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§ 439. Statements filed with State officers; “appropriate State” defined; duties of State officers; waiver of duplicate filing requirements for States with electronic access

(a) (1) A copy of each report and statement required to be filed by any person under this Act shall be filed by such person with the Secretary of State (or equivalent State officer) of the appropriate State, or, if different, the officer of such State who is charged by State law with maintaining State election campaign reports. The chief executive officer of such State shall designate any such officer and notify the Commission of any such designation.

(2) For purposes of this subsection, the term “appropriate State” means—

(A) for statements and reports in connection with the campaign for nomination for election of a candidate to the office of President or Vice President, each State in which an expenditure is made on behalf of the candidate; and

(B) for statements and reports in connection with the campaign for nomination for election, or election, of a candidate to the office of Senator or Representative in, or Delegate or Resident Commissioner to, the Congress, the State in which the candidate seeks election; except that political committees other than authorized committees are only required to file, and Secretaries of State required to keep, that portion of the report applicable to candidates seeking election in that State.

(b) The Secretary of State (or equivalent State officer), or the officer designated under subsection (a)(1) of this section, shall—

(1) receive and maintain in an orderly manner all reports and statements required by this Act to be filed therewith;

(2) keep such reports and statements (either in original filed form or in facsimile copy by microfilm or otherwise) for 2 years after their date of receipt;

(3) make each report and statement filed therewith available as soon as practicable (but within 48 hours of receipt) for public inspection and copying during regular business hours, and permit copying of any such report or statement by hand or by duplicating machine at the request of any person, except that such copying shall be at the expense of the person making the request; and

(4) compile and maintain a current list of all reports and statements pertaining to each candidate.

(c) Subsections (a) and (b) shall not apply with respect to any State that, as determined by the Commission, has a system that permits electronic access to, and duplication of, reports and statements that are filed with the Commission.

§ 439a. Use of contributed amounts for certain purposes¹

(a) *Permitted uses.* A contribution accepted by a candidate, and any other donation received by an individual as support for activities of the individual as a holder of Federal office, may be used by the candidate or individual—

- (1) for otherwise authorized expenditures in connection with the campaign for Federal office of the candidate or individual;
- (2) for ordinary and necessary expenses incurred in connection with duties of the individual as a holder of Federal office;
- (3) for contributions to an organization described in section 170(c) of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986; or
- (4) for transfers, without limitation, to a national, State, or local committee of a political party.

(b) *Prohibited use.*

(1) *In general.* A contribution or donation described in subsection (a) shall not be converted by any person to personal use.

(2) *Conversion.* For the purposes of paragraph (1), a contribution or donation shall be considered to be converted to personal use if the contribution or amount is used to fulfill any commitment, obligation, or expense of a person that would exist irrespective of the candidate's election campaign or individual's duties as a holder of Federal office, including—

- (A) a home mortgage, rent, or utility payment;
- (B) a clothing purchase;
- (C) a noncampaign-related automobile expense;
- (D) a country club membership;
- (E) a vacation or other noncampaign-related trip;
- (F) a household food item;
- (G) a tuition payment;
- (H) admission to a sporting event, concert, theater, or other form of entertainment not associated with an election campaign; and

¹Section 301 of the Bipartisan Campaign Reform Act of 2002 (BCRA), Pub. L. No. 107-155, revised section 439a to insert replacement language. This amendment is effective as of November 6, 2002.

(I) dues, fees, and other payments to a health club or recreational facility.

§ 439b. Repealed.

§ 439c. Authorization of appropriations

NOTE: This section contains the authorization for FEC appropriations for FY 1975 through FY 1978, and for FY 1981. While contained in the United States Code, this provision has no substantive election law content.

§ 440. Repealed.

§ 441. Repealed.

§ 441a. Limitations, contributions, and expenditures

(a) *Dollar limits on contributions.*

(1) Except as provided in subsection (i) and section 315A (2 U.S.C. § 441a-1), no person shall make contributions—¹

(A) to any candidate and his authorized political committees with respect to any election for Federal office which, in the aggregate, exceed \$2,000;

(B) to the political committees established and maintained by a national political party, which are not the authorized political committees of any candidate, in any calendar year which, in the aggregate, exceed \$25,000;

(C) to any other political committee (other than a committee described in subparagraph (D)) in any calendar year which, in the aggregate, exceed \$5,000; or

(D) to a political committee established and maintained by a State committee of a political party in any calendar year which, in the aggregate, exceed \$10,000.

¹Sections 102 and 307 of the Bipartisan Campaign Reform Act of 2002 (BCRA), Pub. L. No. 107-155, amended section 441a to modify contribution limits. This section was further amended by section 319(b) of BCRA to cross-reference new section 441a-1 and new paragraph (i). These amendments apply with respect to contributions made on or after January 1, 2003.

(2) No multicandidate political committee shall make contributions—

(A) to any candidate and his authorized political committees with respect to any election for Federal office which, in the aggregate, exceed \$5,000;

(B) to the political committees established and maintained by a national political party, which are not the authorized political committees of any candidate, in any calendar year, which, in the aggregate, exceed \$15,000; or

(C) to any other political committee in any calendar year which, in the aggregate, exceed \$5,000.

(3)¹ During the period which begins on January 1 of an odd-numbered year and ends on December 31 of the next even-numbered year, no individual may make contributions aggregating more than—

(A) \$37,500, in the case of contributions to candidates and the authorized committees of candidates;

(B) \$57,500, in the case of any other contributions, of which not more than \$37,500 may be attributable to contributions to political committees which are not political committees of national political parties.

(4) The limitations on contributions contained in paragraphs (1) and (2) do not apply to transfers between and among political committees which are national, State, district, or local committees (including any subordinate committee thereof) of the same political party. For purposes of paragraph (2), the term “multicandidate political committee” means a political committee which has been registered under section 433 of this title for a period of not less than 6 months, which has received contributions from more than 50 persons, and, except for any State political party organization, has made contributions to 5 or more candidates for Federal office.

