Union Calendar No. 410 H.R.6116

111TH CONGRESS 2D Session

[Report No. 111-691, Part I]

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

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

SEPTEMBER 14, 2010

Mr. LARSON of Connecticut (for himself, Mr. JONES, Mr. CAPUANO, Ms. PIN-GREE of Maine, Mr. HOLT, Mr. PLATTS, Mr. NADLER of New York, Mr. COOPER, Mr. HEINRICH, Mr. POLIS of Colorado, Ms. EDWARDS of Maryland, and Mr. DOYLE) introduced the following bill; which was referred to the Committee on House Administration, and in addition to the Committee on Energy and Commerce, 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

DECEMBER 21, 2010

Reported from the Committee on House Administration

DECEMBER 21, 2010

Referral to the Committee on Energy and Commerce extended for a period ending not later than December 22, 2010

DECEMBER 22, 2010

Additional sponsors: Ms. ZOE LOFGREN of California, Mr. GONZALEZ, Ms. HIRONO, Mr. YARMUTH, Ms. WOOLSEY, Mr. COSTELLO, and Mr. HONDA

DECEMBER 22, 2010

The Committee on Energy and Commerce discharged; committed to the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union and ordered to be printed

A BILL

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To reform the financing of House 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 "Fair Elections Now Act".
- 6 (b) TABLE OF CONTENTS.—The table of contents of
- 7 this Act is as follows:

Sec. 1. Short title; table of contents. Sec. 2. Findings and declarations.

TITLE I—FAIR ELECTIONS FINANCING OF HOUSE ELECTION CAMPAIGNS

Sec. 101. Benefits and eligibility requirements for House candidates.

"TITLE V—FAIR ELECTIONS FINANCING OF HOUSE ELECTION CAMPAIGNS

"Subtitle A—Benefits

- "Sec. 501. Benefits for participating candidates.
- "Sec. 502. Allocations from the Fund.
- "Sec. 503. Matching payments for certain small dollar contributions.

"Subtitle B—Eligibility and Certification

"Sec. 511. Eligibility.

- "Sec. 512. Qualifying requirements.
- "Sec. 513. Certification.

"Subtitle C—Requirements for Candidates Certified as Participating Candidates

- "Sec. 521. Contribution, expenditure, and fundraising requirements.
- "Sec. 522. Debate requirement.
- "Sec. 523. Remitting unspent funds after election.

"Subtitle D—Administrative Provisions

- "Sec. 531. Fair Elections Fund.
- "Sec. 532. Fair Elections Oversight Board.
- "Sec. 533. Administration by Commission.
- "Sec. 534. Violations and penalties.
- "Sec. 535. Election cycle defined.
- Sec. 102. Transfer of portion of civil money penalties into Fair Elections Fund.
- Sec. 103. Prohibiting use of contributions by participating candidates for purposes other than campaign for election.
- Sec. 104. Prohibition on joint fundraising committees.

- Sec. 105. Limitation on coordinated expenditures by political party committees with participating candidates.
- Sec. 106. Deposit of proceeds from recovered spectrum auctions.

TITLE II—RESPONSIBILITIES OF THE FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

Sec. 201. Petition for certiorari.

Sec. 202. Filing by all candidates with Commission.

Sec. 203. Electronic filing of FEC reports.

TITLE III—MISCELLANEOUS PROVISIONS

Sec. 301. Severability.

Sec. 302. Effective date.

1 SEC. 2. FINDINGS AND DECLARATIONS.

(a) UNDERMINING OF DEMOCRACY BY CAMPAIGN
CONTRIBUTIONS FROM PRIVATE SOURCES.—The House
of Representatives finds and declares that the current system of privately financed campaigns for election to the
House of Representatives has the capacity, and is often
perceived by the public, to undermine democracy in the
United States by—

- 9 (1) creating a culture that fosters actual or per-10 ceived conflicts of interest, by encouraging Members 11 of the House to accept large campaign contributions 12 from private interests that are directly affected by
- 12 from private interests that are directly affected by13 Federal legislation;
- (2) diminishing or appearing to diminish Members' accountability to constituents by compelling
 legislators to be accountable to the major contributors who finance their election campaigns;
- 18 (3) undermining the meaning of the right to
 19 vote by allowing monied interests to have a dis•HR 6116 RH

proportionate and unfair influence within the polit-
ical process;
(4) imposing large, unwarranted costs on tax-
payers through legislative and regulatory distortions
caused by unequal access to lawmakers for campaign
contributors;
(5) making it difficult for some qualified can-
didates to mount competitive House election cam-
paigns;
(6) disadvantaging challengers and discouraging
competitive elections, because large campaign con-
tributors tend to donate their money to incumbent
Members, thus causing House elections to be less
competitive; and
(7) burdening incumbents with a preoccupation
with fundraising and thus decreasing the time avail-
able to carry out their public responsibilities.

(b) ENHANCEMENT OF DEMOCRACY BY PROVIDING ALLOCATIONS FROM THE FAIR ELECTIONS FUND.—The House of Representatives finds and declares that providing the option of the replacement of large private cam-paign contributions with allocations from the Fair Elections Fund for all primary, runoff, and general elections to the House of Representatives would enhance American democracy by-

1 (1) reducing the actual or perceived conflicts of 2 interest created by fully private financing of the elec-3 tion campaigns of public officials and restoring pub-4 lic confidence in the integrity and fairness of the 5 electoral and legislative processes through a program 6 which allows participating candidates to adhere to 7 substantially lower contribution limits for contributors with an assurance that there will be sufficient 8 9 funds for such candidates to run viable electoral 10 campaigns;

(2) increasing the public's confidence in the accountability of Members to the constituents who
elect them, which derives from the program's qualifying criteria to participate in the voluntary program
and the conclusions that constituents may draw regarding candidates who qualify and participate in
the program;

(3) helping to reduce the ability to make large
campaign contributions as a determinant of a citizen's influence within the political process by facilitating the expression of support by voters at every
level of wealth, encouraging political participation,
incentivizing participation on the part of Members
through the matching of small dollar contributions;

1	(4) potentially saving taxpayers billions of dol-
2	lars that may be (or that are perceived to be) cur-
3	rently allocated based upon legislative and regu-
4	latory agendas skewed by the influence of campaign
5	contributions;
6	(5) creating genuine opportunities for all Amer-
7	icans to run for the House of Representatives and
8	encouraging more competitive elections;
9	(6) encouraging participation in the electoral
10	process by citizens of every level of wealth; and
11	(7) freeing Members from the incessant pre-
12	occupation with raising money, and allowing them
13	more time to carry out their public responsibilities.
14	TITLE I—FAIR ELECTIONS FI-
15	NANCING OF HOUSE ELEC-
16	TION CAMPAIGNS
17	SEC. 101. BENEFITS AND ELIGIBILITY REQUIREMENTS FOR
18	HOUSE CANDIDATES.
19	The Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 (2
20	U.S.C. 431 et seq.) is amended by adding at the end the
21	following:

TITLE V—FAIR ELECTIONS FI NANCING OF HOUSE ELEC TION CAMPAIGNS "Subtitle A—Benefits

5 "SEC. 501. BENEFITS FOR PARTICIPATING CANDIDATES.

