contributions by the candidate to the can-

1 didate's authorized campaign committee) in an amount in
 2 excess of the amount of the limitation established under sub-
 3 section (a)(1)(A) and less than or equal to \$150,000 (as
 4 reported under section 304(a)(2)(A)), a political party com-
 5 mittee may make contributions to an opponent of the House
 6 candidate without regard to any limitation otherwise ap-
 7 plicable to such contributions under subsection (a), except
 8 that no opponent may accept aggregate contributions under
 9 this paragraph in an amount greater than the greatest
 10 amount of personal funds expended (including contribu-
 11 tions to the candidate's authorized campaign committee) by
 12 any House candidate (other than such opponent) with re-
 13 spect to the election, less any personal funds expended by
 14 such opponent (as reported in a notification submitted
 15 under section 304(a)(6)(B)).

16 “(2) If a House candidate makes expenditures of per-
 17 sonal funds (including contributions by the candidate to the
 18 candidate's authorized campaign committee) with respect
 19 to an election in an amount greater than \$150,000 (as re-
 20 ported under section 304(a)(2)(A)), the following rules shall
 21 apply:

22 “(A) In the case of a general election, the limita-
 23 tions under subsections (a)(1), (a)(2), and (a)(3) (in-
 24 sofar as such limitations apply to political party
 25 committees and to individuals, and to other political

1 committees to the extent that the amount contributed
2 does not exceed 10 times the amount of the limitation
3 otherwise applicable under such subsection) shall not
4 apply to contributions to any opponent of the can-
5 didate, except that no opponent may accept aggregate
6 contributions under this subparagraph and para-
7 graph (1) in an amount greater than the greatest
8 amount of personal funds (including contributions to
9 the candidate's authorized campaign committee) ex-
10 pended by any House candidate with respect to the
11 election, less any personal funds expended by such op-
12 ponent (as reported in a notification submitted under
13 section 304(a)(6)(B)).

14 “(B) In the case of an election other than a gen-
15 eral election, the limitations under subsections (a)(1)
16 and (a)(2) (insofar as such limitations apply to indi-
17 viduals and to political committees other than politi-
18 cal party committees to the extent that the amount
19 contributed does not exceed 10 times the amount of
20 the limitation otherwise applicable under such sub-
21 section) shall not apply to contributions to any oppo-
22 nent of the candidate, except that no opponent may
23 accept aggregate contributions under this subpara-
24 graph in an amount greater than the greatest amount
25 of personal funds (including contributions to the can-

1 *didate's authorized campaign committee) expended by*
 2 *any House candidate with respect to the election, less*
 3 *any personal funds expended by such opponent (as re-*
 4 *ported in a notification submitted under section*
 5 *304(a)(6)(B)).*

6 *“(3) In this subsection, the term ‘House candidate’*
 7 *means a candidate in an election for the office of Represent-*
 8 *ative in, or Delegate or Resident Commissioner to, the Con-*
 9 *gress.”.*

10 *(b) NOTIFICATION OF EXPENDITURES OF PERSONAL*
 11 *FUNDS.—Section 304(a)(6) of such Act (2 U.S.C.*
 12 *434(a)(6)) is amended—*

13 *(1) by redesignating subparagraph (B) as sub-*
 14 *paragraph (C); and*

15 *(2) by inserting after subparagraph (A) the fol-*
 16 *lowing new subparagraph:*

17 *“(B)(i) The principal campaign committee of a House*
 18 *candidate (as defined in section 315(j)(3)) shall submit the*
 19 *following notifications relating to expenditures of personal*
 20 *funds by such candidate (including contributions by the*
 21 *candidate to such committee):*

22 *“(I) A notification of the first such expenditure*
 23 *(or contribution) by which the aggregate amount of*
 24 *personal funds expended (or contributed) with respect*
 25 *to an election exceeds the amount of the limitation es-*

1 *tablished under section 315(a)(1)(A) for elections in*
 2 *the year involved.*

3 *“(II) A notification of each such expenditure (or*
 4 *contribution) which, taken together with all such ex-*
 5 *penditures (and contributions) in any amount not in-*
 6 *cluded in the most recent report under this subpara-*
 7 *graph, totals \$5,000 or more.*

8 *“(III) A notification of the first such expenditure*
 9 *(or contribution) by which the aggregate amount of*
 10 *personal funds expended with respect to the election*
 11 *exceeds the level applicable under section 315(j)(2) for*
 12 *elections in the year involved.*

13 *“(ii) Each of the notifications submitted under clause*
 14 *(i)—*

15 *“(I) shall be submitted not later than 24 hours*
 16 *after the expenditure or contribution which is the sub-*
 17 *ject of the notification is made;*

18 *“(II) shall include the name of the candidate, the*
 19 *office sought by the candidate, and the date of the ex-*
 20 *penditure or contribution and amount of the expendi-*
 21 *ture or contribution involved; and*