(5) For purposes of the limitations provided by paragraph (1) and paragraph (2), all contributions made by political committees established or financed or maintained or controlled by any corporation, labor organization, or any other person, including any parent, subsidiary, branch, division, department, or local unit of such corporation, labor organization, or any other person, or by

¹Section 307(b) of the Bipartisan Campaign Reform Act of 2002 (BCRA), Pub. L. No. 107-155, amended subparagraph 441a(a)(3) to modify the annual contribution limit for individuals. This amendment applies with respect to contributions made on or after January 1, 2003.

any group of such persons, shall be considered to have been made by a single political committee, except that

(A) nothing in this sentence shall limit transfers between political committees of funds raised through joint fundraising efforts;

(B) for purposes of the limitations provided by paragraph (1) and paragraph (2) all contributions made by a single political committee established or financed or maintained or controlled by a national committee of a political party and by a single political committee established or financed or maintained or controlled by the State committee of a political party shall not be considered to have been made by a single political committee; and

(C) nothing in this section shall limit the transfer of funds between the principal campaign committee of a candidate seeking nomination or election to a Federal office and the principal campaign committee of that candidate for nomination or election to another Federal office if

(i) such transfer is not made when the candidate is actively seeking nomination or election to both such offices;

(ii) the limitations contained in this Act on contributions by persons are not exceeded by such transfer; and

(iii) the candidate has not elected to receive any funds under chapter 95 or chapter 96 of title 26.

In any case in which a corporation and any of its subsidiaries, branches, divisions, departments, or local units, or a labor organization and any of its subsidiaries, branches, divisions, departments, or local units establish or finance or maintain or control more than one separate segregated fund, all such separate segregated funds shall be treated as a single separate segregated fund for purposes of the limitations provided by paragraph (1) and paragraph (2).

(6) The limitations on contributions to a candidate 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.

(7) For purposes of this subsection—

(A) contributions to a named candidate made to any political committee authorized by such candidate to accept

contributions on his behalf shall be considered to be contributions made to such candidate;

(B) (i) expenditures made by any person in cooperation, consultation, or concert, with, or at the request or suggestion of, a candidate, his authorized political committees, or their agents, shall be considered to be a contribution to such candidate;

(ii)¹ expenditures made by any person (other than a candidate or candidate's authorized committee) in cooperation, consultation, or concert, with, or at the request or suggestion of, a national, State, or local committee of a political party, shall be considered to be contributions made to such party committee; and

(iii) the financing by any person of the dissemination, distribution, or republication, in whole or in part, of any broadcast or any written, graphic, or other form of campaign materials prepared by the candidate, his campaign committees, or their authorized agents shall be considered to be an expenditure for purposes of this paragraph; and

(C) if—

(i) any person makes, or contracts to make, any disbursement for any electioneering communication (within the meaning of section 304(f)(3)) (2 U.S.C. § 434(f)(3)); and

(ii) such disbursement is coordinated with a candidate or an authorized committee of such candidate, a Federal, State, or local political party or committee thereof, or an agent or official of any such candidate, party, or committee;

such disbursement or contracting shall be treated as a contribution to the candidate supported by the electioneering communication or that candidate's party and as an expenditure by that candidate or that candidate's party; and

(D) contributions made to or for the benefit of any candidate nominated by a political party for election to the office

¹Section 214 of the Bipartisan Campaign Reform Act of 2002 (BCRA), Pub. L. No. 107-155, amended section 441a(a)(7) by redesignating subparagraph (B)(ii) as (B)(iii) and inserting new subparagraph (ii). Section 202 of BCRA further amended section 441a(a)(7) by redesignating subparagraph (C) as (D) and inserting new subparagraph (C). These amendments are effective as of November 6, 2002.

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.

(8) 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.

(b) *Dollar limits on expenditures by candidates for office of President of the United States.*

(1) No candidate for the office of President of the United States who is eligible under section 9003 of title 26 (relating to condition for eligibility for payments) or under section 9033 of title 26 (relating to eligibility for payments) to receive payments from the Secretary of the Treasury may make expenditures in excess of—

(A) \$10,000,000 in the case of a campaign for nomination for election to such office, except the aggregate of expenditures under this subparagraph in any one State shall not exceed the greater of 16 cents multiplied by the voting age population of the State (as certified under subsection (e) of this section), or \$200,000; or

(B) \$20,000,000 in the case of a campaign for election to such office.

(2) For purposes of this subsection—

(A) expenditures made by or on behalf 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 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, including a vice presidential candidate, if it is made by—

(i) an authorized committee or any other agent of the candidate for purposes of making any expenditure; or

(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.

- (c) *Increases on limits based on increases in price index.*¹
- (1) (A) 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 percent difference between the price index for the 12 months preceding the beginning of such calendar year and the price index for the base period.
- (B) Except as provided in subparagraph (C), in any calendar year after 2002—
- (i) a limitation established by subsections (a)(1)(A), (a)(1)(B), (a)(3), (b), (d), or (h) shall be increased by the percent difference determined under subparagraph (A);
- (ii) each amount so increased shall remain in effect for the calendar year; and
- (iii) if any amount after adjustment under clause (i) is not a multiple of \$100, such amount shall be rounded to the nearest multiple of \$100.
- (C) In the case of limitations under subsections (a)(1)(A), (a)(1)(B), (a)(3), and (h), increases shall only be made in odd-numbered years and such increases shall remain in effect for the 2-year period beginning on the first day following the date of the last general election in the year preceding the year in which the amount is increased and ending on the date of the next general election.
- (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—
- (i) for purposes of subsections (b) and (d), calendar year 1974; and
- (ii) for purposes of subsections (a)(1)(A), (a)(1)(B), (a)(3), and (h), calendar year 2001.

¹Section 307(d) of the Bipartisan Campaign Reform Act of 2002 (BCRA), Pub. L. No. 107-155, amended section 441a(c) to index certain contribution limits for inflation. This amendment is effective for contributions made on or after January 1, 2003.