6 "(a) IN GENERAL.—If a candidate for election to the 7 office of Representative in, or Delegate or Resident Com-8 missioner to, the Congress is a participating candidate 9 under this title with respect to an election for such office, 10 the candidate shall be entitled to payments under this 11 title, to be used only for authorized expenditures in con-12 nection with the election.

13 "(b) TYPES OF PAYMENTS.—The payments to which
14 a participating candidate is entitled under this section
15 consist of—

16 "(1) allocations from the Fair Elections Fund,
17 as provided in section 502; and

18 "(2) payments from the Fair Elections Fund to
19 match certain small dollar contributions, as provided
20 in section 503.

21 "SEC. 502. ALLOCATIONS FROM THE FUND.

22 "(a) Amount of Allocations.—

23 "(1) PRIMARY ELECTION ALLOCATION; INITIAL
24 ALLOCATION.—Except as provided in paragraph (6),
25 the Commission shall make an allocation from the

1 Fair Elections Fund established under section 531 to a candidate who is certified as a participating 2 3 candidate with respect to a primary election in an amount equal to 40 percent of the base amount. 4 "(2) PRIMARY RUNOFF ELECTION ALLOCA-5 6 TION.—The Commission shall make an allocation 7 from the Fund to a candidate who is certified as a 8 participating candidate with respect to a primary 9 runoff election in an amount equal to 25 percent of 10 the amount the participating candidate was eligible 11 to receive under this section for the primary election. 12 "(3) GENERAL ELECTION ALLOCATION.—Ex-13 cept as provided in paragraph (6), the Commission 14 shall make an allocation from the Fund to a can-15 didate who is certified as a participating candidate 16 with respect to a general election in an amount 17 equal to 60 percent of the base amount. 18 "(4) GENERAL RUNOFF ELECTION ALLOCA-19 TION.—The Commission shall make an allocation 20 from the Fund to a candidate who is certified as a

20 From the Fund to a candidate who is certified as a
21 participating candidate with respect to a general
22 runoff election in an amount equal to 25 percent of
23 the base amount.

24 "(5) RECOUNT ALLOCATION.—If the appro25 priate State or local election official conducts a re-

1	count of an election, the Commission shall make an
2	allocation from the Fund to a participating can-
3	didate for expenses relating to the recount in an
4	amount equal to 25 percent of the amount the par-
5	ticipating candidate was eligible to receive under this
6	section for the election involved.
7	"(6) Uncontested elections.—
8	"(A) IN GENERAL.—In the case of a pri-
9	mary or general election that is an uncontested
10	election, the Commission shall make an alloca-
11	tion from the Fund to a participating candidate
12	for such election in an amount equal to 25 per-
13	cent of the allocation for that election with re-
14	spect to such candidate.
15	"(B) Uncontested election de-
16	FINED.—For purposes of this subparagraph, an
17	election is uncontested if not more than 1 can-
18	didate has campaign funds (including payments
19	from the Fund) in an amount equal to or great-
20	er than 10 percent of the allocation a candidate
21	would be entitled to receive under this section
22	for that election (determined without regard to
23	this paragraph).
24	"(b) BASE AMOUNT.—The base amount is an amount
25	equal to 80 percent of the national average disbursements

1	of the cycle by winning candidates for the office of Rep-
2	resentative in, or Delegate or Resident Commissioner to,
3	the Congress in the last 2 election cycles.
4	"(c) TIMING; METHOD OF PAYMENT.—
5	"(1) TIMING.—The Commission shall make the
6	allocations required under subsection (a) to a par-
7	ticipating candidate—
8	"(A) in the case of amounts provided
9	under subsection $(a)(1)$, not later than 48 hours
10	after the date on which such candidate is cer-
11	tified as a participating candidate under section
12	513;
13	"(B) in the case of a general election, not
14	later than 48 hours after—
15	"(i) the date of the certification of the
16	results of the primary election or the pri-
17	mary runoff election; or
18	"(ii) in any case in which there is no
19	primary election, the date the candidate
20	qualifies to be placed on the ballot;
21	"(C) in the case of a primary runoff elec-
22	tion or a general runoff election, not later than
23	48 hours after the certification of the results of
24	the primary election or the general election, as
25	the case may be; and

"(D) in the case of a recount allocation,
 not later than 48 hours after the appropriate
 State or local election official orders the holding
 of the recount.

5 "(2) METHOD OF PAYMENT.—The Commission
6 shall distribute funds available to participating can7 didates under this section through the use of an
8 electronic funds exchange or a debit card.

9 "SEC. 503. MATCHING PAYMENTS FOR CERTAIN SMALL 10 DOLLAR CONTRIBUTIONS.

11 "(a) IN GENERAL.—The Commission shall pay to 12 each participating candidate an amount equal to 400 per-13 cent of the amount of qualified small dollar contributions 14 received by the candidate from individuals who are resi-15 dents of the State in which such participating candidate 16 is seeking election.

17 "(b) LIMITATION.—The maximum payment under18 this section shall be the greater of—

"(1) 200 percent of the allocation under paragraphs (1) through (4) of section 502(a) for that
election with respect to such candidate; or

22 "(2) the percentage of the allocation determined
23 by the Commission under section 532(c)(2).

