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S. 3044

# Minery-third Songress of the United States of America

AT THE SECOND SESSION

Begun and held at the City of Washington on Monday, the twenty-first day of January, one thousand nine hundred and seventy-four

# An Act

To impose overall limitations on campaign expenditures and political contribu-tions; to provide that each candidate for Federal office shall designate a prin-cipal campaign committee; to provide for a single reporting responsibility with respect to receipts and expenditures by certain political committees; to change the times for the filing of reports regarding campaign expenditures and political contributions; to provide for public financing of Presidential nominating con-ventions and Presidential primary elections; and for other purposes.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That this Act may be cited as the "Federal Election Campaign Act Amendments of 1974"

### TITLE I-CRIMINAL CODE AMENDMENTS

## LIMITATIONS ON CONTRIBUTIONS AND EXPENDITURES

SEC. 101. (a) Section 608 of title 18, United States Code, relating to limitations on contributions and expenditures, is amended by striking out subsections (b) and (c) and inserting in lieu thereof the following:

out subsections (b) and (c) and inserting in lieu thereof the following: "(b) (1) Except as otherwise provided by paragraphs (2) and (3), no person shall make contributions to any candidate with respect to any election for Federal office which, in the aggregate, exceed \$1,000. "(2) No political committee (other than a principal campaign com-mittee) shall make contributions to any candidate with respect to any election for Federal office which, in the aggregate, exceed \$5,000. Contributions by the national committee of a political party serving as the principal campaign committee of a candidate for the office of President of the United States shall not exceed the limitation imposed by the preceding sentence with respect to any other candidate for by the preceding sentence with respect to any other candidate for Federal office. For purposes of this paragraph, the term 'political committee' means an organization registered as a political commit-tee under section 303 of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 for a period of not less than 6 months which has received c itributions from more than 50 persons and, except for any State political party organization, has made contributions to 5 or more candidates for Federal office.

"(3) No individual shall make contributions aggregating more than \$25,000 in any celendar year. For purposes of this paragraph, any contribution made in a year other than the calendar year in which the election is held with respect to which such contribution was made, is considered to be made during the calendar year in which such election is held.

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 (4) For purposes of this subsection—
 (A) contributions to a named candidate made to any political committee authorized by such candidate, in writing, to accept contributions on his behalf shall be considered to be contributions made to such candidate; and

"(B) contributions made to or for the benefit of any candidate

"(B) contributions made to or for the benefit of any candidate nominated by a political party for election to the office of Vice President of the United States shall be considered to be contributions made to or for the benefit of the candidate of such party for election to the office of President of the United States.
"(5) The limitations imposed by paragraphs (1) and (2) of this subsection shall apply separately with respect to each election, except that all elections held in any calendar year for the office of President of the United States (except a general election for such office) shall be considered to be one election. be considered to be one election.

"(6) For purposes of the limitations imposed by this section, all contributions made by a person, either directly or indirectly, on behalf of a particular candidate, including contributions which are in any way earmarked or otherwise directed through an intermediary or conduit to such candidate, shall be treated as contributions from such person to such candidate. The intermediary or conduit shall report the original source and the intended recipient of such contribution to the Commission and to the intended recipient.

"(c) (1) No candidate shall make expenditures in excess of— "(A) \$10,000,000, in the case of a candidate for nomination for

election to the office of President of the United States, except that the aggregate of expenditures under this subparagraph in any one State shall not exceed twice the expenditure limitation applicable in such State to a candidate for nomination for election to the office of Senator, Delegate, or Resident Commissioner, as the

case may be; "(B) \$20,000,000, in the case of a candidate for election to the office of President of the United States;

"(C) in the case of any campaign for nomination for election by a candidate for the office of Senator or by a candidate for the office of Representative from a State which is entitled to only one Rep-

resentative, the greater of— "(i) 8 cents multiplied by the voting age population of the State (as certified under subsection (g)); or

"(ii) \$100,000;

"(D) in the case of any campaign for election by a candidate for the office of Senator or by a candidate for the office of Representative from a State which is entitled to only one Representative,

the greater of— "(i) 12 cents multiplied by the voting age population of "(i) is independent subsection (g)); or

(1) 12 cents multiplied by the voting age population of the State (as certified under subsection (g)); or "(ii) \$150,000;
"(E) \$70,000, in the case of any campaign for nomination for election, or for election, by a candidate for the office of Representative in any other State, Delegate from the District of Columbia, or Resident Commissioner; or "(F) \$15,000, in the case of any campaign for nomination for election, or for election, by a candidate for the office of Delegate from the office of Delegate from the office of Delegate from Guam or the Virgin Islands

from Guam or the Virgin Íslands.

 (2) For purposes of this subsection—
 "(A) expenditures made by or on behalf of any candidate nom-(A) expenditures made by or on benaft of any candidate nom-inated by a political party for election to the office of Vice Presi-dent of the United States shall be considered to be expenditures made by or on behalf of the candidate of such party for election to the office of President of the United States; and "(B) an expenditure is made on behalf of a candidate, includ-ing a Vice Presidential candidate, if it is made by— "(i) an authorized committee or any other agent of the candidate for the purposes of making any expenditure; or "(ii) any person authorized or requested by the candidate.

"(ii) any person authorized or requested by the candidate, an authorized committee of the candidate, or an agent of the candidate, to make the expenditure.

"(3) The limitations imposed by subparagraphs (C), (D), (E), and (F) of paragraph (1) of this subsection shall apply separately with respect to each election. "(4) The Commission shall prescribe rules under which any expend-

iture by a candidate for Presidential nomination for use in 2 or more

States shall be attributed to such candidate's expenditure limitation in each such State, based on the voting age population in such State which can reasonably be expected to be influenced by such expenditure.

'(d)(1) At the beginning of each calendar year (commencing in 1976), as there become available necessary data from the Bureau of Labor Statistics of the Department of Labor, the Secretary of Labor shall certify to the Commission and publish in the Federal Register the per centum difference between the price index for the 12 months preceding the beginning of such calendar year and the price index for the base period. Each limitation established by subsection (c) and subsection (f) shall be increased by such per centum difference. Each amount so increased shall be the amount in effect for such calendar year

"(2) For purposes of paragraph (1)—
"(A) the term 'price index' means the average over a calendar year of the Consumer Price Index (all items—United States city average) published monthly by the Bureau of Labor Statistics; and

"(B) the term 'base period' means the calendar year 1974.

"(e) (1) No person may make any expenditure (other than an expenditure made by or on behalf of a candidate within the meaning of subsection (c) (2) (B)) relative to a clearly identified candidate dur-ing a calendar year which, when added to all other expenditures made

nization.

"(f) (1) Notwithstanding any other provision of law with respect to limitations on expenditures or limitations on contributions, the national committee of a political party and a State committee of a political party and a state committee of a political party, including any subordinate committee of a State com-mittee, may make expenditures in connection with the general election campaign of candidates for Federal office, subject to the limitations contained in paragraphs (2) and (3) of this subsection. "(2) The national committee of a political party may not make any

expenditure in connection with the general election campaign of any candidate for President of the United States who is affiliated with such party which exceeds an amount equal to 2 cents multiplied by the vot-ing age population of the United States (as certified under subsection ing age population of the United States (as certined under subsection (g)). Any expenditure under this paragraph shall be in addition to any expenditure by a national committee of a political party serving as the principal campaign committee of a candidate for the office of President of the United States. "(3) The national committee of a political party, or a State committee of a political party, including any subordinate committee of a State committee of a political party and make any expenditure in connection with

State committee, may not make any expenditure in connection with the general election campaign of a candidate for Federal office in a State who is affiliated with such party which exceeds

"(A) in the case of a candidate for election to the office of Senator, or of Representative from a State which is entitled to only one Representative, the greater of-

"(i) 2 cents multiplied by the voting age population of the State (as certified under subsection (g)); or

"(ii) \$20,000; and "(B) in the case of a candidate for election to the office of Representative, Delegate, or Resident Commissioner in any other State, \$10,000.

State, \$10,000. "(g) During the first week of January 1975, and every subsequent year, the Secretary of Commerce shall certify to the Commission and publish in the Federal Register an estimate of the voting age popu-lation of the United States, of each State, and of each congressional district as of the first day of July next preceding the date of certifica-tion. The term 'voting age population' means resident population, 18 wears of age or older.

years of age or older. "(h) No candidate or political committee shall knowingly accept any contribution or make any expenditure in violation of the pro-visions of this section. No officer or employee of a political committee shall knowingly accept a contribution made for the benefit or use of a candidate, or knowingly make any expenditure on behalf of a candidate, in violation of any limitation imposed on contributions and expenditures under this section.

"(i) Any person who violates any provision of this section shall be fined not more than \$25,000 or imprisoned not more than one year, or both.'

(b) (1) Section 608(a) (1) of title 18, United States Code, relating to limitations on contributions and expenditures, is amended to read as follows:

"(a) (1) No candidate may make expenditures from his personal funds, or the personal funds of his immediate family, in connection with his campaigns during any calendar year for nomination for elec-

tion, or for election, to Federal office in excess of, in the aggregate— "(A) \$50,000, in the case of a candidate for the office of Presi-dent or Vice President of the United States; "(B) \$35,000, in the case of a candidate for the office of Senator

or for the office of Representative from a State which is entitled

to only one Representative; or "(C) \$25,000, in the case of a candidate for the office of Repre-sentative, or Delegate or Resident Commissioner, in any other State.

For purposes of this paragraph, any expenditure made in a year other than the calendar year in which the election is held with respect to which such expenditure was made, is considered to be made during the calendar year in which such election is held.".

(2) Such section 608(a) is amended by adding at the end thereof the following new paragraphs:
"(3) No candidate or his immediate family may make loans or advances from their personal funds in connection with his campaign for nomination for plasting on far election. for nomination for election, or for election, to Federal office unless such loan or advance is evidenced by a written instrument fully dis-

such total of advance is evidenced by a written instrument fully dis-closing the terms and conditions of such loan or advance. "(4) For purposes of this subsection, any such loan or advance shall be included in computing the total amount of such expenditures only to the extent of the balance of such loan or advance outstanding and unpaid.".

(c) (1) Notwithstanding section 608(a) (1) of title 18, United States Code, relating to limitations on expenditures from personal funds, any (c) (1) individual may satisfy or discharge, out of his personal funds or the

personal funds of his immediate family, any debt or obligation which is outstanding on the date of the enactment of this Act and which was incurred by him or on his behalf by any political committee in connec-tion with any campaign ending before the close of December 31, 1972, for election to Federal office.

 (2) For purposes of this subsection—

 (A) the terms "election", "Federal office", and "political committee" have the meanings given them by section 591 of title 18,

 United States Code; and

United States Code; and (B) the term "immediate family" has the meaning given it by section 608(a) (2) of title 18, United States Code. (d) (1) The first paragraph of section 613 of title 18, United States Code, relating to contributions by certain foreign agents, is amended— (A) by striking out "an agent of a foreign principal" and inserting in lieu thereof "a foreign national"; and (B) by striking out ", either for or on behalf of such foreign principal or otherwise in his capacity as agent of such foreign principal.".

(2) The second paragraph of such section 613 is amended by striking out "agent of a foreign principal or from such foreign principal" and inserting in lieu thereof "foreign national".

The fourth paragraph of such section 613 is amended to read as follows:

"As used in this section, the term 'foreign national' means-

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

"(2) an individual who is a chizen of the United States; or
"(2) an individual who is not a citizen of the United States and who is not lawfully admitted for permanent residence, as defined by section 101(a) (20) of the Immigration and Nationality Act (8 U.S.C. 1101(a) (20)).".
(4) (A) The heading of such section 613 is amended by striking out "agents of foreign principals" and inserting in lieu thereof "foreign principals" and inserting in lieu thereof "foreign principals".

nationals".

(B) The table of sections for chapter 29 of title 18, United States Code, is amended by striking out the item relating to section 613 and inserting in lieu thereof the following:

"613. Contributions by foreign nationals.".

(e) (1) The second paragraph of section 610 of title 18, United States Code, relating to penalties for violating prohibitions against contributions or expenditures by national banks, corporations, or labor organizations, is amended-

(A) by striking out "\$5,000" and inserting in lieu thereof "\$25,000"; and

(B) by striking out "\$10,000" and inserting in lieu thereof "\$50,000".

"\$50,000".
(2) Section 611 of title 18, United States Code (as amended by section 103 of this Act), relating to contributions by firms or individuals contracting with the United States, is amended in the first paragraph thereof by striking out "\$5,000" and inserting in lieu thereof "\$25,000".
(3) The third paragraph of section 613 of title 18, United States Code (as amended by subsection (d) of this section), relating to contributions by foreign nationals, is amended by striking out "\$5,000" and inserting in lieu thereof "\$25,000".
(f) (1) Chapter 29 of title 18, United States Code, relating to elections and political activities, is amended by adding at the end thereof the following new sections:

the following new sections:

# "§ 614. Prohibition of contributions in name of another

"(a) No person shall make a contribution in the name of another person or knowingly permit his name to be used to effect such a contribution, and no person shall knowingly accept a contribution made by one person in the name of another person.

(b) Any person who violates this section shall be fined not more than \$25,000 or imprisoned not more than one year, or both.

#### "§ 615. Limitation on contributions of currency

"(a) No person shall make contributions of currency of the United States or currency of any foreign country to or for the benefit of any candidate which, in the aggregate, exceed \$100, with respect to any campaign of such candidate for nomination for election, or for election, to Federal office.

"(b) Any person who violates this section shall be fined not more than \$25,000 or imprisoned not more than one year, or both.