22 *“(III) shall include the total amount of all such*
 23 *expenditures and contributions made with respect to*
 24 *the same election as of the date of expenditure or con-*
 25 *tribution which is the subject of the notification.”.*

1 **TITLE V—ELECTION INTEGRITY**
 2 **Subtitle A—Voter Eligibility**
 3 **Verification Pilot Program**

4 **SEC. 501. VOTER ELIGIBILITY PILOT CONFIRMATION PRO-**
 5 **GRAM.**

6 (a) *IN GENERAL.*—*The Attorney General, in consulta-*
 7 *tion with the Commissioner of Social Security, shall estab-*
 8 *lish a pilot program to test a confirmation system through*
 9 *which they—*

10 (1) *respond to inquiries, made by State and*
 11 *local officials (including voting registrars) with re-*
 12 *sponsibility for determining an individual's quali-*
 13 *fication to vote in a Federal, State, or local election,*
 14 *to verify the citizenship of an individual who has sub-*
 15 *mitted a voter registration application, and*

16 (2) *maintain such records of the inquiries made*
 17 *and verifications provided as may be necessary for*
 18 *pilot program evaluation.*

19 *In order to make an inquiry through the pilot program with*
 20 *respect to an individual, an election official shall provide*
 21 *the name, date of birth, and last 4 digits of the social secu-*
 22 *rity account number of the individual.*

23 (b) *INITIAL RESPONSE.*—*The pilot program shall pro-*
 24 *vide for a confirmation or a tentative nonconfirmation of*
 25 *an individual's citizenship by the Commissioner of Social*

1 *Security as soon as practicable after an initial inquiry to*
 2 *the Commissioner.*

3 (c) *SECONDARY VERIFICATION PROCESS IN CASE OF*
 4 *TENTATIVE NONCONFIRMATION.*—*In cases of tentative non-*
 5 *confirmation, the Attorney General shall specify, in con-*
 6 *sultation with the Commissioner of Social Security and the*
 7 *Commissioner of the Immigration and Naturalization Serv-*
 8 *ice, an available secondary verification process to confirm*
 9 *the validity of information provided and to provide a final*
 10 *confirmation or nonconfirmation as soon as practicable*
 11 *after the date of the tentative nonconfirmation.*

12 (d) *DESIGN AND OPERATION OF PILOT PROGRAM.*—

13 (1) *IN GENERAL.*—*The pilot program shall be de-*
 14 *signed and operated—*

15 (A) *to apply in, at a minimum, the States*
 16 *of California, New York, Texas, Florida, and Il-*
 17 *linois;*

18 (B) *to be used on a voluntary basis, as a*
 19 *supplementary information source, by State and*
 20 *local election officials for the purpose of assess-*
 21 *ing, through citizenship verification, the eligi-*
 22 *bility of an individual to vote in Federal, State,*
 23 *or local elections;*

1 (C) to respond to an inquiry concerning
2 citizenship only in a case where determining
3 whether an individual is a citizen is—

4 (i) necessary for determining whether
5 the individual is eligible to vote in an elec-
6 tion for Federal, State, or local office; and

7 (ii) part of a program or activity to
8 protect the integrity of the electoral process
9 that is uniform, nondiscriminatory, and in
10 compliance with the Voting Rights Act of
11 1965 (42 U.S.C. 1973 et seq.);

12 (D) to maximize its reliability and ease of
13 use, consistent with insulating and protecting
14 the privacy and security of the underlying infor-
15 mation;

16 (E) to permit inquiries to be made to the
17 pilot program through a toll-free telephone line
18 or other toll-free electronic media;

19 (F) to respond to all inquiries made by au-
20 thorized persons and to register all times when
21 the pilot program is not responding to inquiries
22 because of a malfunction;

23 (G) with appropriate administrative, tech-
24 nical, and physical safeguards to prevent unau-
25 thorized disclosure of personal information, in-

1 cluding violations of the requirements of section
 2 205(c)(2)(C)(viii) of the Social Security Act; and
 3 (H) to have reasonable safeguards against
 4 the pilot program's resulting in unlawful dis-
 5 criminatory practices based on national origin
 6 or citizenship status, including the selective or
 7 unauthorized use of the pilot program.

8 (2) *USE OF EMPLOYMENT ELIGIBILITY CON-*
 9 *FIRMATION SYSTEM.*—*To the extent practicable, in es-*
 10 *tablishing the confirmation system under this section,*
 11 *the Attorney General, in consultation with the Com-*
 12 *missioner of Social Security, shall use the employ-*
 13 *ment eligibility confirmation system established under*
 14 *section 404 of the Illegal Immigration Reform and*
 15 *Immigrant Responsibility Act of 1996 (Public Law*
 16 *104–208; 110 Stat. 3009–664).*