(d) *Expenditures by national committee, State committee, or subordinate committee of State committee in connection with general election campaign of candidates for Federal office.*¹

(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, including any subordinate committee of a State committee, may make expenditures in connection with the general election campaign of candidates for Federal office, subject to the limitations contained in paragraphs (2), (3) and (4) 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 voting age population of the United States (as certified under subsection (e) of this section). 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, 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 (e) of this section); 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.

(4) *Independent versus coordinated expenditures by party.*²

(A) *In general.* On or after the date on which a political

¹Section 213 of the Bipartisan Campaign Reform Act of 2002 (BCRA), Pub. L. No. 107-155, amended section 441a(d) by making a conforming amendment to subparagraph (1) and by adding subparagraph (4). This amendment is effective as of November 6, 2002.

²In *McConnell v. FEC*, 124 S. Ct. 619, 700-04 (2003), the Supreme Court ruled that section 441a(d)(4) was unconstitutional.

party nominates a candidate, no committee of the political party may make—

(i) any coordinated expenditure under this subsection with respect to the candidate during the election cycle at any time after it makes any independent expenditure (as defined in section 301(17)) (2 U.S.C. § 431(17)) with respect to the candidate during the election cycle; or

(ii) any independent expenditure (as defined in section 301(17)) (2 U.S.C. § 431(17)) with respect to the candidate during the election cycle at any time after it makes any coordinated expenditure under this subsection with respect to the candidate during the election cycle.

(B) *Application.* For purposes of this paragraph, all political committees established and maintained by a national political party (including all congressional campaign committees) and all political committees established and maintained by a State political party (including any subordinate committee of a State committee) shall be considered to be a single political committee.

(C) *Transfers.* A committee of a political party that makes coordinated expenditures under this subsection with respect to a candidate shall not, during an election cycle, transfer any funds to, assign authority to make coordinated expenditures under this subsection to, or receive a transfer of funds from, a committee of the political party that has made or intends to make an independent expenditure with respect to the candidate.

(e) *Certification and publication of estimated voting age population.*

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 population of the United States, of each State, and of each congressional district as of the first day of July next preceding the date of certification. The term “voting age population” means resident population, 18 years of age or older.

(f) *Prohibited contributions and expenditures.*

No candidate or political committee shall knowingly accept any contribution or make any expenditure in violation of the provisions 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.

(g) *Attribution of multi-State expenditures to candidate's expenditure limitation in each State.*

The Commission shall prescribe rules under which any expenditure by a candidate for presidential nominations 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.

(h) *Senatorial candidates.*

Notwithstanding any other provision of this Act, amounts totaling not more than \$35,000¹ may be contributed to a candidate for nomination for election, or for election, to the United States Senate during the year in which an election is held in which he is such a candidate, by the Republican or Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee, or the national committee of a political party, or any combination of such committees.

(i) *Increased limit to allow response to expenditures from personal funds.*²

(1) *Increase.*

(A) *In general.* Subject to paragraph (2), if the opposition personal funds amount with respect to a candidate for election to the office of Senator exceeds the threshold amount, the limit under subsection (a)(1)(A) (in this subsection referred to as the 'applicable limit') with respect to that candidate shall be the increased limit.

(B) *Threshold amount.*

(i) *State-by-state competitive and fair campaign formula.* In this subsection, the threshold amount with respect to an election cycle of a candidate described in subparagraph (A) is an amount equal to the sum of—

(I) \$150,000; and

(II) \$0.04 multiplied by the voting age population.

tion.

¹Section 307(c) of the Bipartisan Campaign Reform Act of 2002 (BCRA), Pub. L. No. 107-155, amended section 441a to modify paragraph (h). This amendment is effective for contributions made on or after January 1, 2003.

²Section 304 of the Bipartisan Campaign Reform Act of 2002 (BCRA), Pub. L. No. 107-155, amended section 441a to add paragraph (i). This amendment is effective as of November 6, 2002. It does not apply with respect to runoff elections or recounts of contested elections resulting from elections held prior to November 6, 2002. See section 402(a)(4) of BCRA, cited at Note, 2 U.S.C. § 431.

(ii) *Voting age population.* In this subparagraph, the term ‘voting age population’ means in the case of a candidate for the office of Senator, the voting age population of the State of the candidate (as certified under section 315(e)) (2 U.S.C. § 441a(e)).

(C) *Increased limit.* Except as provided in clause (ii), for purposes of subparagraph (A), if the opposition personal funds amount is over—

(i) 2 times the threshold amount, but not over 4 times that amount—

(I) the increased limit shall be 3 times the applicable limit; and

(II) the limit under subsection (a)(3) shall not apply with respect to any contribution made with respect to a candidate if such contribution is made under the increased limit of subparagraph (A) during a period in which the candidate may accept such a contribution;

(ii) 4 times the threshold amount, but not over 10 times that amount—

(I) the increased limit shall be 6 times the applicable limit; and

(II) the limit under subsection (a)(3) shall not apply with respect to any contribution made with respect to a candidate if such contribution is made under the increased limit of subparagraph (A) during a period in which the candidate may accept such a contribution; and

(iii) 10 times the threshold amount—

(I) the increased limit shall be 6 times the applicable limit;

(II) the limit under subsection (a)(3) shall not apply with respect to any contribution made with respect to a candidate if such contribution is made under the increased limit of subparagraph (A) during a period in which the candidate may accept such a contribution; and

(III) the limits under subsection (d) with respect to any expenditure by a State or national committee of a political party shall not apply.

(D) *Opposition personal funds amount.* The opposition personal funds amount is an amount equal to the excess (if any) of—

(i) the greatest aggregate amount of expenditures from personal funds (as defined in section 304(a)(6)(B)) (2 U.S.C. § 434(a)(6)(B)) that an opposing candidate in the same election makes; over

(ii) the aggregate amount of expenditures from personal funds made by the candidate with respect to the election.