24 "(c) TIME OF PAYMENT.—The Commission shall25 make payments under this section not later than 2 busi-

3 "(d) Reports.—

4	"(1) IN GENERAL.—Each participating can-
5	didate shall file reports of receipts of qualified small
6	dollar contributions at such times and in such man-
7	ner as the Commission may by regulations prescribe.
8	"(2) CONTENTS OF REPORTS.—Each report
9	under this subsection shall disclose—
10	$((\Lambda)$ the amount of each qualified small

10"(A) the amount of each qualified small11dollar contribution received by the candidate;

"(B) the amount of each qualified small
dollar contribution received by the candidate
from a resident of the State in which the candidate is seeking election; and

16 "(C) the name, address, and occupation of
17 each individual who made a qualified small dol18 lar contribution to the candidate.

19 "(3) FREQUENCY OF REPORTS.—Reports under
20 this subsection shall be made no more frequently
21 than—

22 "(A) once every month until the date that23 is 90 days before the date of the election;

1	"(B) once every week after the period de-
2	scribed in subparagraph (A) and until the date
3	that is 21 days before the election; and
4	"(C) once every day after the period de-
5	scribed in subparagraph (B).
6	"(4) LIMITATION ON REGULATIONS.—The
7	Commission may not prescribe any regulations with
8	respect to reporting under this subsection with re-
9	spect to any election after the date that is 180 days
10	before the date of such election.
11	"(e) APPEALS.—The Commission shall provide a
12	written explanation with respect to any denial of any pay-
13	ment under this section and shall provide for the oppor-
14	tunity for review and reconsideration within 5 business
15	days of such denial.
16	"(f) Qualified Small Dollar Contribution De-
17	FINED.—The term 'qualified small dollar contribution'
18	means, with respect to a participating candidate, any con-
19	tribution (or a series of contributions)—
20	((1) which is not a qualifying contribution (or
21	does not include a qualifying contribution);
22	"(2) which is made by an individual who is not
23	prohibited from making a contribution under this
24	Act; and

"(3) the aggregate amount of which does not
 exceed the greater of—
 "(A) \$100 per election; or
 "(B) the amount determined by the Fair

5 Elections Oversight Board under section
6 532(c)(2).

"Subtitle B—Eligibility and Certification

9 "SEC. 511. ELIGIBILITY.

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8

"(a) IN GENERAL.—A candidate for the office of
Representative in, or Delegate or Resident Commissioner
to, the Congress is eligible to be certified as a participating
candidate under this title with respect to an election if
the candidate meets the following requirements:

"(1) During the election cycle for the office involved, the candidate files with the Commission a
statement of intent to seek certification as a participating candidate.

19 "(2) The candidate meets the qualifying re-20 quirements of section 512.

"(3) Not later than the last day of the Fair
Elections qualifying period, the candidate files with
the Commission an affidavit signed by the candidate
and the treasurer of the candidate's principal campaign committee declaring that the candidate—

1	"(A) has complied and, if certified, will
2	comply with the contribution and expenditure
3	requirements of section 521;
4	"(B) if certified, will comply with the de-
5	bate requirements of section 522;
6	"(C) if certified, will run only as a partici-
7	pating candidate for all elections for the office
8	that such candidate is seeking during the elec-
9	tion cycle; and
10	"(D) has either qualified or will take steps
11	to qualify under State law to be on the ballot.
12	"(b) GENERAL ELECTION.—Notwithstanding sub-
13	section (a), a candidate shall not be eligible to receive an
14	allocation from the Fund for a general election or a gen-
15	eral runoff election unless the candidate's party nominated
16	the candidate to be placed on the ballot for the general
17	election or the candidate is otherwise qualified to be on
18	the ballot under State law.
19	"(c) FAIR ELECTIONS QUALIFYING PERIOD DE-
20	FINED.—The term 'Fair Elections qualifying period'
21	means, with respect to any candidate for the office of Rep-
22	resentative in, or Delegate or Resident Commissioner to,
23	the Congress, the 120-day period (during the election cycle
24	for such office) which begins on the date on which the

511(a)(1), except that such period may not continue after
 the date that is 60 days before—

3 "(1) the date of the primary election; or
4 "(2) in the case of a State that does not hold
5 a primary election, the date prescribed by State law
6 as the last day to qualify for a position on the gen7 eral election ballot.

8 "SEC. 512. QUALIFYING REQUIREMENTS.

9 "(a) RECEIPT OF QUALIFYING CONTRIBUTIONS.—A 10 candidate for the office of Representative in, or Delegate 11 or Resident Commissioner to, the Congress meets the re-12 quirement of this section if, during the Fair Elections 13 qualifying period described in section 511(c), the can-14 didate obtains—

15 "(1) a single qualifying contribution from a
16 number of individuals equal to or greater than the
17 lesser of—

18 "(A) .25% of the voting age population of
19 the State involved (as reported in the most re20 cent decennial census), or

21 "(B) 1,500; and

22 "(2) a total dollar amount of qualifying con23 tributions equal to or greater than \$50,000.

1	"(b) REQUIREMENTS RELATING TO RECEIPT OF
2	QUALIFYING CONTRIBUTION.—Each qualifying contribu-
3	tion—
4	"(1) may be made by means of a personal
5	check, money order, debit card, credit card, or elec-
6	tronic payment account;
7	"(2) shall be accompanied by a signed state-
8	ment containing—
9	"(A) the contributor's name and the con-
10	tributor's address in the State in which the pri-
11	mary residence of the contributor is located;
12	"(B) an oath declaring that the contrib-
13	utor—
14	"(i) understands that the purpose of
15	the qualifying contribution is to show sup-
16	port for the candidate so that the can-
17	didate may qualify for Fair Elections fi-
18	nancing;
19	"(ii) is making the contribution in his
20	or her own name and from his or her own
21	funds;
22	"(iii) has made the contribution will-
23	ingly; and
24	"(iv) has not received any thing of
25	value in return for the contribution; and

"(3) shall be acknowledged by a receipt that is
sent to the contributor with a copy kept by the candidate for the Commission and a copy kept by the
candidate for the election authorities in the State
with respect to which the candidate is seeking election.

7 "(c) VERIFICATION OF QUALIFYING CONTRIBU-8 TIONS.—The Commission shall establish procedures for 9 the auditing and verification of qualifying contributions to 10 ensure that such contributions meet the requirements of 11 this section.