17 (e) *RESPONSIBILITIES OF THE COMMISSIONER OF SO-*
 18 *CIAL SECURITY.*—*As part of the pilot program, the Com-*
 19 *missioner of Social Security shall establish a reliable, secure*
 20 *method which compares the name, date of birth, and last*
 21 *4 digits of the social security account number provided in*
 22 *an inquiry against such information maintained by the*
 23 *Commissioner, in order to confirm (or not confirm) the cor-*
 24 *respondence of the name, date of birth, and number pro-*
 25 *vided and whether the individual is shown as a citizen of*

1 *the United States on the records maintained by the Com-*
2 *missioner (including whether such records show that the in-*
3 *dividual was born in the United States). The Commissioner*
4 *shall not disclose or release social security information*
5 *(other than such confirmation or nonconfirmation).*

6 (f) *RESPONSIBILITIES OF THE COMMISSIONER OF THE*
7 *IMMIGRATION AND NATURALIZATION SERVICE.—As part of*
8 *the pilot program, the Commissioner of the Immigration*
9 *and Naturalization Service shall establish a reliable, secure*
10 *method which compares the name and date of birth which*
11 *are provided in an inquiry against information main-*
12 *tained by the Commissioner in order to confirm (or not con-*
13 *firm) the validity of the information provided, the cor-*
14 *respondence of the name and date of birth, and whether the*
15 *individual is a citizen of the United States.*

16 (g) *UPDATING INFORMATION.—The Commissioner of*
17 *Social Security and the Commissioner of the Immigration*
18 *and Naturalization Service shall update their information*
19 *in a manner that promotes the maximum accuracy and*
20 *shall provide a process for the prompt correction of erro-*
21 *neous information, including instances in which it is*
22 *brought to their attention in the secondary verification*
23 *process described in subsection (c) or in any action by an*
24 *individual to use the process provided under this subsection*

1 upon receipt of notification from an election official under
 2 subsection (i).

3 (h) *LIMITATION ON USE OF THE PILOT PROGRAM AND*
 4 *ANY RELATED SYSTEMS.*—

5 (1) *IN GENERAL.*—Notwithstanding any other
 6 provision of law, nothing in this section shall be con-
 7 strued to permit or allow any department, bureau, or
 8 other agency of the United States Government to uti-
 9 lize any information, data base, or other records as-
 10 sembled under this section for any other purpose other
 11 than as provided for under this section.

12 (2) *NO NATIONAL IDENTIFICATION CARD.*—Noth-
 13 ing in this section shall be construed to authorize, di-
 14 rectly or indirectly, the issuance or use of national
 15 identification cards or the establishment of a national
 16 identification card.

17 (3) *NO NEW DATA BASES.*—Nothing in this sec-
 18 tion shall be construed to authorize, directly or indi-
 19 rectly, the Attorney General and the Commissioner of
 20 Social Security to create any joint computer data
 21 base that is not in existence on the date of the enact-
 22 ment of this Act.

23 (i) *ACTIONS BY ELECTION OFFICIALS UNABLE TO*
 24 *CONFIRM CITIZENSHIP.*—

1 (1) *IN GENERAL.*—If an election official receives
2 a notice of final nonconfirmation under subsection (c)
3 with respect to an individual, the official—

4 (A) shall notify the individual in writing;

5 and

6 (B) shall inform the individual in writing
7 of the individual's right to use—

8 (i) the process provided under sub-
9 section (g) for the prompt correction of erro-
10 neous information in the pilot program; or

11 (ii) any other process for establishing
12 eligibility to vote provided under State or
13 Federal law.

14 (2) *REGISTRATION APPLICANTS.*—In the case of
15 an individual who is an applicant for voter registra-
16 tion, and who receives a notice from an official under
17 paragraph (1), the official may (subject to, and in a
18 manner consistent with, State law) reject the applica-
19 tion (subject to the right to reapply), but only if the
20 following conditions have been satisfied:

21 (A) The 30-day period beginning on the
22 date the notice was mailed or otherwise provided
23 to the individual has elapsed.

1 (B) During such 30-day period, the official
2 did not receive adequate confirmation of the citi-
3 zenship of the individual from—

4 (i) a source other than the pilot pro-
5 gram established under this section; or

6 (ii) such pilot program, pursuant to a
7 new inquiry to the pilot program made by
8 the official upon receipt of information
9 (from the individual or through any other
10 reliable source) that erroneous or incomplete
11 material information previously in the pilot
12 program has been updated, supplemented,
13 or corrected.