(E) *Special rule for candidate's campaign funds.*¹

(i) *In general.* For purposes of determining the aggregate amount of expenditures from personal funds under subparagraph (D)(ii), such amount shall include the gross receipts advantage of the candidate's authorized committee.

(ii) *Gross receipts advantage.* For purposes of clause (i), the term 'gross receipts advantage' means the excess, if any, of—

(I) the aggregate amount of 50 percent of gross receipts of a candidate's authorized committee during any election cycle (not including contributions from personal funds of the candidate) that may be expended in connection with the election, as determined on June 30 and December 31 of the year preceding the year in which a general election is held, over

(II) the aggregate amount of 50 percent of gross receipts of the opposing candidate's authorized committee during any election cycle (not including contributions from personal funds of the candidate) that may be expended in connection with the election, as determined on June 30 and December 31 of the year preceding the year in which a general election is held.

¹Section 316 of the Bipartisan Campaign Reform Act of 2002 (BCRA), Pub. L. No. 107-155, amended section 441a(i)(1) to add subparagraph (E). This amendment is effective as of November 6, 2002. It does not apply with respect to runoff elections or recounts of contested elections resulting from elections held prior to November 6, 2002. See section 402(a)(4) of BCRA, cited at Note, 2 U.S.C. § 431.

(2) *Time to accept contributions under increased limit.*

(A) *In general.* Subject to subparagraph (B), a candidate and the candidate's authorized committee shall not accept any contribution, and a party committee shall not make any expenditure, under the increased limit under paragraph (1)—

(i) until the candidate has received notification of the opposition personal funds amount under section 304(a)(6)(B) (2 U.S.C. § 434(a)(6)(B)); and

(ii) to the extent that such contribution, when added to the aggregate amount of contributions previously accepted and party expenditures previously made under the increased limits under this subsection for the election cycle, exceeds 110 percent of the opposition personal funds amount.

(B) *Effect of withdrawal of an opposing candidate.* A candidate and a candidate's authorized committee shall not accept any contribution and a party shall not make any expenditure under the increased limit after the date on which an opposing candidate ceases to be a candidate to the extent that the amount of such increased limit is attributable to such an opposing candidate.

(3) *Disposal of excess contributions.*

(A) *In general.* The aggregate amount of contributions accepted by a candidate or a candidate's authorized committee under the increased limit under paragraph (1) and not otherwise expended in connection with the election with respect to which such contributions relate shall, not later than 50 days after the date of such election, be used in the manner described in subparagraph (B).

(B) *Return to contributors.* A candidate or a candidate's authorized committee shall return the excess contribution to the person who made the contribution.

(j) *Limitation on repayment of personal loans.*¹ Any candidate who incurs personal loans made after the effective date of the Bipartisan Campaign Reform Act of 2002 in connection with the candidate's campaign for election shall not repay (directly or indirectly), to the extent

¹Section 304 of the Bipartisan Campaign Reform Act of 2002 (BCRA), Pub. L. No. 107-155, amended section 441a to add paragraph (j). This amendment is effective as of November 6, 2002. It does not apply with respect to runoff elections or recounts of contested elections resulting from elections held prior to November 6, 2002. See section 402(a)(4) of BCRA, cited at Note, 2 U.S.C. § 431.

such loans exceed \$250,000, such loans from any contributions made to such candidate or any authorized committee of such candidate after the date of such election.

§ 441a-1. Modification of certain limits for House candidates in response to personal fund expenditures of opponents.¹

(a) *Availability of increased limit.*

(1) *In general.* Subject to paragraph (3), if the opposition personal funds amount with respect to a candidate for election to the office of Representative in, or Delegate or Resident Commissioner to, the Congress exceeds \$350,000—

(A) the limit under subsection (a)(1)(A) (2 U.S.C. § 441a(a)(1)(A)) with respect to the candidate shall be tripled;

(B) the limit under subsection (a)(3) (2 U.S.C. § 441a(a)(3)) shall not apply with respect to any contribution made with respect to the candidate if the contribution is made under the increased limit allowed under subparagraph (A) during a period in which the candidate may accept such a contribution; and

(C) the limits under subsection (d) (2 U.S.C. § 441a(d)) with respect to any expenditure by a State or national committee of a political party on behalf of the candidate shall not apply.

(2) *Determination of opposition personal funds amount.*

(A) *In general.* The opposition personal funds amount is an amount equal to the excess (if any) of—

(i) the greatest aggregate amount of expenditures from personal funds (as defined in subsection (b)(1)) that an opposing candidate in the same election makes; over

(ii) the aggregate amount of expenditures from personal funds made by the candidate with respect to the election.

(B) *Special rule for candidate's campaign funds.*

(i) *In general.* For purposes of determining the aggregate amount of expenditures from personal funds under subparagraph (A), such amount shall include the

¹Section 319(a) of the Bipartisan Campaign Reform Act of 2002 (BCRA), Pub. L. No. 107-155, amended the Act to add new section 441a-1. This amendment is effective as of November 6, 2002. It does not apply with respect to runoff elections or recounts of contested elections resulting from elections held prior to November 6, 2002. See section 402(a)(4) of BCRA, cited at Note, 2 U.S.C. § 431.

gross receipts advantage of the candidate's authorized committee.

(ii) *Gross receipts advantage.* For purposes of clause (i), the term 'gross receipts advantage' means the excess, if any, of—

(I) the aggregate amount of 50 percent of gross receipts of a candidate's authorized committee during any election cycle (not including contributions from personal funds of the candidate) that may be expended in connection with the election, as determined on June 30 and December 31 of the year preceding the year in which a general election is held, over

(II) the aggregate amount of 50 percent of gross receipts of the opposing candidate's authorized committee during any election cycle (not including contributions from personal funds of the candidate) that may be expended in connection with the election, as determined on June 30 and December 31 of the year preceding the year in which a general election is held.