"(d) PROHIBITING PAYMENT ON COMMISSION BASIS
OF INDIVIDUALS COLLECTING QUALIFYING CONTRIBUTIONS.—No person may be paid a commission on a per
qualifying contribution basis for collecting qualifying contributions.

17 "(e) QUALIFYING CONTRIBUTION DEFINED.—In this
18 section, the term 'qualifying contribution' means, with re19 spect to a candidate, a contribution that—

20 "(1) is in an amount that is—

21 "(A) not less than the greater of \$5 or the
22 amount determined by the Commission under
23 section 532(c)(2), and

1	"(B) not more than the greater of \$100 or
2	the amount determined by the Commission
3	under section $532(c)(2)$;
4	"(2) is made by an individual—
5	"(A) who has a primary residence in the
6	State in which such Candidate is seeking elec-
7	tion, and
8	"(B) who is not otherwise prohibited from
9	making a contribution under this Act;
10	"(3) is made during the Fair Elections quali-
11	fying period described in section 511(c); and
12	"(4) meets the requirements of subsection (b).
13	"SEC. 513. CERTIFICATION.
13 14	"SEC. 513. CERTIFICATION. "(a) Deadline and Notification.—
14	"(a) Deadline and Notification.—
14 15	"(a) Deadline and Notification.— "(1) In general.—Not later than 5 days after
14 15 16	"(a) DEADLINE AND NOTIFICATION.— "(1) IN GENERAL.—Not later than 5 days after a candidate files an affidavit under section
14 15 16 17	"(a) DEADLINE AND NOTIFICATION.— "(1) IN GENERAL.—Not later than 5 days after a candidate files an affidavit under section 511(a)(3), the Commission shall—
14 15 16 17 18	 "(a) DEADLINE AND NOTIFICATION.— "(1) IN GENERAL.—Not later than 5 days after a candidate files an affidavit under section 511(a)(3), the Commission shall— "(A) determine whether or not the can-
14 15 16 17 18 19	 "(a) DEADLINE AND NOTIFICATION.— "(1) IN GENERAL.—Not later than 5 days after a candidate files an affidavit under section 511(a)(3), the Commission shall— "(A) determine whether or not the can- didate meets the requirements for certification
 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 	 "(a) DEADLINE AND NOTIFICATION.— "(1) IN GENERAL.—Not later than 5 days after a candidate files an affidavit under section 511(a)(3), the Commission shall— "(A) determine whether or not the can- didate meets the requirements for certification as a participating candidate;
 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 	 "(a) DEADLINE AND NOTIFICATION.— "(1) IN GENERAL.—Not later than 5 days after a candidate files an affidavit under section 511(a)(3), the Commission shall— "(A) determine whether or not the can- didate meets the requirements for certification as a participating candidate; "(B) if the Commission determines that
 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 	 "(a) DEADLINE AND NOTIFICATION.— "(1) IN GENERAL.—Not later than 5 days after a candidate files an affidavit under section 511(a)(3), the Commission shall— "(A) determine whether or not the can- didate meets the requirements for certification as a participating candidate; "(B) if the Commission determines that the candidate meets such requirements, certify

1	"(2) DEEMED CERTIFICATION FOR ALL ELEC-
2	TIONS IN ELECTION CYCLE.—If the Commission cer-
3	tifies a candidate as a participating candidate with
4	respect to the first election of the election cycle in-
5	volved, the Commissioner shall be deemed to have
6	certified the candidate as a participating candidate
7	with respect to all subsequent elections of the elec-
8	tion cycle.
9	"(b) Revocation of Certification.—
10	"(1) IN GENERAL.—The Commission may re-
11	voke a certification under subsection (a) if—
12	"(A) a candidate fails to qualify to appear
13	on the ballot at any time after the date of cer-
14	tification (other than a candidate certified as a
15	participating candidate with respect to a pri-
16	mary election who fails to qualify to appear on
17	the ballot for a subsequent election in that elec-
18	tion cycle); or
19	"(B) a candidate otherwise fails to comply
20	with the requirements of this title, including
21	any regulatory requirements prescribed by the
22	Commission.
23	"(2) Repayment of benefits.—If certifi-
24	cation is revoked under paragraph (1) , the candidate
25	shall repay to the Fair Elections Fund established

under section 531 an amount equal to the value of
 benefits received under this title with respect to the
 election cycle involved plus interest (at a rate deter mined by the Commission) on any such amount re ceived.

6 "(c) PARTICIPATING CANDIDATE DEFINED.—In this 7 title, a 'participating candidate' means a candidate for the 8 office of Representative in, or Delegate or Resident Com-9 missioner to, the Congress who is certified under this sec-10 tion as eligible to receive benefits under this title.

11 "Subtitle C—Requirements for Can 12 didates Certified as Partici 13 pating Candidates

14 "SEC. 521. CONTRIBUTION, EXPENDITURE, AND FUND-15RAISING REQUIREMENTS.

16 "(a) CONTRIBUTIONS.—

17 ((1))Permitted SOURCES \mathbf{OF} CONTRIBU-18 TIONS.—Except as provided in subsection (c), a can-19 didate who is certified as a participating candidate 20 with respect to an election shall, with respect to all 21 elections occurring during the election cycle for the 22 office involved, accept no contributions from any 23 source (including an unexpended contribution re-24 ceived by the candidate with respect to a previous

1	election or a contribution made by any political com-
2	mittee or multicandidate committee) other than—
3	"(A) qualifying contributions described in
4	section 512;
5	"(B) qualified small dollar contributions
6	described in section 503;
7	"(C) allocations under section 502; and
8	"(D) payments under section 503.
9	"(2) Contributions for leadership and
10	RELATED PACS.—A political committee of a partici-
11	pating candidate which is not an authorized com-
12	mittee of such candidate may accept contributions
13	other than contributions described in paragraph (1)
14	from any person if—
15	"(A) the aggregate amount of the con-
16	tributions from such person for any election
17	during the election cycle does not exceed \$100;
18	and
19	"(B) no portion of such contributions is
20	disbursed in connection with the campaign of
21	the participating candidate.
22	"(b) Expenditures.—
23	"(1) PERMITTED SOURCES FOR EXPENDI-
24	TURES.—Except as provided in subsection (c), a
25	candidate who is certified as a participating can-

1	didate with respect to an election shall, with respect
2	to all elections occurring during the election cycle for
3	the office involved—
4	"(A) make no expenditures from any
5	amounts other than—
6	"(i) qualifying contributions described
7	in section 512;
8	"(ii) qualified small dollar contribu-
9	tions described in section 503;
10	"(iii) allocations under section 502;
11	and
12	"(iv) payments under section 503; and
13	"(B) make no expenditures from personal
14	funds or the funds of any immediate family
15	member of the candidate (other than funds re-
16	ceived through qualified small dollar contribu-
17	tions and qualifying contributions).
18	"(2) Immediate family member defined.—
19	In paragraph (1)(B), the term 'immediate family'
20	means, with respect to a candidate—
21	"(A) the candidate's spouse;
22	"(B) a child, stepchild, parent, grand-
23	parent, brother, half-brother, sister, or half-sis-
24	ter of the candidate or the candidate's spouse;
25	and

1	"(C) the spouse of any person described in
2	subparagraph (B).

