

But the bill we consider today leaves congressional pensions intact for violating 17 of these felonies, including income tax evasion, wire fraud, intimidation to secure contributions, and making fraudulent claims.

In January, we passed a limited reform bill that killed a pension for conviction of only four felonies. But shockingly, this bill has now been gutted.

In January we voted to kill the pension for a Member of Congress convicted of acting as a foreign agent, but this felony has now been deleted from the final package. Who deleted it? Is it okay for a Member of Congress convicted of a felony by acting as a foreign agent?

As you can see, the bill we will consider today falls far short of its potential for reform. A Member convicted of acting as a foreign agent should not receive a taxpayer pension.

ANNOUNCEMENT BY THE SPEAKER PRO TEMPORE

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. HOLDEN). Pursuant to clause 8 of rule XX, the Chair will postpone further proceedings today on the motion to suspend the rules on which a recorded vote or the yeas and nays are ordered, or on which the vote is objected to under clause 6 of rule XX.

Any record vote on the postponed question will be taken later today.

HONEST LEADERSHIP AND OPEN GOVERNMENT ACT OF 2007

Mr. CONYERS. Mr. Speaker, I move to suspend the rules and pass the Senate bill (S. 1) to provide greater transparency in the legislative process, as amended.

The Clerk read the title of the Senate bill.

The text of the Senate bill is as follows:

S. 1

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,

SECTION 1. SHORT TITLE AND TABLE OF CONTENTS.

(a) SHORT TITLE.—This Act may be cited as the “Honest Leadership and Open Government Act of 2007”.

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

Sec. 1. Short title and table of contents.

TITLE I—CLOSING THE REVOLVING DOOR

Sec. 101. Amendments to restrictions on former officers, employees, and elected officials of the executive and legislative branches.

Sec. 102. Wrongfully influencing a private entity’s employment decisions or practices.

Sec. 103. Notification of post-employment restrictions.

Sec. 104. Exception to restrictions on former officers, employees, and elected officials of the executive and legislative branch.

Sec. 105. Effective date.

TITLE II—FULL PUBLIC DISCLOSURE OF LOBBYING

- Sec. 201. Quarterly filing of lobbying disclosure reports.
- Sec. 202. Additional disclosure.
- Sec. 203. Semiannual reports on certain contributions.
- Sec. 204. Disclosure of bundled contributions.
- Sec. 205. Electronic filing of lobbying disclosure reports.
- Sec. 206. Prohibition on provision of gifts or travel by registered lobbyists to Members of Congress and to congressional employees.
- Sec. 207. Disclosure of lobbying activities by certain coalitions and associations.
- Sec. 208. Disclosure by registered lobbyists of past executive branch and congressional employment.
- Sec. 209. Public availability of lobbying disclosure information; maintenance of information.
- Sec. 210. Disclosure of enforcement for non-compliance.
- Sec. 211. Increased civil and criminal penalties for failure to comply with lobbying disclosure requirements.
- Sec. 212. Electronic filing and public database for lobbyists for foreign governments.
- Sec. 213. Comptroller General audit and annual report.
- Sec. 214. Sense of Congress.
- Sec. 215. Effective date.

TITLE III—MATTERS RELATING TO THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

- Sec. 301. Disclosure by Members and staff of employment negotiations.
- Sec. 302. Prohibition on lobbying contacts with spouse of Member who is a registered lobbyist.
- Sec. 303. Treatment of firms and other businesses whose members serve as House committee consultants.
- Sec. 304. Posting of travel and financial disclosure reports on public website of Clerk of the House of Representatives.
- Sec. 305. Prohibiting participation in lobbyist-sponsored events during political conventions.
- Sec. 306. Exercise of rulemaking Authority.

TITLE IV—CONGRESSIONAL PENSION ACCOUNTABILITY

- Sec. 401. Loss of pensions accrued during service as a Member of Congress for abusing the public trust.

TITLE V—SENATE LEGISLATIVE TRANSPARENCY AND ACCOUNTABILITY

- Subtitle A—Procedural Reform
- Sec. 511. Amendments to rule XXVIII.
- Sec. 512. Notice of objecting to proceeding.
- Sec. 513. Public availability of Senate committee and subcommittee meetings.
- Sec. 514. Amendments and motions to recommit.
- Sec. 515. Sense of the Senate on conference committee protocols.
- Subtitle B—Earmark Reform
- Sec. 521. Congressionally directed spending.
- Subtitle C—Revolving Door Reform
- Sec. 531. Post-employment restrictions.
- Sec. 532. Disclosure by Members of Congress and staff of employment negotiations.
- Sec. 533. Elimination of floor privileges for former Members, Senate officers, and Speakers of the House who are registered lobbyists or seek financial gain.

- Sec. 534. Influencing hiring decisions.
- Sec. 535. Notification of post-employment restrictions.

Subtitle D—Gift and Travel Reform

- Sec. 541. Ban on gifts from registered lobbyists and entities that hire registered lobbyists.
- Sec. 542. National party conventions.
- Sec. 543. Proper valuation of tickets to entertainment and sporting events.
- Sec. 544. Restrictions on registered lobbyist participation in travel and disclosure.
- Sec. 545. Free attendance at a constituent event.
- Sec. 546. Senate privately paid travel public website.

Subtitle E—Other Reforms

- Sec. 551. Compliance with lobbying disclosure.
- Sec. 552. Prohibit official contact with spouse or immediate family member of Member who is a registered lobbyist.
- Sec. 553. Mandatory Senate ethics training for Members and staff.
- Sec. 554. Annual report by Select Committee on Ethics.
- Sec. 555. Exercise of rulemaking powers.
- Sec. 555. Effective date and general provisions.

TITLE VI—PROHIBITED USE OF PRIVATE AIRCRAFT

- Sec. 601. Restrictions on Use of Campaign Funds for Flights on Non-commercial Aircraft.

TITLE VII—MISCELLANEOUS PROVISIONS

- Sec. 701. Sense of the Congress that any applicable restrictions on congressional officials and employees should apply to the executive and judicial branches.
- Sec. 702. Knowing and willful falsification or failure to report.
- Sec. 703. Rule of construction.

TITLE I—CLOSING THE REVOLVING DOOR

- SEC. 101. AMENDMENTS TO RESTRICTIONS ON FORMER OFFICERS, EMPLOYEES, AND ELECTED OFFICIALS OF THE EXECUTIVE AND LEGISLATIVE BRANCHES.

(a) VERY SENIOR EXECUTIVE PERSONNEL.—The matter after subparagraph (C) in section 207(d)(1) of title 18, United States Code, is amended by striking “within 1 year” and inserting “within 2 years”.

(b) RESTRICTIONS ON LOBBYING BY MEMBERS OF CONGRESS AND EMPLOYEES OF CONGRESS.—Subsection (e) of section 207 of title 18, United States Code, is amended—

(1) by redesignating paragraph (7) as paragraph (9);

(2) by redesignating paragraphs (2) through (6) as paragraphs (3) through (7), respectively;

(3) by striking paragraph (1) and inserting the following:

“(1) MEMBERS OF CONGRESS AND ELECTED OFFICERS OF THE HOUSE.—

“(A) SENATORS.—Any person who is a Senator and who, within 2 years after that person leaves office, knowingly makes, with the intent to influence, any communication to or appearance before any Member, officer, or employee of either House of Congress or any employee of any other legislative office of the Congress, on behalf of any other person (except the United States) in connection with any matter on which such former Senator seeks action by a Member, officer, or employee of either House of Congress, in his or her official capacity, shall be punished as provided in section 216 of this title.

“(B) MEMBERS AND OFFICERS OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.—(i) Any person who is

a Member of the House of Representatives or an elected officer of the House of Representatives and who, within 1 year after that person leaves office, knowingly makes, with the intent to influence, any communication to or appearance before any of the persons described in clause (ii) or (iii), on behalf of any other person (except the United States) in connection with any matter on which such former Member of Congress or elected officer seeks action by a Member, officer, or employee of either House of Congress, in his or her official capacity, shall be punished as provided in section 216 of this title.

(ii) The persons referred to in clause (i) with respect to appearances or communications by a former Member of the House of Representatives are any Member, officer, or employee of either House of Congress and any employee of any other legislative office of the Congress.

(iii) The persons referred to in clause (i) with respect to appearances or communications by a former elected officer are any Member, officer, or employee of the House of Representatives.

(2) OFFICERS AND STAFF OF THE SENATE.—Any person who is an elected officer of the Senate, or an employee of the Senate to whom paragraph (7)(A) applies, and who, within 1 year after that person leaves office or employment, knowingly makes, with the intent to influence, any communication to or appearance before any Senator or any officer or employee of the Senate, on behalf of any other person (except the United States) in connection with any matter on which such former elected officer or former employee seeks action by a Senator or an officer or employee of the Senate, in his or her official capacity, shall be punished as provided in section 216 of this title.”;

(4) in paragraph (3) (as redesignated by paragraph (2) of this subsection)—

(A) in subparagraph (A), by striking “of a Senator or an employee of a Member of the House of Representatives” and inserting “of a Member of the House of Representatives to whom paragraph (7)(A) applies”; and

(B) in subparagraph (B)—

(i) in clause (i), by striking “Senator or”; and

(ii) in clause (ii), by striking “Senator or”;

(5) in paragraph (4) (as redesignated by paragraph (2) of this subsection)—

(A) by striking “committee of Congress” and inserting “committee of the House of Representatives, or an employee of a joint committee of the Congress whose pay is disbursed by the Clerk of the House of Representatives, to whom paragraph (7)(A) applies”; and

(B) by inserting “or joint committee (as the case may be)” after “committee” each subsequent place that term appears;

(6) in paragraph (5) (as redesignated by paragraph (2) of this subsection)—

(A) in subparagraph (A), by striking “or an employee on the leadership staff of the Senate” and inserting “to whom paragraph (7)(A) applies”; and

(B) in subparagraph (B), by striking “the following:” and all that follows through the end of clause (ii) and inserting “any Member of the leadership of the House of Representatives and any employee on the leadership staff of the House of Representatives.”;

(7) in paragraph (6)(A) (as redesignated by paragraph (2) of this subsection), by inserting “to whom paragraph (7)(B) applies” after “office of the Congress”;

(8) in paragraph (7) (as redesignated by paragraph (2) of this subsection)—

(A) in subparagraph (A), by striking “and (4)” and inserting “(4), and (5)”;

(B) in subparagraph (B)—

(i) by striking “(5)” and inserting “(6)”;

(ii) in subparagraph (B), by striking “(or any comparable adjustment pursuant to interim authority of the President)”;

(iii) by striking “level 5 of the Senior Executive Service” and inserting “level IV of the Executive Schedule”;

(9) by inserting after paragraph (7) (as redesignated by paragraph (2) of this subsection) the following:

“(8) EXCEPTION.—This subsection shall not apply to contacts with the staff of the Secretary of the Senate or the Clerk of the House of Representatives regarding compliance with lobbying disclosure requirements under the Lobbying Disclosure Act of 1995.”;

(10) in paragraph (9)(G) (as redesignated by paragraph (1) of this subsection)—

(A) by striking “the Copyright Royalty Tribunal”; and

(B) by striking “or (4)” and inserting “(4), or (5)”.

SEC. 102. WRONGFULLY INFLUENCING A PRIVATE ENTITY'S EMPLOYMENT DECISIONS OR PRACTICES.

(a) **IN GENERAL.**—Chapter 11 of title 18, United States Code, is amended by adding at the end the following:

“§ 227. Wrongfully influencing a private entity's employment decisions by a Member of Congress

“Whoever, being a Senator or Representative in, or a Delegate or Resident Commissioner to, the Congress or an employee of either House of Congress, with the intent to influence, solely on the basis of partisan political affiliation, an employment decision or employment practice of any private entity—

“(1) takes or withdraws, or offers or threatens to take or withhold, an official act, or

“(2) influences, or offers or threatens to influence, the official act of another, shall be fined under this title or imprisoned for not more than 15 years, or both, and may be disqualified from holding any office of honor, trust, or profit under the United States.”.

(b) **NO INFERENCE.**—Nothing in section 227 of title 18, United States Code, as added by this section, shall be construed to create any inference with respect to whether the activity described in section 227 of title 18, United States Code, was a criminal or civil offense before the enactment of this Act, including under section 201(b), 201(c), any of sections 203 through 209, or section 872, of title 18, United States Code.

(c) **CONFORMING AMENDMENT.**—The table of sections for chapter 11 of title 18, United States Code, is amended by adding at the end the following:

“227. Wrongfully influencing a private entity's employment decisions by a Member of Congress.”.

SEC. 103. NOTIFICATION OF POST-EMPLOYMENT RESTRICTIONS.

(a) **NOTIFICATION OF POST-EMPLOYMENT RESTRICTIONS.**—After a Member of Congress or an elected officer of either House of Congress leaves office, or after the termination of employment with the House of Representatives or the Senate of an employee who is covered under paragraph (2), (3), (4), or (5) of section 207(e) of title 18, United States Code, the Clerk of the House of Representatives, after consultation with the Committee on Standards of Official Conduct, or the Secretary of the Senate, as the case may be, shall notify the Member, officer, or employee of the beginning and ending date of the prohibitions that apply to the Member, officer, or employee under section 207(e) of that title.

(b) **POSTING ON INTERNET.**—The Clerk of the House of Representatives, with respect to notifications under subsection (a) relating to Members, officers, and employees of the House, and the Secretary of the Senate, with

respect to such notifications relating to Members, officers, and employees of the Senate, shall post the information contained in such notifications on the public Internet site of the Office of the Clerk or the Secretary of the Senate, as the case may be, in a format that, to the extent technically practicable, is searchable, sortable, and downloadable.

SEC. 104. EXCEPTION TO RESTRICTIONS ON FORMER OFFICERS, EMPLOYEES, AND ELECTED OFFICIALS OF THE EXECUTIVE AND LEGISLATIVE BRANCH.

(a) **IN GENERAL.**—Section 207(j)(1) of title 18, United States Code, is amended—

(1) by striking “The restrictions” and inserting the following:

“(A) **IN GENERAL.**—The restrictions”;

(2) by moving the remaining text 2 ems to the right; and

(3) by adding at the end the following:

“(B) **TRIBAL ORGANIZATIONS AND INTER-TRIBAL CONSORTIUMS.**—The restrictions contained in this section shall not apply to acts authorized by section 104(j) of the Indian Self-Determination and Education Assistance Act (25 U.S.C. 450i(j)).”.

(b) **CONFORMING AMENDMENT.**—Section 104(j) of the Indian Self-Determination and Education Assistance Act (25 U.S.C. 450i(j)) is amended to read as follows:

“(j) Anything in sections 205 and 207 of title 18, United States Code, to the contrary notwithstanding—

“(1) an officer or employee of the United States assigned to a tribal organization (as defined in section 4(l)) or an inter-tribal consortium (as defined in section 501), as authorized under section 3372 of title 5, United States Code, or section 2072 of the Revised Statutes (25 U.S.C. 48) may act as agent or attorney for, and appear on behalf of, such tribal organization or inter-tribal consortium in connection with any matter related to a tribal governmental activity or Federal Indian program or service pending before any department, agency, court, or commission, including any matter in which the United States is a party or has a direct and substantial interest: *Provided*, That such officer or employee must advise in writing the head of the department, agency, court, or commission with which the officer or employee is dealing or appearing on behalf of the tribal organization or inter-tribal consortium of any personal and substantial involvement with the matter involved; and

“(2) a former officer or employee of the United States who is carrying out official duties as an employee or as an elected or appointed official of a tribal organization (as defined in section 4(l)) or inter-tribal consortium (as defined in section 501) may act as agent or attorney for, and appear on behalf of, such tribal organization or intra-tribal consortium in connection with any matter related to a tribal governmental activity or Federal Indian program or service pending before any department, agency, court, or commission with which the former officer or employee is dealing or appearing on behalf of the tribal organization or inter-tribal consortium of any personal and substantial involvement the he or she may have had as an officer or employee of the United States in connection with the matter involved.”.

(c) **EFFECT OF SECTION.**—Except as expressly identified in this section and in the amendments made by this section, nothing in this section or the amendments made by this section affects any other provision of law.

SEC. 105. EFFECTIVE DATE.

(a) SECTION 101.—The amendments made by section 101 shall apply to individuals who leave Federal office or employment to which such amendments apply on or after the date of adjournment of the first session of the 110th Congress sine die or December 31, 2007, whichever date is earlier.

(b) SECTION 102.—The amendments made by section 102 shall take effect on the date of the enactment of this Act.

(c) SECTION 103.—

(1) NOTIFICATION OF POST-EMPLOYMENT RESTRICTIONS.—Subsection (a) of section 103 shall take effect on the 60th day after the date of the enactment of this Act.

(2) POSTING OF INFORMATION.—Subsection (b) of section 103 shall take effect January 1, 2008, except that the Secretary of the Senate and the Clerk of the House of Representatives shall post the information contained in notifications required by that subsection that are made on or after the effective date provided under paragraph (1) of this subsection.

(d) SECTION 104.—The amendments made by section 104 shall take effect on the date of the enactment of this Act, except that section 104(j)(2) of the Indian Self-Determination and Education Assistance Act (as amended by section 104(b)) shall apply to individuals who leave Federal office or employment to which such amendments apply on or after the 60th day after the date of the enactment of this Act.