(3) *Time to accept contributions under increased limit.*

(A) *In general.* Subject to subparagraph (B), a candidate and the candidate's authorized committee shall not accept any contribution, and a party committee shall not make any expenditure, under the increased limit under paragraph (1)—

(i) until the candidate has received notification of the opposition personal funds amount under subsection (b)(1); and

(ii) to the extent that such contribution, when added to the aggregate amount of contributions previously accepted and party expenditures previously made under the increased limits under this subsection for the election cycle, exceeds 100 percent of the opposition personal funds amount.

(B) *Effect of withdrawal of an opposing candidate.* A candidate and a candidate's authorized committee shall not accept any contribution and a party shall not make any expenditure under the increased limit after the date on which an opposing candidate ceases to be a candidate to the extent that the amount of such increased limit is attributable to such an opposing candidate.

(4) *Disposal of excess contributions.*

(A) *In general.* The aggregate amount of contributions accepted by a candidate or a candidate's authorized committee under the increased limit under paragraph (1) and not otherwise expended in connection with the election with respect to which such contributions relate shall, not later than 50 days after the date of such election, be used in the manner described in subparagraph (B).

(B) *Return to contributors.* A candidate or a candidate's authorized committee shall return the excess contribution to the person who made the contribution.

(b) *Notification of expenditures from personal funds.*

(1) *In general.*

(A) *Definition of expenditure from personal funds.* In this paragraph, the term 'expenditure from personal funds' means—

(i) an expenditure made by a candidate using personal funds; and

(ii) a contribution or loan made by a candidate using personal funds or a loan secured using such funds to the candidate's authorized committee.

(B) *Declaration of intent.* Not later than the date that is 15 days after the date on which an individual becomes a candidate for the office of Representative in, or Delegate or Resident Commissioner to, the Congress, the candidate shall file a declaration stating the total amount of expenditures from personal funds that the candidate intends to make, or to obligate to make, with respect to the election that will exceed \$350,000.

(C) *Initial notification.* Not later than 24 hours after a candidate described in subparagraph (B) makes or obligates to make an aggregate amount of expenditures from personal funds in excess of \$350,000 in connection with any election, the candidate shall file a notification.

(D) *Additional notification.* After a candidate files an initial notification under subparagraph (C), the candidate shall file an additional notification each time expenditures from personal funds are made or obligated to be made in an aggregate amount that exceeds \$10,000. Such notification shall be filed not later than 24 hours after the expenditure is made.

(E) *Contents.* A notification under subparagraph (C) or (D) shall include—

- (i) the name of the candidate and the office sought by the candidate;
- (ii) the date and amount of each expenditure; and
- (iii) the total amount of expenditures from personal funds that the candidate has made, or obligated to make, with respect to an election as of the date of the expenditure that is the subject of the notification.

(F) *Place of filing.* Each declaration or notification required to be filed by a candidate under subparagraph (C), (D), or (E) shall be filed with—

- (i) the Commission; and
- (ii) each candidate in the same election and the national party of each such candidate.

(2) *Notification of disposal of excess contributions.* In the next regularly scheduled report after the date of the election for which a candidate seeks nomination for election to, or election to, Federal office, the candidate or the candidate's authorized committee shall submit to the Commission a report indicating the source and amount of any excess contributions (as determined under subsection (a) and the manner in which the candidate or the candidate's authorized committee used such funds.

(3) *Enforcement.* For provisions providing for the enforcement of the reporting requirements under this subsection, see section 309 (2 U.S.C. § 437g).

§ 441b. Contributions or expenditures by national banks, corporations, or labor organizations

(a) It is unlawful for any national bank, or any corporation organized by authority of any law of Congress, to make a contribution or expenditure in connection with any election to any political office, or in connection with any primary election or political convention or caucus held to select candidates for any political office, or for any corporation whatever, or any labor organization, to make a contribution or expenditure in connection with any election at which presidential and vice presidential electors or a Senator or Representative in, or a Delegate or Resident Commissioner to, Congress are to be voted for, or in connection with any primary election or political convention or caucus held to select candidates for any of the foregoing offices, or for any candidate, political committee, or other person knowingly to accept or receive any contribution prohibited by this section, or any officer or any director of any corporation or any national bank or any officer of any labor organization to consent to any contribution

or expenditure by the corporation, national bank, or labor organization, as the case may be, prohibited by this section.

(b) (1) For the purposes of this section the term “labor organization” means any organization of any kind, or any agency or employee representation committee or plan, in which employees participate and which exists for the purpose, in whole or in part, of dealing with employers concerning grievances, labor disputes, wages, rates of pay, hours of employment, or conditions of work.

(2) For purposes of this section and section 791(h) of title 15,¹ the term “contribution or expenditure” includes a contribution or expenditure, as those terms are defined in section 301 (2 U.S.C. § 431), and also includes² any direct or indirect payment, distribution, loan, advance, deposit, or gift of money, or any services, 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) to any candidate, campaign committee, or political party or organization, in connection with any election to any of the offices referred to in this section or for any applicable electioneering communication, but shall not include

(A) communications by a corporation to its stockholders and executive or administrative personnel and their families or by a labor organization to its members and their families on any subject;

(B) nonpartisan registration and get-out-the-vote campaigns by a corporation aimed at its stockholders and executive or administrative personnel and their families, or by a labor organization aimed at its members and their families; and

¹15 U.S.C. § 791(h) provides:

(h) Political contributions forbidden.

It shall be unlawful for any registered holding company, or any subsidiary company thereof, by use of the mails or any means or instrumentality of interstate commerce, or otherwise, directly or indirectly—

(1) to make any contribution whatsoever in connection with the candidacy, nomination, election or appointment of any person for or to any office or position in the Government of the United States, a State, or any political subdivision of a State, or any agency, authority, or instrumentality of any one or more of the foregoing; or

(2) to make any contribution to or in support of any political party or any committee or agency thereof.

The term “contribution” as used in this subsection includes any gift, subscription, loan, advance, or deposit of money or anything of value, and includes any contract, agreement, or promise, whether or not legally enforceable, to make a contribution.