#### "§ 616. Acceptance of excessive honorariums

"Whoever, while an elected or appointed officer or employee of any branch of the Federal Government-"(1) accepts any honorarium

(1) accepts any honorarium of more than \$1,000 (excluding amounts accepted for actual travel and subsistence expenses) for any appearance, speech, or article; or "(2) accepts honorariums (not prohibited by non-more (1) of

"(2) accepts honorariums (not prohibited by paragraph (1) of this section) aggregating more than \$15,000 in any calendar year; shall be fined not less than \$1,000 nor more than \$5,000.

## "§ 617. Fraudulent misrepresentation of campaign authority

"Whoever, being a candidate for Federal office or an employee or agent of such a candidate-

(1) fraudulently misrepresents himself or any committee or organization under his control as speaking or writing or otherwise acting for or on behalf of any other candidate or political party or employee or agent thereof on a matter which is damag-ing to such other candidate or political party or employee or agent

thereof; or "(2) willfully and knowingly participates in or conspires to participate in any plan, scheme, or design to violate paragraph

(1);
shall, for each such offense, be fined not more than \$25,000 or imprisoned not more than one year, or both.".
(2) Section 591 of title 18, United States Code, relating to definitions, is amended by striking out the matter preceding paragraph (a) and inserting in lieu thereof the following:
"Except as otherwise specifically provided, when used in this section and in sections 597, 599, 600, 602, 608, 610, 611, 614, 615, and 617 of this title—".

of this title-

(3) The table of sections for chapter 29 of title 18, United States Code, is amended by adding at the end thereof the following new items:

"614. Prohibition of contributions in name of another.
"615. Limitation on contributions of currency.
"616. Acceptance of excessive honorariums.
"617. Fraudulent misrepresentation of campaign authority.".

(4) Title III of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 is amended by striking out section 310, relating to prohibition of contributions in the name of another.

#### CHANGES IN CRIMINAL CODE DEFINITIONS

SEC. 102. (a) Paragraph (a) of section 591 of title 18, United States
Code, relating to the definition of election, is amended—

(1) by inserting "or" before "(4)"; and
(2) by striking out ", and (5) the election of delegates to a constitutional convention for proposing amendments to the Constitutional convention for proposing amendments to the Constitution of the United States"

tion of the United States".

b) Paragraph (2) of such section 591, relating to the definition of political committee, is amended to read as follows:

"(d) 'political committee' means any committee, club, association, or other group of persons which receives contributions or makes expenditures during a calendar year in an aggregate amount exceeding \$1,000;".

(c) Paragraph (e) of such section 591, relating to the definition of contribution, is amended to read as follows:

"(e) 'contribution'--"(1) means a gift, subscription, loan, advance, or deposit of money or anything of value (except a loan of money by a national or State bank made in accordance with the applicable banking laws and regulations and in the ordinary course of business, which shall be considered a loan by each endorser or guarantor, in that proportion of the unpaid balance thereof that each endorser or guarantor bears to the total number of endorsers or guarantors), made for the purpose of influencing the nomination for election, or election, of any person to Fed-eral office or for the purpose of influencing the results of a primary held for the selection of delegates to a national nomi-nating convention of a political party or for the expression of a preference for the nomination of persons for election to the office of President of the United States;

"(2) means a contract, promise, or agreement, express or implied, whether or not legally enforceable, to make a con-

tribution for such purposes; "(3) means funds received by a political committee which are transferred to such committee from another political committee or other source;

"(4) means the payment, by any person other than a candidate or a political committee, of compensation for the personal services of another person which are rendered to such candidate or political committee without charge for any such purpose; but

"(5) does not include— "(A) the value of services provided without compensation by individuals who volunteer a portion or all of their time on behalf of a candidate or political committee;

"(B) the use of real or personal property and the cost of invitations, food, and beverages, voluntarily provided by an individual to a candidate in rendering voluntary personal services on the individual's residential premises for candidate-related activities; "(C) the sale of any food or beverage by a vendor for

use in a candidate's campaign at a charge less than the normal comparable charge, if such charge for use in a candidate's campaign is at least equal to the cost of such food or beverage to the vendor;

"(D) any unreimbursed payment for travel expenses made by an individual who on his own behalf volunteers his personal services to a candidate, or

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"(E) the payment by a State or local committee of a political party of the costs of preparation, display, or mailing or other distribution incurred by such committee with respect to a printed slate card or sample ballot, or other printed listing, of 3 or more candidates for any public office for which an election is held in the State in which such committee is organized, except that this clause shall not apply in the case of costs incurred by such committee with respect to a display of any such listing made on broadcasting stations, or in newspapers, magazines or other similar types of general public political advertising;

to the extent that the cumulative value of activities by any person on behalf of any candidate under each of clauses (B), (C), and (D) does not exceed \$500 with respect to any

accordance with the applicable banking laws and regulations and in the ordinary course of business), made for the purpose of influencing the nomination for election, or election, of any person to Federal office or for the purpose of influencing the results of a primary held for the selection of delegates to a national nominating convention of a political party or for the expression of a preference for the nomination of persons for election to the office of President of the United States; "(2) means a contract promise or account

"(2) means a contract, promise, or agreement, express or implied, whether or not legally enforceable, to make any expenditure; and "(3) means the transfer of funds by a political committee

 (3) means the transfer of functs by a pointeal committee;
 to another political committee; but
 "(4) does not include—
 "(A) any news story, commentary, or editorial distributed through the facilities of any broadcasting station, newspaper, magazine, or other periodical publi-cation, unless such facilities are owned or controlled by

any political party, political committee, or candidate; "(B) nonpartisan activity designed to encourage indi-

(B) honpartisan activity designed to encourage individuals to register to vote or to vote;
"(C) any communication by any membership organization or corporation to its members or stockholders, if such membership organization or corporation is not organized primarily for the purpose of influencing the nomination for election, or election, of any person to Faderal effect. Federal office; "(D) the use of real or personal property and the cost

(D) the use of real or personal property and the cost of invitations, food, and beverages, voluntarily provided by an individual to a candidate in rendering voluntary personal services on the individual's residential premises for candidate-related activities; "(E) any unreimbursed payment for travel expenses

"(E) any unreimbursed payment for travel expenses made by an individual who on his own behalf volunteers his personal services to a candidate;

"(F) any communication by any person which is not made for the purpose of influencing the nomination for election, or election, of any person to Federal office; "(G) the payment by a State or local committee of a

political party of the costs of preparation, display, or mailing or other distribution incurred by such committee with respect to a printed slate card or sample ballot, or other printed listing, of 3 or more candidates for any public office for which an election is held in the State in which such committee is organized, except that this clause shall not apply in the case of costs incurred by such com-mittee with respect to a display of any such listing made on broadcasting stations or in newspapers magazines on broadcasting stations, or in newspapers, magazines or other similar types of general public political

advertising; "(H) any costs incurred by a candidate in connection with the solicitation of contributions by such candidate, except that this clause shall not apply with respect to costs incurred by a candidate in excess of an amount equal to 20 percent of the expenditure limitation applicable to such candidate under section 608(c) of this title; or

"(I) any costs incurred by a political committee (as such term is defined by section 608(b)(2) of this title) with respect to the solicitation of contributions to such political committee or to any general political fund con-trolled by such political committee, except that this clause shall not apply to exempt costs incurred with respect to the solicitation of contributions to any such political com-mittee made through broadcasting stations, newspapers, magazines, outdoor advertising facilities, and other simi-lar types of general public political advertising.

lar types of general public political advertising; to the extent that the cumulative value of activities by any individual on behalf of any candidate under each of clauses (D) or (E) does not exceed \$500 with respect to any election;".

(e) Section 591 of title 18, United States Code, relating to definitions, is amended-

(1) by striking out "and" at the end of paragraph (g);
(2) by striking out the period at the end of paragraph (h) and inserting in lieu thereof a semicolon; and

(3) by adding at the end thereof the following new paragraphs: "(i) 'political party' means any association, committee, or orga-nization which nominates a candidate for election to any Federal office whose name appears on the election ballot as the candidate of such association, committee, or organization;

of such association, committee, or organization; "(j) 'State committee' means the organization which, by virtue of the bylaws of a political party, is responsible for the day-to-day operation of such political party at the State level, as determined by the Federal Election Commission; "(k) 'national committee' means the organization which, by virtue of the bylaws of the political party, is responsible for the day-to-day operation of such political party at the national level, as determined by the Federal Election Commission established under section 310(a) of the Federal Election Campaign Act of under section 310(a) of the Federal Election Campaign Act of

1971; and "(1) 'principal campaign committee' means the principal cam-paign committee designated by a candidate under section 302 (f) (1) of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971.".

#### POLITICAL FUNDS OF CORPORATIONS OR LABOR ORGANIZATIONS

SEC. 103. Section 611 of title 18, United States Code, relating to contributions by firms or individuals contracting with the United States, is amended by adding at the end thereof the following new paragraphs:

"This section does not prohibit or make unlawful the establishment or administration of, or the solicitation of contributions to, any separate segregated fund by any corporation or labor organization for the purpose of influencing the nomination for election, or election, of any person to Federal office, unless the provisions of section 610 of this title prohibit or make unlawful the establishment or administration of, or the solicitation of contributions to, such fund.

"For purposes of this section, the term 'labor organization' has the meaning given it by section 610 of this title.".

## EFFECT ON STATE LAW

SEC. 104. (a) The provisions of chapter 29 of title 18, United States Code, relating to elections and political activities, supersede and preempt any provision of State law with respect to election to Federal office.

(b) For purposes of this section, the terms "election", "Federal office", and "State" have the meanings given them by section 591 of title 18, United States Code.

## TITLE II-AMENDMENTS TO FEDERAL ELECTION CAMPAIGN ACT OF 1971

#### CHANGES IN DEFINITIONS FOR REPORTING AND DISCLOSURE

SEC. 201. (a) Section 301 of the Federal Election Campaign Act of

SEC. 201. (a) Section 301 of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, relating to definitions, is amended—

(1) by inserting "and title IV of this Act" after "title";
(2) by striking out ", and (5) the election of delegates to a constitutional convention for proposing amendments to the Constitution of the United States" in paragraph (a), and by inserting "and" before "(4)" in such paragraph;
(3) by amending paragraph (d) to read as follows:
"(d) 'political committee' means any committee, club, association, or other group of persons which receives contributions or makes expenditures during a calendar year in an aggregate amount exceeding \$1,000;";
(4) by amending paragraph (e) to read as follows:

nount exceeding \$1,000;";
(4) by amending paragraph (e) to read as follows:
"(e) 'contribution'--"(1) means a gift, subscription, loan, advance, or deposit of money or anything of value made for the purpose of--"(A) influencing the nomination for election, or election, of any person to Federal office or for the purpose of influencing the results of a primary held for the selection of delegates to a national nominating convention of a political party, or political party, or "(B) influencing the result of an election held for the

expression of a preference for the nomination of persons for election to the office of President of the United States;

"(2) means a contract, promise, or agreement, expressed or implied, whether or not legally enforceable, to make a contribution for such purposes;

"(3) means funds received by a political committee which are transferred to such committee from another political committee or other source;

"(4) means the payment, by any person other than a candidate or a political committee, of compensation for the personal services of another person which are rendered to such candidate or political committee without charge for any such purpose; but

"(5) does not include—
"(A) the value of services provided without compensation by individuals who volunteer a portion or all of their time on behalf of a candidate or political committee;
"(D) the use of real or personal property and the cost

"(B) the use of real or personal property and the cost of invitations, food, and beverages, voluntarily provided by an individual to a candidate in rendering voluntary personal services on the individual's residential premises for candidate-related activities;

"(C) the sale of any food or beverage by a vendor for use in a candidate's campaign at a charge less than the normal comparable charge, if such charge for use in a candidate's campaign is at least equal to the cost of such food or beverage to the vendor;

(D) any unreimbursed payment for travel expenses made by an individual who on his own behalf volunteers his personal services to a candidate; "(E) the payment by a State or local committee of a

"(E) the payment by a State or local committee of a political party of the costs of preparation, display, or mailing or other distribution incurred by such committee with respect to a printed slate card or sample ballot, or other printed listing, of 3 or more candidates for any pub-lic office for which an election is held in the State in which such committee is organized, except that this clause shall not apply in the case of costs incurred by such committee with respect to a display of any such listing made on broadcasting stations, or in newspapers, maga-zines or other similar types of general public political advertising; or "(F) any payment made or obligation incurred by a

(1) any payment made of obligation incurred by a corporation or a labor organization which, under the provisions of the last paragraph of section 610 of title 18, United States Code, would not constitute an expenditure by such corporation or labor organization;
to the extent that the cumulative value of activities by any individual on behalf of any candidate under each of clauses
(B) (C) and (D) does not extend \$500 mith represent the cumulation.