TITLE II—FULL PUBLIC DISCLOSURE OF LOBBYING**SEC. 201. QUARTERLY FILING OF LOBBYING DISCLOSURE REPORTS.**

(a) QUARTERLY FILING REQUIRED.—Section 5 of the Lobbying Disclosure Act of 1995 (2 U.S.C. 1604) is amended—

(1) in subsection (a)—

(A) by striking “SEMIANNUAL” and inserting “QUARTERLY”;

(B) by striking “45 days” and all that follows through “section 4,” and inserting “20 days after the end of the quarterly period beginning on the first day of January, April, July, and October of each year in which a registrant is registered under section 4, or on the first business day after such 20th day if the 20th day is not a business day.”; and

(C) by striking “such semiannual period” and inserting “such quarterly period”; and

(2) in subsection (b)—

(A) in the matter preceding paragraph (1), by striking “semiannual report” and inserting “quarterly report”;

(B) in paragraph (2), by striking “semiannual filing period” and inserting “quarterly period”;

(C) in paragraph (3), by striking “semiannual period” and inserting “quarterly period”; and

(D) in paragraph (4), by striking “semiannual filing period” and inserting “quarterly period”.

(b) CONFORMING AMENDMENTS.—

(1) DEFINITION.—Section 3(10) of the Lobbying Disclosure Act of 1995 (2 U.S.C. 1602) is amended by striking “six month period” and inserting “3-month period”.

(2) REGISTRATION.—Section 4 of the Lobbying Disclosure Act of 1995 (2 U.S.C. 1603) is amended—

(A) in subsection (a)(1), by inserting after “earlier,” the following: “or on the first business day after such 45th day if the 45th day is not a business day.”; and

(B) in subsection (a)(3)(A), by striking “semiannual period” and inserting “quarterly period”.

(3) ENFORCEMENT.—Section 6 of the Lobbying Disclosure Act of 1995 (2 U.S.C. 1605) is amended in paragraph (6) by striking “semiannual period” and inserting “quarterly period”.

(4) ESTIMATES.—Section 15 of the Lobbying Disclosure Act of 1995 (2 U.S.C. 1610) is amended—

(A) in subsection (a)(1), by striking “semiannual period” and inserting “quarterly period”; and

(B) in subsection (b)(1), by striking “semiannual period” and inserting “quarterly period”.

(5) DOLLAR AMOUNTS.—Section 4 of the Lobbying Disclosure Act of 1995 (2 U.S.C. 1603) is further amended—

(A) in subsection (a)(3)(A)(i), by striking “\$5,000” and inserting “\$2,500”;

(B) in subsection (a)(3)(A)(ii), by striking “\$20,000” and inserting “\$10,000”;

(C) in subsection (b)(3)(A), by striking “\$10,000” and inserting “\$5,000”; and

(D) in subsection (b)(4), by striking “\$10,000” and inserting “\$5,000”.

(6) REPORTS.—Section 5(c) of the Lobbying Disclosure Act of 1995 (2 U.S.C. 1604(c)) is further amended—

(A) in paragraph (1), by striking “\$10,000” and “\$20,000” and inserting “\$5,000” and “\$10,000”, respectively; and

(B) in paragraph (2), by striking “\$10,000” both places such term appears and inserting “\$5,000”.

SEC. 202. ADDITIONAL DISCLOSURE.

Section 5(b) of The Lobbying Disclosure Act of 1995 (2 U.S.C. 1604(b)) is amended—

(1) in paragraph (3), by striking “and” after the semicolon;

(2) in paragraph (4), by striking the period and inserting “; and”; and

(3) by adding at the end of the following:

“(5) for each client, immediately after listing the client, an identification of whether the client is a State or local government or a department, agency, special purpose district, or other instrumentality controlled by one or more State or local governments.”.

SEC. 203. SEMIANNUAL REPORTS ON CERTAIN CONTRIBUTIONS.

(a) OTHER CONTRIBUTIONS.—Section 5 of the Lobbying Disclosure Act of 1995 (2 U.S.C. 1604) is further amended by adding at the end the following:

(d) SEMIANNUAL REPORTS ON CERTAIN CONTRIBUTIONS.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—Not later than 30 days after the end of the semiannual period beginning on the first day of January and July of each year, or on the first business day after such 30th day if the 30th day is not a business day, each person or organization who is registered or is required to register under paragraph (1) or (2) of section 4(a), and each employee who is or is required to be listed as a lobbyist under section 4(b)(6) or subsection (b)(2)(C) of this section, shall file a report with the Secretary of the Senate and the Clerk of the House of Representatives containing—

(A) the name of the person or organization;

(B) in the case of an employee, his or her employer;

(C) the names of all political committees established or controlled by the person or organization;

(D) the name of each Federal candidate or officeholder, leadership PAC, or political party committee, to whom aggregate contributions equal to or exceeding \$200 were made by the person or organization, or a political committee established or controlled by the person or organization within the semiannual period, and the date and amount of each such contribution made within the semiannual period;

(E) the date, recipient, and amount of funds contributed or disbursed during the semiannual period by the person or organization or a political committee established or controlled by the person or organization—

“(i) to pay the cost of an event to honor or recognize a covered legislative branch official or covered executive branch official,

“(ii) to an entity that is named for a covered legislative branch official, or to a person or entity in recognition of such official,

“(iii) to an entity established, financed, maintained, or controlled by a covered legislative branch official or covered executive branch official, or an entity designated by such official, or

“(iv) to pay the costs of a meeting, retreat, conference, or other similar event held by, or in the name of, 1 or more covered legislative branch officials or covered executive branch officials,

except that this subparagraph shall not apply if the funds are provided to a person who is required to report the receipt of the funds under section 304 of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 (2 U.S.C. 434);

“(F) the name of each Presidential library foundation, and each Presidential inaugural committee, to whom contributions equal to or exceeding \$200 were made by the person or organization, or a political committee established or controlled by the person or organization, within the semiannual period, and the date and amount of each such contribution within the semiannual period; and

“(G) a certification by the person or organization filing the report that the person or organization—

“(i) has read and is familiar with those provisions of the Standing Rules of the Senate and the Rules of the House of Representatives relating to the provision of gifts and travel; and

“(ii) has not provided, requested, or directed a gift, including travel, to a Member of Congress or an officer or employee of either House of Congress with knowledge that receipt of the gift would violate rule XXXV of the Standing Rules of the Senate or rule XXV of the Rules of the House of Representatives.

“(2) DEFINITION.—In this subsection, the term ‘leadership PAC’ has the meaning given such term in section 304(i)(8)(B) of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971.”.

(b) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendment made by subsection (a) shall apply with respect to the first semiannual period described in section 5(d)(1) of the Lobbying Disclosure Act of 1995 (as added by this section) that begins after the date of the enactment of this Act and each succeeding semiannual period.

(c) REPORT ON REQUIRING QUARTERLY REPORTS.—The Clerk of the House of Representatives and the Secretary of the Senate shall submit a report to the Congress, not later than 1 year after the date on which the first reports are required to be made under section 5(d) of the Lobbying Disclosure Act of 1995 (as added by this section), on the feasibility of requiring the reports under such section 5(d) to be made on a quarterly, rather than a semiannual, basis.

(d) SENSE OF CONGRESS.—It is the sense of the Congress that after the end of the 2-year period beginning on the day on which the amendment made by subsection (a) of this section first applies, the reports required under section 5(d) of the Lobbying Disclosure Act of 1995 (as added by this section) should be made on a quarterly basis if it is practicably feasible to do so.

SEC. 204. DISCLOSURE OF BUNDLED CONTRIBUTIONS.

(a) DISCLOSURE.—Section 304 of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 (2 U.S.C. 434) is amended by adding at the end the following new subsection:

(i) DISCLOSURE OF BUNDLED CONTRIBUTIONS.—

“(1) REQUIRED DISCLOSURE.—Each committee described in paragraph (6) shall include in the first report required to be filed under this section after each covered period (as defined in paragraph (2)) a separate schedule setting forth the name, address, and employer of each person reasonably known by the committee to be a person described in paragraph (7) who provided 2 or more bundled contributions to the committee in an aggregate amount greater than the applicable threshold (as defined in paragraph (3)) during the covered period, and the aggregate amount of the bundled contributions provided by each such person during the covered period.

“(2) COVERED PERIOD.—In this subsection, a ‘covered period’ means, with respect to a committee—

“(A) the period beginning January 1 and ending June 30 of each year;

“(B) the period beginning July 1 and ending December 31 of each year; and

“(C) any reporting period applicable to the committee under this section during which any person described in paragraph (7) provided 2 or more bundled contributions to the committee in an aggregate amount greater than the applicable threshold.

“(3) APPLICABLE THRESHOLD.—

“(A) IN GENERAL.—In this subsection, the ‘applicable threshold’ is \$15,000, except that in determining whether the amount of bundled contributions provided to a committee by a person described in paragraph (7) exceeds the applicable threshold, there shall be excluded any contribution made to the committee by the person or the person’s spouse.

“(B) INDEXING.—In any calendar year after 2007, section 315(c)(1)(B) shall apply to the amount applicable under subparagraph (A) in the same manner as such section applies to the limitations established under subsections (a)(1)(A), (a)(1)(B), (a)(3), and (h) of such section, except that for purposes of applying such section to the amount applicable under subparagraph (A), the ‘base period’ shall be 2006.

“(4) PUBLIC AVAILABILITY.—The Commission shall ensure that, to the greatest extent practicable—

“(A) information required to be disclosed under this subsection is publicly available through the Commission website in a manner that is searchable, sortable, and downloadable; and

“(B) the Commission’s public database containing information disclosed under this subsection is linked electronically to the websites maintained by the Secretary of the Senate and the Clerk of the House of Representatives containing information filed pursuant to the Lobbying Disclosure Act of 1995.

“(5) REGULATIONS.—Not later than 6 months after the date of enactment of the Honest Leadership and Open Government Act of 2007, the Commission shall promulgate regulations to implement this subsection. Under such regulations, the Commission—

“(A) may, notwithstanding paragraphs (1) and (2), provide for quarterly filing of the schedule described in paragraph (1) by a committee which files reports under this section more frequently than on a quarterly basis;

“(B) shall provide guidance to committees with respect to whether a person is reasonably known by a committee to be a person described in paragraph (7), which shall include a requirement that committees consult the websites maintained by the Secretary of the Senate and the Clerk of the House of Representatives containing information filed pursuant to the Lobbying Disclosure Act of 1995;

“(C) may not exempt the activity of a person described in paragraph (7) from disclosure

sure under this subsection on the grounds that the person is authorized to engage in fundraising for the committee or any other similar grounds; and

“(D) shall provide for the broadest possible disclosure of activities described in this subsection by persons described in paragraph (7) that is consistent with this subsection.

“(6) COMMITTEES DESCRIBED.—A committee described in this paragraph is an authorized committee of a candidate, a leadership PAC, or a political party committee.

“(7) PERSONS DESCRIBED.—A person described in this paragraph is any person, who, at the time a contribution is forwarded to a committee as described in paragraph (8)(A)(i) or is received by a committee as described in paragraph (8)(A)(ii), is—

“(A) a current registrant under section 4(a) of the Lobbying Disclosure Act of 1995;

“(B) an individual who is listed on a current registration filed under section 4(b)(6) of such Act or a current report under section 5(b)(2)(C) of such Act; or

“(C) a political committee established or controlled by such a registrant or individual.

“(8) DEFINITIONS.—For purposes of this subsection, the following definitions apply:

“(A) BUNDLED CONTRIBUTION.—The term ‘bundled contribution’ means, with respect to a committee described in paragraph (6) and a person described in paragraph (7), a contribution (subject to the applicable threshold) which is—

“(i) forwarded from the contributor or contributors to the committee by the person; or

“(ii) received by the committee from a contributor or contributors, but credited by the committee or candidate involved (or, in the case of a leadership PAC, by the individual referred to in subparagraph (B) involved) to the person through records, designations, or other means of recognizing that a certain amount of money has been raised by the person.

“(B) LEADERSHIP PAC.—The term ‘leadership PAC’ means, with respect to a candidate for election to Federal office or an individual holding Federal office, a political committee that is directly or indirectly established, financed, maintained or controlled by the candidate or the individual but which is not an authorized committee of the candidate or individual and which is not affiliated with an authorized committee of the candidate or individual, except that such term does not include a political committee of a political party.”.

(b) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendment made by subsection (a) shall apply with respect to reports filed under section 304 of the Federal Election Campaign Act after the expiration of the 3-month period which begins on the date that the regulations required to be promulgated by the Federal Election Commission under section 304(i)(5) of such Act (as added by subsection (a)) become final.

SEC. 205. ELECTRONIC FILING OF LOBBYING DISCLOSURE REPORTS.

Section 5 of the Lobbying Disclosure Act of 1995 (2 U.S.C. 1604) is further amended by adding at the end the following:

“(e) ELECTRONIC FILING REQUIRED.—A report required to be filed under this section shall be filed in electronic form, in addition to any other form that the Secretary of the Senate or the Clerk of the House of Representatives may require or allow. The Secretary of the Senate and the Clerk of the House of Representatives shall use the same electronic software for receipt and recording of filings under this Act.”.

SEC. 206. PROHIBITION ON PROVISION OF GIFTS OR TRAVEL BY REGISTERED LOBBYISTS TO MEMBERS OF CONGRESS AND TO CONGRESSIONAL EMPLOYEES.

(a) PROHIBITION.—The Lobbying Disclosure Act of 1995 (2 U.S.C. 1601 et seq.) is amended by adding at the end the following:

SEC. 25. PROHIBITION ON PROVISION OF GIFTS OR TRAVEL BY REGISTERED LOBBYISTS TO MEMBERS OF CONGRESS AND TO CONGRESSIONAL EMPLOYEES.

“(a) PROHIBITION.—Any person described in subsection (b) may not make a gift or provide travel to a covered legislative branch official if the person has knowledge that the gift or travel may not be accepted by that covered legislative branch official under the Rules of the House of Representatives or the Standing Rules of the Senate (as the case may be).

“(b) PERSONS SUBJECT TO PROHIBITION.—The persons subject to the prohibition under subsection (a) are any lobbyist that is registered or is required to register under section 4(a)(1), any organization that employs 1 or more lobbyists and is registered or is required to register under section 4(a)(2), and any employee listed or required to be listed as a lobbyist by a registrant under section 4(b)(6) or 5(b)(2)(C).”.

(b) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendment made by this section shall take effect on the date of the enactment of this Act.

SEC. 207. DISCLOSURE OF LOBBYING ACTIVITIES BY CERTAIN COALITIONS AND ASSOCIATIONS.

(a) IN GENERAL.—

(1) DISCLOSURE.—Section 4(b)(3) of the Lobbying Disclosure Act of 1995 (2 U.S.C. 1603(b)(3)) is amended—

(A) by amending subparagraph (A) to read as follows:

“(A) contributes more than \$5,000 to the registrant or the client in the quarterly period to fund the lobbying activities of the registrant; and”;

(B) by amending subparagraph (B) to read as follows:

“(B) actively participates in the planning, supervision, or control of such lobbying activities.”.

(2) UPDATING OF INFORMATION.—Section 5(b)(1) of the Lobbying Disclosure Act of 1995 (2 U.S.C. 1604(b)(1)) is amended by inserting “, including information under section 4(b)(3)” after “initial registration”.

(b) NO DONOR OR MEMBERSHIP LIST DISCLOSURE.—Section 4(b) of The Lobbying Disclosure Act of 1995 (2 U.S.C. 1603(b)) is amended by adding at the end the following:

“No disclosure is required under paragraph (3)(B) if the organization that would be identified as affiliated with the client is listed on the client’s publicly accessible Internet website as being a member of or contributor to the client, unless the organization in whole or in major part plans, supervises, or controls such lobbying activities. If a registrant relies upon the preceding sentence, the registrant must disclose the specific Internet address of the web page containing the information relied upon. Nothing in paragraph (3)(B) shall be construed to require the disclosure of any information about individuals who are members of, or donors to, an entity treated as a client by this Act or an organization identified under that paragraph.”.

SEC. 208. DISCLOSURE BY REGISTERED LOBBYISTS OF PAST EXECUTIVE BRANCH AND CONGRESSIONAL EMPLOYMENT.

Section 4(b)(6) of the Lobbying Disclosure Act of 1995 (2 U.S.C. 1603(b)(6)) is amended by striking “in the 2 years” and all that follows through “Act” and inserting “in the 20

years before the date on which the employee first acted".

SEC. 209. PUBLIC AVAILABILITY OF LOBBYING DISCLOSURE INFORMATION; MAINTENANCE OF INFORMATION.

(a) **PUBLIC AVAILABILITY.**—Section 6 of the Lobbying Disclosure Act of 1995 (2 U.S.C. 1605) is further amended—

(1) in paragraph (7), by striking "and" at the end;

(2) in paragraph (8), by striking the period at the end and inserting a semicolon; and

(3) by adding at the end the following new paragraphs:

"(9) maintain all registrations and reports filed under this Act, and make them available to the public over the Internet, without a fee or other access charge, in a searchable, sortable, and downloadable manner, to the extent technically practicable, that—

"(A) includes the information contained in the registrations and reports;

"(B) is searchable and sortable to the maximum extent practicable, including searchable and sortable by each of the categories of information described in section 4(b) or 5(b); and

"(C) provides electronic links or other appropriate mechanisms to allow users to obtain relevant information in the database of the Federal Election Commission; and

"(10) retain the information contained in a registration or report filed under this Act for a period of 6 years after the registration or report (as the case may be) is filed."

(b) **AVAILABILITY OF REPORTS.**—Section 6(4) of the Lobbying Disclosure Act of 1995 (2 U.S.C. 1605) is amended by inserting before the semicolon at the end the following: "and, in the case of a report filed in electronic form under section 5(e), make such report available for public inspection over the Internet as soon as technically practicable after the report is so filed".