14 (3) INELIGIBLE VOTER REMOVAL PROGRAMS.—In
15 the case of an individual who is registered to vote,
16 and who receives a notice from an official under
17 paragraph (1) in connection with a program to re-
18 move the names of ineligible voters from an official
19 list of eligible voters, the official may (subject to, and
20 in a manner consistent with, State law) remove the
21 name of the individual from the list (subject to the
22 right to submit another voter registration applica-
23 tion), but only if the following conditions have been
24 satisfied:

1 (A) *The 30-day period beginning on the*
2 *date the notice was mailed or otherwise provided*
3 *to the individual has elapsed.*

4 (B) *During such 30-day period, the official*
5 *did not receive adequate confirmation of the citi-*
6 *zenship of the individual from a source described*
7 *in clause (i) or (ii) of paragraph (2)(B).*

8 (j) *AUTHORITY TO USE SOCIAL SECURITY ACCOUNT*
9 *NUMBERS.—Any State (or political subdivision thereof)*
10 *may, for the purpose of making inquiries under the pilot*
11 *program in the administration of any voter registration*
12 *law within its jurisdiction, use the last 4 digits of the social*
13 *security account numbers issued by the Commissioner of So-*
14 *cial Security, and may, for such purpose, require any indi-*
15 *vidual who is or appears to be affected by a voter registra-*
16 *tion law of such State (or political subdivision thereof) to*
17 *furnish to such State (or political subdivision thereof) or*
18 *any agency thereof having administrative responsibility for*
19 *such law, the last 4 digits of the social security account*
20 *number (or numbers, if the individual has more than one*
21 *such number) issued to the individual by the Commissioner.*
22 *Nothing in this subsection may be construed to prohibit or*
23 *limit the application of any voter registration program*
24 *which is in compliance with any applicable Federal or*
25 *State law.*

1 (k) *TERMINATION AND REPORT.*—*The pilot program*
2 *shall terminate September 30, 2001. The Attorney General*
3 *and the Commissioner of Social Security shall each submit*
4 *to the Committee on the Judiciary and the Committee on*
5 *Ways and Means of the House of Representatives and to*
6 *the Committee on the Judiciary and the Committee on Fi-*
7 *nance of the Senate reports on the pilot program not later*
8 *than December 31, 2001. Such reports shall—*

9 (1) *assess the degree of fraudulent attesting of*
10 *United States citizenship in jurisdictions covered by*
11 *the pilot program;*

12 (2) *assess the appropriate staffing and funding*
13 *levels which would be required for full, permanent,*
14 *and nationwide implementation of the pilot program,*
15 *including the estimated total cost for national imple-*
16 *mentation per individual record;*

17 (3) *include an assessment by the Commissioner*
18 *of Social Security of the advisability and ramifica-*
19 *tions of disclosure of social security account numbers*
20 *to the extent provided for under the pilot program*
21 *and upon full, permanent, and nationwide implemen-*
22 *tation of the pilot program;*

23 (4) *assess the degree to which the records main-*
24 *tained by the Commissioner of Social Security and*
25 *the Commissioner of the Immigration and Natu-*

1 ralization Service are able to be used to reliably deter-
 2 mine the citizenship of individuals who have submit-
 3 ted voter registration applications;

4 (5) assess the effectiveness of the pilot program's
 5 safeguards against unlawful discriminatory practices;

6 (6) include recommendations on whether or not
 7 the pilot program should be continued or modified;
 8 and

9 (7) include such other information as the Attor-
 10 ney General or the Commissioner of Social Security
 11 may determine to be relevant.

12 **SEC. 502. AUTHORIZATION OF APPROPRIATIONS.**

13 There are authorized to be appropriated to the Depart-
 14 ment of Justice, for the Immigration and Naturalization
 15 Service, for fiscal years beginning on or after October 1,
 16 1998, such sums as are necessary to carry out the provisions
 17 of this subtitle.

18 **Subtitle B—Other Measures to**
 19 **Protect Election Integrity**

20 **SEC. 511. REQUIRING INCLUSION OF CITIZENSHIP CHECK-**
 21 **OFF AND INFORMATION WITH ALL APPLICA-**
 22 **TIONS FOR VOTER REGISTRATION.**

23 (a) *IN GENERAL.*—Section 9 of the National Voter
 24 Registration Act of 1993 (42 U.S.C. 1973gg–7) is amended
 25 by adding at the end the following new subsection:

1 “(c) *CITIZENSHIP CHECK-OFF AND OTHER INFORMA-*
2 *TION.*—

3 “(1) *IN GENERAL.*—*Effective January 1, 2000—*

4 “(A) *the mail voter registration form devel-*
5 *oped under subsection (a)(2) and each applica-*
6 *tion for voter registration of a State shall in-*
7 *clude 2 boxes for the applicant to indicate wheth-*
8 *er or not the applicant is a citizen of the United*
9 *States, and no application for voter registration*
10 *may be considered to be completed unless the ap-*
11 *plicant has checked the box indicating that the*
12 *applicant is a citizen of the United States; and*

13 “(B) *such form and each application for*
14 *voter registration of a State shall require the ap-*
15 *plicant to provide—*

16 “(i) *the city, State or province (if*
17 *any), and nation of the individual’s birth;*
18 *and*

19 “(ii) *if the individual is a naturalized*
20 *citizen of the United States, the year in*
21 *which the individual was admitted to citi-*
22 *zenship and the location where the admis-*
23 *sion to citizenship occurred (if applicable).*

24 “(2) *STATE OPT-OUT.*—*Paragraph (1) shall not*
25 *apply with respect to applications for voter registra-*