(B), (C), and (D) does not exceed \$500 with respect to any election;

(5) by striking out paragraph (f) and inserting in lieu thereof

(b) by striking out parts
the following:
"(f) 'expenditure'—
"(1) means a purchase, payment, distribution, loan, advance, deposit, or gift of money or anything of value, made for the purpose of— "(A) influencing the nomination for election, or the

election, of any person to Federal office, or to the office of presidential and vice-presidential elector; or "(R) influencing the moults of a primary election hold

"(B) influencing the results of a primary election held for the selection of delegates to a national nominating convention of a political party or for the expression of

a preference for the nomination of persons for election to the office of President of the United States;

"(2) means a contract, promise, or agreement, express or implied, whether or not legally enforceable, to make any

expenditure; "(3) means the transfer of funds by a political committee to another political committee; but

"(4) does not include-

"(A) any news story, commentary, or editorial distrib-uted through the facilities of any broadcasting station, newspaper, magazine, or other periodical publication, unless such facilities are owned or controlled by any political party, political committee, or candidate; "(B) nonpartisan activity designed to encourage indi-

viduals to register to vote or to vote;

(C) any communication by any membership organization or corporation to its members or stockholders, if such membership organization or corporation is not organized primarily for the purpose of influencing the nomination for election, or election, of any person to Federal office;

"(D) the use of real or personal property and the cost of invitations, food, and beverages, voluntarily provided by an individual to a candidate in rendering voluntary personal services on the individual's residential premises for candidate-related activities if the cumulative value of whether the set of th such activities by such individual on behalf of any candidate do not exceed \$500 with respect to any election;

"(E) any unreimbursed payment for travel expenses made by an individual who on his own behalf volunteers his personal services to a candidate if the cumulative amount for such individual incurred with respect to such candidate does not exceed \$500 with respect to any election;

"(F) any communication by any person which is not made for the purpose of influencing the nomination for election, or election, of any person to Federal office; or "(G) the payment by a State or local committee of a political party of the costs of preparation, display, or mailing or other distribution incurred by such committee with respect to a printed slate card or sample ballot, or other printed listing, of 3 or more candidates for any public office for which an election is held in the State in which such committee is organized, except that this clause shall not apply in the case of costs incurred by such committee with respect to a display of any such listing made on broadcasting stations, or in newspapers, maga-zines or other similar types of general public political advertising; or

"(H) any payment made or obligation incurred by a corporation or a labor organization which, under the provisions of the last paragraph of section 610 of title 18, United States Code, would not constitute an expenditure

by such corporation or labor organization;"; (6) by striking "and" at the end of paragraph (h); (7) by striking the period at the end of paragraph (i) and inserting in lieu thereof a semicolon; and (8) by adding at the end thereof the following new new

(8) by adding at the end thereof the following new paragraphs:

"(j) 'identification' means-"(1) in the case of an individual, his full name and the

"(1) in the case of an individual, his full name and the full address of his principal place of residence; and
"(2) in the case of any other person, the full name and address of such person;
"(k) 'national committee' means the organization which, by virtue of the bylaws of a political party, is responsible for the day-to-day operation of such political party at the national level, and the the Commission." as determined by the Commission;

"(1) 'State committee' means the organization which, by virtue of the bylaws of a political party, is responsible for the day-to-day operation of such political party at the State level, as determined

by the Commission; "(m) 'political party' means an association, committee, or organization which nominates a candidate for election to any Fed-

organization which nominates a candidate for election to any Federal office, whose name appears on the election ballot as the candidate of such association, committee, or organization; and "(n) 'principal campaign committee' means the principal campaign committee designated by a candidate under section 302 (f) (1).".
(b) (1) Section 401 of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, relating to extension of credit by regulated industries, is amended by striking out "(as such term is defined in section 301(c) of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971)" Election Campaign Act of 1971)".

(2) Section 402 of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, relating to prohibition against use of certain Federal funds for election activities, is amended by striking out the last sentence.

#### ORGANIZATION OF POLITICAL COMMITTEES; PRINCIPAL CAMPAIGN COMMITTEE

SEC. 202. (a) (1) Section 302(b) of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, relating to reports of contributions in excess of \$10, is amended by striking out ", the name and address (occupation and principal place of business, if any)" and inserting in lieu thereof "of the contribution and the identification". (2) Section 302(c) of such Act, relating to detailed accounts, is amended by striking out "full name and mailing address (occupation and the principal place of business, if any)" in paragraphs (2) and (4) and inserting in lieu thereof in each such paragraph "identifi-

(4) and inserting in lieu thereof in each such paragraph "identification'

(3) Section 302(c) of such Act is further amended by striking out the semicolon at the end of paragraph (2) and inserting in lieu thereof "and, if a person's contributions aggregate more than \$100, the account shall include occupation, and the principal place of business (if any);".

(b) Section 302(f) of such Act is amended to read as follows: "(f) (1) Each individual who is a candidate for Federal office (other than the office of Vice President of the United States) shall designate a political committee to serve as his principal campaign commit-tee. No political committee may be designated as the principal cam-paign committee of more than one candidate, except that the candidate for the office of President of the United States nominated by a political party may designate the national committee of such political party as his principal campaign committee. Except as provided in the preceding sentence, no political committee which supports more than one candidate may be designated as a principal campaign committee. "(2) Notwithstanding any other provision of this title, each report

or statement of contributions received or expenditures made by a political committee (other than a principal campaign committee)

which is required to be filed with the Commission under this title shall be filed instead with the principal campaign committee for the candi-date on whose behalf such contributions are accepted or such expenditures are made.

"(3) It shall be the duty of each principal campaign committee to receive all reports and statements required to be filed with it under paragraph (2) of this subsection and to compile and file such reports and statements, together with its own reports and statements, with the Commission in accordance with the provisions of this title.".

#### REGISTRATION OF POLITICAL COMMITTEE; STATEMENTS

SEC. 203. Section 303 of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, relating to registration of political committees and statements, is amended by adding at the end thereof the following new subsection:

"(e) In the case of a political committee which is not a principal campaign committee, reports and notifications required under this section to be filed with the Commission shall be filed instead with the appropriate principal campaign committee.".

#### REPORTS BY POLITICAL COMMITTEES AND CANDIDATES

SEC. 204. (a) Section 304(a) of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, relating to reports by political committees and candidates, is amended-

(1) by striking out the second and third sentences and inserting in lieu thereof the following:"The reports referred to in the preceding sentence shall be filed as

follows:

"(A) (i) In any calendar year in which an individual is a candidate for Federal office and an election for such Federal office is held in such year, such reports shall be filed not later than the tenth day before the date on which such election is held and shall be complete as of the fifteenth day before the date of such elec-tion; except that any such report filed by registered or certified mail must be postmarked not later than the close of the twelfth day before the date of such election.

(ii) Such reports shall be filed not later than the thirtieth day after the date of such election and shall be complete as of the twentieth day after the date of such election.
(B) In any other calendar year in which an individual is a candidate for Federal office, such reports shall be filed after December 31 of such calendar year, but not later than January 31 of the following calendar year, and shall be complete as of the of the following calendar year and shall be complete as of the close of the calendar year with respect to which the report is filed. "(C) Such reports shall be filed not later than the tenth day

following the close of any calendar quarter in which the candidate following the close of any calendar quarter in which the candidate or political committee concerned received contributions in excess of \$1,000, or made expenditures in excess of \$1,000, and shall be complete as of the close of such calendar quarter : except that any such report required to be filed after December 31 of any calendar year with respect to which a report is required to be filed under subparagraph (B) shall be filed as provided in such subparagraph. "(D) When the last day for filing any quarterly report required by subparagraph (C) occurs within 10 days of an election, the filing of such quarterly report shall be waived and superseded by the report required by subparagraph (A) (i).

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Any contribution of \$1,000 or more received after the fifteenth day,

Any contribution of \$1,000 or more received after the fifteenth day, but more than 48 hours, before any election shall be reported within 48 hours after its receipt."; and

(2) by striking out "Each" at the beginning of the first sentence of such section 304(a) and inserting in lieu thereof "(1) Except as provided by paragraph (2), each", and by adding at the end thereof the following new paragraphs:
"(2) Each treasurer of a political committee which is not a principal campaign committee shall file the reports required under this section with the appropriate principal campaign committee.
"(3) Upon a request made by a presidential candidate or a political committee which operates in more than one State, or upon its own motion, the Commission may waive the reporting dates set forth in paragraph (1) (other than the reporting date set forth in paragraph (1) (B)), and require instead that such candidate or political commit-(1) (B)), and require instead that such candidate or political commit-tee file reports not less frequently than monthly. The Commission may not require a presidential candidate or a political committee operating in more than one State to file more than 12 reports (not counting any report referred to in paragraph (1)(B)) during any calendar year. If the Commission acts on its own motion under this paragraph with respect to a candidate or a political committee, such candidate or

committee may obtain judicial review in accordance with the provi-sions of chapter 7 of title 5, United States Code.". (b) (1) Section 304(b)(5) of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, relating to reports by political committees and candidates, is amended by striking out "lender and endorsers" and inserting in lieu themede fully and areas and candidates. thereof "lender, endorsers, and guarantors".
(2) Section 304(b) (8) of the Federal Election Campaign Act of

(2) Section 504(0)(3) of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, relating to reports by political committees and candidates, is amended by inserting immediately before the semicolon at the end thereof the following: ", together with total receipts less transfers between political committees which support the same candidate and which do not more than the new support the same candidate and which do not support more than one candidate'

which do not support more than one candidate".
(3) Section 304(b) of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, relating to reports by political committees and candidates, is amended by striking out "full name and mailing address (occupation and the principal place of business, if any)" in paragraphs (9) and (10) and inserting in lieu thereof in each such paragraph "identification".
(4) Section 304(b) (11) of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, relating to reports by political committees and candidates, is amended by inserting immediately before the semicolon at the end thereof the following: ", together with total expenditures less transfers between political committees which support the same candidate and which do not support more than one candidate".
(5) Section 304(b) (12) of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, relating to reports by political committees and candidates, is amended by inserting immediately before the same candidate and which do not support more than one candidate".
(5) Section 304(b) (12) of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, relating to reports by political committees and candidates, is amended by inserting immediately before the semicolon a comma and the following: ", together with a statement as to the circumstances and conditions under which any such debt or obligation is extinguished

and conditions under which any such debt or obligation is extinguished and the consideration therefor".

(c) Such section 304 is amended by adding at the end thereof the following new subsections:

"(d) This section does not require a Member of the Congress to report, as contributions received or as expenditures made, the value of photographic, matting, or recording services furnished to him by the Senate Recording Studio, the House Recording Studio, or by an individual whose pay is disbursed by the Secretary of the Senate or the Clerk of the House of Representatives and who furnishes such services as his primary duty as an employee of the Senate or House of Rep-

resentatives, or if such services were paid for by the Republican or Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee, the Democratic National Congressional Committee, or the National Republican Congressional Committee. This subsection does not apply to such recording services furnished during the calendar year before the year in which

the Member's term expires. "(e) Every person (other than a political committee or candidate) who makes contributions or expenditures, other than by contribution to a political committee or candidate, in an aggregate amount in excess of \$100 within a calendar year shall file with the Commission a statement containing the information required by this section. State-ments required by this subsection shall be filed on the dates on which reports by political committees are filed but need not be cumulative.". (d) The heading for such section 304 is amended to read as follows:

## "REPORTS".

(e) Notwithstanding the amendment to section 304 of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, relating to the time for filing reports, made by the foregoing provisions of this section, nothing in this Act shall be construed to waive the report required to be filed by the thirty-first day of January of 1975 under the provisions of such section 304, as in effect on the date of the enactment of this Act.

#### CAMPAIGN ADVERTISEMENTS

SEC. 205. (a) Section 305 of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, relating to reports by others than political committees, is amended to read as follows:

#### "REQUIREMENTS RELATING TO CAMPAIGN ADVERTISING

"SEC. 305. (a) No person who sells space in a newspaper or magazine to a candidate, or to the agent of a candidate, for use in connection with such candidate's campaign, may charge any amount for such space which exceeds the amount charged for comparable use of such

space for other purposes. "(b) Each political committee shall include on the face or front page of all literature and advertisements soliciting contributions the

following notice:
"'A copy of our report is filed with the Federal Election Commission and is available for purchase from the Federal Election Commission, Washington, D.C.'".
(b) Title I of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 is

repealed.

#### WAIVER OF REPORTING REQUIREMENTS

SEC. 206. Section 306(b) of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 (as so redesignated by section 207 of this Act), relating to formal requirements respecting reports and statements, is amended to read as follows:

"(b) The Commission may, by a rule of general applicability which is published in the Federal Register not less than 30 days before its

effective date, relieve— "(1) any category of candidates of the obligation to comply personally with the reporting requirements of section 304, if it determines that such action is consistent with the purposes of this Act; and

"(2) any category of political committees of the obligation to comply with the reporting requirements of such section if such committees

"(A) primarily support persons seeking State or local office; and

"(B) do not operate in more than one State or do not operate on a statewide basis.".

#### FORMAL REQUIREMENTS FOR REPORTS AND STATEMENTS

SEC. 207. Section 306 of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, relating to formal requirements respecting reports and statements, is

relating to formal requirements respecting reports and statements, is amended by striking out subsection (a); by redesignating subsections (b), (c), and (d) as subsections (a), (b), and (c), respectively; and by adding at the end thereof the following new subsection: "(d) If a report or statement required by section 303, 304 (a) (1) (A) (ii), 304 (a) (1) (B), 304 (a) (1) (C), or 304 (e) of this title to be filed by a treasurer of a political committee or by a candidate or by any other person, is delivered by registered or certified mail, to the Commission or principal campaign committee with which it is required to be filed, the United States nostmark stamped on the cover of the envelope or the United States postmark stamped on the cover of the envelope or other container in which such report or statement is so mailed shall be deemed to be the date of filing.".