²Sections 203(a) and 214(d) of the Bipartisan Campaign Reform Act of 2002 (BCRA), Pub. L. No. 107-155, amended section 441b(b)(2). These amendments are effective as of November 6, 2002.

(C) the establishment, administration, and solicitation of contributions to a separate segregated fund to be utilized for political purposes by a corporation, labor organization, membership organization, cooperative, or corporation without capital stock.

(3) It shall be unlawful—

(A) for such a fund to make a contribution or expenditure by utilizing money or anything of value secured by physical force, job discrimination, financial reprisals, or the threat of force, job discrimination, or financial reprisal; or by dues, fees, or other moneys required as a condition of membership in a labor organization or as a condition of employment, or by moneys obtained in any commercial transaction;

(B) for any person soliciting an employee for a contribution to such a fund to fail to inform such employee of the political purposes of such fund at the time of such solicitation; and

(C) for any person soliciting an employee for a contribution to such a fund to fail to inform such employee at the time of such solicitation, of his right to refuse to so contribute without any reprisal.

(4) (A) Except as provided in subparagraphs (B), (C), and (D), it shall be unlawful—

(i) for a corporation, or a separate segregated fund established by a corporation, to solicit contributions to such a fund from any person other than its stockholders and their families and its executive or administrative personnel and their families, and

(ii) for a labor organization, or a separate segregated fund established by a labor organization, to solicit contributions to such a fund from any person other than its members and their families.

(B) It shall not be unlawful under this section for a corporation, a labor organization, or a separate segregated fund established by such corporation or such labor organization, to make 2 written solicitations for contributions during the calendar year from any stockholder, executive or administrative personnel, or employee of a corporation or the families of such persons. A solicitation under this subparagraph may be made only by mail addressed to stockholders, executive or administrative personnel, or employees at their residence and shall be so designed

that the corporation, labor organization, or separate segregated fund conducting such solicitation cannot determine who makes a contribution of \$50 or less as a result of such solicitation and who does not make such a contribution.

(C) This paragraph shall not prevent a membership organization, cooperative, or corporation without capital stock, or a separate segregated fund established by a membership organization, cooperative, or corporation without capital stock, from soliciting contributions to such a fund from members of such organization, cooperative, or corporation without capital stock.

(D) This paragraph shall not prevent a trade association or a separate segregated fund established by a trade association from soliciting contributions from the stockholders and executive or administrative personnel of the member corporations of such trade association and the families of such stockholders or personnel to the extent that such solicitation of such stockholders and personnel, and their families, has been separately and specifically approved by the member corporation involved, and such member corporation does not approve any such solicitation by more than one such trade association in any calendar year.

(5) Notwithstanding any other law, any method of soliciting voluntary contributions or of facilitating the making of voluntary contributions to a separate segregated fund established by a corporation, permitted by law to corporations with regard to stockholders and executive or administrative personnel, shall also be permitted to labor organizations with regard to their members.

(6) Any corporation, including its subsidiaries, branches, divisions, and affiliates, that utilizes a method of soliciting voluntary contributions or facilitating the making of voluntary contributions, shall make available such method, on written request and at a cost sufficient only to reimburse the corporation for the expenses incurred thereby, to a labor organization representing any members working for such corporation, its subsidiaries, branches, divisions, and affiliates.

(7) For purposes of this section, the term “executive or administrative personnel” means individuals employed by a corporation who are paid on a salary, rather than hourly, basis and who have policymaking, managerial, professional, or supervisory responsibilities.

(c) *Rules relating to electioneering communications.*¹

(1) *Applicable electioneering communication.* For purposes of this section, the term ‘applicable electioneering communication’ means an electioneering communication (within the meaning of section 304(f)(3)) (2 U.S.C. § 434(f)(3)) which is made by any entity described in subsection (a) of this section or by any other person using funds donated by an entity described in subsection (a) of this section.

(2) *Exception.* Notwithstanding paragraph (1), the term ‘applicable electioneering communication’ does not include a communication by a section 501(c)(4) organization or a political organization (as defined in section 527(e)(1) of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986) made under section 304(f)(2)(E) or (F) of this Act (2 U.S.C. § 434(f)(2)(E) or (F)) if the communication is paid for exclusively by funds provided directly by individuals who are United States citizens or nationals or lawfully admitted for permanent residence (as defined in section 101(a)(20) of the Immigration and Nationality Act (8 U.S.C. § 1101(a)(20))). For purposes of the preceding sentence, the term ‘provided directly by individuals’ does not include funds the source of which is an entity described in subsection (a) of this section.

(3) *Special operating rules.*

(A) *Definition under paragraph (1).* An electioneering communication shall be treated as made by an entity described in subsection (a) if an entity described in subsection (a) directly or indirectly disburses any amount for any of the costs of the communication.

(B) *Exception under paragraph (2).* A section 501(c)(4) organization that derives amounts from business activities or receives funds from any entity described in subsection (a) shall be considered to have paid for any communication out of such amounts unless such organization paid for the communication out of a segregated account to which only individuals can contribute, as described in section 304(f)(2)(E) (2 U.S.C. § 434(f)(2)(E)).

¹Section 203(b) of the Bipartisan Campaign Reform Act of 2002 (BCRA), Pub. L. No. 107-155, amended section 441b to add paragraphs (c)(1) through (5). This amendment is effective as of November 6, 2002.