1 *tion of any State which notifies the Federal Election*
 2 *Commission prior to January 1, 2000, that it elects*
 3 *to reject the application of such paragraph to appli-*
 4 *cations for voter registration of the State.”.*

5 *(b) CONFORMING AMENDMENTS.—The National Voter*
 6 *Registration Act of 1993 is amended by striking “require-*
 7 *ment;” each place it appears in section 5(c)(2)(C)(ii) (42*
 8 *U.S.C. 1973gg–3(c)(2)(C)(ii)), section 7(a)(6)(A)(i)(II) (42*
 9 *U.S.C. 1973gg–5(a)(6)(A)(i)(II)), and section 9(b)(2)(B)*
 10 *(42 U.S.C. 1973gg–7(b)(2)(B), and inserting “requirement*
 11 *(consistent with section 9(c));”.*

12 **SEC. 512. IMPROVING ADMINISTRATION OF VOTER RE-**
 13 **MOVAL PROGRAMS.**

14 *(a) PERMITTING STATE TO REQUIRE AFFIRMATION OF*
 15 *ADDRESS OF REGISTRANTS NOT VOTING IN 2 CONSECUTIVE*
 16 *GENERAL FEDERAL ELECTIONS.—Section 8(e) of the Na-*
 17 *tional Voter Registration Act of 1993 (42 U.S.C. 1973gg–*
 18 *6(e)) is amended by adding at the end the following new*
 19 *paragraph:*

20 *“(4)(A) If a registrant has not voted or appeared to*
 21 *vote in two consecutive general elections for Federal office,*
 22 *a State may send the registrant a notice consisting of—*
 23 *“(i) a postage prepaid and pre-addressed return*
 24 *card, sent by forwardable mail, on which the reg-*
 25 *istrant may state his or her current address; and*

1 “(ii) a notice that if the card is not returned,
 2 oral or written affirmation of the registrant’s identi-
 3 fication and address may be required before the reg-
 4 istrant is permitted to vote in a subsequent Federal
 5 election.

6 “(B) If a registrant to whom a State has sent a notice
 7 under subparagraph (A) has not returned the card provided
 8 in the notice and appears at a polling place to cast a vote
 9 in a Federal election, the State may require the registrant
 10 to provide oral or written affirmation of the registrant’s
 11 identification and address before an election official at the
 12 polling place as a condition for casting the vote.”.

13 (b) *PERMITTING STATE TO PLACE REGISTRANTS WITH*
 14 *INAPPLICABLE ADDRESSES ON INACTIVE LIST.—*

15 (1) *IN GENERAL.—*Section 8(d)(1)(B)(i) of such
 16 Act (42 U.S.C. 1973gg–6(d)(1)(B)(i)) is amended by
 17 striking “paragraph (2);” and inserting “paragraph
 18 (2), or has provided a mailing address which the
 19 Postal Services indicates is no longer applicable and
 20 has provided no other applicable address;”.

21 (2) *REQUIRING CONFIRMATION OF ADDRESS*
 22 *PRIOR TO VOTING.—*Section 8(d) of such Act (42
 23 U.S.C. 1973gg–6(d)) is amended by adding at the end
 24 the following new paragraph:

1 “(4) *The second sentence of paragraph (2)(A) shall*
 2 *apply to an individual described in paragraph (1)(B)(i)*
 3 *who has provided a mailing address which the Postal Serv-*
 4 *ices indicates is no longer applicable and has provided no*
 5 *other applicable address in the same manner as such sen-*
 6 *tence applies to an individual who has failed to respond*
 7 *to a notice described in paragraph (2).”.*

8 (c) *EFFECTIVE DATE.*—*The amendments made by this*
 9 *section shall take effect January 1, 1999, and shall apply*
 10 *with respect to general elections for Federal office held on*
 11 *or after January 1, 1998.*

12 ***TITLE VI—REVISION AND INDEX-***
 13 ***ING OF CERTAIN CONTRIBU-***
 14 ***TION LIMITS AND PENALTIES***

15 ***SEC. 601. INCREASE IN CERTAIN CONTRIBUTION LIMITS.***

16 (a) *CONTRIBUTIONS BY INDIVIDUALS.*—

17 (1) *CONTRIBUTIONS TO CANDIDATES.*—*Section*
 18 *315(a)(1)(A) of the Federal Election Campaign Act of*
 19 *1971 (2 U.S.C. 441a(a)(1)(A)) is amended by striking*
 20 *“\$1,000” and inserting “\$2,000”.*

21 (2) *CONTRIBUTIONS TO STATE OR LOCAL POLITI-*
 22 *CAL PARTIES.*—*Section 315(a)(1) of such Act (2*
 23 *U.S.C. 441a(a)(1)) is amended—*

24 (A) *by striking “or” at the end of subpara-*
 25 *graph (B);*

1 (B) by redesignating subparagraph (C) as
2 subparagraph (D); and

3 (C) by inserting after subparagraph (B) the
4 following new subparagraph:

5 “(C) to the political committees established and
6 maintained by a State or local political party, which
7 are not the authorized political committees of any
8 candidate, in any calendar year which, in the aggregate,
9 exceed \$15,000; or”.