(c) **AUTHORIZATION OF APPROPRIATIONS.**—There are authorized to be appropriated such sums as may be necessary to carry out paragraph (9) of section 6 of the Lobbying Disclosure Act of 1995 (2 U.S.C. 1605), as added by subsection (a) of this section.

SEC. 210. DISCLOSURE OF ENFORCEMENT FOR NONCOMPLIANCE.

Section 6 of The Lobbying Disclosure Act of 1995 (2 U.S.C. 1605) is further amended—

(1) by striking "The Secretary" and inserting "(a) IN GENERAL.—The Secretary"; ;

(2) in paragraph (9), by striking "and" at the end;

(3) in paragraph (10), by striking the period and inserting ";" and";

(4) by adding after paragraph (10) the following:

"(11) make publicly available, on a semiannual basis, the aggregate number of registrants referred to the United States Attorney for the District of Columbia for noncompliance as required by paragraph (8)."; and

(5) by adding at the end the following:

"(b) ENFORCEMENT REPORT.—

"(1) **REPORT.**—The Attorney General shall report to the congressional committees referred to in paragraph (2), after the end of each semiannual period beginning on January 1 and July 1, the aggregate number of enforcement actions taken by the Department of Justice under this Act during that semiannual period and, by case, any sentences imposed, except that such report shall not include the names of individuals, or personally identifiable information, that is not already a matter of public record.

"(2) **COMMITTEES.**—The congressional committees referred to in paragraph (1) are the Committee on Homeland Security and Governmental Affairs and the Committee on the Judiciary of the Senate and the Committee on the Judiciary of the House of Representatives."

SEC. 211. INCREASED CIVIL AND CRIMINAL PENALTIES FOR FAILURE TO COMPLY WITH LOBBYING DISCLOSURE REQUIREMENTS.

(a) **IN GENERAL.**—Section 7 of the Lobbying Disclosure Act of 1995 (2 U.S.C. 1606) is amended—

(1) by striking "Whoever" and inserting "(a) CIVIL PENALTY.—Whoever";

(2) by striking "\$50,000" and inserting "\$200,000"; and

(3) by adding at the end the following:

"(b) **CRIMINAL PENALTY.**—Whoever knowingly and corruptly fails to comply with any provision of this Act shall be imprisoned for not more than 5 years or fined under title 18, United States Code, or both.".

(b) **EFFECTIVE DATE.**—The amendments made by subsection (a) shall apply to any violation committed on or after the date of the enactment of this Act.

SEC. 212. ELECTRONIC FILING AND PUBLIC DATABASE FOR LOBBYISTS FOR FOREIGN GOVERNMENTS.

(a) **ELECTRONIC FILING.**—Section 2 of the Foreign Agents Registration Act of 1938, as amended (22 U.S.C. 612), is amended by adding at the end the following new subsection:

"(g) **ELECTRONIC FILING OF REGISTRATION STATEMENTS AND SUPPLEMENTS.**—A registration statement or supplement required to be filed under this section shall be filed in electronic form, in addition to any other form that may be required by the Attorney General.".

(b) **PUBLIC DATABASE.**—Section 6 of the Foreign Agents Registration Act of 1938, as amended (22 U.S.C. 616), is amended by adding at the end the following new subsection:

"(d) **PUBLIC DATABASE OF REGISTRATION STATEMENTS AND UPDATES.**—

"(1) **IN GENERAL.**—The Attorney General shall maintain, and make available to the public over the Internet, without a fee or other access charge, in a searchable, sortable, and downloadable manner, to the extent technically practicable, an electronic database that—

"(A) includes the information contained in registration statements and updates filed under this Act; and

"(B) is searchable and sortable, at a minimum, by each of the categories of information described in section 2(a).

"(2) **ACCOUNTABILITY.**—The Attorney General shall make each registration statement and update filed in electronic form pursuant to section 2(g) available for public inspection over the Internet as soon as technically practicable after the registration statement or update is filed.".

(c) **EFFECTIVE DATE.**—The amendments made by this section shall take effect on the 90th day after the date of the enactment of this Act.

SEC. 213. COMPTROLLER GENERAL AUDIT AND ANNUAL REPORT.

(a) **ANNUAL AUDITS AND REPORTS.**—The Lobbying Disclosure Act of 1995 (2 U.S.C. 1601 et seq.) is further amended by adding at the end the following:

SEC. 26. ANNUAL AUDITS AND REPORTS BY COMPTROLLER GENERAL.

"(a) **AUDIT.**—On an annual basis, the Comptroller General shall audit the extent of compliance or noncompliance with the requirements of this Act by lobbyists, lobbying firms, and registrants through a random sampling of publicly available lobbying registrations and reports filed under this Act during each calendar year.

"(b) **REPORTS TO CONGRESS.**—

"(1) **ANNUAL REPORTS.**—Not later than April 1 of each year, the Comptroller General shall submit to the Congress a report on the review required by subsection (a) for the preceding calendar year. The report shall include the Comptroller General's assessment

of the matters required to be emphasized by that subsection and any recommendations of the Comptroller General to—

"(A) improve the compliance by lobbyists, lobbying firms, and registrants with the requirements of this Act; and

"(B) provide the Department of Justice with the resources and authorities needed for the effective enforcement of this Act.

"(2) **ASSESSMENT OF COMPLIANCE.**—The annual report under paragraph (1) shall include an assessment of compliance by registrants with the requirements of section 4(b)(3).

"(3) **ACCESS TO INFORMATION.**—The Comptroller General may, in carrying out this section, request information from and access to any relevant documents from any person registered under paragraph (1) or (2) of section 4(a) and each employee who is listed as a lobbyist under section 4(b)(6) or section 5(b)(2)(C) if the material requested relates to the purposes of this section. The Comptroller General may request such person to submit in writing such information as the Comptroller General may prescribe. The Comptroller General may notify the Congress in writing if a person from whom information has been requested under this subsection refuses to comply with the request within 45 days after the request is made.".

(b) **INITIAL AUDIT AND REPORT.**—The initial audit under subsection (a) of section 26 of the Lobbying Disclosure Act of 1995 (as added by subsection (a) of this section) shall be made with respect to lobbying registrations and reports filed during the first calendar quarter of 2008, and the initial report under subsection (b) of such section shall be filed, with respect to those registrations and reports, not later than 6 months after the end of that calendar quarter.

SEC. 214. SENSE OF CONGRESS.

It is the sense of the Congress that—

(1) the use of a family relationship by a lobbyist who is an immediate family member of a Member of Congress to gain special advantages over other lobbyists is inappropriate; and

(2) the lobbying community should develop proposals for multiple self-regulatory organizations which could—

(A) provide for the creation of standards for the organizations appropriate to the type of lobbying and individuals to be served;

(B) provide training for the lobbying community on law, ethics, reporting requirements, and disclosure requirements;

(C) provide for the development of educational materials for the public on how to responsibly hire a lobbyist or lobby firm;

(D) provide standards regarding reasonable fees charged to clients;

(E) provide for the creation of a third-party certification program that includes ethics training; and

(F) provide for disclosure of requirements to clients regarding fee schedules and conflict of interest rules.

SEC. 215. EFFECTIVE DATE.

Except as otherwise provided in sections 203, 204, 206, 211, 212, and 213, the amendments made by this title shall apply with respect to registrations under the Lobbying Disclosure Act of 1995 having an effective date of January 1, 2008, or later and with respect to quarterly reports under that Act covering calendar quarters beginning on or after January 1, 2008.

TITLE III—MATTERS RELATING TO THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

SEC. 301. DISCLOSURE BY MEMBERS AND STAFF OF EMPLOYMENT NEGOTIATIONS.

(a) **IN GENERAL.**—The Rules of the House of Representatives are amended by redesignating rules XXVII and XXVIII as rules XXVIII and XXIX, respectively, and by inserting after rule XXVI the following new rule:

“RULE XXVII

“DISCLOSURE BY MEMBERS AND STAFF OF EMPLOYMENT NEGOTIATIONS

“1. A Member, Delegate, or Resident Commissioner shall not directly negotiate or have any agreement of future employment or compensation until after his or her successor has been elected, unless such Member, Delegate, or Resident Commissioner, within 3 business days after the commencement of such negotiation or agreement of future employment or compensation, files with the Committee on Standards of Official Conduct a statement, which must be signed by the Member, Delegate, or Resident Commissioner, regarding such negotiations or agreement, including the name of the private entity or entities involved in such negotiations or agreement, and the date such negotiations or agreement commenced.

“2. An officer or an employee of the House earning in excess of 75 percent of the salary paid to a Member shall notify the Committee on Standards of Official Conduct that he or she is negotiating or has any agreement of future employment or compensation.

“3. The disclosure and notification under this rule shall be made within 3 business days after the commencement of such negotiation or agreement of future employment or compensation.

“4. A Member, Delegate, or Resident Commissioner, and an officer or employee to whom this rule applies, shall recuse himself or herself from any matter in which there is a conflict of interest or an appearance of a conflict for that Member, Delegate, Resident Commissioner, officer, or employee under this rule and shall notify the Committee on Standards of Official Conduct of such recusal. A Member, Delegate, or Resident Commissioner making such recusal shall, upon such recusal, submit to the Clerk for public disclosure the statement of disclosure under clause 1 with respect to which the recusal was made.”.

(b) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendment made by subsection (a) shall take effect on the date of the enactment of this Act, and shall apply to negotiations commenced, and agreements entered into, on or after that date.

SEC. 302. PROHIBITION ON LOBBYING CONTACTS WITH SPOUSE OF MEMBER WHO IS A REGISTERED LOBBYIST.

Rule XXV of the Rules of the House of Representatives is amended by adding at the end the following new clause:

“7. A Member, Delegate, or Resident Commissioner shall prohibit all staff employed by that Member, Delegate, or Resident Commissioner (including staff in personal, committee, and leadership offices) from making any lobbying contact (as defined in section 3 of the Lobbying Disclosure Act of 1995) with that individual’s spouse if that spouse is a lobbyist under the Lobbying Disclosure Act of 1995 or is employed or retained by such a lobbyist for the purpose of influencing legislation.”.

SEC. 303. TREATMENT OF FIRMS AND OTHER BUSINESSES WHOSE MEMBERS SERVE AS HOUSE COMMITTEE CONSULTANTS.

Clause 18(b) of rule XXIII of the Rules of the House of Representatives is amended by adding at the end the following: “In the case of such an individual who is a member or employee of a firm, partnership, or other business organization, the other members and employees of the firm, partnership, or other business organization shall be subject to the same restrictions on lobbying that apply to the individual under this paragraph.”.

SEC. 304. POSTING OF TRAVEL AND FINANCIAL DISCLOSURE REPORTS ON PUBLIC WEBSITE OF CLERK OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

(a) REQUIRING POSTING ON INTERNET.—The Clerk of the House of Representatives shall

post on the public Internet site of the Office of the Clerk, in a format that is searchable, sortable, and downloadable, to the extent technically practicable, each of the following:

(1) The advance authorizations, certifications, and disclosures filed with respect to transportation, lodging, and related expenses for travel under clause 5(b) of rule XXV of the Rules of the House of Representatives by Members (including Delegates and Resident Commissioners to the Congress), officers, and employees of the House.

(2) The reports filed under section 103(h)(1) of the Ethics in Government Act of 1978 by Members of the House of Representatives (including Delegates and Resident Commissioners to the Congress).

(b) APPLICABILITY AND TIMING.—

(1) APPLICABILITY.—Subject to paragraph (2), subsection (a) shall apply with respect to information received by the Clerk of the House of Representatives on or after the date of the enactment of this Act.

(2) TIMING.—The Clerk of the House of Representatives shall—

(A) not later than August 1, 2008, post the information required by subsection (a) that the Clerk receives by June 1, 2008; and

(B) not later than the end of each 45-day period occurring after information is required to be posted under subparagraph (A), post the information required by subsection (a) that the Clerk has received since the last posting under this subsection.

(3) OMISSION OF PERSONALLY IDENTIFIABLE INFORMATION.—Members of the House of Representatives (including Delegates and Resident Commissioners to the Congress) shall be permitted to omit personally identifiable information not required to be disclosed on the reports posted on the public Internet site under this section (such as home address, Social Security numbers, personal bank account numbers, home telephone, and names of children) prior to the posting of such reports on such public Internet site.

(4) ASSISTANCE IN PROTECTING PERSONAL INFORMATION.—The Clerk of the House of Representatives, in consultation with the Committee on Standards of Official Conduct, shall include in any informational materials concerning any disclosure that will be posted on the public Internet site under this section an explanation of the procedures for protecting personally identifiable information as described in this section.

(c) RETENTION.—The Clerk shall maintain the information posted on the public Internet site of the Office of the Clerk under this section for a period of 6 years after receiving the information.

SEC. 305. PROHIBITING PARTICIPATION IN LOBBYIST-SPONSORED EVENTS DURING POLITICAL CONVENTIONS.

Rule XXV of the Rules of the House of Representatives, as amended by section 302, is amended by adding at the end the following new clause:

“8. During the dates on which the national political party to which a Member (including a Delegate or Resident Commissioner) belongs holds its convention to nominate a candidate for the office of President or Vice President, the Member may not participate in an event honoring that Member, other than in his or her capacity as a candidate for such office, if such event is directly paid for by a registered lobbyist under the Lobbying Disclosure Act of 1995 or a private entity that retains or employs such a registered lobbyist.”.

SEC. 306. EXERCISE OF RULEMAKING AUTHORITY.

The provisions of this title are adopted by the House of Representatives—

(1) as an exercise of the rulemaking power of the House; and

(2) with full recognition of the constitutional right of the House to change those rules at any time, in the same manner, and to the same extent as in the case of any other rule of the House.

TITLE IV—CONGRESSIONAL PENSION ACCOUNTABILITY

SEC. 401. LOSS OF PENSIONS ACCRUED DURING SERVICE AS A MEMBER OF CONGRESS FOR ABUSING THE PUBLIC TRUST.

(a) CIVIL SERVICE RETIREMENT SYSTEM.—Section 8332 of title 5, United States Code, is amended by adding at the end the following:

“(o)(1) Notwithstanding any other provision of this subchapter, the service of an individual finally convicted of an offense described in paragraph (2) shall not be taken into account for purposes of this subchapter, except that this sentence applies only to service rendered as a Member (irrespective of when rendered). Any such individual (or other person determined under section 8342(c), if applicable) shall be entitled to be paid so much of such individual’s lump-sum credit as is attributable to service to which the preceding sentence applies.

“(2)(A) An offense described in this paragraph is any offense described in subparagraph (B) for which the following apply:

“(i) Every act or omission of the individual referred to in paragraph (1) that is needed to satisfy the elements of the offense occurs while the individual is a Member.

“(ii) Every act or omission of the individual that is needed to satisfy the elements of the offense directly relates to the performance of the individual’s official duties as a Member.

“(iii) The offense is committed after the date of enactment of this subsection.

“(B) An offense described in this subparagraph is only the following, and only to the extent that the offense is a felony:

“(i) An offense under section 201 of title 18 (relating to bribery of public officials and witnesses).

“(ii) An offense under section 219 of title 18 (relating to officers and employees acting as agents of foreign principals).

“(iii) An offense under section 1343 of title 18 (relating to fraud by wire, radio, or television, including as part of a scheme to deprive citizens of honest services thereby).

“(iv) An offense under section 104(a) of the Foreign Corrupt Practices Act of 1977 (relating to prohibited foreign trade practices by domestic concerns).

“(v) An offense under section 1957 of title 18 (relating to engaging in monetary transactions in property derived from specified unlawful activity).

“(vi) An offense under section 1512 of title 18 (relating to tampering with a witness, victim, or an informant).

“(vii) An offense under chapter 96 of title 18 (relating to racketeer influenced and corrupt organizations).

“(viii) An offense under section 371 of title 18 (relating to conspiracy to commit offense or to defraud United States), to the extent of any conspiracy to commit an act which constitutes—

“(I) an offense under clause (i), (ii), (iii), (iv), (v), (vi), or (vii); or

“(II) an offense under section 207 of title 18 (relating to restrictions on former officers, employees, and elected officials of the executive and legislative branches).

“(ix) Perjury committed under section 1621 of title 18 in falsely denying the commission of an act which constitutes—

“(I) an offense under clause (i), (ii), (iii), (iv), (v), (vi), or (vii); or

“(II) an offense under clause (viii), to the extent provided in such clause.

“(x) Subornation of perjury committed under section 1622 of title 18 in connection

with the false denial or false testimony of another individual as specified in clause (ix).

“(3) An individual convicted of an offense described in paragraph (2) shall not, after the date of the final conviction, be eligible to participate in the retirement system under this subchapter or chapter 84 while serving as a Member.

“(4) The Office of Personnel Management shall prescribe any regulations necessary to carry out this subsection. Such regulations shall include—

“(A) provisions under which interest on any lump-sum payment under the second sentence of paragraph (1) shall be limited in a manner similar to that specified in the last sentence of section 8316(b); and

“(B) provisions under which the Office may provide for—

“(i) the payment, to the spouse or children of any individual referred to in the first sentence of paragraph (1), of any amounts which (but for this clause) would otherwise have been nonpayable by reason of such first sentence, subject to paragraph (5); and

“(ii) an appropriate adjustment in the amount of any lump-sum payment under the second sentence of paragraph (1) to reflect the application of clause (i).