#### REPORTS BY CERTAIN ORGANIZATIONS; FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION; CAMPAIGN DEPOSITORIES

SEC. 208. (a) Title III of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, relating to disclosure of Federal campaign funds, is amended by redesignating sections 308 and 309 as sections 316 and 317, respectively; by redesignating section 311 as section 321; and by inserting immediately after section 307 the following new sections:

# "REPORTS BY CERTAIN PERSONS

"SEC. 308. Any person (other than an individual) who expends any funds or commits any act directed to the public for the purpose of influencing the outcome of an election, or who publishes or broad-casts to the public any material referring to a candidate (by name, description, or other reference) advocating the election or defeat of such candidate, setting forth the candidate's position on any public issue, his voting record, or other official acts (in the case of a candidate who holds or has held Federal office), or otherwise designed to influence individuals to cast their votes for or against such candidate or to withhold their votes from such candidate shall file reports with the Commission as if such person were a political committee. The reports filed by such person shall set forth the source of the funds used in carrying out any activity described in the preceding sentence in the same detail as if the funds were contributions within the meaning of section 301(e), and payments of such funds in the same detail as if they were expenditures within the meaning of section 301 (f). The provisions of this section do not apply to any publication or broadcast of the United States Government or to any news story, commentary, or editorial distributed through the facilities of a broadcasting station or a bona fide newspaper, magazine, or other periodical publication. A news story, commentary, or editorial is not considered to be distributed through a bona fide newspaper, magazine, or other periodical publication if-

"(1) such publication is primarily for distribution to individuals affiliated by membership or stock ownership with the person (other than an individual) distributing it or causing it to be distributed, and not primarily for purchase by the public at newsstands or by paid subscription; or

"(2) the news story, commentary, or editorial is distributed by a person (other than an individual) who devotes a substantial part of his activities to attempting to influence the outcome of elections, or to influence public opinion with respect to matters of national or State policy or concern.

## "CAMPAIGN DEPOSITORIES

"SEC. 309. (a) (1) Each candidate shall designate one or more national or State banks as his campaign depositories. The principal campaign committee of such candidate, and any other political committee authorized by him to receive contributions or to make expenditures on his behalf, shall maintain a checking account at a depository designated by the candidate and shall deposit any contributions received by such committee into such account. A candidate shall deposit any payment received by him under chapter 95 or chapter 97 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 in the account maintained by his principal campaign committee. No expenditure may be made by any such committee on behalf of a candidate or to influence his election except by check drawn on such account, other than petty cash expenditures as provided in subsection (b).

"(2) The treasurer of each political committee (other than a political committee authorized by a candidate to receive contributions or to make expenditures on his behalf) shall designate one or more national or State banks as campaign depositories of such committee, and shall maintain a checking account for the committee at each such depository. All contributions received by such committee shall be deposited in such accounts. No expenditure may be made by such committee except by check drawn on such accounts, other than petty cash expenditures as provided in subsection (b).

by check drawn on such accounts, other than petty cash expenditures as provided in subsection (b). "(b) A political committee may maintain a petty cash fund out of which it may make expenditures not in excess of \$100 to any person in connection with a single purchase or transaction. A record of petty cash disbursements shall be kept in accordance with requirements established by the Commission, and such statements and reports thereof shall be furnished to the Commission as it may require. "(c) A candidate for nomination for election, or for election, to the

"(c) A candidate for nomination for election, or for election, to the office of President of the United States may establish one such depository in each State, which shall be considered as his campaign depository for such State by his principal campaign committee and any other political committee authorized by him to receive contributions or to make expenditures on his behalf in such State, under rules prescribed by the Commission. The campaign depository of the candidate of a political party for election to the office of Vice President of the United States shall be the campaign depository designated by the candidate of such party for election to the office of President of the United States.

# "FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

"SEC. 310. (a) (1) There is established a commission to be known as the Federal Election Commission. The Commission is composed of the Secretary of the Senate and the Clerk of the House of Representatives, ex oflicio and without the right to vote, and 6 members appointed as follows:

"(A) 2 shall be appointed, with the confirmation of a majority of both Houses of the Congress, by the President pro tempore of the Senate upon the recommendations of the majority leader of

the Senate upon the recommendations of the majority reader of the Senate and the minority leader of the Senate; "(B) 2 shall be appointed, with the confirmation of a majority of both Houses of the Congress, by the Speaker of the House of Representatives, upon the recommendations of the majority leader

of the House and the minority leader of the House; and "(C) 2 shall be appointed, with the confirmation of a majority of both Houses of the Congress, by the President of the United States.

A member appointed under subparagraph (A), (B), or (C) shall not be affiliated with the same political party as the other member

appointed under such paragraph.
"(2) Members of the Commission shall serve for terms of 6 years,
except that of the members first appointed—
"(A) one of the members appointed under paragraph (1) (A) shall be appointed for a term ending on the April 30 first occurring more than 6 months after the date on which he is appointed;
"(B) one of the members appointed under paragraph (1)

(B) one of the members appointed under paragraph (1) (B) shall be appointed for a term ending 1 year after the April 30 on which the term of the member referred to in subparagraph (A) of this paragraph ends; "(C) one of the mar

of this paragraph ends; "(C) one of the members appointed under paragraph (1)(C) shall be appointed for a term ending 2 years thereafter; "(D) one of the members appointed under paragraph (1)(A) shall be appointed for a term ending 3 years thereafter; "(E) one of the members appointed under paragraph (1)(B) shall be appointed for a term ending 4 years thereafter; and "(F) one of the members appointed under paragraph (1)(C) shall be appointed for a term ending 5 years thereafter. An individual appointed to fill a vacancy occurring other than by the expiration of a term of office shall be appointed only for the unexpired term of the member he succeeds. Any vacancy occurring in the memberterm of the member he succeeds. Any vacancy occurring in the member-ship of the Commission shall be filled in the same manner as in the case

of the original appointment. "(3) Members shall be chosen on the basis of their maturity, expe-rience, integrity, impartiality, and good judgment and shall be chosen from among individuals who, at the time of their appointment, are not elected or appointed officers or employees in the executive, legislative,

elected or appointed officers or employees in the executive, legislative, or judicial branch of the Government of the United States. "(4) Members of the Commission (other than the Secretary of the Senate and the Clerk of the House of Representatives) shall receive compensation equivalent to the compensation paid at level IV of the Executive Schedule (5 U.S.C. 5315). "(5) The Commission shall elect a chairman and a vice chairman from among its members (other than the Secretary of the Senate and the Clerk of the House of Representatives) for a term of one year. No member may serve as chairman more often than once during any term of office to which he is appointed. The chairman and the vice chairman shall not be affiliated with the same political party. The vice chairman shall act as chairman in the absence or disability of the vice chairman shall act as chairman in the absence or disability of the chairman, or in the event of a vacancy in such office. "(b) The Commission shall administer, seek to obtain compliance

with, and formulate policy with respect to this Act and sections 608, 610, 611, 613, 614, 615, 616, and 617 of title 18, United States Code. The Commission has primary jurisdiction with respect to the civil enforcement of such provisions.

"(c) All decisions of the Commission with respect to the exercise of its duties and powers under the provisions of this title shall be made by a majority vote of the members of the Commission. A member of the Commission may not delegate to any person his vote or any decisionmaking authority or duty vested in the Commission by the

provisions of this title. "(d) The Commission shall meet at least once each month and also

st the call of any member. "(e) The Commission shall prepare written rules for the conduct of its activities, shall have an official seal which shall be judicially noticed, and shall have its principal office in or near the District of Columbia (but it may meet or exercise any of its powers anywhere in the United States).

"(f) (1) The Commission shall have a staff director and a general counsel who shall be appointed by the Commission. The staff director shall be paid at a rate not to exceed the rate of basic pay in effect for level IV of the Executive Schedule (5 U.S.C. 5315). The general counsel shall be paid at a rate not to exceed the rate of basic pay in effect for level V of the Executive Schedule (5 U.S.C. 5316). With the approval of the Commission, the staff director may appoint and fix the

approval of the Commission, the staff director may appoint and fix the pay of such additional personnel as he considers desirable.
"(2) With the approval of the Commission, the staff director may procure temporary and intermittent services to the same extent as is authorized by section 3109(b) of title 5, United States Code, but at rates for individuals not to exceed the daily equivalent of the annual rate of basic pay in effect for grade GS-15 of the General Schedule (5 U.S.C. 5332).
"(3) In carrying out its responsibilities under this Act, the Commission shall, to the fullest extent practicable, avail itself of the assistance, including personnel and facilities, of other agencies and departments may make available to the Commission

agencies and departments may make available to the Commission such personnel, facilities, and other assistance, with or without reimbursement, as the Commission may request.

#### "POWERS OF COMMISSION

Commission may prescribe; and such submission shall be made within such a reasonable period of time and under oath or other-

within shen a reasonable period of this and under out of out of out wise as the Commission may determine; "(2) to administer oaths or affirmations; "(3) to require by subpena, signed by the chairman or the vice chairman, the attendance and testimony of witnesses and the production of all documentary evidence relating to the execu-tion of its duties. tion of its duties;

"(4) in any proceeding or investigation, to order testimony to be taken by deposition before any person who is designated by the Commission and has the power to administer oaths and, in such instances, to compel testimony and the production of evidence in the same manner as authorized under paragraph (3) of

dence in the same manner as authorized under paragraph (5) of this subsection; "(5) to pay witnesses the same fees and mileage as are paid in like circumstances in the courts of the United States; "(6) to initiate (through civil proceedings for injunctive, declaratory, or other appropriate relief), defend, or appeal any civil action in the name of the Commission for the purpose of

enforcing the provisions of this Act, through its general counsel;

counsel;
"(7) to render advisory opinions under section 313;
"(8) to make, amend, and repeal such rules, pursuant to the provisions of chapter 5 of title 5, United States Code, as are necessary to carry out the provisions of this Act;
"(9) to formulate general policy with respect to the administration of this Act and sections 608, 610, 611, 613, 614, 615, 616, and 617 of title 18, United States Code;
"(10) to develop prescribed forms under section 311(a)(1); and

and

"(11) to conduct investigations and hearings expeditiously, to encourage voluntary compliance, and to report apparent violations to the appropriate law enforcement authorities.

"(b) Any United States district court within the jurisdiction of which any inquiry is carried on, may, upon petition by the Commission, in case of refusal to obey a subpena or order of the Commission issued under subsection (a) of this section, issue an order requiring compliance therewith. Any failure to obey the order of the court may be punished by the court as a contempt thereof.

"(c) No person shall be subject to civil liability to any person (other than the Commission or the United States) for disclosing information at the request of the Commission.

"(d)(1) Whenever the Commission submits any budget estimate or request to the President of the United States or the Office of Management and Budget, it shall concurrently transmit a copy of such estimate or request to the Congress.

"(2) Whenever the Commission submits any legislative recommendations, or testimony, or comments on legislation, requested by the Congress or by any Member of the Congress, to the President of the Congress or by any Member of the Congress, to the President of the United States or the Office of Management and Budget, it shall concurrently transmit a copy thereof to the Congress or to the Member requesting the same. No officer or agency of the United States shall have any authority to require the Commission to submit its legisla-tive recommendations, testimony, or comments on legislation, to any office or agency of the United States for approval, comments, or review, prior to the submission of such recommendations, testimony, or com-ments to the Congress ments to the Congress.

#### "REPORTS

"SEC. 312. The Commission shall transmit reports to the President of the United States and to each House of the Congress no later than March 31 of each year. Each such report shall contain a detailed statement with respect to the activities of the Commission in carrying out its duties under this title, together with recommendations for such legislative or other action as the Commission considers appropriate.

## "ADVISORY OPINIONS

"SEC. 313. (a) Upon written request to the Commission by any "SEC. 313. (a) Upon written request to the Commission by any individual holding Federal office, any candidate for Federal office, or any political committee, the Commission shall render an advisory opinion, in writing, within a reasonable time with respect to whether any specific transaction or activity by such individual, candidate, or political committee would constitute a violation of this Act, of chapter 95 or chapter 96 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954, or of section 608, 610, 611, 613, 614, 615, 616, or 617 of title 18, United States Code. "(b) Notwithstanding any other provision of law, any person with respect to whom an advisory opinion is rendered under subsection (a) who acts in good faith in accordance with the provisions and findings

of such advisory opinion shall be presumed to be in compliance with the provision of this Act, of chapter 95 or chapter 96 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954, or of section 608, 610, 611, 613, 614, 615, 616, or 617 of title 18, United States Code, with respect to which such advisory opinion is rendered.

"(c) Any request made under subsection (a) shall be made public by the Commission. The Commission shall, before rendering an advisory opinion with respect to such request, provide any interested party with an opportunity to transmit written comments to the Com-mission with respect to such request.

## "ENFORCEMENT

"SEC. 314. (a) (1) (A) Any person who believes a violation of this Act or of section 608, 610, 611, 613, 614, 615, 616, or 617 of title 18, United States Code, has occurred may file a complaint with the Commission.

"(B) In any case in which the Clerk of the House of Representatives or the Secretary of the Senate (who receive reports and statements as custodian for the Commission) has reason to believe a violation of this Act or section 608, 610, 611, 613, 614, 615, 616, or 617 of title 18, United States Code, has occurred, he shall refer such apparent violation to the Commission.

"(2) The Commission. "(2) The Commission, upon receiving any complaint under para-graph (1) (A), or a referral under paragraph (1) (B), or if it has reason to believe that any person has committed a violation of any such provision, shall notify the person involved of such apparent violation and shall-

"(A) report such apparent violation to the Attorney General;

or "(B) make an investigation of such apparent violation. "(3) Any investigation under paragraph (2) (B) shall be conducted expeditiously and shall include an investigation of reports and statements filed by any complainant under this title, if such complainant is a candidate. Any notification or investigation made under paragraph (2) shall not be made public by the Commission or by any other per-son without the written consent of the person receiving such notifica-tion or the person with respect to whom such investigation is made. "(4) The Commission shall, at the request of any person who receives notice of an apparent violation under paragraph (2), con-duct a hearing with respect to such apparent violation

duct a hearing with respect to such apparent violation. "(5) If the Commission determines, after investigation, that there

is reason to believe that any person has engaged, or is about to engage in any acts or practices which constitute or will constitute a violation of this Act, it may endeavor to correct such violation by informal methods of conference, conciliation, and persuasion. If the Commis-sion fails to correct the violation through informal methods, it may institute a civil action for relief, including a permanent or temporary injunction, restraining order, or any other appropriate order in the district court of the United States for the district in which the person against whom such action is brought is found, resides, or transacts business. Upon a proper showing that such person has engaged or is about to engage in such acts or practices, the court shall grant a per-

manent or temporary injunction, restraining order, or other order. "(6) The Commission shall refer apparent violations to the appro-priate law enforcement authorities to the extent that violations of provisions of chapter 29 of title 18, United States Code, are involved, or if the Commission is unable to correct apparent violations of this Act under the authority given it by paragraph (5), an if the Commission Act under the authority given it by paragraph (5), or if the Commis-sion determines that any such referral is appropriate.