10 (3) CONTRIBUTIONS TO NATIONAL POLITICAL
11 PARTIES.—Section 315(a)(1)(B) of such Act (2 U.S.C.
12 441a(a)(1)(B)) is amended by striking “\$20,000” and
13 inserting “\$60,000”.

14 (4) AGGREGATE ANNUAL LIMIT ON ALL CON-
15 TRIBUTIONS.—Section 315(a)(3) of such Act (2
16 U.S.C. 441a(a)(3)) is amended by striking “\$25,000”
17 and inserting “\$75,000”.

18 (b) CONTRIBUTIONS BY POLITICAL PARTIES.—Section
19 315(a)(1) of such Act (2 U.S.C. 441a(a)(1)), as amended
20 by subsection (a)(2), is amended—

21 (1) by striking “or” at the end of subparagraph
22 (C);

23 (2) by redesignating subparagraph (D) as sub-
24 paragraph (E); and

1 (3) by inserting after subparagraph (C) the fol-
 2 lowing new subparagraph:

3 “(D) in the case of contributions made to a can-
 4 didate and any authorized committee of the candidate
 5 by a political committee of a national, State, or local
 6 political party which is not the authorized political
 7 committee of any candidate, in any calendar year
 8 which, in the aggregate, exceed \$15,000; or”.

9 **SEC. 602. INDEXING LIMITS ON CERTAIN CONTRIBUTIONS.**

10 (a) *IN GENERAL.*—Section 315(c) of the Federal Elec-
 11 tion Campaign Act of 1971 (2 U.S.C. 441a(c)) is amended
 12 by adding at the end the following new paragraph:

13 “(3)(A) The amount of each limitation established
 14 under subsection (a) (other than any limitation under
 15 paragraph (1)(E) or (2)) shall be adjusted as follows:

16 “(i) For calendar year 2001, each such amount
 17 shall be equal to the amount described in such sub-
 18 section, increased (in a compounded manner) by the
 19 percentage increase in the price index (as defined in
 20 paragraph (2)) for 1999 and 2000.

21 “(ii) For calendar year 2003 and each second
 22 subsequent year, each such amount shall be equal to
 23 the amount for the second previous year (as adjusted
 24 under this subparagraph), increased (in a com-
 25 pounded manner) by the percentage increase in the

1 *price index for the previous year and the second pre-*
 2 *vious year.*

3 *“(B) In the case of any amount adjusted under this*
 4 *subparagraph which is not a multiple of \$100, the amount*
 5 *shall be rounded to the nearest multiple of \$100.”.*

6 *(b) APPLICATION OF INDEXING TO SUPPORT OF CAN-*
 7 *DIDATE’S COMMITTEES.—Section 302(e)(3)(B) of such Act*
 8 *(2 U.S.C. 432(e)(3)(B)) is amended by adding at the end*
 9 *the following new sentence: “The amount described in the*
 10 *previous sentence shall be adjusted (for years beginning*
 11 *with 1999) in the same manner as the amounts of limita-*
 12 *tions on contributions under section 315(a) are adjusted*
 13 *under section 315(c)(3).”.*

14 **SEC. 603. INDEXING AMOUNT OF PENALTIES AND FINES.**

15 *(a) INDEXING TO ACCOUNT FOR PAST INFLATION.—*

16 *(1) PENALTIES.—Section 309(a) of the Federal*
 17 *Election Campaign Act of 1971 (2 U.S.C. 437g(a)) is*
 18 *amended—*

19 *(A) in paragraph (5)(A), by striking*
 20 *“\$5,000” and inserting “\$15,000”;*

21 *(B) in paragraph (5)(B), by striking*
 22 *“\$10,000” and inserting “\$30,000”;*

23 *(C) in paragraph (6)(A), by striking*
 24 *“\$5,000” and inserting “\$15,000”;*

1 (D) in paragraph (6)(B), by striking
2 “\$5,000” and inserting “\$15,000”; and

3 (E) in paragraph (6)(C), by striking
4 “\$10,000” and inserting “\$30,000”.

5 (2) *FINES*.—Section 309 of such Act (2 U.S.C.
6 437g) is amended—

7 (A) in subsection (a)(12)(B)—

8 (i) by striking “\$2,000” and inserting
9 “\$6,000”, and

10 (ii) by striking “\$5,000” and inserting
11 “\$15,000”; and

12 (B) in the second sentence of subsection
13 (d)(1)(A), by striking “\$25,000” and inserting
14 “\$75,000”.