3 "(c) EXCEPTIONS.—

4 "(1) EXCEPTION FOR CONTRIBUTIONS RE-5 CEIVED PRIOR TO FILING OF STATEMENT OF IN-6 TENT.—A candidate who has accepted contributions 7 that are not qualified small dollar contributions, 8 qualifying contributions, or contributions described 9 in paragraph (a)(2) prior to the date the candidate 10 files a statement of intent under section 511(a)(1)11 is not in violation of subsection (a), but only if all 12 such contributions are—

13 "(A) returned to the contributor;

14 "(B) submitted to the Commission for de15 posit in the Fair Elections Fund established
16 under section 531; or

17 "(C) spent in accordance with paragraph18 (2).

19 "(2) EXCEPTION FOR EXPENDITURES MADE 20 PRIOR TO FILING OF STATEMENT OF INTENT.—If a 21 candidate has made expenditures prior to the date 22 the candidate files a statement of intent under sec-23 tion 511(a)(1) that the candidate is prohibited from 24 making under subsection (b), the candidate is not in 25 violation of such subsection if the aggregate amount of the prohibited expenditures is less than 20 per cent of the amount of an initial allocation to a can didate under section 502(a)(1).

4 "(3) EXCEPTION FOR CAMPAIGN SURPLUSES 5 FROM A PREVIOUS ELECTION.—Notwithstanding 6 paragraph (1), unexpended contributions received by 7 the candidate or the an authorized committee of the 8 candidate with respect to a previous election may be 9 retained, but only if the candidate places the funds 10 in escrow and refrains from raising additional funds 11 for or spending funds from that account during the 12 election cycle in which a candidate is a participating 13 candidate.

14 ((4))EXCEPTION FOR CONTRIBUTIONS RE-15 CEIVED BEFORE THE EFFECTIVE DATE OF THIS 16 TITLE.—Contributions received and expenditures 17 made by the candidate or an authorized committee 18 of the candidate prior to the effective date of this 19 title shall not constitute a violation of subsection (a) 20 or (b). Unexpended contributions shall be treated 21 the same as campaign surpluses under paragraph 22 (3), and expenditures made shall count against the 23 limit in paragraph (2).

24 "(d) SPECIAL RULE FOR COORDINATED PARTY EX-25 PENDITURES.—For purposes of this section, a payment

made by a political party in coordination with a partici pating candidate shall not be treated as a contribution to
 or as an expenditure made by the participating candidate.

4 "SEC. 522. DEBATE REQUIREMENT.

5 "A candidate who is certified as a participating can6 didate with respect to an election shall, during the election
7 cycle for the office involved, participate in at least—

8 "(1) 1 public debate before the primary election 9 with other participating candidates and other willing 10 candidates from the same party and seeking the 11 same nomination as such candidate; and

"(2) 2 public debates before the general election
with other participating candidates and other willing
candidates seeking the same office as such candidate.

16 "SEC. 523. REMITTING UNSPENT FUNDS AFTER ELECTION.

17 "(a) IN GENERAL.—Not later than the date that is 18 60 days after the last election for which a candidate cer-19 tified as a participating candidate qualifies to be on the 20 ballot during the election cycle involved, such participating 21 candidate shall remit to the Commission for deposit in the 22 Fair Elections Fund established under section 531 an 23 amount equal to the lesser of—

24 "(1) the amount of money in the candidate's25 campaign account; or

"(2) the sum of the allocations received by the
 candidate under section 502 and the payments re ceived by the candidate under section 503.

4 "(b) Exception for Expenditures Incurred
5 But Not Paid as of Date of Remittance.—

6 "(1) IN GENERAL.—Subject to subsection (a), a 7 candidate may withhold from the amount required to 8 be remitted under paragraph (1) of such subsection 9 the amount of any authorized expenditures which 10 were incurred in connection with the candidate's 11 campaign but which remain unpaid as of the dead-12 line applicable to the candidate under such sub-13 section, except that any amount withheld pursuant 14 to this paragraph shall be remitted to the Commis-15 sion not later than 120 days after the date of the 16 election to which such subsection applies.

17 "(2) DOCUMENTATION REQUIRED.—A can18 didate may withhold an amount of an expenditure
19 pursuant to paragraph (1) only if the candidate sub20 mits documentation of the expenditure and the
21 amount to the Commission not later than the dead22 line applicable to the candidate under subsection (a).

"Subtitle D—Administrative Provisions

29

3 "SEC. 531. FAIR ELECTIONS FUND.

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4 "(a) ESTABLISHMENT.—There is established in the5 Treasury a fund to be known as the 'Fair Elections Fund'.

6 "(b) AMOUNTS HELD BY FUND.—The Fund shall7 consist of the following amounts:

8 "(1) APPROPRIATED AMOUNTS.—Amounts ap-9 propriated to the Fund, including trust fund 10 amounts appropriated pursuant to applicable provi-11 sions of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986.

12 "(2) VOLUNTARY CONTRIBUTIONS.—Voluntary13 contributions to the Fund.

14 "(3) TRANSFERS RESULTING FROM PAYMENT
15 OF CIVIL PENALTIES.—Amounts transferred into the
16 Fund pursuant to section 309(a)(13).

17 "(4) PROCEEDS FROM RECOVERED SPECTRUM
18 AUCTIONS.—Amounts deposited pursuant to section
19 309(j)(8)(E)(ii)(II) of the Communications Act of
20 1934.