"(7) Whenever in the judgment of the Commission, after affording due notice and an opportunity for a hearing, any person has engaged or is about to engage in any acts or practices which constitute or will constitute a violation of any provision of this Act or of section 608, 610, 611, 613, 614, 615, 616, or 617 of title 18, United States Code, upon request by the Commission the Attorney General on behalf of the United States shall institute a civil action for relief, including a permanent or temporary injunction, restraining order, or any other appropriate order in the district court of the United States for the district in which the person is found, resides, or transacts business. Upon a proper showing that such person has engaged or is about to engage in such acts or practices, a permanent or temporary injunction, restraining order, or other order shall be granted without bond by such court

ing order, or other order shall be granted without bond by such court. "(8) In any action brought under paragraph (5) or (7) of this subsection, subpenas for witnesses who are required to attend a United States district court may run into any other district.

States district court may run into any other district. "(9) Any party aggrieved by an order granted under paragraph (5) or (7) of this subsection may, at any time within 60 days after the date of entry thereof, file a petition with the United States court of appeals for the circuit in which such order was issued for judicial review of such order.

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

"(11) Any action brought under this subsection shall be advanced on the docket of the court in which filed, and put ahead of all other actions (other than other actions brought under this subsection or under section 315).

"(b) In any case in which the Commission refers an apparent violation to the Attorney General, the Attorney General shall respond by report to the Commission with respect to any action taken by the Attorney General regarding such apparent violation. Each report shall be transmitted no later than 60 days after the date the Commission refers any apparent violation, and at the close of every 30-day period thereafter until there is final disposition of such apparent violation. The Commission may from time to time prepare and publish reports on the status of such referrals.

#### "JUDICIAL REVIEW

"SEC. 315. (a) The Commission, the national committee of any political party, or any individual eligible to vote in any election for the office of President of the United States may institute such actions in the appropriate district court of the United States, including actions for declaratory judgment, as may be appropriate to construe the constitutionality of any provision of this Act or of section 608, 610, 611, 613, 614, 615, 616, or 617 of title 18, United States Code. The district court immediately shall certify all questions of constitutionality of this Act or of section 608, 610, 611, 613, 614, 615, 616, or 617 of title 18, United States Code to the United States court of appeals for the circuit involved, which shall hear the matter sitting en banc. "(b) Notwithstanding any other provision of law any decision on

"(b) Notwithstanding any other provision of law, any decision on a matter certified under subsection (a) shall be reviewable by appeal directly to the Supreme Court of the United States. Such appeal shall be brought no later than 20 days after the decision of the court of appeals.

"(c) It shall be the duty of the court of appeals and of the Supreme Court of the United States to advance on the docket and to expedite to the greatest possible extent the disposition of any matter certified under subsection (a).".

(b) Until the appointment and qualification of all the members of the Federal Election Commission and its general counsel and until the transfer provided for in this subsection, the Comptroller General, the Secretary of the Senate, and the Clerk of the House of Representatives shall continue to carry out their responsibilities under title I and title III of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 as such titles existed on the day before the date of enactment of this Act. Upon the appointment of all the members of the Commission and its general counsel, the Comptroller General, the Secretary of the Senate, and the Clerk of the House of Representatives shall meet with the Com-mission and arrange for the transfer, within 30 days after the date on which all such members and the general counsel are appointed, of copies of all appropriate records, documents, memorandums, and other papers associated with carrying out their responsibilities under title I and title III of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 and chapter 95 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954.

(c) Title III of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 is amended

(1) by amending section 301(g), relating to definitions, to read as follows:

(g) 'Commission' means the Federal Election Commission;' (2) by striking out "supervisory officer" in section 302(d) and inserting in lieu thereof "Commission";

(3) by amending section 303, relating to registration of political committees; statements-

(A) by striking out "supervisory officer" each time it appears therein and inserting in lieu thereof "Commission";

(B) by striking out "he" in the second sentence of sub-section (a) of such section and inserting in lieu thereof "it"; (4) by amending section 304, relating to reports by political committees and candidates—

(4) by amending section 304, relating to reports by pointcat committees and candidates—

(A) by striking out "appropriate supervisory officer" and "him" in the first sentence thereof and inserting in lieu thereof "Commission" and "it", respectively; and
(B) by striking out "supervisory officer" where it appears in paragraphs (12) and (13) of subsection (b) and inserting in lieu thereof "Commission";
(5) by striking out "supervisory officer" each place it appears in section 306, relating to formal requirements respecting reports and statements, and inserting in lieu thereof "Commission";
(6) by striking out "Comptroller General of the United States" and "he" in section 307, relating to reports on convention financing, and inserting in lieu thereof "Federal Election Commission" and "it", respectively;
(7) by amending the heading for section 316 (as redesignated by subsection (a) of this section), relating to duties of the supervisory officer" in section 316(a) (as redesignated by subsection (a) of this section (a) of this section) the first time it appears in the section is the supervisory officer.

redesignated by subsection (a) of this section) the first time it appears and inserting in lieu thereof "Commission";

9) by amending section 316(a) (as redesignated by subsection (a) of this section)

(A) by striking out "him" in paragraph (1) and inserting in lieu thereof "it"; and

(B) by striking out "him" in paragraph (4) and inserting in lieu thereof "it"; and
(10) by amending subsection (c) of section 316 (as redesignated

by subsection (a) of this section)— (A) by striking out "Comptroller General" each place it

(A) by striking out "Comptroller General" each place it appears therein and inserting in lieu thereof "Commission" and striking out "his" in the second sentence of such subsection and inserting in lieu thereof "its"; and
(B) by striking out the last sentence thereof; and
(1) by striking out "a commission" from "in section 217(1)

(11) by striking out the last sentence thereof; and (11) by striking out "a supervisory officer" in section 317(a) of such Act (as redesignated by subsection (a) of this Act) and inserting in lieu thereof "the Commission".

#### DUTIES AND REGULATIONS

SEC. 209. (a) (1) Section 316(a) of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 (as redesignated and amended by section 208(a) of this Act), relating to duties of the Commission, is amended by strik-ing out paragraphs (6), (7), (8), (9), and (10), and by redesignating paragraphs (11), (12), and (13) as paragraphs (8), (9), and (10), respectively, and by inserting immediately after paragraph (5) the following new paragraphs: following new paragraphs:

"(6) to compile and maintain a cumulative index of reports and statements filed with it, which shall be published in the Federal Register at regular intervals and which shall be available for

purchase directly or by mail for a reasonable price; "(7) to prepare and publish from time to time special reports listing those candidates for whom reports were filed as required by this title and those candidates for whom such reports were not

filed as so required;". (2) Notwithstanding section 308(a)(7) of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 (relating to an annual report by the supervisory officer), as in effect on the day before the effective date of the amend-ments made by paragraph (1) of this subsection, no such annual report shall be required with respect to any calendar year beginning after December 31, 1972.

(b) (1) Section 316(a) (10) of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 (as so redesignated by subsection (a) of this section), relating to the prescription of rules and regulations, is amended by insert-ing before the period at the end thereof the following: ", in accordance with the provisions of subsection (c)". (2) Such section 316 is amended—

(A) by striking out subsection (b) and subsection (d); by redesignating subsection (c) as subsection (b); and
(B) by adding at the end thereof the following new sub-

sections: "(c) (1) The Commission, before prescribing any rule or regula-tion under this section, shall transmit a statement with respect to

such rule or regulation to the Senate or the House of Representatives, as the case may be, in accordance with the provisions of this subsection. Such statement shall set forth the proposed rule or regulation and shall contain a detailed explanation and justification of such rule or regulation.

"(2) If the appropriate body of the Congress which receives a state-ment from the Commission under this subsection does not, through appropriate action, disapprove the proposed rule or regulation set forth in such statement no later than 30 legislative days after receipt of such statement, then the Commission mere properties such that are a receipt of such statement, then the Commission may prescribe such rule or regulation. In the case of any rule or regulation proposed to deal with reports or

(B) by striking out "him" in paragraph (4) and inserting in lieu thereof "it"; and
(10) by amending subsection (c) of section 316 (as redesignated by subsection (a) of this section)—

(A) by striking out "Comptroller General" each place it appears therein and inserting in lieu thereof "Commission" and striking out "his" in the second sentence of such subsection and inserting in lieu thereof "its": and tion and inserting in lieu thereof "its"; and (B) by striking out the last sentence thereof; and

(11) by striking out the last sentence thereof, and (11) by striking out "a supervisory officer" in section 317(a) of such Act (as redesignated by subsection (a) of this Act) and inserting in lieu thereof "the Commission".

#### DUTIES AND REGULATIONS

SEC. 209. (a) (1) Section 316(a) of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 (as redesignated and amended by section 208(a) of this Act), relating to duties of the Commission, is amended by striking out paragraphs (6), (7), (8), (9), and (10), and by redesignating paragraphs (11), (12), and (13) as paragraphs (8), (9), and (10), respectively, and by inserting immediately after paragraph (5) the following new paragraphs: following new paragraphs:

"(6) to compile and maintain a cumulative index of reports and statements filed with it, which shall be published in the Federal Register at regular intervals and which shall be available for

purchase directly or by mail for a reasonable price; "(7) to prepare and publish from time to time special reports listing those candidates for whom reports were filed as required by this title and those candidates for whom such reports were not

by this three and those candidates for whom such reports were not filed as so required;".
(2) Notwithstanding section 308(a)(7) of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 (relating to an annual report by the supervisory officer), as in effect on the day before the effective date of the amendments made by paragraph (1) of this subsection, no such annual report shall be required with respect to any calendar year beginning after December 21, 1070 December 31, 1972.

(b) (1) Section 316(a) (10) of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 (as so redesignated by subsection (a) of this section), relating to the prescription of rules and regulations, is amended by insert-ing before the period at the end thereof the following: ", in accordance with the provisions of subsection (c)". (2) Such section 316 is amended—

(A) by striking out subsection (b) and subsection (d); by redesignating subsection (c) as subsection (b); and
(B) by adding at the end thereof the following new sub-

sections "(c) (1) The Commission, before prescribing any rule or regula-tion under this section, shall transmit a statement with respect to

such rule or regulation to the Senate or the House of Representatives, as the case may be, in accordance with the provisions of this subsection. Such statement shall set forth the proposed rule or regulation and shall contain a detailed explanation and justification of such rule or regulation.

"(2) If the appropriate body of the Congress which receives a state-ment from the Commission under this subsection does not, through appropriate action, disapprove the proposed rule or regulation set forth in such statement no later than 30 legislative days after receipt of such statement than the Commission with receipt of such statement, then the Commission may prescribe such rule or regulation. In the case of any rule or regulation proposed to deal with reports or

statements required to be filed under this title by a candidate for the office of President of the United States, and by political committees supporting such a candidate both the Senate and the House of Representatives shall have the power to disapprove such proposed rule or regulation. The Commission may not prescribe any rule or regulation which is disapproved under this paragraph. "(3) If the Commission proposes to prescribe any rule or regulation

dealing with reports or statements required to be filed under this title by a candidate for the office of Senator, and by political committees supporting such candidate, it shall transmit such statement to the Senate. If the Commission proposes to prescribe any rule or regulation dealing with reports or statements required to be filed under this title by a candidate for the office of Representative, Delegate, or Resident Commissioner, and by political committees supporting such candidate, it shall transmit such statement to the House of Representatives. If the Commission proposes to prescribe any rule or regulation dealing with reports or statements required to be filed under this title by a candidate for the office of President of the United States, and by political committees supporting such candidate it shall transmit such statement to the House of Representatives and the Senate. "(4) For purposes of this subsection, the term 'legislative days'

does not include, with respect to statements transmitted to the Senate, any calendar day on which the Senate is not in session, and with respect to statements transmitted to the House of Representatives, any calendar day on which the House of Representatives is not in session, and with respect to statements transmitted to both such bodies, any calendar day on which both Houses of the Congress are not in session.

"(d) (1) The Commission shall prescribe suitable rules and regula-tions to carry out the provisions of this title, including such rules and

tions to carry out the provisions of this title, including such rules and regulations as may be necessary to require that— "(A) reports and statements required to be filed under this title by a candidate for the office of Representative in, or Dele-gate or Resident Commissioner to, the Congress of the United States, and by political committees supporting such candidate, shall be received by the Clerk of the House of Representatives as custodian for the Commission; "(B) reports and statements required to be filed under this title by a candidate for the office of Senator and by political

title by a candidate for the office of Senator, and by political committees supporting such candidate, shall be received by the

Secretary of the Senate as custodian for the Commission; and "(C) the Clerk of the House of Representatives and the Sec-retary of the Senate, as custodians for the Commission, each shall retary of the Senate, as custodians for the Commission, each shall make the reports and statements received by him available for public inspection and copying in accordance with paragraph (4) of subsection (a), and preserve such reports and statements in accordance with paragraph (5) of subsection (a). "(2) It shall be the duty of the Clerk of the House of Representa-tives and the Secretary of the Senate to cooperate with the Commission in carrying out its duties under this Act and to furnish such services and facilities as may be required in accordance with this section."