“(5) Regulations to carry out clause (i) of paragraph (4)(B) shall include provisions to ensure that the authority to make any payment to the spouse or children of an individual under such clause shall be available only to the extent that the application of such clause is considered necessary and appropriate taking into account the totality of the circumstances, including the financial needs of the spouse or children, whether the spouse or children participated in an offense described in paragraph (2) of which such individual was finally convicted, and what measures, if any, may be necessary to ensure that the convicted individual does not benefit from any such payment.

“(6) For purposes of this subsection—

“(A) the terms ‘finally convicted’ and ‘final conviction’ refer to a conviction (i) which has not been appealed and is no longer appealable because the time for taking an appeal has expired, or (ii) which has been appealed and the appeals process for which is completed;

“(B) the term ‘Member’ has the meaning given such term by section 2106, notwithstanding section 8331(2); and

“(C) the term ‘child’ has the meaning given such term by section 8341.”.

(b) FEDERAL EMPLOYEES’ RETIREMENT SYSTEM.—Section 8411 of title 5, United States Code, is amended by adding at the end the following:

“(1)(1) Notwithstanding any other provision of this chapter, the service of an individual finally convicted of an offense described in paragraph (2) shall not be taken into account for purposes of this chapter, except that this sentence applies only to service rendered as a Member (irrespective of when rendered). Any such individual (or other person determined under section 8424(d), if applicable) shall be entitled to be paid so much of such individual’s lump-sum credit as is attributable to service to which the preceding sentence applies.

“(2) An offense described in this paragraph is any offense described in section 8332(o)(2)(B) for which the following apply:

“(A) Every act or omission of the individual (referred to in paragraph (1)) that is needed to satisfy the elements of the offense occurs while the individual is a Member.

“(B) Every act or omission of the individual that is needed to satisfy the elements of the offense directly relates to the performance of the individual’s official duties as a Member.

“(C) The offense is committed after the date of enactment of this subsection.

“(3) An individual convicted of an offense described in paragraph (2) shall not, after the date of the final conviction, be eligible to participate in the retirement system under this chapter while serving as a Member.

“(4) The Office of Personnel Management shall prescribe any regulations necessary to carry out this subsection. Such regulations shall include—

“(A) provisions under which interest on any lump-sum payment under the second sentence of paragraph (1) shall be limited in a manner similar to that specified in the last sentence of section 8316(b); and

“(B) provisions under which the Office may provide for—

“(i) the payment, to the spouse or children of any individual referred to in the first sentence of paragraph (1), of any amounts which (but for this clause) would otherwise have been nonpayable by reason of such first sentence, subject to paragraph (5); and

“(ii) an appropriate adjustment in the amount of any lump-sum payment under the second sentence of paragraph (1) to reflect the application of clause (i).

“(5) Regulations to carry out clause (i) of paragraph (4)(B) shall include provisions to ensure that the authority to make any payment under such clause to the spouse or children of an individual shall be available only to the extent that the application of such clause is considered necessary and appropriate taking into account the totality of the circumstances, including the financial needs of the spouse or children, whether the spouse or children participated in an offense described in paragraph (2) of which such individual was finally convicted, and what measures, if any, may be necessary to ensure that the convicted individual does not benefit from any such payment.

“(6) For purposes of this subsection—

“(A) the terms ‘finally convicted’ and ‘final conviction’ refer to a conviction (i) which has not been appealed and is no longer appealable because the time for taking an appeal has expired, or (ii) which has been appealed and the appeals process for which is completed;

“(B) the term ‘Member’ has the meaning given such term by section 2106, notwithstanding section 8401(20); and

“(C) the term ‘child’ has the meaning given such term by section 8441.”.

TITLE V—SENATE LEGISLATIVE TRANSPARENCY AND ACCOUNTABILITY

Subtitle A—Procedural Reform

SEC. 511. AMENDMENTS TO RULE XXVIII.

(a) OUT OF SCOPE MATERIAL AMENDMENT.—Rule XXVIII of the Standing Rules of the Senate is amended by—

(1) redesignating paragraphs 4 through 6 as paragraphs 6 through 8, respectively; and

(2) striking paragraphs 2 and 3 and inserting the following:

“2. (a) Conferees shall not insert in their report matter not committed to them by either House, nor shall they strike from the bill matter agreed to by both Houses.

“(b) If matter which was agreed to by both Houses is stricken from the bill a point of order may be made against the report, and if the point of order is sustained, the report is rejected or shall be recommitted to the committee of conference if the House of Representatives has not already acted thereon.

“(c) If new matter is inserted in the report, a point of order may be made against the conference report and it shall be disposed of as provided under paragraph 4.

“3.(a) In any case in which a disagreement to an amendment in the nature of a substitute has been referred to conferees—

“(1) it shall be in order for the conferees to report a substitute on the same subject matter;

“(2) the conferees may not include in the report matter not committed to them by either House; and

“(3) the conferees may include in their report in any such case matter which is a germane modification of subjects in disagreement.

“(b) In any case in which the conferees violate subparagraph (a), a point of order may be made against the conference report and it shall be disposed of as provided under paragraph 4.

“4.(a) A Senator may raise a point of order that one or more provisions of a conference report violates paragraph 2 or paragraph 3, as the case may be. The Presiding Officer may sustain the point of order as to some or all of the provisions against which the Senator raised the point of order.

“(b) If the Presiding Officer sustains the point of order as to any of the provisions against which the Senator raised the point of order, then those provisions against which the Presiding Officer sustains the point of order shall be stricken. After all other points of order under this paragraph have been disposed of—

“(1) the Senate shall proceed to consider the question of whether the Senate should recede from its amendment to the House bill, or its disagreement to the amendment of the House, and concur with a further amendment, which further amendment shall consist of only that portion of the conference report that has not been stricken;

“(2) the question in clause (1) shall be decided under the same debate limitation as the conference report; and

“(3) no further amendment shall be in order.

“5.(a) Any Senator may move to waive any or all points of order under paragraph 2 or 3 with respect to the pending conference report by an affirmative vote of three-fifths of the Members, duly chosen and sworn. All motions to waive under this paragraph shall be debatable collectively for not to exceed 1 hour equally divided between the Majority Leader and the Minority Leader or their designees. A motion to waive all points of order under this paragraph shall not be amendable.

“(b) All appeals from rulings of the Chair under paragraph 4 shall be debatable collectively for not to exceed 1 hour, equally divided between the Majority and the Minority Leader or their designees. An affirmative vote of three-fifths of the Members of the Senate, duly chosen and sworn, shall be required in the Senate to sustain an appeal of the ruling of the Chair under paragraph 4.”.

(b) PUBLIC AVAILABILITY AMENDMENT.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—Rule XXVIII of the Standing Rules of the Senate is amended by adding at the end the following:

“9. (a)(1) It shall not be in order to vote on the adoption of a report of a committee of conference unless such report has been available to Members and to the general public for at least 48 hours before such vote. If a point of order is sustained under this paragraph, then the conference report shall be set aside.

“(2) For purposes of this paragraph, a report of a committee of conference is made available to the general public as of the time it is posted on a publicly accessible website controlled by a Member, committee, Library of Congress, or other office of Congress, or the Government Printing Office, as reported to the Presiding Officer by the Secretary of the Senate.

“(b)(1) This paragraph may be waived in the Senate with respect to the pending conference report by an affirmative vote of three-fifths of the Members, duly chosen and sworn. A motion to waive this paragraph shall be debatable for not to exceed 1 hour equally divided between the Majority Leader and the Minority Leader or their designees.

“(2) An affirmative vote of three-fifths of the Members, duly chosen and sworn, shall be required to sustain an appeal of the ruling of the Chair on a point of order raised under this paragraph. An appeal of the ruling of the Chair shall be debatable for not to exceed 1 hour equally divided between the Majority and the Minority Leader or their designees

“(c) This paragraph may be waived by joint agreement of the Majority Leader and the Minority Leader of the Senate, upon their certification that such waiver is necessary as a result of a significant disruption to Senate facilities or to the availability of the Internet.”

(2) **IMPLEMENTATION.**—Not later than 60 days after the date of enactment of this section, the Committee on Rules and Administration, in consultation with the Secretary of the Senate and the Clerk of the House of Representatives, and the Government Printing Office shall promulgate regulations for the implementation of the requirements of paragraph 9 of rule XXVIII of the Standing Rules of the Senate, as added by this section.

SEC. 512. NOTICE OF OBJECTING TO PROCEEDING.

(a) **IN GENERAL.**—The Majority and Minority Leaders of the Senate or their designees shall recognize a notice of intent of a Senator who is a member of their caucus to object to proceeding to a measure or matter only if the Senator—

(1) following the objection to a unanimous consent to proceeding to, and, or passage of, a measure or matter on their behalf, submits the notice of intent in writing to the appropriate leader or their designee; and

(2) not later than 6 session days after the submission under paragraph (1), submits for inclusion in the Congressional Record and in the applicable calendar section described in subsection (b) the following notice:

“I, Senator _____, intend to object to proceedings to _____, dated _____ for the following reasons _____.”

(b) **CALENDAR.**—

(1) **IN GENERAL.**—The Secretary of the Senate shall establish for both the Senate Calendar of Business and the Senate Executive Calendar a separate section entitled “Notice of Intent to Object to Proceeding”.

(2) **CONTENT.**—The section required by paragraph (1) shall include—

(A) the name of each Senator filing a notice under subsection (a)(2);

(B) the measure or matter covered by the calendar that the Senator objects to; and

(C) the date the objection was filed.

(3) **NOTICE.**—A Senator who has notified their respective leader and who has withdrawn their objection within the 6 session day period is not required to submit a notification under subsection (a)(2).

(c) **REMOVAL.**—A Senator may have an item with respect to the Senator removed from a calendar to which it was added under subsection (b) by submitting for inclusion in the Congressional Record the following notice:

“I, Senator _____, do not object to proceed to _____, dated _____.”

SEC. 513. PUBLIC AVAILABILITY OF SENATE COMMITTEE AND SUBCOMMITTEE MEETINGS.

(a) **IN GENERAL.**—Paragraph 5(e) of rule XXVI of the Standing Rules of the Senate is amended by—

(1) inserting after “(e)” the following: “(1); and

(2) adding at the end the following:

“(2)(A) Except with respect to meetings closed in accordance with this rule, each committee and subcommittee shall make publicly available through the Internet a video recording, audio recording, or transcript of any meeting not later than 21 business days after the meeting occurs.

“(B) Information required by subclause (A) shall be available until the end of the Congress following the date of the meeting.

“(C) The Committee on Rules and Administration may waive this clause upon request based on the inability of a committee or subcommittee to comply with this clause due to technical or logistical reasons.”.

(b) **EFFECTIVE DATE.**—This section shall take effect 90 days after the date of enactment of this Act.

SEC. 514. AMENDMENTS AND MOTIONS TO RE-COMMIT.

Paragraph 1 of rule XV of the Standing Rules of the Senate is amended to read as follows:

“(1)(a) An amendment and any instruction accompanying a motion to recommit shall be reduced to writing and read and identical copies shall be provided by the Senator offering the amendment or instruction to the desks of the Majority Leader and the Minority Leader before being debated.

“(b) A motion shall be reduced to writing, if desired by the Presiding Officer or by any Senator, and shall be read before being debated.”.

SEC. 515. SENSE OF THE SENATE ON CONFERENCE COMMITTEE PROTOCOLS.

It is the sense of the Senate that—

(1) conference committees should hold regular, formal meetings of all conferees that are open to the public;

(2) all conferees should be given adequate notice of the time and place of all such meetings;

(3) all conferees should be afforded an opportunity to participate in full and complete debates of the matters that such conference committees may recommend to their respective Houses; and

(4) the text of a report of a committee of conference shall not be changed after the Senate signature sheets have been signed by a majority of the Senate conferees.

Subtitle B—Earmark Reform

SEC. 521. CONGRESSIONALLY DIRECTED SPENDING.

The Standing Rules of the Senate are amended by adding at the end the following:

“RULE XLIV

“CONGRESSIONALLY DIRECTED SPENDING AND RELATED ITEMS

“1.(a) It shall not be in order to vote on a motion to proceed to consider a bill or joint resolution reported by any committee unless the chairman of the committee of jurisdiction or the Majority Leader or his or her designee certifies—

“(1) that each congressionally directed spending item, limited tax benefit, and limited tariff benefit, if any, in the bill or joint resolution, or in the committee report accompanying the bill or joint resolution, has been identified through lists, charts, or other similar means including the name of each Senator who submitted a request to the committee for each item so identified; and

“(2) that the information in clause (1) has been available on a publicly accessible congressional website in a searchable format at least 48 hours before such vote.

“(b) If a point of order is sustained under this paragraph, the motion to proceed shall be suspended until the sponsor of the motion or his or her designee has requested resumption and compliance with this paragraph has been achieved.

“(2)(A) It shall not be in order to vote on a motion to proceed to consider a Senate bill or joint resolution not reported by committee unless the chairman of the committee of jurisdiction or the Majority Leader or his or her designee certifies—

“(1) that each congressionally directed spending item, limited tax benefit, and limi-

ted tariff benefit, if any, in the bill or joint resolution, has been identified through lists, charts, or other similar means, including the name of each Senator who submitted a request to the sponsor of the bill or joint resolution for each item so identified; and

“(2) that the information in clause (1) has been available on a publicly accessible congressional website in a searchable format at least 48 hours before such vote.

“(b) If a point of order is sustained under this paragraph, the motion to proceed shall be suspended until the sponsor of the motion or his or her designee has requested resumption and compliance with this paragraph has been achieved.

“(3)(a) It shall not be in order to vote on the adoption of a report of a committee of conference unless the chairman of the committee of jurisdiction or the Majority Leader or his or her designee certifies—

“(1) that each congressionally directed spending item, limited tax benefit, and limited tariff benefit, if any, in the conference report, or in the joint statement of managers accompanying the conference report, has been identified through lists, charts, or other means, including the name of each Senator who submitted a request to the committee of jurisdiction for each item so identified; and

“(2) that the information in clause (1) has been available on a publicly accessible congressional website at least 48 hours before such vote.

“(b) If a point of order is sustained under this paragraph, then the conference report shall be set aside.

“(4)(a) If during consideration of a bill or joint resolution, a Senator proposes an amendment containing a congressionally directed spending item, limited tax benefit, or limited tariff benefit which was not included in the bill or joint resolution as placed on the calendar or as reported by any committee, in a committee report on such bill or joint resolution, or a committee report of the Senate on a companion measure, then as soon as practicable, the Senator shall ensure that a list of such items (and the name of any Senator who submitted a request to the Senator for each respective item included in the list) is printed in the Congressional Record.

“(b) If a committee reports a bill or joint resolution that includes congressionally directed spending items, limited tax benefits, or limited tariff benefits in the bill or joint resolution, or in the committee report accompanying the bill or joint resolution, the committee shall as soon as practicable identify on a publicly accessible congressional website each such item through lists, charts, or other similar means, including the name of each Senator who submitted a request to the committee for each item so identified. Availability on the Internet of a committee report that contains the information described in this subparagraph shall satisfy the requirements of this subparagraph.

“(c) To the extent technically feasible, information made available on publicly accessible congressional websites under paragraphs 3 and 4 shall be provided in a searchable format.

“5. For the purpose of this rule—

“(a) the term ‘congressionally directed spending item’ means a provision or report language included primarily at the request of a Senator providing, authorizing, or recommending a specific amount of discretionary budget authority, credit authority, or other spending authority for a contract, loan, loan guarantee, grant, loan authority, or other expenditure with or to an entity, or targeted to a specific State, locality or Congressional district, other than through a statutory or administrative formula-driven or competitive award process;

“(b) the term ‘limited tax benefit’ means—

“(1) any revenue provision that—

“(A) provides a Federal tax deduction, credit, exclusion, or preference to a particular beneficiary or limited group of beneficiaries under the Internal Revenue Code of 1986; and

“(B) contains eligibility criteria that are not uniform in application with respect to potential beneficiaries of such provision;

“(c) the term ‘limited tariff benefit’ means a provision modifying the Harmonized Tariff Schedule of the United States in a manner that benefits 10 or fewer entities; and

“(d) except as used in subparagraph 8(e), the term ‘item’ when not preceded by ‘congressionally directed spending’ means any provision that is a congressionally directed spending item, a limited tax benefit, or a limited tariff benefit.

“6.(a) A Senator who requests a congressionally directed spending item, a limited tax benefit, or a limited tariff benefit in any bill or joint resolution (or an accompanying report) or in any conference report (or an accompanying joint statement of managers) shall provide a written statement to the chairman and ranking member of the committee of jurisdiction, including—

“(1) the name of the Senator;

“(2) in the case of a congressionally directed spending item, the name and location of the intended recipient or, if there is no specifically intended recipient, the intended location of the activity;

“(3) in the case of a limited tax or tariff benefit, identification of the individual or entities reasonably anticipated to benefit, to the extent known to the Senator;

“(4) the purpose of such congressionally directed spending item or limited tax or tariff benefit; and

“(5) a certification that neither the Senator nor the Senator’s immediate family has a pecuniary interest in the item, consistent with the requirements of paragraph 9.

“(b) With respect to each item included in a Senate bill or joint resolution (or accompanying report) reported by committee or considered by the Senate, or included in a conference report (or joint statement of managers accompanying the conference report) considered by the Senate, each committee of jurisdiction shall make available for public inspection on the Internet the certifications under subparagraph (a)(5) as soon as practicable.

“7. In the case of a bill, joint resolution, or conference report that contains congressionally directed spending items in any classified portion of a report accompanying the measure, the committee of jurisdiction shall, to the greatest extent practicable, consistent with the need to protect national security (including intelligence sources and methods), include on the list required by paragraph 1, 2, or 3 as the case may be, a general program description in unclassified language, funding level, and the name of the sponsor of that congressionally directed spending item.