21 "(5) OTHER DEPOSITS.—Amounts deposited
22 into the Fund under—

23 "(A) section 521(a)(3) (relating to exception to contribution requirements);

1	"(B) section 523 (relating to remittance of
2	allocations from the Fund);
3	"(C) section 534 (relating to violations);
4	and
5	"(D) any other section of this Act.
6	"(6) INVESTMENT RETURNS.—Interest on, and
7	the proceeds from, the sale or redemption of, any
8	obligations held by the Fund under subsection (c).
9	"(c) INVESTMENT.—The Commission shall invest
10	portions of the Fund in obligations of the United States
11	in the same manner as provided under section 9602(b)
12	of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986.
13	"(d) USE OF FUND.—
14	"(1) IN GENERAL.—The sums in the Fund
15	shall be used to provide benefits to participating
16	candidates as provided in subtitle A.
17	"(2) INSUFFICIENT AMOUNTS.—Under regula-
18	tions established by the Commission, rules similar to
19	the rules of section 9006(c) of the Internal Revenue
20	Code of 1986 shall apply.
21	"SEC. 532. FAIR ELECTIONS OVERSIGHT BOARD.
22	"(a) ESTABLISHMENT.—There is established within
23	the Federal Election Commission an entity to be known
24	as the 'Fair Elections Oversight Board'.
25	"(b) Structure and Membership.—

1	"(1) IN GENERAL.—The Board shall be com-
2	posed of 5 members appointed by the President, of
3	whom—
4	"(A) 2 shall be appointed after consulta-
5	tion with the Majority Leader of the House of
6	Representatives;
7	"(B) 2 shall be appointed after consulta-
8	tion with the Minority Leader of the House of
9	Representatives; and
10	"(C) 1 shall be appointed upon the rec-
11	ommendation of the members appointed under
12	subparagraphs (A) and (B).
13	"(2) QUALIFICATIONS.—
14	"(A) IN GENERAL.—The members shall be
15	individuals who are nonpartisan and, by reason
16	of their education, experience, and attainments,
17	exceptionally qualified to perform the duties of
18	members of the Board.
19	"(B) PROHIBITION.—No member of the
20	Board may be—
21	"(i) an employee of the Federal gov-
22	ernment;
23	"(ii) a registered lobbyist or an indi-
24	vidual who was a registered lobbyist at any

1	time during the 2-year period preceding
2	appointment to the Board; or
3	"(iii) an officer or employee of a polit-
4	ical party or political campaign.
5	"(3) DATE.—Members of the Board shall be
6	appointed not later than 60 days after the date of
7	the enactment of this Act.
8	"(4) TERMS.—A member of the Board shall be
9	appointed for a term of 5 years.
10	"(5) VACANCIES.—A vacancy on the Board
11	shall be filled not later than 30 calendar days after
12	the date on which the Board is given notice of the
13	vacancy, in the same manner as the original ap-
14	pointment. The individual appointed to fill the va-
15	cancy shall serve only for the unexpired portion of
16	the term for which the individual's predecessor was
17	appointed.
18	"(6) CHAIRPERSON.—The Board shall des-
19	ignate a Chairperson from among the members of
20	the Board.
21	"(c) DUTIES AND POWERS.—
22	"(1) Administration.—The Board shall have
23	such duties and powers as the Commission may pre-
24	scribe, including the power to administer the provi-
25	sions of this title.

1	"(2) REVIEW OF FAIR ELECTIONS FINANC-
2	ING.—
3	"(A) IN GENERAL.—After each regularly
4	scheduled general election for Federal office,
5	the Board shall conduct a comprehensive review
6	of the Fair Elections financing program under
7	this title, including—
8	"(i) the maximum dollar amount of
9	qualified small dollar contributions under
10	section 503(f);
11	"(ii) the maximum and minimum dol-
12	lar amounts for qualifying contributions
13	under section 512(d);
14	"(iii) the number and value of quali-
15	fying contributions a candidate is required
16	to obtain under section 512(a) to be eligi-
17	ble for certification as a participating can-
18	didate;
19	"(iv) the amount of allocations that
20	candidates may receive under section 502;
21	"(v) the maximum amount of pay-
22	ments a candidate may receive under sec-
23	tion $503;$

"(vi) the overall satisfaction of partici-1 2 pating candidates and the American public 3 with the program; and "(vii) such other matters relating to 4 financing of House of Representatives 5 6 campaigns as the Board determines are 7 appropriate. "(B) CRITERIA FOR REVIEW.-In con-8 9 ducting the review under subparagraph (A), the 10 Board shall consider the following: 11 "(i) QUALIFYING CONTRIBUTIONS 12 AND QUALIFIED SMALL DOLLAR CON-13 TRIBUTIONS.—The Board shall consider 14 whether the number and dollar amount of 15 qualifying contributions required and max-16 imum dollar amount for such qualifying 17 contributions and qualified small dollar 18 contributions strikes a balance regarding 19 the importance of voter involvement, the 20 need to assure adequate incentives for par-21 ticipating, and fiscal responsibility, taking 22 into consideration the number of primary 23 and general election participating can-24 didates, the electoral performance of those 25 candidates, program cost, and any other information the Board determines is appropriate.

"(ii) 3 REVIEW OF PROGRAM BENE-4 FITS.—The Board shall consider whether 5 the totality of the amount of funds allowed to be raised by participating candidates 6 7 (including through qualifying contributions 8 and small dollar contributions), allocations 9 under section 502, and payments under 10 section 503 are sufficient for voters in each 11 State to learn about the candidates to cast 12 an informed vote, taking into account the 13 historic amount of spending by winning 14 candidates, media costs, primary election dates, and any other information the 15 16 Board determines is appropriate. 17 "(C) Adjustment of amounts.— 18 "(i) IN GENERAL.—Based on the re-19 view conducted under subparagraph (A),

20 the Board shall provide for the adjustments of the following amounts:

22 "(I) the maximum dollar amount 23 of qualified small dollar contributions 24 under section 503(f);

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1	"(II) the maximum and min-
2	imum dollar amounts for qualifying
3	contributions under section 512(d);
4	"(III) the number and value of
5	qualifying contributions a candidate is
6	required to obtain under section
7	512(a) to be eligible for certification
8	as a participating candidate;
9	"(IV) the base amount for can-
10	didates under section 502(b); and
11	"(V) the maximum amount of
12	matching contributions a candidate
13	may receive under section 503(b).
14	"(ii) Regulations.—The Commis-
15	sion shall promulgate regulations providing
16	for the adjustments made by the Board
17	under clause (i).
18	"(D) REPORT.—Not later than March 30
19	following any general election for Federal office,
20	the Board shall submit a report to Congress on
21	the review conducted under paragraph (1) .
22	Such report shall contain a detailed statement
23	of the findings, conclusions, and recommenda-
24	tions of the Board based on such review.
25	"(d) MEETINGS AND HEARINGS.—

"(1) MEETINGS.—The Board may hold such
 hearings, sit and act at such times and places, take
 such testimony, and receive such evidence as the
 Board considers advisable to carry out the purposes
 of this Act.