15 (b) *INDEXING FOR FUTURE YEARS*.—Section 309 of
16 such Act (2 U.S.C. 437g) is amended—

17 (1) in subsection (a), by adding at the end the
18 following new paragraph:

19 “(13) Each amount referred to in this subsection shall
20 be adjusted (for years beginning with 2001) in the same
21 manner as the amounts of limitations on contributions
22 under section 315(a) are adjusted under section 315(c)(3).”;
23 and

24 (2) in the second sentence of subsection (d)(1)(A),
25 as amended by subsection (a)(2)(B), by inserting after

1 “\$75,000” the following: “(adjusted for years begin-
 2 ning with 2001 in the same manner as the amounts
 3 of limitations on contributions under section 315(a)
 4 are adjusted under section 315(c)(3))”.

5 ***TITLE VII—RESTRICTIONS ON***
 6 ***SOFT MONEY***

7 ***SEC. 701. BAN ON SOFT MONEY OF NATIONAL POLITICAL***
 8 ***PARTIES AND CANDIDATES.***

9 *Title III of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971*
 10 *(2 U.S.C. 431 et seq.), as amended by section 306, is amend-*
 11 *ed by adding at the end the following new section:*

12 “*BAN ON USE OF SOFT MONEY BY NATIONAL POLITICAL*
 13 *PARTIES AND CANDIDATES*

14 “*SEC. 324. (a) NATIONAL PARTIES.—*

15 *“(1) IN GENERAL.—No political committee of a*
 16 *national political party may solicit, receive, or direct*
 17 *any contributions, donations, or transfers of funds, or*
 18 *spend any funds, which are not subject to the limita-*
 19 *tions, prohibitions, and reporting requirements of this*
 20 *Act.*

21 *“(2) APPLICABILITY.—Paragraph (1) shall apply*
 22 *to any entity which is established, financed, main-*
 23 *tained, or controlled (directly or indirectly) by, or*
 24 *which acts on behalf of, a political committee of a na-*
 25 *tional political party, including any national con-*

1 gressional campaign committee of such a party and
2 any officer or agent of such an entity or committee.

3 “(b) CANDIDATES.—

4 “(1) IN GENERAL.—No candidate for Federal of-
5 fice, individual holding Federal office, or any agent
6 of such a candidate or officeholder may solicit, re-
7 ceive, or direct—

8 “(A) any funds in connection with any
9 Federal election unless the funds are subject to
10 the limitations, prohibitions and reporting re-
11 quirements of this Act;

12 “(B) any funds that are to be expended in
13 connection with any election for other than a
14 Federal office unless the funds are not in excess
15 of the applicable amounts permitted with respect
16 to contributions to candidates and political com-
17 mittees under paragraphs (1) and (2) of section
18 315(a), and are not from sources prohibited from
19 making contributions by this Act with respect to
20 elections for Federal office; or

21 “(C) any funds on behalf of any person
22 which are not subject to the limitations, prohibi-
23 tions, and reporting requirements of this Act if
24 such funds are for the purpose of financing any
25 activity on behalf of a candidate for election for

1 *Federal office or any communication which re-*
 2 *fers to a clearly identified candidate for election*
 3 *for Federal office.*

4 “(2) *EXCEPTION FOR CERTAIN ACTIVITIES.—*
 5 *Paragraph (1) shall not apply to—*

6 “(A) *the solicitation, receipt, or direction of*
 7 *funds by an individual who is a candidate for*
 8 *a non-Federal office if such activity is permitted*
 9 *under State law for such individual’s non-Fed-*
 10 *eral campaign committee; or*

11 “(B) *the attendance by an individual who*
 12 *holds Federal office at a fundraising event for a*
 13 *State or local committee of a political party of*
 14 *the State which the individual represents as a*
 15 *Federal officeholder, if the event is held in such*
 16 *State.*

17 “(c) *APPLICABILITY TO FUNDS FROM ALL*
 18 *SOURCES.—This section shall apply with respect to funds*
 19 *of any individual, corporation, labor organization, or other*
 20 *person.”.*

21 **SEC. 702. BAN ON DISBURSEMENTS OF SOFT MONEY BY**
 22 **FOREIGN NATIONALS.**

23 (a) *PROHIBITION ON DISBURSEMENTS BY FOREIGN*
 24 *NATIONALS FOR POLITICAL PARTIES AND INDEPENDENT*

1 *EXPENDITURES.—Section 319 of the Federal Election Cam-*
 2 *paign Act of 1971 (2 U.S.C. 441e) is amended—*

3 *(1) in the heading, by striking “CONTRIBUTIONS”*
 4 *and inserting “DISBURSEMENTS”;*

5 *(2) in subsection (a), by striking “contribution”*
 6 *each place it appears and inserting “disbursement”;*
 7 *and*

8 *(3) in subsection (a), by striking the semicolon*
 9 *and inserting the following: “, including any dis-*
 10 *bursement to a political committee of a political*
 11 *party and any disbursement for an independent ex-*
 12 *penditure;”.*

13 *(b) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendments made by this*
 14 *section shall apply with respect to disbursements made on*
 15 *or after the date of the enactment of this Act.*