“8.(a) A Senator may raise a point of order against one or more provisions of a conference report if they constitute new directed spending provisions. The Presiding Officer may sustain the point of order as to some or all of the provisions against which the Senator raised the point of order.

“(b) If the Presiding Officer sustains the point of order as to any of the provisions against which the Senator raised the point of order, then those provisions against which the Presiding Officer sustains the point of order shall be stricken. After all other points of order under this paragraph have been disposed of—

“(1) the Senate shall proceed to consider the question of whether the Senate should recede from its amendment to the House bill,

or its disagreement to the amendment of the House, and concur with a further amendment, which further amendment shall consist of only that portion of the conference report that has not been stricken; and

“(2) the question in clause (1) shall be decided under the same debate limitation as the conference report and no further amendment shall be in order.

“(c) Any Senator may move to waive any or all points of order under this paragraph with respect to the pending conference report by an affirmative vote of three-fifths of the Members, duly chosen and sworn. All motions to waive under this paragraph shall be debatable collectively for not to exceed 1 hour equally divided between the Majority Leader and the Minority Leader or their designees. A motion to waive all points of order under this paragraph shall not be amendable.

“(d) All appeals from rulings of the Chair under this paragraph shall be debatable collectively for not to exceed 1 hour, equally divided between the Majority and the Minority Leader or their designees. An affirmative vote of three-fifths of the Members of the Senate, duly chosen and sworn, shall be required in the Senate to sustain an appeal of the ruling of the Chair under this paragraph.

“(e) The term ‘new directed spending provision’ as used in this paragraph means any item that consists of a specific provision containing a specific level of funding for any specific account, specific program, specific project, or specific activity, when no specific funding was provided for such specific account, specific program, specific project, or specific activity in the measure originally committed to the conferees by either House.

“9. No Member, officer, or employee of the Senate shall knowingly use his official position to introduce, request, or otherwise aid the progress or passage of congressionally directed spending items, limited tax benefits, or limited tariff benefits a principal purpose of which is to further only his pecuniary interest, only the pecuniary interest of his immediate family, or only the pecuniary interest of a limited class of persons or enterprises, when he or his immediate family, or enterprises controlled by them, are members of the affected class.

“10. Any Senator may move to waive application of paragraph 1, 2, or 3 with respect to a measure by an affirmative vote of three-fifths of the Members, duly chosen and sworn. A motion to waive under this paragraph with respect to a measure shall be debatable for not to exceed 1 hour equally divided between the Majority Leader and the Minority Leader or their designees. With respect to points of order raised under paragraphs 1, 2, or 3, only one appeal from a ruling of the Chair shall be in order, and debate on such an appeal from a ruling of the Chair on such point of order shall be limited to one hour.

“11. Any Senator may move to waive all points of order under this rule with respect to the pending measure or motion by an affirmative vote of three-fifths of the Members, duly chosen and sworn. All motions to waive all points of order with respect to a measure or motion as provided by this paragraph shall be debatable collectively for not to exceed 1 hour equally divided between the Majority Leader and the Minority Leader or their designees. A motion to waive all points of order with respect to a measure or motion as provided by this paragraph shall not be amendable.

“12. Paragraph 1, 2, or 3 of this rule may be waived by joint agreement of the Majority Leader and the Minority Leader of the Senate upon their certification that such waiver is necessary as a result of a significant disruption to Senate facilities or to the availability of the Internet.”

Subtitle C—Revolving Door Reform

SEC. 531. POST-EMPLOYMENT RESTRICTIONS.

(a) APPLICATION TO ENTITY.—Paragraph 8 of rule XXXVII of the Standing Rules of the Senate is amended by—

(1) inserting after “by such a registered lobbyist” the following “or an entity that employs or retains a registered lobbyist”; and

(2) striking “one year” and inserting “2 years”.

(b) PROHIBITION.—Paragraph 9 of rule XXXVII of the Standing Rules of the Senate is amended—

(1) in the first sentence, by inserting after “by such a registered lobbyist” the following: “or an entity that employs or retains a registered lobbyist”;

(2) in the second sentence, by inserting after “by such a registered lobbyist” the following: “or an entity that employs or retains a registered lobbyist”;

(3) by designating the first and second sentences as subparagraphs (a) and (b), respectively; and

(4) by adding at the end the following:

“(c) If an officer of the Senate or an employee on the staff of a Member or on the staff of a committee whose rate of pay is equal to or greater than 75 percent of the rate of pay of a Member and employed at such rate for more than 60 days in a calendar year, upon leaving that position, becomes a registered lobbyist, or is employed or retained by such a registered lobbyist or an entity that employs or retains a registered lobbyist for the purpose of influencing legislation, such employee may not lobby any Member, officer, or employee of the Senate for a period of 1 year after leaving that position.”

(c) EFFECTIVE DATE.—Paragraph 9(c) of rule XXXVII of the Standing Rules of the Senate shall apply to individuals who leave office or employment to which such paragraph applies on or after the date of adjournment of the first session of the 110th Congress sine die or December 31, 2007, whichever date is earlier.

SEC. 532. DISCLOSURE BY MEMBERS OF CONGRESS AND STAFF OF EMPLOYMENT NEGOTIATIONS.

Rule XXXVII of the Standing Rules of the Senate is amended by—

(1) redesignating paragraph 12 as paragraph 13; and

(2) adding after paragraph 11 the following:

“(12.(a) A Member shall not negotiate or have any arrangement concerning prospective private employment until after his or her successor has been elected, unless such Member files a signed statement with the Secretary of the Senate, for public disclosure, regarding such negotiations or arrangements not later than 3 business days after the commencement of such negotiation or arrangement, including the name of the private entity or entities involved in such negotiations or arrangements, and the date such negotiations or arrangements commenced.

“(b) A Member shall not negotiate or have any arrangement concerning prospective employment for a job involving lobbying activities as defined by the Lobbying Disclosure Act of 1995 until after his or her successor has been elected.

“(c)(1) An employee of the Senate earning in excess of 75 percent of the salary paid to a Senator shall notify the Select Committee on Ethics that he or she is negotiating or has any arrangement concerning prospective private employment.

“(2) The notification under this subparagraph shall be made not later than 3 business days after the commencement of such negotiation or arrangement.

“(3) An employee to whom this subparagraph applies shall—

“(A) recuse himself or herself from—

“(i) any contact or communication with the prospective employer on issues of legislative interest to the prospective employer; and

“(ii) any legislative matter in which there is a conflict of interest or an appearance of a conflict for that employee under this subparagraph; and

“(B) notify the Select Committee on Ethics of such recusal.”.

SEC. 533. ELIMINATION OF FLOOR PRIVILEGES FOR FORMER MEMBERS, SENATE OFFICERS, AND SPEAKERS OF THE HOUSE WHO ARE REGISTERED LOBBYISTS OR SEEK FINANCIAL GAIN.

Rule XXXIII of the Standing Rules of the Senate is amended by—

(1) inserting “1.” before “Other”;

(2) inserting after “Ex-Senators and Senators-elect” the following: “, except as provided in paragraph 2”;

(3) inserting after “Ex-Secretaries and ex-Sergeants at Arms of the Senate” the following: “, except as provided in paragraph 2”;

(4) inserting after “Ex-Speakers of the House of Representatives” the following: “, except as provided in paragraph 2”; and

(5) adding at the end the following:

“2.(a) The floor privilege provided in paragraph 1 shall not apply, when the Senate is in session, to an individual covered by this paragraph who is—

“(1) a registered lobbyist or agent of a foreign principal; or

“(2) in the employ of or represents any party or organization for the purpose of influencing, directly or indirectly, the passage, defeat, or amendment of any Federal legislative proposal.

“(b) The Committee on Rules and Administration may promulgate regulations to allow individuals covered by this paragraph floor privileges for ceremonial functions and events designated by the Majority Leader and the Minority Leader.

“3. A former Member of the Senate may not exercise privileges to use Senate athletic facilities or Member-only parking spaces if such Member is—

“(a) a registered lobbyist or agent of a foreign principal; or

“(b) in the employ of or represents any party or organization for the purpose of influencing, directly or indirectly, the passage, defeat, or amendment of any Federal legislative proposal.”.

SEC. 534. INFLUENCING HIRING DECISIONS.

Rule XLIII of the Standing Rules of the Senate is amended by adding at the end the following:

“6. No Member, with the intent to influence solely on the basis of partisan political affiliation an employment decision or employment practice of any private entity, shall—

“(a) take or withhold, or offer or threaten to take or withhold, an official act; or

“(b) influence, or offer or threaten to influence the official act of another.”.

SEC. 535. NOTIFICATION OF POST-EMPLOYMENT RESTRICTIONS.

(a) **IN GENERAL.**—After a Senator or an elected officer of the Senate leaves office or after the termination of employment with the Senate or an employee of the Senate, the Secretary of the Senate shall notify the Member, officer, or employee of the beginning and ending date of the prohibitions that apply to the Member, officer, or employee under rule XXXVII of the Standing Rules of the Senate.

(b) **EFFECTIVE DATE.**—This section shall take effect 60 days after the date of enactment of this Act.

Subtitle D—Gift and Travel Reform

SEC. 541. BAN ON GIFTS FROM REGISTERED LOBBYISTS AND ENTITIES THAT HIRE REGISTERED LOBBYISTS.

Paragraph 1(a)(2) of rule XXXV of the Standing Rules of the Senate is amended by—

(1) inserting “(A)” after “(2)”; and

(2) adding at the end the following:

“(B) A Member, officer, or employee may not knowingly accept a gift from a registered lobbyist, an agent of a foreign principal, or a private entity that retains or employs a registered lobbyist or an agent of a foreign principal, except as provided in subparagraphs (c) and (d).”.

SEC. 542. NATIONAL PARTY CONVENTIONS.

Paragraph 1(d) of rule XXXV of the Standing Rules of the Senate is amended by adding at the end the following:

“(5) During the dates of the national party convention for the political party to which a Member belongs, a Member may not participate in an event honoring that Member, other than in his or her capacity as the party’s presidential or vice presidential nominee or presumptive nominee, if such event is directly paid for by a registered lobbyist or a private entity that retains or employs a registered lobbyist.”.

SEC. 543. PROPER VALUATION OF TICKETS TO ENTERTAINMENT AND SPORTING EVENTS.

Paragraph 1(c)(1) of rule XXXV of the Standing Rules of the Senate is amended by—

(1) inserting “(A)” before “Anything”; and

(2) adding at the end the following:

“(B) The market value of a ticket to an entertainment or sporting event shall be the face value of the ticket or, in the case of a ticket without a face value, the value of the ticket with the highest face value for the event, except that if a ticket holder can establish in advance of the event to the Select Committee on Ethics that the ticket at issue is equivalent to another ticket with a face value, then the market value shall be set at the face value of the equivalent ticket. In establishing equivalency, the ticket holder shall provide written and independently verifiable information related to the primary features of the ticket, including, at a minimum, the seat location, access to parking, availability of food and refreshments, and access to venue areas not open to the public. The Select Committee on Ethics may make a determination of equivalency only if such information is provided in advance of the event.”.

SEC. 544. RESTRICTIONS ON REGISTERED LOBBYIST PARTICIPATION IN TRAVEL AND DISCLOSURE.

(a) **PROHIBITION.**—Paragraph 2 of rule XXXV of the Standing Rules of the Senate is amended—

(1) in subparagraph (a)(1), by—

(A) adding after “foreign principal” the following: “or a private entity that retains or employs 1 or more registered lobbyists or agents of a foreign principal”;

(B) striking the dash and inserting “complies with the requirements of this paragraph.”; and

(C) striking clauses (A) and (B);

(2) by redesignating subparagraph (a)(2) as subparagraph (a)(3) and adding after subparagraph (a)(1) the following:

“(2)(A) Notwithstanding clause (1), a reimbursement (including payment in kind) to a Member, officer, or employee of the Senate from an individual, other than a registered lobbyist or agent of a foreign principal, that is a private entity that retains or employs 1 or more registered lobbyists or agents of a foreign principal shall be deemed to be a reimbursement to the Senate under clause (1) if—

“(i) the reimbursement is for necessary transportation, lodging, and related expenses for travel to a meeting, speaking engagement, factfinding trip, or similar event described in clause (1) in connection with the duties of the Member, officer, or employee and the reimbursement is provided only for attendance at or participation for 1-day (exclusive of travel time and an overnight stay) at an event described in clause (1); or

“(ii) the reimbursement is for necessary transportation, lodging, and related expenses for travel to a meeting, speaking engagement, factfinding trip, or similar event described in clause (1) in connection with the duties of the Member, officer, or employee and the reimbursement is from an organization designated under section 501(c)(3) of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986.

“(B) When deciding whether to preapprove a trip under this clause, the Select Committee on Ethics shall make a determination consistent with regulations issued pursuant to section 544(b) of the Honest Leadership and Open Government Act of 2007. The committee through regulations to implement subclause (A)(i) may permit a longer stay when determined by the committee to be practically required to participate in the event, but in no event may the stay exceed 2 nights.”;

(3) in subparagraph (a)(3), as redesignated, by striking “clause (1)” and inserting “clauses (1) and (2)”;

(4) in subparagraph (b), by inserting before “Each” the following: “Before an employee may accept reimbursement pursuant to subparagraph (a), the employee shall receive advance written authorization from the Member or officer under whose direct supervision the employee works.”;

(5) in subparagraph (c)—

(A) by inserting before “Each” the following: “Each Member, officer, or employee that receives reimbursement under this paragraph shall disclose the expenses reimbursed or to be reimbursed, the authorization under subparagraph (b) (for an employee), and a copy of the certification in subparagraph (e)(1) to the Secretary of the Senate not later than 30 days after the travel is completed.”;

(B) by striking “subparagraph (a)(1)” and inserting “this subparagraph”;

(C) in clause (5), by striking “and” after the semicolon;

(D) by redesignating clause (6) as clause (7); and

(E) by inserting after clause (5) the following:

“(6) a description of meetings and events attended; and”;

(6) by redesignating subparagraphs (d) and (e) as subparagraphs (f) and (g), respectively;

(7) by adding after subparagraph (c) the following:

“(d)(1) A Member, officer, or employee of the Senate may not accept a reimbursement (including payment in kind) for transportation, lodging, or related expenses under subparagraph (a) for a trip that was—

“(A) planned, organized, or arranged by or at the request of a registered lobbyist or agent of a foreign principal; or

“(B)(i) for trips described under subparagraph (a)(2)(A)(i) on which a registered lobbyist accompanies the Member, officer, or employee on any segment of the trip; or

“(ii) for all other trips allowed under this paragraph, on which a registered lobbyist accompanies the Member, officer, or employee at any point throughout the trip.

“(2) The Select Committee on Ethics shall issue regulations identifying de minimis activities by registered lobbyists or foreign agents that would not violate this subparagraph.

“(e) A Member, officer, or employee shall, before accepting travel otherwise permissible under this paragraph from any source—

“(1) provide to the Select Committee on Ethics a written certification from such source that—

“(A) the trip will not be financed in any part by a registered lobbyist or agent of a foreign principal;

“(B) the source either—

“(i) does not retain or employ registered lobbyists or agents of a foreign principal and is not itself a registered lobbyist or agent of a foreign principal; or

“(ii) certifies that the trip meets the requirements of subclause (i) or (ii) of subparagraph (a)(2)(A);

“(C) the source will not accept from a registered lobbyist or agent of a foreign principal or a private entity that retains or employs 1 or more registered lobbyists or agents of a foreign principal, funds earmarked directly or indirectly for the purpose of financing the specific trip; and

“(D) the trip will not in any part be planned, organized, requested, or arranged by a registered lobbyist or agent of a foreign principal and the traveler will not be accompanied on the trip consistent with the applicable requirements of subparagraph (d)(1)(B) by a registered lobbyist or agent of a foreign principal, except as permitted by regulations issued under subparagraph (d)(2); and

“(2) after the Select Committee on Ethics has promulgated regulations pursuant to section 544(b) of the Honest Leadership and Open Government Act of 2007, obtain the prior approval of the committee for such reimbursement.”; and

(8) by striking subparagraph (g), as redesignated, and inserting the following:

“(g) The Secretary of the Senate shall make all advance authorizations, certifications, and disclosures filed pursuant to this paragraph available for public inspection as soon as possible after they are received, but in no event prior to the completion of the relevant travel.”.

(b) **GUIDELINES.**—

(1) **IN GENERAL.**—Except as provided in paragraph (4) and not later than 60 days after the date of enactment of this Act and at annual intervals thereafter, the Select Committee on Ethics shall develop and revise, as necessary—

(A) guidelines, for purposes of implementing the amendments made by subsection (a), on evaluating a trip proposal and judging the reasonableness of an expense or expenditure, including guidelines related to evaluating—

(i) the stated mission of the organization sponsoring the trip;

(ii) the organization's prior history of sponsoring congressional trips, if any;

(iii) other educational activities performed by the organization besides sponsoring congressional trips;

(iv) whether any trips previously sponsored by the organization led to an investigation by the Select Committee on Ethics;

(v) whether the length of the trip and the itinerary is consistent with the official purpose of the trip;

(vi) whether there is an adequate connection between a trip and official duties;

(vii) the reasonableness of an amount spent by a sponsor of the trip;

(viii) whether there is a direct and immediate relationship between a source of funding and an event; and

(ix) any other factor deemed relevant by the Select Committee on Ethics; and

(B) regulations describing the information it will require individuals subject to the requirements of the amendments made by subsection (a) to submit to the committee in order to obtain the prior approval of the

committee for travel under paragraph 2 of rule XXXV of the Standing Rules of the Senate, including any required certifications.