6 "(2) QUORUM.—Three members of the Board
7 shall constitute a quorum for purposes of voting, but
8 a quorum is not required for members to meet and
9 hold hearings.

10 "(e) REPORTS.—Not later than March 30, 2011, and 11 every 2 years thereafter, the Board shall submit to the 12 Committee on House Administration of the House of Rep-13 resentatives a report documenting, evaluating, and making 14 recommendations relating to the administrative implemen-15 tation and enforcement of the provisions of this title.

16 "(f) Administration.—

17 "(1) Compensation of members.—

18 "(A) IN GENERAL.—Each member, other
19 than the Chairperson, shall be paid at a rate
20 equal to the daily equivalent of the minimum
21 annual rate of basic pay prescribed for level IV
22 of the Executive Schedule under section 5315
23 of title 5, United States Code.

24 "(B) CHAIRPERSON.—The Chairperson25 shall be paid at a rate equal to the daily equiva-

1	lent of the minimum annual rate of basic pay
2	prescribed for level III of the Executive Sched-
3	ule under section 5314 of title 5, United States
4	Code.
5	"(2) Personnel.—
6	"(A) DIRECTOR.—The Board shall have a
7	staff headed by an Executive Director. The Ex-
8	ecutive Director shall be paid at a rate equiva-
9	lent to a rate established for the Senior Execu-
10	tive Service under section 5382 of title 5,
11	United States Code.
12	"(B) STAFF APPOINTMENT.—With the ap-
13	proval of the Chairperson, the Executive Direc-
14	tor may appoint such personnel as the Execu-
15	tive Director and the Board determines to be
16	appropriate.
17	"(C) EXPERTS AND CONSULTANTS.—With
18	the approval of the Chairperson, the Executive
19	Director may procure temporary and intermit-
20	tent services under section 3109(b) of title 5,
21	United States Code.
22	"(D) DETAIL OF GOVERNMENT EMPLOY-
23	EES.—Upon the request of the Chairperson, the
24	head of any Federal agency may detail, without
25	reimbursement, any of the personnel of such

1 agency to the Board to assist in carrying out 2 the duties of the Board. Any such detail shall 3 not interrupt or otherwise affect the civil service 4 status or privileges of the Federal employee. (E)OTHER RESOURCES.—The Board 5 6 shall have reasonable access to materials, re-7 sources, statistical data, and other information 8 from the Library of Congress and other agen-9 cies of the executive and legislative branches of 10 the Federal Government. The Chairperson of 11 the Board shall make requests for such access 12 in writing when necessary. "(g) AUTHORIZATION OF APPROPRIATIONS.—There 13 are authorized to be appropriated such sums as are nec-14 15 essary to carry out the purposes of this subtitle.

16 "SEC. 533. ADMINISTRATION BY COMMISSION.

17 "The Commission shall prescribe regulations to carry18 out the purposes of this title, including regulations—

19 "(1) to establish procedures for—

20 "(A) verifying the amount of valid quali21 fying contributions with respect to a candidate;
22 "(B) effectively and efficiently monitoring
23 and enforcing the limits on the raising of quali24 fied small dollar contributions;

1	"(C) effectively and efficiently monitoring
2	and enforcing the limits on the use of personal
3	funds by participating candidates; and
4	"(D) monitoring the use of allocations
5	from the Fair Elections Fund established under
6	section 531 and matching contributions under
7	this title through audits of not fewer than $^{1\!/\!3}$ of
8	all participating candidates or other mecha-
9	nisms; and
10	((2)) regarding the conduct of debates in a man-
11	ner consistent with the best practices of States that
12	provide public financing for elections.
13	"SEC. 534. VIOLATIONS AND PENALTIES.
14	"(a) Civil Penalty for Violation of Contribu-
15	TION AND EXPENDITURE REQUIREMENTS.—If a can-
16	didate who has been certified as a participating candidate
17	accepts a contribution or makes an expenditure that is
18	prohibited under section 521, the Commission shall assess
19	a civil penalty against the candidate in an amount that
20	is not more than 3 times the amount of the contribution
21	or expenditure. Any amounts collected under this sub-
22	section shall be deposited into the Fair Elections Fund
23	established under section 531.

24 "(b) Repayment for Improper Use of Fair25 Elections Fund.—

1	"(1) IN GENERAL.—If the Commission deter-
2	mines that any benefit made available to a partici-
3	pating candidate was not used as provided for in
4	this title or that a participating candidate has vio-
5	lated any of the dates for remission of funds con-
6	tained in this title, the Commission shall so notify
7	the candidate and the candidate shall pay to the
8	Fund an amount equal to—
9	"(A) the amount of benefits so used or not
10	remitted, as appropriate; and
11	"(B) interest on any such amounts (at a
12	rate determined by the Commission).
13	"(2) Other action not precluded.—Any
14	action by the Commission in accordance with this
15	subsection shall not preclude enforcement pro-
16	ceedings by the Commission in accordance with sec-
17	tion 309(a), including a referral by the Commission
18	to the Attorney General in the case of an apparent
19	knowing and willful violation of this title.
20	"SEC. 535. ELECTION CYCLE DEFINED.
21	"In this title, the term 'election cycle' means, with
22	respect to an election for the office of Representative in,
23	or Delegate or Resident Commissioner to, the Congress,
24	the period beginning on the day after the date of the most
25	recent general election for that office (or, if the general

election resulted in a runoff election, the date of the runoff
 election) and ending on the date of the next general elec tion for that office (or, if the general election resulted in
 a runoff election, the date of the runoff election).".