#### MISCELLANEOUS PROVISIONS

SEC. 210. Title III of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 is amended by inserting immediately after section 317 (as so redesig-nated by section 208(a) of this Act) the following new sections:

#### "USE OF CONTRIBUTED AMOUNTS FOR CERTAIN PURPOSES

"SEC. 318. Amounts received by a candidate as contributions that are in excess of any amount necessary to defray his expenditures, and any other amounts contributed to an individual for the purpose of supporting his activities as a holder of Federal office, may be used by such candidate or individual, as the case may be, to defray any ordinary and necessary expenses incurred by him in connection with his duties as a holder of Federal office, may be contributed by him to any organization described in section 170(c) of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954, or may be used for any other lawful purpose. To the extent any such contribution, amount contributed, or expenditure thereof is not otherwise required to be disclosed under the provisions of this title, such contribution, amount contributed, or expenditure shall be fully disclosed in accordance with rules promulgated by the Commission. The Commission is authorized to prescribe such rules as may be necessary to carry out the provisions of this section.

# "PROHIBITION OF FRANKED SOLICITATIONS

"SEC. 319. No Senator, Representative, Resident Commissioner, or Delegate shall make any solicitations of funds by a mailing under the frank under section 3210 of title 39, United States Code.

## "AUTHORIZATION OF APPROPRIATIONS

"SEC. 320. There are authorized to be appropriated to the Commission for the purpose of carrying out its functions under this Act, and under chapters 95 and 96 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954, not to exceed \$5,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1975.".

## TITLE III—GENERAL PROVISIONS

## EFFECT ON STATE LAW

SEC. 301. Section 403 of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, relating to effect on State law, is amended to read as follows:

#### "EFFECT ON STATE LAW

"SEC. 403. The provisions of this Act, and of rules prescribed under this Act, supersede and preempt any provision of State law with respect to election to Federal office.".

#### PERIOD OF LIMITATIONS; ENFORCEMENT

SEC. 302. Title IV of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, relating to general provisions, is amended by redesignating section 406 as section 408 and by inserting immediately after section 405 the following new sections:

#### "PERIOD OF LIMITATIONS

"SEC. 406. (a) No person shall be prosecuted, tried, or punished for any violation of title III of this Act or of section 608, 610, 611, 613, 614, 615, 616, or 617 of title 18, United States Code, unless the indictment is found or the information is instituted within 3 years after the date of the violation.

"(b) Notwithstanding any other provision of law-

"(1) the period of limitations referred to in subsection (a) shall apply with respect to violations referred to in such subsection committed before, on, or after the effective date of this section; and

"(2) no criminal proceeding shall be instituted against any person for any act or omission which was a violation of any provision of title III of this Act, or section 608, 610, 611, or 613 of title 18, United States Code, as in effect on December 31, 1974, if such act or omission does not constitute a violation of any such provision, as amended by the Federal Election Campaign Act Amendments of 1974.

Nothing in this subsection shall affect any proceeding pending in any court of the United States on the effective date of this section.

#### "ADDITIONAL ENFORCEMENT AUTHORITY

"SEC. 407. (a) In any case in which the Commission, after notice and opportunity for a hearing on the record in accordance with sec-tion 554 of title 5, United States Code, makes a finding that a person who, while a candidate for Federal office, failed to file a report required by title III of this Act, and such finding is made before the expiration of the time within which the failure to file such report may be prosecuted as a violation of such title III, such person shall be dis-qualified from becoming a candidate in any future election for Federal office for a period of time beginning on the date of such finding and ending one year after the expiration of the term of the Federal office for which such person was a candidate. "(b) Any finding by the Commission under subsection (a) shall be

subject to judicial review in accordance with the provisions of chapter 7 of title 5, United States Code.".

## TITLE IV-AMENDMENTS TO OTHER LAWS; EFFECTIVE DATES

#### POLITICAL ACTIVITIES BY STATE AND LOCAL OFFICERS AND EMPLOYEES

SEO. 401. (a) Section 1502(a) (3) of title 5, United States Code (relating to influencing elections, taking part in political campaigns, prohibitions, exceptions), is amended to read as follows:
"(3) be a candidate for elective office.".
(b) (1) Section 1503 of title 5, United States Code, relating to non-partisan political activity, is amended to read as follows:

"§ 1503. Nonpartisan candidacies permitted

"Section 1502(a) (3) of this title does not prohibit any State or local officer or employee from being a candidate in any election if none of the candidates is to be nominated or elected at such election as representing a party any of whose candidates for Presidential elector received votes in the last preceding election at which Presidential electors were selected."

(2) The table of sections for chapter 15 of title 5, United States Code, is amended by striking out the item relating to section 1503 and inserting in lieu thereof the following new item:

## "1503. Nonpartisan candidacies permitted.".

(c) Section 1501 of title 5, United States Code, relating to definitions, is amended-

(1) by striking out paragraph (5);

(2) in paragraph (3) thereof, by inserting "and" immediately after "Federal Reserve System;" and
(3) in paragraph (4) thereof, by striking out "; and" and inserting in lieu thereof a period.

## REPEAL OF COMMUNICATIONS MEDIA EXPENDITURE LIMITATIONS

SEC. 402. (a) Section 315 of the Communications Act of 1934 (relating to candidates for public office; facilities; rules) is amended by striking out subsections (c), (d), and (e), and by redesignating subsections (f) and (g) as subsections (c) and (d), respectively. (b) Section 315(c) of such Act (as so redesignated by subsection (a) of this section), relating to definitions, is amended to read as

follows:

"(c) For purposes of this section— "(1) the term 'broadcasting station' includes a community antenna television system; and "(2) the terms 'licensee' and 'station licensee' when used with

respect to a community antenna television system mean the operator of such system.".

#### APPROPRIATIONS TO CAMPAIGN FUND

SEC. 403. (a) Section 9006(a) of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954

(relating to establishment of campaign fund) is amended—
(1) by striking out "as provided by appropriation Acts" and inserting in lieu thereof "from time to time"; and
(2) by adding at the end thereof the following new sentence:

"There is appropriated to the fund for each fiscal year, out of amounts in the general fund of the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, an amount equal to the amounts so designated during each fiscal year, which shall remain available to the fund without fiscal year limitation.".

(b) In addition to the amounts appropriated to the Presidential.
(b) In addition to the amounts appropriated to the Presidential.
Election Campaign Fund established under section 9006 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 (relating to payments to eligible candidates) by the last sentence of subsection (a) of such section (as amended by subsection (a) of this section), there is appropriated to such fund an amount equal to the sum of the amounts designated for payment under section 6096 of such Code (relating to designation by individuals to the Presidential Election Campaign Fund) before January 1, 1975, not otherwise taken into account under the provisions of such section 9006, as amended by this section. tion 9006, as amended by this section.

#### ENTITLEMENTS OF ELIGIBLE CANDIDATES TO PAYMENTS FROM PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION CAMPAIGN FUND

SEC. 404. (a) Subsection (a) (1) of section 9004 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 (relating to entitlement of eligible candidates to payments) is amended to read as follows: "(1) The eligible candidates of each major party in a presiden-

tial election shall be entitled to equal payments under section 9006 in an amount which, in the aggregate, shall not exceed the

(b) (1) Subsection (a) (2) (A) of section 9004 of such Code (relating to entitlement of eligible candidates to payments) is amended by striking out "computed" and inserting in lieu thereof "allowed".

(2) The first sentence of subsection (a)(3) of section 9004 of such Code (relating to entitlement of eligible candidates to payments) is amended by striking out "computed" and inserting in lieu thereof 'allowed"

(c) (1) Section 9002(3) of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 (relating to the definition of "Comptroller General") is amended to read as follows

"(3) The term 'Commission' means the Federal Election Commission established by section 310(a)(1) of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971.".

(2) Section 9002(1) of such Code (relating to the definition of "authorized committee") is amended by striking out "Comptroller General" and inserting in lieu thereof "Commission".

(3) The third sentence of section 9002(11) of such Code (relating to the definition of "qualified campaign expense") is amended by striking out "Comptroller General" and inserting in lieu thereof "Commission".

(4) Section 9003(a) of such Code (relating to condition for eligibil-

(1) Section Social of such Code (relating to condition for engine ity for payments) is amended—

(A) by striking out "Comptroller General" each place it appears therein and inserting in lieu thereof "Commission"; and
(B) by striking out "he" each place it appears therein and inserting in lieu thereof "it".

(5) Section 2002(th) of such Code (relating to condition for engine partice) and

(5) Section 9003(b) of such Code (relating to major parties) and section 9003(c) of such Code (relating to minor and new parties) each are amended by striking out "Comptroller General" each place it appears therein and inserting in lieu thereof "Commission".

(6) The heading for section 9005 of such Code (relating to certifica-tion by Comptroller General) is amended by striking out "COMP-TROLLER GENERAL" and inserting in lieu thereof "COMMIS-SION

(7) Section 9005(b) of such Code (relating to finality of certifica-

(7) Section 9005(b) of such Code (relating to finality of certifications and determinations) is amended—

(A) by striking out "Comptroller General" each place it appears therein and inserting in lieu thereof "Commission"; and
(B) by striking out "him" and inserting in lieu thereof "it".
(8) Section 9006(c) of such Code (relating to payments from the fund) and section 9006(d) of such Code (relating to insufficient amounts in fund) each are amended by striking out "Comptroller General" each place it appears therein and inserting in lieu thereof "Commission". "Commission"

(9) Section 9007(a) of such Code (relating to examinations and audits) is amended by striking out "Comptroller General" and inserting in lieu thereof "Commission".
(10) Section 9007(b) of such Code (relating to repayments) is amended

amended-

(A) by striking out "Comptroller General" each place it appears therein and inserting in lieu thereof "Commission"; and

(B) by striking out "he" each place it appears therein and

(11) Section 9007(c) of such Code (relating to notification) is amended by striking out "Comptroller General" and inserting in lieu thereof "Commission".
(12) Section 9007(c) of such Code (relating to notification) is a mended by striking out "Comptroller General" and inserting in lieu thereof "Commission".

(12) Section 9009(a) of such Code (relating to reports) is amended-

(A) by striking out "Comptroller General" each place it appears therein and inserting in lieu thereof "Commission"; and
(B) by striking out "him" and inserting in lieu thereof "it".

(13) Section 9009(b) of such Code (relating to regulations, etc.) is amended-

(A) by striking out "Comptroller General" and inserting in lieu thereof "Commission";

(B) by striking out "he" and inserting in lieu thereof "it"; and

(C) by striking out "him" and inserting in lieu thereof "it". The heading for section 9010 of such Code (relating to par-(14) ticipation by Comptroller General in judicial proceedings) is amended by striking out "COMPTROLLER GENERAL" and inserting in lieu thereof "COMMISSION".

(15) Section 9010(a) of such Code (relating to appearance by counsel) is amended-

(A) by striking out "Comptroller General" and inserting in lieu thereof "Commission";

(B) by striking out "his" and inserting in lieu thereof "its"; and

(C) by striking out "he" each place it appears therein and inserting in lieu thereof "it".

(16) Section 9010(b) of such Code (relating to recovery of certain payments) is amended by striking out "Comptroller General" and inserting in lieu thereof "Commission". (17) Section 9010(c) of such Code (relating to declaratory and injunctive relief) is amended by striking out "Comptroller General"

each place it appears therein and inserting in lieu thereof "Commission

(18) Section 9010(d) of such Code (relating to appeal) is amended by striking out "Comptroller General" and inserting in lieu thereof "Commission" and by striking out "he" and inserting in lieu thereof "it"

(19) The heading for subsection (a) of section 9011 of such Code (relating to review of certification, determination, or other action by the Comptroller General) is amended by striking out "ComptrolLER GENERAL" and inserting in lieu thereof "Commission".

(20) Section 9011(a) of such Code, as amended by paragraph (19) (relating to review of certification, determination, or other action by the Commission) is amended by striking out "Comptrollor General" each place it appears therein and inserting in heu thereof "Commission".

(21) Section 9011(b) of such Code, (relating to suits to implement chapter) is amended by striking out "Comptroller General" and inserting in lieu thereof "Commission".
(22) Section 9012(d) (1) of such Code (relating to false statements, the inserted of the statement of the st

etc.) is amended-

(A) by striking out "Comptroller General" each place it appears therein and inserting in lieu thereof "Commission"; and
(B) by striking out "him" and inserting in lieu thereof "it".

#### CERTIFICATION FOR PAYMENT BY COMMISSION

SEC. 405. (a) Section 9005(a) of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 (relating to initial certifications for eligibility for payments) is amended to read as follows:

"(a) INITIAL CERTIFICATIONS.—Not later than 10 days after the candidates of a political party for President and Vice President of the United States have met all applicable conditions for eligibility to receive payments under this chapter set forth in section 9003, the Commission shall certify to the Secretary for payment to such eligible candidates under section 9006 payment in full of amounts to which such candidates are entitled under section 9004.".

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(b) Section 9003(a) of such Code (relating to general conditions for eligibility for payments) is amended—
(1) by striking out "with respect to which payment is sought"

in paragraph (1) and inserting in lieu thereof "of such candidates"

(2) by inserting "and" at the end of paragraph (2);
(3) by striking out ", and" at the end of paragraph (3) and inserting in lieu thereof a period; and

(4) by striking out paragraph (4).

#### FINANCING OF PRESIDENTIAL NOMINATING CONVENTIONS

SEC. 406. (a) Chapter 95 of subtitle H of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 (relating to the presidential election campaign fund) is amended by striking out section 9008 (relating to information on pro-posed expenses) and inserting in lieu thereof the following new section:

"SEC. 9008. PAYMENTS FOR PRESIDENTIAL NOMINATING CONVEN-TIONS.