(2) **CONSIDERATION.**—In developing and revising guidelines under paragraph (1)(A), the committee shall take into account the maximum per diem rates for official Federal Government travel published annually by the General Services Administration, the Department of State, and the Department of Defense.

(3) **UNREASONABLE EXPENSE.**—For purposes of this subsection, travel on a flight described in paragraph 1(c)(1)(C)(ii) of rule XXXV of the Standing Rules of the Senate shall not be considered to be a reasonable expense.

(4) **EXTENSION.**—The deadline for the initial guidelines required by paragraph (1) may be extended for 30 days by the Committee on Rules and Administration.

(c) **REIMBURSEMENT FOR NONCOMMERCIAL AIR TRAVEL.**—

(1) **CHARTER RATES.**—Paragraph 1(c)(1) of rule XXXV of the Standing Rules of the Senate is amended by adding at the end the following:

“(C)(i) Fair market value for a flight on an aircraft described in item (ii) shall be the pro rata share of the fair market value of the normal and usual charter fare or rental charge for a comparable plane of comparable size, as determined by dividing such cost by the number of Members, officers, or employees of Congress on the flight.

“(ii) A flight on an aircraft described in this item is any flight on an aircraft that is not—

“(I) operated or paid for by an air carrier or commercial operator certificated by the Federal Aviation Administration and required to be conducted under air carrier safety rules; or

“(II) in the case of travel which is abroad, an air carrier or commercial operator certificated by an appropriate foreign civil aviation authority and the flight is required to be conducted under air carrier safety rules.

“(iii) This subclause shall not apply to an aircraft owned or leased by a governmental entity or by a Member of Congress or a Member's immediate family member (including an aircraft owned by an entity that is not a public corporation in which the Member or Member's immediate family member has an ownership interest), provided that the Member does not use the aircraft anymore than the Member's or immediate family member's proportionate share of ownership allows.”.

(2) **UNOFFICIAL OFFICE ACCOUNTS.**—Paragraph 1 of rule XXXVIII of the Standing Rules of the Senate is amended by adding at the end the following:

“(c) For purposes of reimbursement under this rule, fair market value of a flight on an aircraft shall be determined as provided in paragraph 1(c)(1)(C) of rule XXXV.”.

(d) **REVIEW OF TRAVEL ALLOWANCES.**—Not later than 90 days after the date of enactment of this Act, the Subcommittee on the Legislative Branch of the Senate Committee on Appropriations, in consultation with the Committee on Rules and Administration of the Senate, shall consider and propose, as necessary in the discretion of the subcommittee, any adjustment to the Senator's Official Personnel and Office Expense Account needed in light of the enactment of this section, and any modifications of Federal statutes or appropriations measures needed to accomplish such adjustments.

(e) **SEPARATELY REGULATED EXPENSES.**—Nothing in this section or section 541 is meant to alter treatment under law or Senate rules of expenses that are governed by the Foreign Gifts and Decorations Act or the Mutual Educational and Cultural Exchange Act.

(f) **EFFECTIVE DATE.**—The amendments made by subsections (a) and (b) shall take effect 60 days after the date of enactment of this Act or the date the Select Committee on Ethics issues new guidelines as required by subsection (b), whichever is later. Subsection (c) shall take effect on the date of enactment of this Act.

SEC. 545. FREE ATTENDANCE AT A CONSTITUENT EVENT.

(a) **IN GENERAL.**—Paragraph 1(c) of rule XXXV of the Standing Rules of the Senate is amended by adding at the end the following:

“(24) Subject to the restrictions in subparagraph (a)(2)(A), free attendance at a constituent event permitted pursuant to subparagraph (g).”.

(b) **IN GENERAL.**—Paragraph 1 of rule XXXV of the Standing Rules of the Senate is amended by adding at the end the following:

“(g)(1) A Member, officer, or employee may accept an offer of free attendance in the Member's home State at a conference, symposium, forum, panel discussion, dinner event, site visit, viewing, reception, or similar event, provided by a sponsor of the event, if—

“(A) the cost of meals provided the Member, officer, or employee is less than \$50;

“(B)(i) the event is sponsored by constituents of, or a group that consists primarily of constituents of, the Member (or the Member by whom the officer or employee is employed); and

“(ii) the event will be attended primarily by a group of at least 5 constituents of the Member (or the Member by whom the officer or employee is employed) provided that a registered lobbyist shall not attend the event; and

“(C)(i) the Member, officer, or employee participates in the event as a speaker or a panel participant, by presenting information related to Congress or matters before Congress, or by performing a ceremonial function appropriate to the Member's, officer's, or employee's official position; or

“(ii) attendance at the event is appropriate to the performance of the official duties or representative function of the Member, officer, or employee.

“(2) A Member, officer, or employee who attends an event described in clause (1) may accept a sponsor's unsolicited offer of free attendance at the event for an accompanying individual if others in attendance will generally be similarly accompanied or if such attendance is appropriate to assist in the representation of the Senate.

“(3) For purposes of this subparagraph, the term 'free attendance' has the same meaning given such term in subparagraph (d).”.

SEC. 546. SENATE PRIVATELY PAID TRAVEL PUBLIC WEBSITE.

(a) **TRAVEL DISCLOSURE.**—Not later than January 1, 2008, the Secretary of the Senate shall establish a publicly available website without fee or without access charge, that contains information on travel that is subject to disclosure under paragraph 2 of rule XXXV of the Standing Rules of the Senate, that includes, with respect to travel occurring on or after January 1, 2008—

(1) a search engine;

(2) uniform categorization by Member, dates of travel, and any other common categories associated with congressional travel; and

(3) forms filed in the Senate relating to officially related travel.

(b) **RETENTION.**—The Secretary of the Senate shall maintain the information posted on the public Internet site of the Office of the Secretary under this section for a period not longer than 4 years after receiving the information.

(c) **EXTENSION OF AUTHORITY.**—If the Secretary of the Senate is unable to meet the

deadline established under subsection (a), the Committee on Rules and Administration of the Senate may grant an extension of the Secretary of the Senate.

(e) AUTHORIZATION OF APPROPRIATIONS.—There are authorized to be appropriated such sums as are necessary to carry out this section.

Subtitle E—Other Reforms

SEC. 551. COMPLIANCE WITH LOBBYING DISCLOSURE.

Rule XXXVII of the Standing Rules of the Senate is amended by—

(1) redesignating paragraphs 10 through 13 as paragraphs 11 through 14, respectively; and

(2) inserting after paragraph 9, the following:

“10. Paragraphs 8 and 9 shall not apply to contacts with the staff of the Secretary of the Senate regarding compliance with the lobbying disclosure requirements of the Lobbying Disclosure Act of 1995.”.

SEC. 552. PROHIBIT OFFICIAL CONTACT WITH SPOUSE OR IMMEDIATE FAMILY MEMBER OF MEMBER WHO IS A REGISTERED LOBBYIST.

Rule XXXVII of the Standing Rules of the Senate is amended by—

(1) redesignating paragraphs 11 through 14 as paragraphs 12 through 15, respectively; and

(2) inserting after paragraph 10, the following:

“11. (a) If a Member’s spouse or immediate family member is a registered lobbyist, or is employed or retained by such a registered lobbyist or an entity that hires or retains a registered lobbyist for the purpose of influencing legislation, the Member shall prohibit all staff employed or supervised by that Member (including staff in personal, committee, and leadership offices) from having any contact with the Member’s spouse or immediate family member that constitutes a lobbying contact as defined by section 3 of the Lobbying Disclosure Act of 1995 by such person.

“(b) Members and employees on the staff of a Member (including staff in personal, committee, and leadership offices) shall be prohibited from having any contact that constitutes a lobbying contact as defined by section 3 of the Lobbying Disclosure Act of 1995 by any spouse of a Member who is a registered lobbyist, or is employed or retained by such a registered lobbyist.

“(c) The prohibition in subparagraph (b) shall not apply to the spouse of a Member who was serving as a registered lobbyist at least 1 year prior to the most recent election of that Member to office or at least 1 year prior to his or her marriage to that Member.”.

SEC. 553. MANDATORY SENATE ETHICS TRAINING FOR MEMBERS AND STAFF.

(a) TRAINING PROGRAM.—The Select Committee on Ethics shall conduct ongoing ethics training and awareness programs for Members of the Senate and Senate staff.

(b) REQUIREMENTS.—The ethics training program conducted by the Select Committee on Ethics shall be completed by—

(1) new Senators or staff not later than 60 days after commencing service or employment; and

(2) Senators and Senate staff serving or employed on the date of enactment of this Act not later than 165 days after the date of enactment of this Act.

SEC. 554. ANNUAL REPORT BY SELECT COMMITTEE ON ETHICS.

The Select Committee on Ethics of the Senate shall issue an annual report due no later than January 31, describing the following:

(1) The number of alleged violations of Senate rules received from any source, in-

cluding the number raised by a Senator or staff of the committee.

(2) A list of the number of alleged violations that were dismissed—

(A) for lack of subject matter jurisdiction or, in which, even if the allegations in the complaint are true, no violation of Senate rules would exist; or

(B) because they failed to provide sufficient facts as to any material violation of the Senate rules beyond mere allegation or assertion.

(3) The number of alleged violations in which the committee staff conducted a preliminary inquiry.

(4) The number of alleged violations that resulted in an adjudicatory review.

(5) The number of alleged violations that the committee dismissed for lack of substantial merit.

(6) The number of private letters of admonition or public letters of admonition issued.

(7) The number of matters resulting in a disciplinary sanction.

(8) Any other information deemed by the committee to be appropriate to describe its activities in the preceding year.

SEC. 555. EXERCISE OF RULEMAKING POWERS.

The Senate adopts the provisions of this title—

(1) as an exercise of the rulemaking power of the Senate; and

(2) with full recognition of the constitutional right of the Senate to change those rules at any time, in the same manner, and to the same extent as in the case of any other rule of the Senate.

SEC. 555. EFFECTIVE DATE AND GENERAL PROVISIONS.

Except as otherwise provided in this title, this title shall take effect on the date of enactment of this title.

TITLE VI—PROHIBITED USE OF PRIVATE AIRCRAFT

SEC. 601. RESTRICTIONS ON USE OF CAMPAIGN FUNDS FOR FLIGHTS ON NON-COMMERCIAL AIRCRAFT.

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

“(c) RESTRICTIONS ON USE OF CAMPAIGN FUNDS FOR FLIGHTS ON NONCOMMERCIAL AIRCRAFT.—

“(1) IN GENERAL.—Notwithstanding any other provision of this Act, a candidate for election for Federal office (other than a candidate who is subject to paragraph (2)), or any authorized committee of such a candidate, may not make any expenditure for a flight on an aircraft unless—

“(A) the aircraft is operated by an air carrier or commercial operator certified by the Federal Aviation Administration and the flight is required to be conducted under air carrier safety rules, or, in the case of travel which is abroad, by an air carrier or commercial operator certified by an appropriate foreign civil aviation authority and the flight is required to be conducted under air carrier safety rules; or

“(B) the candidate, the authorized committee, or other political committee pays to the owner, lessee, or other person who provides the airplane the pro rata share of the fair market value of such flight (as determined by dividing the fair market value of the normal and usual charter fare or rental charge for a comparable plane of comparable size by the number of candidates on the flight) within a commercially reasonable time frame after the date on which the flight is taken.

“(2) HOUSE CANDIDATES.—Notwithstanding any other provision of this Act, in the case of a candidate for election for the office of Representative in, or Delegate or Resident

Commissioner to, the Congress, an authorized committee and a leadership PAC of the candidate may not make any expenditure for a flight on an aircraft unless—

“(A) the aircraft is operated by an air carrier or commercial operator certified by the Federal Aviation Administration and the flight is required to be conducted under air carrier safety rules, or, in the case of travel which is abroad, by an air carrier or commercial operator certified by an appropriate foreign civil aviation authority and the flight is required to be conducted under air carrier safety rules; or

“(B) the aircraft is operated by an entity of the Federal government or the government of any State.

“(3) EXCEPTION FOR AIRCRAFT OWNED OR LEASED BY CANDIDATE.—

“(A) IN GENERAL.—Paragraphs (1) and (2) do not apply to a flight on an aircraft owned or leased by the candidate involved or an immediate family member of the candidate (including an aircraft owned by an entity that is not a public corporation in which the candidate or an immediate family member of the candidate has an ownership interest), so long as the candidate does not use the aircraft more than the candidate’s or immediate family member’s proportionate share of ownership allows.

“(B) IMMEDIATE FAMILY MEMBER DEFINED.—In this subparagraph (A), the term ‘immediate family member’ means, with respect to a candidate, a father, mother, son, daughter, brother, sister, husband, wife, father-in-law, or mother-in-law.

“(4) LEADERSHIP PAC DEFINED.—In this subsection, the term ‘leadership PAC’ has the meaning given such term in section 304(i)(8)(B).’.

(b) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendment made by subsection (a) shall apply with respect to flights taken on or after the date of the enactment of this Act.

TITLE VII—MISCELLANEOUS PROVISIONS

SEC. 701. SENSE OF THE CONGRESS THAT ANY APPLICABLE RESTRICTIONS ON CONGRESSIONAL OFFICIALS AND EMPLOYEES SHOULD APPLY TO THE EXECUTIVE AND JUDICIAL BRANCHES.

It is the sense of the Congress that any applicable restrictions on congressional officials and employees in this Act should apply to the executive and judicial branches.

SEC. 702. KNOWING AND WILLFUL FALSIFICATION OR FAILURE TO REPORT.

Section 104(a) of the Ethics in Government Act of 1978 (5 U.S.C. App.) is amended—

(1) by inserting “(1)” after “(a)”;

(2) in paragraph (1), as so designated, by striking “\$10,000” and inserting “\$50,000”; and

(3) by adding at the end the following:

“(2)(A) It shall be unlawful for any person to knowingly and willfully—

“(i) falsify any information that such person is required to report under section 102; and

“(ii) fail to file or report any information that such person is required to report under section 102.

“(B) Any person who—

“(i) violates subparagraph (A)(i) shall be fined under title 18, United States Code, imprisoned for not more than 1 year, or both; and

“(ii) violates subparagraph (A)(ii) shall be fined under title 18, United States Code.”.

SEC. 703. RULE OF CONSTRUCTION.

Nothing in this Act or the amendments made by this Act shall be construed to prohibit any expressive conduct protected from legal prohibition by, or any activities protected by the free speech, free exercise, or free association clauses of, the First Amendment to the Constitution.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Pursuant to the rule, the gentleman from Michigan (Mr. CONYERS) and the gentleman from Texas (Mr. SMITH) each will control 20 minutes.

The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Michigan.

GENERAL LEAVE

Mr. CONYERS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that all Members may have 5 legislative days to revise and extend their remarks and include extraneous material on the bill under consideration.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Michigan?

There was no objection.

Mr. CONYERS. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Ladies and gentlemen of the House, if there is one message that was abundantly clear based on the results of last year's election results, it was that the American people want us to end the culture of corruption that has enveloped the legislative process.

For far too long, Americans have seen business as usual where time and time again special interests trump the public interest.

□ 1045

So we've heard that message loud and clear. For the past several months, the House and the Senate have diligently worked together to fuse a legislative response that combines the best of the measures passed by both Houses earlier this year.

The measure that we consider today will go a long way toward bringing back accountability to the Congress and to restoring the trust of the American people in their government. S. 1 accomplishes these critical goals in four ways.

First, S. 1 puts an end to the K Street Project, an insidious effort that employed threats and intimidation to control the legislative process. S. 1 ensures that such efforts will no longer be permitted. It specifically prohibits Members and senior staff from influencing hiring decisions or practices of private entities for partisan political gain.

Second, S. 1 shines a disinfecting spotlight on lobbying activities by mandating full and enhanced public disclosure on these activities. Pursuant to this measure, lobbyists will have to file reports on their lobbying activities twice as often each year. They will be required to disclose their contacts with Congress. They must certify that they did not give a gift or pay for travel in violation of the rules and, for the first time, file these reports electronically in a public, searchable database so that anyone can review them.

Third, S. 1 closes loopholes in the current law that have been exploited to avoid the clear intent of the Lobbying Disclosure Act. It does this by mandating the disclosure of contributions in excess of \$5,000 by businesses or organizations that actively lobby through certain coalitions and associa-

tions. And, it also requires the disclosure of the past executive and congressional employment of registered lobbyists.

Importantly, S. 1 prohibits a Member's spouse who becomes a lobbyist after the Member's election from making direct lobbying contacts to the Member or the Member's office.

In addition, the bill addresses the process by which political contributions are bundled by campaign committees. It requires each committee to disclose to the Federal Election Commission, on a semiannual basis, specified information for each currently registered lobbyist who has either forwarded or been credited for raising contributions totaling at least \$15,000 during the reporting period.

Fourth, and perhaps most significantly, S. 1 puts real teeth into enforcement. It increases the penalties for violations of the Lobbying Disclosure Act to deter and punish corrupt activity. It substantially increases civil penalties from the current level of \$50,000, to four times as much, to \$200,000 and provides for the imposition of criminal penalties of up to 5 years for knowing and corrupt violations of the Act.

These are some of the major reforms that S. 1 offers. This bill recognizes the importance of lobbying to responsive and effective congressional and executive decision-making. And these reforms will help strengthen the sound foundation of the Lobbying Disclosure Act and go a long way toward restoring the trust of the American people in our system of government.