5 SEC. 102. TRANSFER OF PORTION OF CIVIL MONEY PEN-6 ALTIES INTO FAIR ELECTIONS FUND.

7 Section 309(a) of the Federal Election Campaign Act
8 of 1971 (2 U.S.C. 437g(a)) is amended by adding at the
9 end the following new paragraph:

"(13) Upon receipt in the General Fund of the Treasury of any payment attributable to a civil money penalty
imposed under this subsection, there shall be transferred
to the Fair Elections Fund established under section 531
an amount equal to 50 percent of the amount of such payment.".

16 SEC. 103. PROHIBITING USE OF CONTRIBUTIONS BY PAR17 TICIPATING CANDIDATES FOR PURPOSES
18 OTHER THAN CAMPAIGN FOR ELECTION.

19 Section 313 of the Federal Election Campaign Act
20 of 1971 (2 U.S.C. 439a) is amended by adding at the end
21 the following new subsection:

"(d) RESTRICTIONS ON PERMITTED USES OF FUNDS
BY CANDIDATES RECEIVING FAIR ELECTIONS FINANCING.—Notwithstanding paragraphs (2), (3), or (4) of subsection (a), if a candidate for election for the office of Rep-

resentative in, or Delegate or Resident Commissioner to,
 the Congress is certified as a participating candidate
 under title V with respect to the election, any contribution
 which the candidate is permitted to accept under such title
 may be used only for authorized expenditures in connec tion with the candidate's campaign for such office.".

7 SEC. 104. PROHIBITION ON JOINT FUNDRAISING COMMIT-8 TEES.

9 Section 302(e) of the Federal Election Campaign Act
10 of 1971 (2 U.S.C. 432(e)) is amended by adding at the
11 end the following new paragraph:

"(6) No authorized committee of a candidate
may establish a joint fundraising committee with a
political committee other than an authorized committee of a candidate.".

16 SEC. 105. LIMITATION ON COORDINATED EXPENDITURES

- 17 BY POLITICAL PARTY COMMITTEES WITH
- 18 **PARTICIPATING CANDIDATES.**

19 (a) IN GENERAL.—Section 315(d)(3) of the Federal
20 Election Campaign Act of 1971 (2 U.S.C. 441a(d)) is
21 amended—

(1) by redesignating subparagraphs (A) and
(B) as subparagraphs (B) and (C), respectively; and

1	(2) by inserting before subparagraph (B), as re-
2	designated by paragraph (1), the following new sub-
3	paragraph:
4	"(A) in the case of a candidate for election
5	to the office of Representative in, or Delegate
6	or Resident Commissioner to, the Congress who
7	is certified as a participating candidate under
8	title V, the lesser of—
9	"(i) 10 percent of the allocation that
10	the participating candidate is eligible to re-
11	ceive for the general election under section
12	502(a); or
13	"(ii) the amount which would (but for
14	this subparagraph) apply with respect to
15	such candidate under subparagraph (B);".
16	(b) Conforming Amendment.—Section 315(d)(3)
17	of such Act (2 U.S.C. 441a(d)(3)) is amended—
18	(1) in subparagraph (B) (as redesignated by
19	subsection (a)), by inserting "who is not certified as
20	a participating candidate under title V" after "only
21	one Representative"; and
22	(2) in subparagraph (C) (as redesignated by
23	subsection (a)), by inserting "who is not certified as
24	a participating candidate under title V" after "any
25	other State".

1	SEC. 106. DEPOSIT OF PROCEEDS FROM RECOVERED SPEC-
2	TRUM AUCTIONS.
3	Section $309(j)(8)(E)(ii)$ of the Communications Act
4	of 1934 (47 U.S.C. 309(j)(8)(E)(ii)) is amended—
5	(1) by striking "deposited in" and inserting the
6	following: "deposited as follows:
7	"(I) 90 percent of such proceeds
8	deposited in"; and
9	(2) by adding at the end the following:
10	"(II) 10 percent of such proceeds
11	deposited in the Fair Elections Fund
12	established under section 531 of the
13	Federal Election Campaign Act of
14	1971.''.
15	TITLE II-RESPONSIBILITIES OF
16	THE FEDERAL ELECTION
17	COMMISSION

18 SEC. 201. PETITION FOR CERTIORARI.

19 Section 307(a)(6) of the Federal Election Campaign
20 Act of 1971 (2 U.S.C. 437d(a)(6)) is amended by insert21 ing "(including a proceeding before the Supreme Court on
22 certiorari)" after "appeal".

23 SEC. 202. FILING BY ALL CANDIDATES WITH COMMISSION.

Section 302(g) of the Federal Election Campaign Act
of 1971 (2 U.S.C. 432(g)) is amended to read as follows:

"(g) FILING WITH THE COMMISSION.—All des ignations, statements, and reports required to be
 filed under this Act shall be filed with the Commis sion.".

5 SEC. 203. ELECTRONIC FILING OF FEC REPORTS.

6 Section 304(a)(11) of the Federal Election Campaign
7 Act of 1971 (2 U.S.C. 434(a)(11)) is amended—

8 (1) in subparagraph (A), by striking "under 9 this Act—" and all that follows and inserting 10 "under this Act shall be required to maintain and 11 file such designation, statement, or report in elec-12 tronic form accessible by computers.";

(2) in subparagraph (B), by striking "48
hours" and all that follows through "filed electronically)" and inserting "24 hours"; and

16 (3) by striking subparagraph (D).

17 TITLE III—MISCELLANEOUS 18 PROVISIONS

19 SEC. 301. SEVERABILITY.

If any provision of this Act or amendment made by this Act, or the application of a provision or amendment to any person or circumstance, is held to be unconstitutional, the remainder of this Act and amendments made by this Act, and the application of the provisions and amendment to any person or circumstance, shall not be
 affected by the holding.

3 SEC. 302. EFFECTIVE DATE.

4 Except as otherwise provided for in this Act, this Act
5 and the amendments made by this Act shall take effect
6 on January 1, 2011.

Union Calendar No. 410

¹¹¹TH CONGRESS H. R. 6116

[Report No. 111–691, Part I]

A BILL

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

December 22, 2010

The Committee on Energy and Commerce discharged; committed to the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union and ordered to be printed