"(a) ESTABLISHMENT OF ACCOUNTS .- The Secretary shall maintain in the fund, in addition to any account which he maintains under section 9006 (a), a separate account for the national committee of each major party and minor party. The Secretary shall deposit in each such account an amount equal to the amount which each such committee may receive under subsection (b). Such deposits shall be drawn from amounts designated by individuals under section 6096 and shall be for any transfer is made to any account for any and shall be made before any transfer is made to any account for any

and shall be made before any transfer is made to any account for any eligible candidate under section 9006 (a).
"(b) ENTITLEMENT TO PAYMENTS FROM THE FUND.—
"(1) MAJOR PARTIES.—Subject to the provisions of this section, the national committee of a major party shall be entitled to payments under paragraph (3), with respect to any presidential nominating convention, in amounts which, in the aggregate, shall not exceed \$2000,000 exceed \$2,000,000.

"(2) MINOR PARTIES .- Subject to the provisions of this section, the national committee of a minor party shall be entitled to pay-ments under paragraph (3), with respect to any presidential nom-inating convention, in amounts which, in the aggregate, shall not exceed an amount which bears the same ratio to the amount the national committee of a major party is entitled to receive under paragraph (1) as the number of popular votes received by the candidate for President of the minor party, as such candidate, in the preceding presidential election bears to the average number of popular votes received by the candidates for President of the United States of the major parties in the preceding presidential election.

(3) PAYMENTS.—Upon receipt of certification from the Com-mission under subsection (g), the Secretary shall make payments from the appropriate account maintained under subsection (a) to the national committee of a major party or minor party which elects to receive its entitlement under this subsection. Such pay-ments shall be available for use by such committee in accordance with the provisions of subsection (c). "(4) LIMITATION.—Payments to the national committee of a

major party or minor party under this subsection from the account designated for such committee shall be limited to the amounts in such account at the time of payment.

"(5) ADJUSTMENT OF ENTITLEMENTS.—The entitlements estab-(5) ADJUSTMENT OF ENTITLEMENTS.—The entitlements established by this subsection shall be adjusted in the same manner as expenditure limitations established by section 608(c) and section 608(f) of title 18, United States Code, are adjusted pursuant to the provisions of section 608(d) of such title.
(c) Use of FUNDS.—No part of any payment made under subsection (b) shall be used to defray the expenses of any candidate or delegate who is participating in any presidential nominating convention. Such payments shall be used only—
(1) to defray expenses incurred with respect to a presidential

(1) to defray expenses incurred with respect to a presidential nominating convention (including the payment of deposits) by or on behalf of the national committee receiving such payments; or

"(2) to repay loans the proceeds of which were used to defray such expenses, or otherwise to restore funds (other than contri butions to defray such expenses received by such committee) used to defray such expenses.

"(d) LIMITATION OF EXPENDITURES.— "(1) MAJOR PARTIES.—Except as provided by paragraph (3), the national committee of a major party may not make expenditures with respect to a presidential nominating convention which,

in the aggregate, exceed the amount of payments to which such committee is entitled under subsection (b) (1). "(2) MINOR PARTIES.—Except as provided by paragraph (3), the national committee of a minor party may not make expendi-tures with respect to a presidential nominating convention which, in the aggregate exceed the amount of the entitlement of the in the aggregate, exceed the amount of the entitlement of the national committee of a major party under subsection (b) (1). "(3) EXCEPTION.—The Commission may authorize the national

committee of a major party or minor party to make expenditures which, in the aggregate, exceed the limitation established by paragraph (1) or paragraph (2) of this subsection. Such authoriza-tion shall be based upon a determination by the Commission that, due to extraordinary and unforeseen circumstances, such expenditures are necessary to assure the effective operation of the presi-

dential nominating convention by such committee. "(e) AVAILABILITY OF PAYMENTS.—The national committee of a major party or minor party may receive payments under subsection (b) (3) beginning on July 1 of the calendar year immediately preced-ing the calendar year in which a presidential nominating convention of the political party involved is held. "(f) TRANSFER TO THE FUND.—If, after the close of a presidential

nominating convention and after the national committee of the politi-cal party involved has been paid the amount which it is entitled to receive under this section, there are moneys remaining in the account of such national committee, the Secretary shall transfer the moneys so remaining to the fund. "(g) CERTIFICATION BY COMMISSION.—Any major party or minor

party may file a statement with the Commission in such form and manner and at such times as it may require, designating the national com-mittee of such party. Such statement shall include the information required by section 303(b) of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, together with such additional information as the Commission may require. Upon receipt of a statement filed under the preceding sentences, the Commission promptly shall verify such statement according to such procedures and criteria as it may establish and shall certify to the Secretary for payment in full to any such committee of amounts to which such committee may be entitled under subsection (b). Such certifications shall be subject to an examination and audit which the Commission shall conduct no later than December 31 of the calen-

## S. 3044---34

dar year in which the presidential nominating convention involved is

held. "(h) REPAYMENTS.—The Commission shall have the same authority to require repayments from the national committee of a major party commission of the same authority of the same authority and the same authority of the

to require repayments from the hardonal committee of a major party or a minor party as it has with respect to repayments from any eligible candidate under section 9007(b). The provisions of section 9007(c) and section 9007(d) shall apply with respect to any repayment required by the Commission under this subsection.". (b) (1) Section 9009(a) of such Code (relating to reports) is amended by striking out "and" in paragraph (2) thereof; by striking out the period at the end of paragraph (3) thereof and inserting in lieu thereof "; and"; and by adding at the end thereof the following new paragraphs: new paragraphs:

"(4) the expenses incurred by the national committee of a major party or minor party with respect to a presidential nominating convention;

"(5) the amounts certified by it under section 9008(g) for pay-

ment to each such committee; and "(6) the amount of payments, if any, required from such com-mittees under section 9008(h), and the reasons for each such payment."

payment.".
(2) The heading for section 9012(a) of such Code (relating to excess campaign expenses) is amended by striking out "CAMPAIGN".
(3) Section 9012(a)(1) by such Code (relating to excess expenses) is amended by adding at the end thereof the following new sentence: "It shall be unlawful for the national committee of a major party or minor party knowingly and willfully to incur expenses with respect to a providential manipulation in avers of the overall turn." to a presidential nominating convention in excess of the expenditure limitation applicable with respect to such committee under section 9008(d), unless the incurring of such expenses is authorized by the Commission under section 9008(d) (3).".
(4) Section 9012(c) of such Code (relating to unlawful use of pay-

ments) is amended by redesignating paragraph (2) as paragraph (3) and by inserting immediately after paragraph (1) the following new

paragraph: "(2) It shall be unlawful for the national committee of a major party or minor party which receives any payment under section 9008(b)(3) to use, or authorize the use of, such payment for any

purpose other than a purpose authorized by section 9008(c).". (5) Section 9012(e)(1) of such Code (relating to kickbacks and illegal payments) is amended by adding at the end thereof the follow-ing new sentence: "It shall be unlawful for the national committee of a major party or minor party knowingly and willfully to give or accept any kickback or any illegal payment in connection with any expense incurred by such committee with respect to a presidential nominating convention.'

nominating convention.". (6) Section 9012(e)(3) of such Code (relating to kickbacks and illegal payments) is amended by inserting immediately after "their authorized committees" the following: ", or in connection with any expense incurred by the national committee of a major party or minor party with respect to a presidential nominating convention.". (c) The table of sections for chapter 95 of subtitle H of such Code (relating to the presidential election campaign fund) is amended by striking out the item relating to section 9008 and inserting in lieu thereof the following new item:

thereof the following new item:

"SEC. 9008. Payments for presidential nominating conventions.".

(d) Section 276 of such Code (relating to certain indirect contributions to political parties) is amended by striking out subsection (c) and by redesignating subsection (d) as subsection (c).

#### TAX RETURNS BY POLITICAL COMMITTEES

SEC. 407. Section 6012(a) of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 (relating to persons required to make returns of income) is amended by adding at the end thereof the following new sentence: "The Secretary or his delegate shall, by regulation, exempt from the requirement of making returns under this section any political committee (as defined in section 301(d) of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971) having no gross income for the taxable year.".

#### PRESIDENTIAL PRIMARY MATCHING PAYMENT ACCOUNT

SEC. 408. (a) The analysis of subtitles at the beginning of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 is amended by adding at the end thereof the following:

"Subtitle H. Financing of Presidential election campaigns.".

(b) The analysis of chapters at the beginning of subtitle H of such Code is amended by striking out the item relating to chapter 96 and inserting in lieu thereof the following:

'Chapter 96. Presidential Primary Matching Payment Account.".

(c) Subtitle H of such Code is amended by striking out chapter 96, relating to Presidential Election Campaign Fund Advisory Board, and inserting in lieu thereof the following new chapter:

# **"CHAPTER 96—PRESIDENTIAL PRIMARY** MATCHING PAYMENT ACCOUNT

"Sec. 9031. Short title.
"Sec. 9032. Definitions.
"Sec. 9033. Eligibility for payments.
"Sec. 9034. Entitlement of eligible candidates to payments.
"Sec. 9035. Qualified campaign expense limitation.
"Sec. 9036. Certification by Commission.
"Sec. 9037. Payments to eligible candidates.
"Sec. 9038. Examinations and audits; repayments.
"Sec. 9039. Reports to Congress; regulations.
"Sec. 9040. Participation by Commission in judicial proceedings.
"Sec. 9041. Judicial review.
"Sec. 9042. Criminal penalties.
"Sec. 9042. Graminations and subject of the section of the

"SEC. 9031. SHORT TITLE.

"This chapter may be cited as the 'Presidential Primary Matching Payment Account Act'.

"SEC. 9032. DEFINITIONS.

"For PURPOSES OF THIS CHAPTER-"(1) The term 'authorized committee' means, with respect to the candidates of a political party for President and Vice Presi-dent of the United States, any political committee which is author-ized in writing by such candidates to incur expenses to further the election of such candidates. Such authorization shall be addressed to the chairman of such political committee and a conv addressed to the chairman of such political committee, and a copy of such authorization shall be filed by such candidates with the Commission. Any withdrawal of any authorization shall also be in writing and shall be addressed and filed in the same manner as

the authorization. "(2) The term 'candidate' means an individual who seeks nom-ination for election to be President of the United States. For purposes of this paragraph, an individual shall be considered to

seek nomination for election if he (A) takes the action necessary under the law of a State to qualify himself for nomination for election, (B) receives contributions or incurs qualified campaign expenses, or (C) gives his consent for any other person to receive contributions or to incur qualified campaign expenses on his

behalf. "(3) The term 'Commission' means the Federal Election Com-mission established by section 310(a)(1) of the Federal Election

Campaign Act of 1971. "(4) Except as provided by section 9034(a), the term 'contribution'--

"(A) means a gift, subscription, loan, advance, or deposit of money, or anything of value, the payment of which was made on or after the beginning of the calendar year immediately preceding the calendar year of the presidential election with respect to which such gift, subscription, loan, advance, or deposit of money, or anything of value, is made, for the purpose of influencing the result of a primary election, "(B) means a contract, promise, or agreement, whether or

not legally enforceable, to make a contribution for any such

purpose, "(C) means funds received by a political committee which are transferred to that committee from another committee, and

"(D) means the payment by any person other than a can-didate, or his authorized committee, of compensation for the personal services of another person which are rendered to the candidate or committee without charge but candidate or committee without charge, but

(E) does not include— (i) except as provided in subparagraph (D), the value of personal services rendered to or for the benefit of a candidate by an individual who receives no compensation for rendering such service to or for the benefit of

the candidate, or "(ii) payments under section 9037. "(5) The term 'matching payment account' means the Presi-dential Primary Matching Payment Account established under

section 9037(a). "(6) The term 'matching payment period' means the period beginning with the beginning of the calendar year in which a general election for the office of President of the United States will be held and ending on the date on which the national convention of the party whose nomination a candidate seeks nominates its candidate for the office of President of the United States, or, in the case of a party which does not make such nomination by national convention, ending on the earlier of (A) the date such party nominates its candidate for the office of President of the United States, or (B) the last day of the last national convention

held by a major party during such calendar year. "(7) The term 'primary election' means an election, including a runoff election or a nominating convention or caucus held by a political party, for the selection of delegates to a national nomi-nating convention of a political party, or for the expression of a preference for the nomination of persons for election to the office of Desident of the United States of President of the United States.

"(8) The term 'political committee' means any individual, committee, association, or organization (whether or not incorporated) which accepts contributions or incurs qualified campaign expenses for the purpose of influencing, or attempting to influence, the

nomination of any person for election to the office of President of the United States.

"(9) The term 'qualified campaign expense' means a purchase, payment, distribution, loan, advance, deposit, or gift of money or of anything of value

"(A) incurred by a candidate, or by his authorized committee, in connection with his campaign for nomination for

election, and "(B) neither the incurring nor payment of which constitutes a violation of any law of the United States or of the State in which the expense is incurred or paid.

For purposes of this paragraph, an expense is incurred by a candi-date or by an authorized committee if it is incurred by a person specifically authorized in writing by the candidate or committee, as the case may be, to incur such expense on behalf of the candidate or the committee.

"(10) The term 'State' means each State of the United States and the District of Columbia.

"SEC. 9033. ELIGIBILITY FOR PAYMENTS.

"(a) CONDITIONS .- To be eligible to receive payments under section 9037, a candidate shall, in writing— "(1) agree to obtain and furnish to the Commission any evi-

dence it may request of qualified campaign expenses,

"(2) agree to keep and furnish to the Commission any records, books, and other information it may request, and

"(3) agree to an audit and examination by the Commission under section 9038 and to pay any amounts required to be paid

"(2) the candidate is seeking nomination by a political party for election to the office of President of the United States, "(3) the candidate has received matching contributions which

in the aggregate, exceed \$5,000 in contributions from residents of each of at least 20 States, and "(4) the aggregate of contributions certified with respect to

any person under paragraph (3) does not exceed \$250.