I want to respectfully point out the contributions from the other side, particularly the ranking member of Judiciary, LAMAR SMITH, in this endeavor, and so I urge my colleagues all to join me in supporting the Honest Leadership and Open Government Act.

Mr. Speaker, I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. SMITH of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Mr. Speaker, we all deplore unethical conduct by Members of Congress and their staff. Each party has their fair share of examples. The public wants and deserves honest government. Unfortunately, this legislation does not bode well for this Congress' ability to deliver it.

In May, this House brought up a base bill that seemed very familiar to Republicans because the increased disclosures required in the bill were largely those contained in H.R. 4975, which was introduced by Congressman DAVID DREIER, and which passed the House in the last Congress.

Last year's H.R. 4975 contained all of the following provisions: a requirement for Members to disclose post-employment negotiations with private entities; a prohibition on partisan influences on an outside entity's employment decisions; and increased quarterly electronic filing in a public data-

base of lobbyist campaign contributions linked to Federal Election Commission filings.

That Republican legislation also increased civil and criminal penalties for failures to comply; required disclosure by lobbyists of all past executive branch and congressional employment; and contained a prohibition on lobbyists' violation of House gift ban rules.

Legislation the Democrats introduced this Congress, in the form of H.R. 2316, largely replicated Republican efforts from the previous Congress.

At the Judiciary Committee's markup of H.R. 2316, several additional Republican amendments that would strengthen this bill were adopted by voice vote. One provided for a 1-year revolving door ban that would prohibit private lawyers and law firms who enter into contracts with congressional committees from lobbying Congress while under contract to such committee and for 1 year thereafter.

That amendment by Representative CHRIS CANNON was adopted by voice vote at the committee, and was passed out of the House of Representatives. But it is nowhere to be found in the bill before us today.

Also, in May, Democrats supported and passed two motions to recommit offered by Republicans that contained even more ethics reforms. Those reforms required lobbyists to disclose which special projects they lobbied for.

If a special interest lobbyist is having closed-door meetings with Members of Congress regarding programs that do not benefit all Americans but only benefit a small group of people in one part of the country, then those projects should be disclosed.

The Republican motion to recommit also closed the existing loophole that allows State and local government entities to give gifts and travel to Members and their staff that other entities cannot give. It makes little sense to exempt entities that operate on taxpayer dollars from the gift and travel ban.

Current rules allow taxpayer-funded entities to give gifts and travel to Members and staff while they try to convince those same Members and staff to send more Federal taxpayer dollars their way. That is not fair, and the Republican motion to recommit, which was adopted, would have ended that practice.

The Republicans' motion to recommit also contained a reverse revolving door provision that would have prohibited a congressional employee who was a registered lobbyist prior to their congressional employment from engaging in official business with their former private employer for a period of 1 year.

The Republicans' motion to recommit also included the Republican-amended text to H.R. 2317, which required that bundled contributions to political action committees, often referred to as PACs, be fully disclosed.

Viewed in the harsh light of recent history, the legislation we consider

today is a hollow shell of reform. Just listen to the following list of reforms that Democrats have abandoned.

The provisions in this bill requiring the disclosure of contributions bundled together by lobbyists is weaker than the reforms passed in May, as this legislation requires the disclosure of bundled contributions exceeding \$15,000 rather than the original \$5,000.

That means less disclosure and less accountability to the American people. The weakened bundling disclosure provisions in this bill do not even cover bundled disclosures to PACs, a reform that 33 Democrats supported when it was accepted as part of the Republicans' motion to recommit H.R. 2317, and that 158 Democrats supported when it was accepted as part of the Republicans' motion to recommit H.R. 2316.

The newspaper Roll Call reported yesterday that, "The average Democratic incumbent raised over 63 percent more from PACs during the first half of this year than during the same period in 2005." Could that be why Democrats don't want to disclose the bundled contributions lobbyists give to PACs?

This bill also fails to contain the following reforms that 158 Democrats supported in May. The length of this list defines the credibility chasm that now separates the Democratic Party from American voters.

The provision requiring the disclosure of bundled contributions by political action committees? Gone.

The provision requiring lobbyists to disclose the special projects they lobby for? Gone.

The provision prohibiting State and local governments from giving expensive gifts and lavish travel to Members of Congress in return for taxpayer dollars? Gone.

The provision prohibiting congressional employees who were lobbyists from engaging in official business with their former lobbyist employers? Gone.

Last May, the Washington Post reported that the Democrats brought up their original legislation "after scrapping most key elements of an ethics package meant to deliver on Democratic promises to bring unprecedented accountability to Congress."

Today, essential reforms have been thrown overboard, and the Democratic pledge of reform is sinking fast.

Mr. Speaker, I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. CONYERS. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself as much time as I may consume.

I thank my colleague for his examination of the bill. We've worked on this bill together. I think we're in support of it, and I hope to enjoy the gentleman's continued success and cooperation in the matter.

It's very important that we understand that we are ending the pay-to-play K Street Project which, under this bill before us, now prohibits Members and their staff from influencing hiring decisions of private organizations on the sole basis of partisan political gain.

It subjects those who violate this provision to a fine and imprisonment of up to 15 years.

We prohibit lobbyists from providing gifts or travel to Members of Congress who have knowledge that the gift or travel is in violation of the Senate or the House rules.

We require now lobbyist disclosure filings to be filed twice as often by decreasing the time from filing from semiannually to quarterly.

We require lobbyist disclosures in both the Senate and the House to be filed electronically and creates a public and searchable Internet database of such information.

We increase civil penalties for knowing and willful violations of the Lobby Disclosure Act. We increase them by four times as much, from \$50,000 to \$200,000, and imposes a criminal penalty up to 5 years for knowing and corrupt failure to comply with the Act.

We require the GAO to audit annually lobbyists' compliance with these disclosure rules and, further, require lobbyists to certify that they've not been given gifts or travel that would violate either Senate or House rules.

We require the disclosure of businesses or organizations that contribute in excess of \$5,000 and actively participate in lobbying activities by certain coalitions and associations.

We're requiring disclosure to the Federal Election Commission when lobbyists bundle over \$15,000 semiannually in campaign contributions for any federally elected official, including the Senate, the House or presidential, or leadership PACs.

We require lobbyists to disclose to the Secretary of the Senate and the House Clerk their campaign contributions and payments to presidential libraries, inaugural committees or entities controlled by the name for or honoring Members of Congress.

□ 1100

Ladies and gentlemen, this is an extremely difficult and new way of controlling lobby operations. I think we are restoring the trust of the American people and our system of government, and I think we are living up to the title of this measure, honest leadership and open government.

Mr. Speaker, I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. SMITH of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I yield 5 minutes to the gentleman from California, the current ranking member and former chairman of the Rules Committee, Mr. DREIER.

Mr. DREIER. I thank my friend for yielding, and I want to say what a privilege it is for me to be, as always, on the floor with the distinguished chairman of the Judiciary Committee, my good friend from Detroit (Mr. CONYERS) and, of course, the ranking member of the Judiciary Committee, my friend from San Antonio (Mr. SMITH).

Mr. Speaker, as I listen to the distinguished Chair go through the litany of items that are included in this meas-

ure, I couldn't help but think it's virtually identical to what we passed in the last Congress. I know there are a number of things we came to agree upon, and so that's why I rise today in somewhat quiet resignation over this so-called Honest Leadership and Open Government Act. I am not opposed to the bill. I am not opposed to the bill because, frankly, there is nothing to be opposed to.

The bill that I sponsored that Mr. SMITH referred to in the last Congress was repeatedly referred to by our leadership colleagues on the other side of the aisle as a sham. They regularly said that the items that frankly were just outlined by Mr. CONYERS in this bill that he is describing, when I offered it, it was described as a sham.

But my colleagues, unfortunately, while we were successful during the House consideration of the bill to bring it up to the sham level from its initial sub-sham status, I would argue that this bill is not much better overall on the substance, and it is far, far worse on the process, which is a big part of the responsibilities that I have.

The new majority, as we all know, promised us open conferences, with meaningful participation by the minority party. What we have here is a willful effort to avoid a conference entirely without any participation by Republicans or public disclosure of the language.

Now, the distinguished Chair of the Committee on Rules just last week complained to me about how the former chairman of the Ways and Means Committee never told his ranking member about where and when conferences on tax bills were meeting.

Well, I have got to hand it to the new majority. They have come up with a novel answer to that problem. Don't hold conferences at all. That way, you aren't even bothered with having to file a conference report. That's right, the most open Congress in history, which is what we have continued to hear this one described as, has not made the text of its ballyhooed lobbying bill available to the public or rank-and-file members anywhere, anywhere that we could find.

As late as 8:30 this morning, we checked the Speaker's Web site, the majority leader's Web site, the Judiciary Committee's Web site, even Thomas. It was nowhere to be found.

We were able, we were able, though, to get a copy of it. Guess how? We got it from a lobbyist. When I say that there was no participation by Republicans, I mean none, none whatsoever.

As I said, I have the greatest regard for my friend from Detroit (Mr. CONYERS) who works so ably as the chairman of the Judiciary Committee. I appreciate his support for my amendment that I offered on floor.

However, you can imagine my surprise when I discovered late yesterday that there were changes in my amendment in the document that we have in front of us. Now, these changes aren't

bad changes. I am not going to complain about the changes that were made. They probably actually improved the amendment; that's what the legislative process is all about.

But if the majority really wanted to declare a new day and live up to the promises of inclusion, calling me, asking me my thoughts on the change might have been a step in the right direction; but apparently the majority just couldn't be bothered with that at all.

There is a great deal missing from this bill that a majority of the House, including 138 Democrats, voted for, things like a reverse revolving door, requiring a lobbyist to disclose earmarks that they are lobbying for, and an end to the State and local governments lobbying loophole.

Despite promises to the contrary, they haven't extended our earmark rules to cover authorizing and tax bills, which is one of the last things we did in this Congress. Unfortunately, we have yet to bring the new majority's level up to ours on dealing with that disclosure on authorizing and tax bills.

As the majority pushes this bill through without any input from Republicans, they are responsible for its content. They are responsible for its content, not us.

I mourn this missed opportunity for bipartisanship, which we continue to hear about on a regular basis, and, frankly, grieve the broken promises which, not just Republicans, but the American people have been subjected to.

Mr. CONYERS. Mr. Speaker, how much time remains on each side?

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Michigan has 10 minutes remaining. The gentleman from Texas has 9 minutes remaining.

Mr. CONYERS. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the distinguished majority leader, Mr. STENY HOYER, from Maryland.

Mr. HOYER. I thank the distinguished chairman of the Judiciary Committee for yielding and thank him for his extraordinary leadership in bringing this bill to the floor and would allay somewhat the grief that is felt by the former chairman of the Rules Committee, the ranking Republican.

Mr. Speaker, on the one hand he says much of this bill is that which we passed last time offered by our friends on the minority side. If that is the case, we, as I understand the premise, we have adopted much of what you have proposed. It's hard to say that you weren't consulted when we have adopted what your contention is, much of what you have proposed. So I would hope that the grief would be allayed in that respect.

Secondly, let me say this. No conference. Why no conference? Because a Republican Member of the United States Senate wouldn't let us go to conference. That's why there was no conference. He stood day after day

after day objecting to adopting this important reform package.

As a result, we couldn't go to conference. So you can't complain on the one hand we are not in conference when it is a Republican Senator from South Carolina who day after day, week after week, objected to doing just that.

Today is a proud day for this body. Again, I congratulate my friend, the distinguished chairman of the Judiciary Committee, Mr. CONYERS, and a dramatic example of how the Congress that was elected last November pledging to clean up the culture of corruption is making good on its promise.

I will talk about that a little bit at the end in terms of rules are nice, but performance is better. Last January, on the first day of this new, Congress we enacted sweeping ethics changes. Today, with this Honest Leadership and Open Government Act of 2007, we have a simple, straightforward purpose, to continue to restore public confidence in the legislative process.

I commend Chairman CONYERS, as I have, for his leadership in making possible this comprehensive reform measure. By shining a bright light on the campaign contributions that registered lobbyists bundle for Members of Congress, the conference report before us increases transparency and gives the American people important insight on the legislative process.

By denying Members convicted of crimes their congressional pensions, the conference report ensures that Members who break their oath to uphold the laws of the land will not only suffer public disgrace and criminal sanction, but also lifetime financial loss.

There is no reason for taxpayers to subsidize criminal behavior of Members of Congress. Freshman Member NANCY BOYDA deserves a great deal of credit for her work on this provision. By requiring Members engaged in any job negotiations to recuse themselves from any matter in which there is a conflict of interest, the conference report before us will end the practice of Members trying to cash in on the legislation they steer through this body.

I don't know how many of you had the opportunity to watch "60 Minutes" this past Sunday and hear the comments of Mr. BURTON and Mr. JONES, but that is trying to address that critical problem.

As important as this legislation and the ethics changes made in January are, they alone will not ensure the integrity of our process and this institution. Rather, the Members of this House will ensure the integrity of this House when we conduct ourselves openly and honestly and hold accountable, through a vigorous pursuit of the enforcement of our rules by the Ethics Committee, hold accountable those who abide, do not abide by the rules in the highest ethical standards.

Thus we have an obligation to ensure that the Ethics Committee does the job

that it was constituted to perform. It did not do so in the recent Congresses. The implementation of rules, while critical, must be followed by effective real enforcement.

This conference report is an important step forward, and I urge my colleagues to support it.

I want to thank Members on both sides of the aisle, including Mr. SMITH, for the work that they have done through the years to bring us to this day and close by congratulating Mr. CONYERS and the leadership of our Speaker in accomplishing this objective.

Mr. SMITH of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself 1 minute.

First of all, I would like to thank the majority leader for acknowledging this bill that we considered today largely mirrors the Republican legislation on ethics from the last Congress. As I mentioned in my opening statement a few minutes ago, I went through all the provisions that, in fact, had been carried over from the Republican bill last year.

But I would correct the majority leader in one respect, and that is many of the Republican reforms that were included in our motion to recommit which passed successfully with largely Democratic support earlier, all of those Republican reforms were eliminated. So this bill would have been much improved and much better if all the Republican reforms had, in fact, been included. I regret that was not the case.

Mr. Speaker, I yield 4½ minutes to my friend and my colleague from Georgia (Mr. GINGREY).

Mr. GINGREY. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding.

Mr. Speaker, I rise not in opposition to this bill, in fact, I plan to support the bill, and I think most of my colleagues will on both sides of the aisle, but to just say that I regret that this is an opportunity missed for the new Democratic majority.

If it's all about wanting to have one more of the 6 for '06 to take home during the August recess and say, well, now, we have passed three of the six, I would say that it should only be 2.25 at the most, because, as my colleagues have pointed out, this reform is only about a fourth of what was brought to us in that first couple of weeks of the 110th as part of the 6 for '06, six promises that were made to the American people that if you elect us, the Democrats, to a new majority, this is what we will deliver for you.

And I will say again that this is a tremendous opportunity missed on behalf of the new majority. This bill just absolutely does not go far enough.

Speaking to that point, I want to point out that in the bill that we passed in the House last year, in the 109th, when Republicans enjoyed majority status, I had an amendment to this bill, which I think that we need to have as part of the bill today. It was passed by voice vote.

Yes, I regret, as the majority leader pointed out a minute ago, that the

other body did not go to conference on this good sound, solid bill that had my amendment as a part of it. But let me point out quickly what that amendment says.

Twenty years ago or more, in this Congress, a person could retire, a Member could retire and actually take what money they have in their campaign account, whether that's five figures or six figures or seven figures, could take that with them at retirement and convert that into personal gain. They could buy a Malibu beach home or a Rolls Royce car if they wanted to or send their children to the most expensive college in the Nation. Whatever they wanted to do, they could convert those campaign funds to personal use.

Well, in the wisdom of the Congress, that was ended about 20 years ago. Just before it ended, a number of Members retired, took retirement, so they didn't have to forfeit that money. That was a good change.

We have a situation now where a lot of Members form what are known as leadership PACs. Now, they don't necessarily have to be in leadership. I formed a PAC that I called DOCPAC and raised a little money for that so-called leadership PAC. But what I am talking about is the fact that the most powerful Members of the Congress, both in the House and the Senate, formed these leadership PACs. Let me give you just a couple of names, not Members, but members of the PAC.

□ 1115

Searchlight Leadership Fund PAC, in the other body, in the 2006 cycle raised \$2,346,000; spent \$300,000 of that money to support other candidates in that party, which is an appropriate use of that money. But \$2 million of it was spent for God knows what, Mr. Speaker.

Another PAC, Hill PAC raised \$2,900,000.

Keeping America's Promises, \$7,750,000 raised in the 2006 election cycle.

VOL-PAC, \$8 million raised in the 2006 election cycle.

There is nothing, Mr. Speaker, in the rules that says that money cannot be converted to personal use when these Members, some of whom have recently, retired or are going to retire in the near future.

So I would think that Members on both sides of the aisle would want to support something like this, to say that once a Member leaves this body that PAC money cannot be converted to personal use.

In conclusion, Mr. Speaker, let me say once again, I have great respect for the chairman of the Judiciary Committee and I am not opposed to the bill, and I know we have worked hard and I plan to support it. I am just saying the opportunity was missed. We should have gone much further. I hope sometime in the near future we will solve some of these problems like this leadership PAC issue.

Mr. CONYERS. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

I want to thank my colleagues on the other side, the gentleman from Georgia, and of course the ranking member, for pointing out additional refinements that we must continue to concern ourselves with. The Lobbying and Ethics Reform bill is not over with today's work. Our job continues, and I will be looking forward for these constructive comments that they will be bringing to our attention.