16 **SEC. 703. ENFORCEMENT OF SPENDING LIMIT ON PRESI-**
 17 **DENTIAL AND VICE PRESIDENTIAL CAN-**
 18 **DIDATES WHO RECEIVE PUBLIC FINANCING.**

19 *(a) IN GENERAL.—Section 9003 of the Internal Reve-*
 20 *nue Code of 1986 (26 U.S.C. 9003) is amended by adding*
 21 *at the end the following new subsection:*

22 *“(f) ILLEGAL SOLICITATION OF SOFT MONEY.—No*
 23 *candidate for election to the office of President or Vice*
 24 *President may receive amounts from the Presidential Elec-*
 25 *tion Campaign Fund under this chapter or chapter 96 un-*

1 *less the candidate certifies that the candidate shall not so-*
 2 *licit any funds for purposes of influencing (directly or indi-*
 3 *rectly) such election, including any funds used for an inde-*
 4 *pendent expenditure under the Federal Election Campaign*
 5 *Act of 1971, unless the funds are subject to the limitations,*
 6 *prohibitions, and reporting requirements of the Federal*
 7 *Election Campaign Act of 1971.”.*

8 (b) *EFFECTIVE DATE.*—*The amendment made by this*
 9 *section shall apply with respect to elections occurring on*
 10 *or after the date of the enactment of this Act.*

11 **SEC. 704. CONSPIRACY TO VIOLATE PRESIDENTIAL CAM-**
 12 **PAIGN SPENDING LIMITS.**

13 (a) *IN GENERAL.*—*Section 9003 of the Internal Reve-*
 14 *nue Code of 1986 (26 U.S.C. 9003), as amended by section*
 15 *703, is further amended by adding at the end the following*
 16 *new subsection:*

17 “(g) *PROHIBITING CONSPIRACY TO VIOLATE LIMITS.*—

18 “(1) *VIOLATION OF LIMITS DESCRIBED.*—*If a*
 19 *candidate for election to the office of President or Vice*
 20 *President who receives amounts from the Presidential*
 21 *Election Campaign Fund under chapter 95 or 96 of*
 22 *the Internal Revenue Code of 1986, or the agent of*
 23 *such a candidate, seeks to avoid the spending limits*
 24 *applicable to the candidate under such chapter or*
 25 *under the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 by*

1 *soliciting, receiving, transferring, or directing funds*
 2 *from any source other than such Fund for the direct*
 3 *or indirect benefit of such candidate's campaign, such*
 4 *candidate or agent shall be fined not more than*
 5 *\$1,000,000, or imprisoned for a term of not more*
 6 *than 3 years, or both.*

7 “(2) CONSPIRACY TO VIOLATE LIMITS DE-
 8 *FINED.—If two or more persons conspire to violate*
 9 *paragraph (1), and one or more of such persons do*
 10 *any act to effect the object of the conspiracy, each*
 11 *shall be fined not more than \$1,000,000, or impris-*
 12 *oned for a term of not more than 3 years, or both.”.*

13 (b) *EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendment made by this*
 14 *section shall apply with respect to elections occurring on*
 15 *or after the date of the enactment of this Act.*

16 ***TITLE VIII—DISCLOSURE OF*** 17 ***CERTAIN COMMUNICATIONS***

18 ***SEC. 801. DISCLOSURE OF CERTAIN COMMUNICATIONS.***

19 *Section 304 of the Federal Election Campaign Act of*
 20 *1971 (2 U.S.C. 434) is amended by adding at the end the*
 21 *following new subsection:*

22 “(d)(1) *In addition to any other information required*
 23 *to be reported under this Act, any person who makes pay-*
 24 *ments described in paragraph (2) in an aggregate amount*
 25 *or value in excess of \$250 during a calendar year shall re-*

1 port such payments and the source of the funds used to
 2 make such payments to the Commission in the same man-
 3 ner and under the same terms and conditions as a political
 4 committee reporting expenditures and contributions to the
 5 Commission under this section, except that if such person
 6 makes such payments in an aggregate amount or value of
 7 \$1,000 or more after the 20th day, but more than 24 hours,
 8 before any election, such person shall report such informa-
 9 tion within 24 hours after such payments are made.

10 “(2) A payment described in this paragraph is a pay-
 11 ment for any communication which is made during the 90-
 12 day period ending on the date of an election and which
 13 mentions a clearly identified candidate for election for Fed-
 14 eral office or the political party of such a candidate, or
 15 which contains the likeness of such a candidate, other than
 16 a payment which would be described in clause (i), (iii),
 17 or (v) of section 301(9)(B) if the payment were an expendi-
 18 ture under such section.”.

19 ***TITLE IX—EFFECTIVE DATE***

20 ***SEC. 901. EFFECTIVE DATE.***

21 *Except as otherwise specifically provided, this Act and*
 22 *the amendments made by this Act shall apply with respect*
 23 *to elections occurring after January 1999.*