- (4) *Definitions and rules.* For purposes of this subsection—
- (A) the term ‘section 501(c)(4) organization’ means—
 - (i) an organization described in section 501(c)(4) of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 and exempt from taxation under section 501(a) of such Code; or
 - (ii) an organization which has submitted an application to the Internal Revenue Service for determination of its status as an organization described in clause (i); and
 - (B) a person shall be treated as having made a disbursement if the person has executed a contract to make the disbursement.
- (5) *Coordination with Internal Revenue Code.* Nothing in this subsection shall be construed to authorize an organization exempt from taxation under section 501(a) of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 to carry out any activity which is prohibited under such Code.
- (6) *Special rules for targeted communications.*¹
- (A) *Exception does not apply.* Paragraph (2) shall not apply in the case of a targeted communication that is made by an organization described in such paragraph.
 - (B) *Targeted communication.* For purposes of subparagraph (A), the term ‘targeted communication’ means an electioneering communication (as defined in section 304(f)(3)) (2 U.S.C. § 434(f)(3)) that is distributed from a television or radio broadcast station or provider of cable or satellite television service and, in the case of a communication which refers to a candidate for an office other than President or Vice President, is targeted to the relevant electorate.
 - (C) *Definition.* For purposes of this paragraph, a communication is ‘targeted to the relevant electorate’ if it meets the requirements described in section 304(f)(3)(C) (2 U.S.C. § 434(f)(3)(C)).

¹Section 204 of the Bipartisan Campaign Reform Act of 2002 (BCRA), Pub. L. No. 107-155, amended section 441b(c) to add paragraph (6). This amendment is effective as of November 6, 2002.

§ 441c. Contributions by government contractors(a) *Prohibition.*

It shall be unlawful for any person—

(1) Who enters into any contract with the United States or any department or agency thereof either for the rendition of personal services or furnishing any material, supplies, or equipment to the United States or any department or agency thereof or for selling any land or building to the United States or any department or agency thereof, if payment for the performance of such contract or payment for such material, supplies, equipment, land, or building is to be made in whole or in part from funds appropriated by the Congress, at any time between the commencement of negotiations for the later of (A) the completion of performance under; or (B) the termination of negotiations for, such contract or furnishing of material, supplies, equipment, land, or buildings, directly or indirectly to make any contribution of money or other things of value, or to promise expressly or impliedly to make any such contribution to any political party, committee, or candidate for public office or to any person for any political purpose or use; or

(2) knowingly to solicit any such contribution from any such person for any such purpose during any such period.

(b) *Separate segregated funds.*

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, labor organization, membership organization, cooperative, or corporation without capital stock for the purpose of influencing the nomination for election, or election, of any person to Federal office, unless the provisions of section 441b of this title prohibit or make unlawful the establishment or administration of, or the solicitation of contributions to, such fund. Each specific prohibition, allowance, and duty applicable to a corporation, labor organization, or separate segregated fund under section 441b of this title applies to a corporation, labor organization, or separate segregated fund to which this subsection applies.

(c) *“Labor organization” defined.*

For purposes of this section, the term “labor organization” has the meaning given it by section 441b(b)(1) of this title.

§ 441d. Publication and distribution of statements and solicitations; charge for newspaper or magazine space¹

(a) Whenever a political committee makes a disbursement for the purpose of financing any communication through any broadcasting station, newspaper, magazine, outdoor advertising facility, mailing, or any other type of general public political advertising, or whenever any person makes a disbursement for the purpose of financing communications expressly advocating the election or defeat of a clearly identified candidate, or solicits any contribution through any broadcasting station, newspaper, magazine, outdoor advertising facility, mailing, or any other type of general public political advertising or makes a disbursement for an electioneering communication (as defined in section 304(f)(3)) (2 U.S.C. § 434(f)(3)), such communication—

(1) if paid for and authorized by a candidate, an authorized political committee of a candidate, or its agents, shall clearly state that the communication has been paid for by such authorized political committee, or

(2) if paid for by other persons but authorized by a candidate, an authorized political committee of a candidate, or its agents, shall clearly state that the communication is paid for by such other persons and authorized by such authorized political committee;

(3) if not authorized by a candidate, an authorized political committee of a candidate, or its agents, shall clearly state the name and permanent street address, telephone number or World Wide Web address of the person who paid for the communication and state that the communication is not authorized by any candidate or candidate's committee.

(b) 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.

(c) *Specification.* Any printed communication described in subsection (a) shall—

(1) be of sufficient type size to be clearly readable by the recipient of the communication;

¹Section 311 of the Bipartisan Campaign Reform Act of 2002 (BCRA), Pub. L. No. 107-155, amended section 441d to revise the language of paragraph (a) and insert paragraphs (c) and (d). This amendment is effective as of November 6, 2002. It does not apply with respect to runoff elections or recounts of contested elections resulting from elections held prior to November 6, 2002. See section 402(a)(4) of BCRA, cited at Note, 2 U.S.C. § 431.

(2) be contained in a printed box set apart from the other contents of the communication; and

(3) be printed with a reasonable degree of color contrast between the background and the printed statement.

(d) *Additional requirements.*

(1) *Communications by candidates or authorized persons.*

(A) *By radio.* Any communication described in paragraph (1) or (2) of subsection (a) which is transmitted through radio shall include, in addition to the requirements of that paragraph, an audio statement by the candidate that identifies the candidate and states that the candidate has approved the communication.

(B) *By television.* Any communication described in paragraph (1) or (2) of subsection (a) which is transmitted through television shall include, in addition to the requirements of that paragraph, a statement that identifies the candidate and states that the candidate has approved the communication. Such statement—

(i) shall be conveyed by—

(I) an unobscured, full-screen view of the candidate making the statement, or

(II) the candidate in voice-over, accompanied by a clearly identifiable photographic or similar image of the candidate; and

(ii) shall also appear in writing at the end of the communication in a clearly readable manner with a reasonable degree of color contrast between the background and the printed statement, for a period of at least 4 seconds.

(2) *Communications by others.* Any communication described in paragraph (3) of subsection (a) which is transmitted through radio or television shall include, in addition to the requirements of that paragraph, in a clearly spoken manner, the following audio statement: ‘_____ is responsible for the content of this advertising.’ (with the blank to be filled in with the name of the political committee or other person paying for the communication and the name of any connected organization of the payor). If transmitted through television, the statement shall be conveyed by an unobscured, full-screen view of a representative of the political committee or other

person making the statement, or by a representative of such political committee or other person in voice-over, and shall also appear in a clearly readable manner with a reasonable degree of color contrast between the background and the printed statement, for a period of at least 4 seconds.