Mr. Speaker, I submit for printing in the RECORD a letter from the Campaign Legal Center and others that support this legislation, and I would like you to know that the organizations' authors that signed this are among the most watchful and effective critics of the subject of ethics and lobbying that we have in the country.

The letter was signed by the U.S. PIRG, the Public Citizen, the League of Women Voters, Democracy 21, Common Cause, the Campaign Legal Center, all who have said that:

Our organizations strongly urge you to vote for the lobbying and ethics reform legislation when it is considered by the House on the Suspension Calendar.

The legislation being presented to the House constitutes landmark reform of the Nation's lobbying disclosure laws and landmark reform of the Senate ethics rules. It is designed to help address the worst congressional corruption scandals in 30 years that were revealed during the last Congress.

Under the legislation, for the first time citizens will be provided with a wealth of information about the multiple ways in which lobbyists and lobbying organizations provide financial support to assist Members. For the first time, candidate campaign committees, leadership PACs, and political party committees will be required to disclose the bundled contributions raised for them by lobbyists and lobbying organizations. The legislation also includes fundamental reforms of the Senate ethics rules very similar to the landmark House ethic reforms adopted at the beginning of the year.

JULY 30, 2007.
Re Vote for the lobbying and ethics reform bill.

DEAR REPRESENTATIVE: Our organizations strongly urge you to vote for the lobbying and ethics reform legislation when it is considered by the House on the suspension calendar.

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The process being used in the House to vote on this legislation is the result of a Republican Senator, Jim DeMint (R-SC), blocking the House and Senate from going to conference on the lobbying and ethics reforms and bringing a conference report to the House and Senate floors for an up-or-down vote. There is absolutely no basis for a House member to vote against this legislation on process or substance grounds.

A vote against this legislation is a vote against landmark lobbying and ethics reforms.

Our organizations strongly urge you to vote for the lobbying and ethics legislation when it comes to the House floor for a vote.

Campaign Legal Center.
Common Cause.
Democracy 21.
League of Women Voters.
Public Citizen.
U.S. PIRG.

And, ladies and gentlemen of the House, these organizations and their representatives followed the work of the House and the Judiciary Committee very carefully, and frequently made important recommendations which we were pleased to incorporate in the final legislation that is before the House today. They have done an excellent job in helping us bring lobbying and ethics before the House, and I have no doubt that they will continue to monitor our success in the measure today, and what needs to be done.

This is not closing down a chapter on a subject matter. Indeed, it will be a continuing responsibility of the Committee on the Judiciary to make sure that what we have put into law is not only effective and works but that it is enforced as well.

Mr. Speaker, I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. SMITH of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I would inquire how much time remains for each side.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Texas has 4 minutes remaining, and the gentleman from Michigan has 5½ minutes remaining.

Mr. SMITH of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I yield the balance of my time to my friend and colleague from Illinois (Mr. KIRK).

Mr. KIRK. I thank the gentleman.

I would say, to correct the record, this bill does include violations of 18 U.S.C. 219, acting as a foreign principal.

There are several reforms in this measure, but what is most surprising are the reforms which are not in this measure, reforms which both Speaker PELOSI and Speaker HASTERT supported.

Under this legislation, a Member of Congress convicted of income tax evasion would still have a full right to his Federal pension. Under this legislation, a Member of Congress convicted of

interstate and foreign travel or transportation in the aid of racketeering enterprises is fully able to have a pension. In fact, there are other felonies, all of which we included in previous reform measures which are were dropped from this reform measure.

A Member can get a full Federal pension if they commit fraud by wire, radio, or television.

A Member can get a full pension if they are caught and convicted of influencing or injuring an officer or juror.

A Member can get a full pension for intimidation to secure political contributions, or for the promise of appointment of a candidate.

Under this legislation, a Member can get a full taxpayer pension if they make expenditures to influence voting.

In fact, previous reform legislation which Speakers PELOSI and HASTERT both supported included 21 separate felonies which would kill the pension for a Member of Congress convicted of a felony. But this legislation only includes four. It only includes four.

Now, the way that this happened is instructive. There was no amendment to this legislation allowed in the House of Representatives, because an amendment adding all of these felonies would have carried the day, as it carried in the past. Of course, there was no conference on this bill either.

So, a very limited set of reforms, including only four felonies, has gone forward, and the longer list of 21 separate public integrity felonies listed by the Department of Justice has not been included as it was in previous reform measures.

I would simply say to the House that a Member of Congress convicted of income tax evasion should not get a taxpayer-funded pension. But that reform was left out.

Mr. SMITH of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I yield back the balance of my time.

Mr. CONYERS. Mr. Speaker, I rise only to advise my colleague that starting at page 51 on our bill, we have so many felonies that are listed that they run for three pages. And I don't have the time to go through them today, but some of them are the ones that the gentleman mentioned.

Mr. KIRK. The gentleman is the author of amendment; if he will yield. If a Member is convicted of income tax evasion under this legislation, is the pension canceled?

Mr. CONYERS. I don't see it here.

Mr. KIRK. I would simply suggest to the House, the author should know the answer to this question.

Mr. CONYERS. The answer is, it is not included in here.

Mr. KIRK. As are 17 other felonies.

Mr. CONYERS. But every other one is. So I just wanted to refer the distinguished gentleman to the numbers of pages of felonies that are included in here, and I thank him for the one that concerns him mostly.

I am going to conclude my remarks by thanking all of my colleagues who have put time in on this matter. I want

to thank the ranking member and the leadership on both sides of the aisle.

We have a major accomplishment on our hands. What we need to do is to continue to follow through on implementing and improving anything in this measure that anybody would like to bring to our attention. But what we are doing is finally ending the cynical business as usual environment where big business and special interests dominate the legislative process to the detriment of the public interests. That is what all of these months and continuing wrangling and what our good government groups have been looking at and criticizing us for far too frequently is now being corrected.

This is a measure that every Member in the Congress can be proud of and support fully. A vote for this measure is a vote to end the culture of corruption. The time for S. 1 is now, and I accordingly urge my colleagues to support the measure.

Mr. BISHOP of New York. Madam Speaker, I rise in strong support of the conference report and commend the leadership as well as my colleagues involved in negotiating this landmark agreement.

Referring to the House of Representatives, Alexander Hamilton once said, "Here, sir, the people govern." Today, that quotation no longer rings hollow.

The people are once again in charge of the people's House with this legislation. We followed through with our campaign promise by restoring integrity, transparency, and accountability in the way we do the people's business.

Members of Congress, lobbyists, and special interests will share the responsibility to disclose information that sheds light on how the influence of money in politics shapes the outcome of legislation.

In particular, I am proud to support transparency in reporting "bundled" campaign contributions, as championed by the gentleman from Maryland (Mr. VAN HOLLEN), of whose legislation I am an original cosponsor.

This agreement will help avert corruption and back-room dealmaking that undermines this institution and the faith our constituents have in the way we do business.

Mr. Speaker, I encourage all of my colleagues to support this conference agreement.

Mr. ETHERIDGE. Madam Speaker, I rise in support of S. 1, the Honest Leadership, Open Government Act of 2007. I urge my colleagues to join me in voting in favor of it to clean up the culture of corruption in Washington.

The first order of business in the 110th Congress has been to restore honesty and integrity to the U.S. House of Representatives. On the first day of the new Congress, we imposed tough new rules on Members of Congress to ban gifts from lobbyists, end the abuses connected to lobbyist-funded congressional travel, require full transparency and end the abuse of special interest earmarks, to ensure this Congress upholds the highest ethical standards.

S. 1 will now bring unprecedented transparency and accountability to lobbyists' activities. For the first time, lobbyists who collect campaign checks for Members of Congress must report this practice. Members of Congress will also be required to disclose if more than \$15,000 in campaign contributions was collected on his or her behalf by a lobbyist.

Lobbyists will be required to disclose contributions to Members' charities, events honoring Members, contributions intended to pay the cost of a meeting and contributions to Presidential Library Funds.

Lobbyists will now be required to file disclosure reports quarterly rather than semi-annually. The bill will establish an online, searchable public database of these lobbyist disclosure reports. In addition, this legislation increases criminal and civil penalties for violating the Lobby Disclose Act to \$200,000 and five years in prison.

We have added additional restrictions on Members of Congress by requiring sitting Members to disclose job negotiations for post-Congressional employment and to recuse themselves if there is a conflict of interest. We will also establish an online, searchable public database of Members' travel and personal financial disclosure forms.

The ongoing corruption scandals in the U.S. House and Senate anger me because they threaten the bonds between the American people and their elected leaders. Therefore, I am very pleased that this bill denies pension benefits to those Members of Congress convicted of corruption while serving the American people. I have always believed that public office is a public trust, and I work every day to live up to the trust the people of North Carolina's Second Congressional District have placed in me.

I urge my colleagues to vote for a new direction and to support honest leadership and an open government.

Mrs. MALONEY of New York. Madam Speaker, I rise today in strong support of S. 1, the Honest Leadership, Open Government Act.

As the scandals of the past few years have made clear, it is time to change the way that business is conducted in Washington. The legislation before us today will implement several necessary reforms including new transparency for lobbyists who bundle campaign contributions, ending the K Street Project, expanding public disclosure of Members' travel and finances, and closing the revolving door between the legislative branch and post-employment lobbying.

S. 1 is supported by Common Cause, Democracy 21, Public Citizen, League of Women Voters, U.S. PIRG, and Campaign Legal Center.

I hope that this bill will help to restore the American people's confidence in their government. I want to commend Speaker PELOSI and the Democratic Leadership for their commitment to getting this legislation through Congress.

I urge my colleagues to support this legislation.

Mr. LOEBSACK. Mr. Speaker, I rise today in support of the Honest Leadership and Open Government Act.

As a freshman Member of this body, I believe it is critical that we restore the people's faith in the People's House.

This bill will bring transparency to lobbyists' activities and the relationship between Members of Congress and those who seek to influence us.

It is one in a series of steps we must take to change the status quo in Washington.

Greater transparency, a willingness to change the way we do business, and adequate oversight are all essential elements of the reforms we have a responsibility to enact.

The priorities of Iowa's Second District are my priorities as a Member of Congress. This bill is a step toward assuring my constituents, and all American citizens, that the House of Representatives remains in their hands.

Mr. BLUMENAUER. Mr. Speaker, I am proud to support this bill, as I have proudly supported each of this Democratic majority's initiatives to strengthen lobbying and ethics reform in Washington.

In the current political climate it is increasingly clear that Congress must serve as an example for the Federal Government. With this bill's passage, Americans can be confident that their representatives in Congress will be held to an ever-higher standard of conduct.

This bill closes the most abused loopholes by banning lobbyist-funded gifts and travel, reforming congressional earmarks, and by prohibiting Members from influencing outside hiring decisions for partisan gain. It also addresses the larger issues of reform by requiring public disclosure of bundled campaign contributions and lobbyist activity. And if that isn't enough, this bill also increases the punishment for Members and lobbyists who break the law.

It's clear this bill raises the bar for congressional conduct. I look forward to its passage and to the creation of a more open government.

Mr. VAN HOLLEN. Mr. Speaker, I rise today in support of S.1, the Honest Leadership, Open Government Act of 2007. S.1 contains the contents of an agreement between the House and the Senate in the reconciliation of provisions between the respective bills of these institutions to impose the highest standards of ethics reform on the House and the Senate and to restrict the influence of special interests and lobbyists. The American people spoke loud and clear in their demand for change on Capitol Hill. They conveyed a very strong message that an environment that accommodated Duke Cunningham and Jack Abramoff was unacceptable and that the culture of corruption must stop. As a result I urge the House to adopt this measure. This Conference agreement between the House and Senate contains some of the following provisions:

Bans lavish convention parties—prohibits Members of Congress from attending national political convention parties held in their honor and paid for by lobbyists or their clients.

Creates new transparency for lobbyist political campaign fund activity and other financial contributions—requires disclosure when lobbyists bundle campaign contributions for any federal elected official, candidate or leadership PAC; and requires lobbyists to detail their own campaign contributions, and payments to Presidential libraries, Inaugural Committees or entities controlled by or named for Members of Congress.

Ends K-Street Project—Prohibits Members of Congress and their staff from attempting to influence employment decisions in exchange for political access.

Imposes restrictions on corporate flights—requires Senators, Senate candidates and Presidential candidates to pay charter rates for trips on private planes; bars House candidates from accepting trips on private planes.

Expands public disclosure of lobbyist activities—requires lobbyists to file reports on their lobbying twice as often each year, and for the first time to file them electronically in a public,

searchable database; and increases civil and criminal penalties for knowingly violating lobbying disclosure rules.

Creates Congressional Pension Accountability—Denies Congressional retirement benefits to Members of Congress who are convicted of bribery, perjury and other similar crimes.

BUNDLING CAMPAIGN CONTRIBUTIONS

This bill also contains a provision that creates greater transparency at the intersection of campaign contributions and public policy. While existing campaign finance laws place limits on campaign contribution amounts, individuals that want to exceed the limits may do so by pulling together the contributions of third parties. This practice is known as "bundling". In and of itself, there is nothing wrong with this practice of aggregating the contributions of others. However, when the bundling of contributions is done by someone who lobbies on behalf of a particular interest, this practice enables the lobbyist to enhance his or her stature with an official. This enhancement increases their opportunity to advance the cause of a special interest.

In order to guard against the use of this practice to exert an undue influence over public policy, I believe that we need to inject transparency into this process. Last year I introduced a bill to require that lobbyists disclose their bundling of campaign contributions on lobbying disclosure forms that are required under existing law in accordance with the Lobbying Disclosure Act of 1995. While this bill was added to the lobbying reform bill by overwhelming support on a vote of 28 to 4 in the House Judiciary Committee, it was stripped from the larger bill by the Republican leadership in the dead of the night. Ultimately, the underlying reform bill failed to pass the Congress.

After the voters elected a Democratic House majority, in November of 2006 with a strong message of reform, I introduced a bill this year, H.R. 633. This bill required that lobbyists disclose the contributions that they bundle on behalf of a candidate. After a series of clarifications were made to the bill, it was reintroduced as H.R. 2317. This bill required that registered lobbyists disclose the contributions that they bundle for a candidate that are equal to or exceed \$5,000 on a quarterly basis. "Bundling" was defined as the physical aggregation of contributions by a lobbyist or by attribution to a lobbyist for contributions received from other sources regardless the means of transmission. This bill passed the House on May 24, 2007 382/37 and was added to the Honest Leadership, Open Government Act of 2007 by a vote of 346 to 71 on the same day.

Since the House passage of the bill, the House and Senate have been reconciling the differences between their respective bills. The Senate proposed on changing the bundling disclosure requirement by shifting the onus from the lobbyist to the candidate to disclose the receipt of contributions within reports already required under the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971. The FEC disclosure would reflect bundled contributions from lobbyists that exceed \$15,000 on a semi annual basis. The House receded to the Senate's demands under the condition that the reporting shift, from the Lobbying Disclosure Act to the Federal Election Campaign Act, would not compromise or diminish the transparency of the bundled contributions provided by a lob-

byist and hence, not reduce the availability of the information to the American public.

The reporting requirements in this bundling disclosure requirement apply to "bundled contributions" that have been made to the following covered entities: a candidate, political committees, party committees and Leadership PACs and Members who control Leadership PACs, and their agents.

Subparagraph (i) defines a "bundled contribution" as any contribution that is "forwarded" by a lobbyist, or the agent of the lobbyist, to a covered entity. This includes all instances where a lobbyist transfers or otherwise delivers or forwards contributions to a covered entity. It includes the transfer regardless of whether the transfer occurs in conjunction with a fundraising event or in the absence of such an event.

Subparagraph (ii) is intended to capture bundling activity where the contributions may have been solicited in the aggregate by a lobbyist but where the contributions may have been provided at different times and/or transferred from the contributor or a party other than the lobbyist but is ultimately "credited" to the lobbyist. The "credit" that the lobbyist receives can be recorded through designations or other means of recognizing that a "certain amount of money" has been "raised" by the lobbyist. However, the credit that is attributed to the lobbyist does not need to be memorialized in writing or captured within a database or any other contribution tracking system to trigger the reporting requirement. Moreover, the recognition that bundled contribution is attributed to a lobbyist does not need to be communicated back to the lobbyist; it merely means that a covered entity attributes the contribution to the lobbyist.

The term "a certain amount of money" means that the covered entity has information that a dollar amount has been raised by the lobbyist who is credited with raising the money. The term does not require that the candidate or other covered entity knows the total amount raised by the lobbyist or that the lobbyist has reached the threshold amount for reporting.

Subsection (5) requires the FEC to promulgate regulations implementing this disclosure requirement but prohibits the Commission from exempting from the disclosure requirement any lobbyist on the grounds that the lobbyist is authorized by the committee to engage in fundraising "or any other similar grounds." Moreover, this subsection explicitly prohibits the Commission from issuing a regulation to make this, or any similar grounds, the basis for an exception for the fundraising activities of certain lobbyists from the bundling disclosure requirement.

Finally, it must be noted that this provision is not designed to prohibit any action by a lobbyist. The purpose of this provision is to require disclosure. Therefore, I trust that the Commission, in its regulations, will strive to maximize the disclosure of contributions that have been bundled by lobbyists. This will bring much needed sunlight to the intersection of bundling and public policy and hopefully, will serve as a "disinfectant" to clean up any undue influence brought to bear by the use of third party contributions by lobbyists.

Mr. CONYERS. Mr. Speaker, I yield back the balance of my time.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The question is on the motion offered by