"SEC. 9034. ENTITLEMENT OF ELIGIBLE CANDIDATES TO PAYMENTS. "(a) IN GENERAL.—Every candidate who is eligible to receive pay-ments under section 9033 is entitled to payments under section 9037 in an amount equal to the amount of each contribution received by such candidate on or after the beginning of the calendar year immediately preceding the calendar year of the presidential election with respect to which such candidate is seeking nomination, or by his authorized committees, disregarding any amount of contributions from any per-son to the extent that the total of the amounts contributed by such person on or after the beginning of such preceding calendar year exceeds \$250. For purposes of this subsection and section 9033(b), the term 'contribution' means a gift of money made by a written instru-ment which identifies the person making the contribution by full name and mailing address, but does not include a subscription, loan, advance, or deposit of money, or anything of value or anything described in subparagraph (B), (C), or (D) of section 9032(4). "(a) IN GENERAL.-Every candidate who is eligible to receive pay-

"(b) LIMITATIONS.—The total amount of payments to which a can-didate is entitled under subsection (a) shall not exceed 50 percent of the expenditure limitation applicable under section 608(c)(1)(A) of title 18, United States Code.

"SEC. 9935. QUALIFIED CAMPAIGN EXPENSE LIMITATION.

"No candidate shall knowingly incur qualified campaign expenses in excess of the expenditure limitation applicable under section 608(c) (1) (A) of title 18, United States Code.

"SEC. 9036. CERTIFICATION BY COMMISSION.

"(a) INITIAL CERTIFICATIONS.—Not later than 10 days after a candi-date establishes his eligibility under section 9033 to receive payments under section 9037, the Commission shall certify to the Secretary for payment to such candidate under section 9037 payment in full of amounts to which such candidate is entitled under section 9034. The Commission shall make such additional certifications as may be necessary to permit candidates to receive payments for contributions under

section 9037. "(b) FINALITY OF DETERMINATIONS.—Initial certifications by the Commission under subsection (a), and all determinations made by it under this chapter, are final and conclusive, except to the extent that they are subject to examination and audit by the Commission under section 9038 and judicial review under section 9041.

"SEC. 9037. PAYMENTS TO ELIGIBLE CANDIDATES.

"(a) ESTABLISHMENT OF ACCOUNT .- The Secretary shall maintain in the Presidential Election Campaign Fund established by section 9006(a), in addition to any account which he maintains under such section, a separate account to be known as the Presidential Primary Matching Payment Account. The Secretary shall deposit into the matching payment account. The Secretary shall deposit into the matching payment account, for use by the candidate of any political party who is eligible to receive payments under section 9033, the amount available after the Secretary determines that amounts for payments under section 9006(c) and for payments under section 9008(b) (3) are available for such payments. "(b) PAYMENTS FROM THE MATCHING PAYMENT ACCOUNT.—Upon receive of a cartification from the Comparison under section 90026 but

receipt of a certification from the Commission under section 9036, but not before the beginning of the matching payment period, the Secre-tary or his delegate shall promptly transfer the amount certified by the Commission from the matching payment account to the candidate. In making such transfers to candidates of the same political party, the Secretary or his delegate shall seek to achieve an equitable distribution of funds available under subsection (a), and the Secretary or his delegate shall take into account, in seeking to achieve an equitable distribution, the sequence in which such certifications are received.

# "SEC. 9038. EXAMINATIONS AND AUDITS; REPAYMENTS.

"(a) EXAMINATIONS AND AUDITS.—After each matching payment period, the Commission shall conduct a thorough examination and audit of the qualified campaign expenses of every candidate and his authorized committees who received payments under section 9037. "(b) REPAYMENTS.

"(1) If the Commission determines that any portion of the pay-ments made to a candidate from the matching payment account was in excess of the aggregate amount of payments to which such candidate was entitled under section 9034, it shall notify the can-didate and the candidate shall not to the Scoute are big data. didate, and the candidate shall pay to the Secretary or his dele-gate an amount equal to the amount of excess payments.

"(2) If the Commission determines that any amount of any payment made to a candidate from the matching payment account

way include to a calculate from the matching payment account was used for any purpose other than— "(A) to defray the qualified campaign expenses with respect to which such payment was made, or "(B) to repeat loans the presents of which more stated.

(B) to repay loans the proceeds of which were used, or otherwise to restore funds (other than contributions to defray qualified campaign expenses which were received and expended) which were used, to defray qualified campaign expenses

it shall notify such candidate of the amount so used, and the candidate shall pay to the Secretary or his delegate an amount equal to such amount.

"(3) Amounts received by a candidate from the matching pay-ment account may be retained for the liquidation of all obligations to pay qualified campaign expenses incurred for a period not exceeding 6 months after the end of the matching payment period. After all obligations have been liquidated, that portion of any unexpended balance remaining in the candidate's accounts which bears the same ratio to the total unexpended balance as the total amount received from the matching payment account bears to the total of all deposits made into the candidate's accounts shall be

in the promptly repaid to the matching payment accounts shall be promptly repaid to the matching payment account.
"(c) NOTTFICATION.—No notification shall be made by the Commission under subsection (b) with respect to a matching payment period more than 3 years after the end of such period.
"(d) DEPOSIT OF REPAYMENTS.—All payments received by the Secretary or his delegate under subsection (b) shall be deposited by him in the metching respect to a matching respect to a matching the secretary or his delegate under subsection (b) shall be deposited by him in

the matching payment account.

"SEC. 9039. REPORTS TO CONGRESS; REGULATIONS.

"(a) REPORTS.—The Commission shall, as soon as practicable after each matching payment period, submit a full report to the Senate and House of Representatives setting forth— "(1) the qualified campaign expenses (shown in such detail as

the Commission determines necessary) incurred by the candidates of each political party and their authorized committees, "(2) the amounts certified by it under section 9036 for payment

to each eligible candidate, and "(3) the amount of payments, if any, required from candidates under section 9038, and the reasons for each payment required. Each report submitted pursuant to this section shall be printed as a Senate document. "(b) REGULATIONS, ETC.—The Commission is anthorized to prescribe

rules and regulations in accordance with the provisions of subsection (c), to conduct examinations and audits (in addition to the examinations and audits required by section 9038(a)), to conduct investiga-tions, and to require the keeping and submission of any books, records, and information, which it determines to be necessary to carry out its

and information, which it determines to be necessary to carry out its responsibilities under this chapter. "(c) REVIEW OF REGULATIONS.— "(1) The Commission, before prescribing any rule or regula-tion under subsection (b), shall transmit a statement with respect to such rule or regulation to the Senate and to the House of Rep-resentatives, in accordance with the provisions of this subsection. Such statement shall set forth the proposed rule or regulation and shall contain a detailed explanation and justification of such rule or regulation. or regulation.

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"(2) If either such House does not, through appropriate action, "(2) If either such House does not, through appropriate action, disapprove the proposed rule or regulation set forth in such statement no later than 30 legislative days after receipt of such statement, then the Commission may prescribe such rule or regu-lation. The Commission may not prescribe any rule or regulation which is disapproved by either such House under this paragraph. "(3) For purposes of this subsection, the term 'legislative days' does not include any calendar day on which both Houses of the Congress are not in session

Congress are not in session.

"SEC. 9040. PARTICIPATION BY COMMISSION IN JUDICIAL PROCEED-INGS.

"(a) APPEARANCE BY COUNSEL.—The Commission is authorized to appear in and defend against any action instituted under this section, either by attorneys employed in its office or by counsel whom it may appoint without regard to the provisions of title 5, United States Code, governing appointments in the competitive service, and whose compensation it may fix without regard to the provisions of chapter 51 and subchapter III of chapter 53 of such title.

"(b) RECOVERY OF CERTAIN PAYMENTS .--- The Commission is authorized, through attorneys and counsel described in subsection (a), to institute actions in the district courts of the United States to seek recovery of any amounts determined to be payable to the Secretary or his delegate as a result of an examination and audit made pursuant to

section 9038. "(c) INJUNCTIVE RELIEF.—The Commission is authorized, through attorneys and counsel described in subsection (a), to petition the courts of the United States for such injunctive relief as is appropriate to implement any provision of this chapter. "(d) APPEAL.—The Commission is authorized on behalf of the United States to appeal from and to partition the Supreme Court for

United States to appeal from, and to petition the Supreme Court for certiorari to review, judgments or decrees entered with respect to actions in which it appears pursuant to the authority provided in this section.

"SEC. 9041. JUDICIAL REVIEW.

"(a) REVIEW OF AGENCY ACTION BY THE COMMISSION.—Any agency action by the Commission made under the provisions of this chapter shall be subject to review by the United States Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia Circuit upon petition filed in such court within 30 days after the agency action by the Commission for which review is sought.

"(b) REVIEW PROCEDURES.—The provisions of chapter 7 of title 5, United States Code, apply to judicial review of any agency action, as defined in section 551(13) of title 5, United States Code, by the Commission.

"SEC. 9042. CRIMINAL PENALTIES.

"(a) Excess CAMPAIGN EXPENSES .- Any person who violates the provisions of section 9035 shall be fined not more than \$25,000, or imprisoned not more than 5 years, or both. Any officer or member of any political committee who knowingly consents to any expenditure in violation of the provisions of section 9035 shall be fined not more

In violation of the provisions of section 9055 shall be fined not more than \$25,000, or imprisoned not more than 5 years, or both.
"(b) UNLAWFUL USE OF PAYMENTS.—
"(1) It is unlawful for any person who receives any payment under section 9037, or to whom any portion of any such payment is transferred, knowingly and willfully to use, or authorize the use of, such payment or such portion for any purpose other than than

"(A) to defray qualified campaign expenses, or "(B) to repay loans the proceeds of which were used, or otherwise to restore funds (other than contributions to defray qualified campaign expenses which were received and expended) which were used, to defray qualified campaign expenses.

"(2) Any person who violates the provisions of paragraph (1) shall be fined not more than \$10,000, or imprisoned not more than

5 years, or both.
5 (c) FALSE STATEMENTS, ETC.—
"(1) It is unlawful for any person knowingly and willfully—
"(A) to furnish any false, fictitious, or fraudulent evidence, books, or information to the Commission under this about or to include in any evidence, books, or information chapter, or to include in any evidence, books, or information so furnished any misrepresentation of a material fact, or to falsify or conceal any evidence, books, or information relevant to a certification by the Commission or an examination and audit by the Commission under this chapter, or

"(B) to fail to furnish to the Commission any records, books, or information requested by it for purposes of this chapter.

"(2) Any person who violates the provisions of paragraph (1) shall be fined not more than \$10,000, or imprisoned not more than

shall be fined not more than \$10,000, or imprisoned not more than 5 years, or both.
"(d) KICKBACKS AND ILLEGAL PAYMENTS.—

"(1) It is unlawful for any person knowingly and willfully to give or accept any kickback or any illegal payment in connection with any qualified campaign expense of a candidate, or his authorized committees, who receives payments under section 9097.
"(2) Any person who violates the provisions of paragraph (1) shall be fined not more than \$10,000, or imprisoned not more than 5 years or both.

5 years, or both

"(3) In addition to the penalty provided by paragraph (2), any person who accepts any kickback or illegal payment in connection with any qualified campaign expense of a candidate or his authorized committees shall pay to the Secretary for deposit in the matching payment account, an amount equal to 125 percent of the kickback or payment received.".

#### REVIEW OF REGULATIONS

SEC. 409. (a) Section 9009 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 (relating to reports to Congress; regulations) is amended by adding at the end thereof the following new subsection:
"(c) REVIEW OF REGULATIONS.—
"(1) The Commission, before prescribing any rule or regulation under subsection (b), shall transmit a statement with respect to such rule or regulation to the Source and to the Human of Remute on the Source of Remute and the the Human of Remute of Remute and the the Human of Remute of Rem

such rule or regulation to the Senate and to the House of Representatives, in accordance with the provisions of this subsection. Such statement shall set forth the proposed rule or regulation and shall contain a detailed explanation and justification of such rule

or regulation. "(2) If either such House does not, through appropriate action, (2) If either such House does not, through appropriate action, disapprove the proposed rule or regulation set forth in such statement no later than 30 legislative days after receipt of such statement, then the Commission may prescribe such rule or regula-tion. The Commission may not prescribe any rule or regulation which is disapproved by either such House under this paragraph. which is disapproved by either such House under this paragraph. "(3) For purposes of this subsection, the term 'legislative days'

does not include any calendar day on which both Houses of the Congress are not in session.".
(b) Section 9009(b) of such Code (relating to regulations, etc.) is amended by inserting "in accordance with the provisions of subsection (c)" immediately after "regulations".

## EFFECTIVE DATES

SEC. 410. (a) Except as provided by subsection (b) and subsection
(c), the foregoing provisions of this Act shall become effective January 1, 1975.
(b) Section 104 and the amendment made by section 301 shall become effective on the date of the enactment of this Act.
(c) (1) The amendments made by sections 403(a), 404, 405, 406, 408, and 409 shall apply with respect to taxable years beginning after December 31, 1974.
(2) The amendment made by section 407 shall apply with respect to taxable years beginning after December 31, 1974.

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Speaker of the House of Representatives.

Vice Resident of the United States and Acting President of the Senatepro Tempore.

I certify that this Act originated in the Senate.

Z: R. Vales

Secretary.

October 15, 1974

Dear Mr. Director:

The following bill was received at the White House on October 15th:

# 8. 3044

Please let the President have reports and recommendations as to the approval of this bill as soon as possible.

Sincerely,

Robert D. Linder Chief Executive Clerk

The Honorable Roy L. Ash Director Office of Management and Budget Washington, D. C.