§ 441e. Contributions and donations by foreign nationals¹

- (a) *Prohibition.* It shall be unlawful for—
- (1) a foreign national, directly or indirectly, to make—
 - (A) a contribution or donation of money or other thing of value, or to make an express or implied promise to make a contribution or donation, in connection with a Federal, State, or local election;
 - (B) a contribution or donation to a committee of a political party; or
 - (C) an expenditure, independent expenditure, or disbursement for an electioneering communication (within the meaning of section 304(f)(3)) (2 U.S.C. § 434(f)(3)); or
 - (2) a person to solicit, accept, or receive a contribution or donation described in subparagraph (A) or (B) of paragraph (1) from a foreign national.
- (b) As used in this section, the term “foreign national” means—
- (1) a foreign principal, as such term is defined by section 611(b) of title 22,² except that the term “foreign national” shall not include any individual who is a citizen of the United States; or

¹Section 303 of the Bipartisan Campaign Reform Act of 2002 (BCRA), Pub. L. No. 107-155, amended section 441e by revising the title of the section and the wording of paragraph (a). This amendment is effective as of November 6, 2002.

²22 U.S.C. § 611(b) provides:

- (b) The term “foreign principal” includes—
- (1) a government of a foreign country and a foreign political party;
 - (2) a person outside of the United States, unless it is established that such person is an individual and a citizen of and domiciled within the United States, or that such person is not an individual and is organized under or created by the laws of the United States or of any State or other place subject to the jurisdiction of the United States and has its principal place of business within the United States; and
 - (3) a partnership, association, corporation, organization, or other combination of persons organized under the laws of or having its principal place of business in a foreign country.

(2) an individual who is not a citizen of the United States or a national of the United States (as defined in section 101(a)(22) of the Immigration and Nationality Act)¹ and who is not lawfully admitted for permanent residence, as defined by section 1101(a)(20) of title 8.²

§ 441f. Contributions in name of another prohibited

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.

§ 441g. Limitation on contribution of currency

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.

§ 441h. Fraudulent misrepresentation of campaign authority³

(a) *In general.* No person who is a candidate for Federal office or an employee or agent of such a candidate shall—

(1) fraudulently misrepresent 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 damaging to such other candidate or political party or employee or agent thereof; or

(2) willfully and knowingly participate in or conspire to participate in any plan, scheme, or design to violate paragraph (1).

(b) *Fraudulent solicitation of funds.* No person shall—

(1) fraudulently misrepresent the person as speaking, writing, or otherwise acting for or on behalf of any candidate or political party

¹Section 317 of the Bipartisan Campaign Reform Act of 2002 (BCRA), Pub. L. No. 107-155, amended section 441e(b)(2) to insert a cross reference to the Immigration and Nationality Act. This amendment is effective as of November 6, 2002.

²8 U.S.C. § 1101(a)(20) provides: (20) The term lawfully admitted for permanent residence means the status of having been lawfully accorded the privilege of residing permanently in the United States as an immigrant in accordance with the immigration laws, such status not having changed.

³Section 309 of the Bipartisan Campaign Reform Act of 2002 (BCRA), Pub. L. No. 107-155, amended section 441h to redesignate the existing section as paragraph (a) and add paragraph (b). This amendment is effective as of November 6, 2002.

or employee or agent thereof for the purpose of soliciting contributions or donations; or

(2) willfully and knowingly participate in or conspire to participate in any plan, scheme, or design to violate paragraph (1).

§ 441i. Soft money of political parties¹

(a) *National committees.*

(1) *In general.* A national committee of a political party (including a national congressional campaign committee of a political party) may not solicit, receive, or direct to another person a contribution, donation, or transfer of funds or any other thing of value, or spend any funds, that are not subject to the limitations, prohibitions, and reporting requirements of this Act.

(2) *Applicability.* The prohibition established by paragraph (1) applies to any such national committee, any officer or agent acting on behalf of such a national committee, and any entity that is directly or indirectly established, financed, maintained, or controlled by such a national committee.

(b) *State, district and local committees.*

(1) *In general.* Except as provided in paragraph (2), an amount that is expended or disbursed for Federal election activity by a State, district, or local committee of a political party (including an entity that is directly or indirectly established, financed, maintained, or controlled by a State, district, or local committee of a political party and an officer or agent acting on behalf of such committee or entity), or by an association or similar group of candidates for State or local office or of individuals holding State or local office, shall be made from funds subject to the limitations, prohibitions, and reporting requirements of this Act.

(2) *Applicability.*

(A) *In general.* Notwithstanding clause (i) or (ii) of section 301(20)(A) (2 U.S.C. § 431(20)(A)), and subject to subparagraph (B), paragraph (1) shall not apply to any amount expended or disbursed by a State, district, or local committee of a political party for an activity described in either such clause to

¹Prior to its repeal on August 14, 1991, by Section 6(d) of the Legislative Branch Appropriations Act, 1991, Pub. L. No. 102–90, section 441i regulated the acceptance of honoraria by Senators and officers and employees of the U.S. Senate. Section 309 of the Bipartisan Campaign Reform Act of 2002 (BCRA), Pub. L. No. 107-155, amended the Act to add a new section 441i, concerning nonfederal funds of political parties. This amendment is effective as of November 6, 2002.

the extent the amounts expended or disbursed for such activity are allocated (under regulations prescribed by the Commission) among amounts—

(i) which consist solely of contributions subject to the limitations, prohibitions, and reporting requirements of this Act (other than amounts described in subparagraph (B)(iii)); and

(ii) other amounts which are not subject to the limitations, prohibitions, and reporting requirements of this Act (other than any requirements of this subsection).

(B) *Conditions.* Subparagraph (A) shall only apply if—

(i) the activity does not refer to a clearly identified candidate for Federal office;

(ii) the amounts expended or disbursed are not for the costs of any broadcasting, cable, or satellite communication, other than a communication which refers solely to a clearly identified candidate for State or local office;

(iii) the amounts expended or disbursed which are described in subparagraph (A)(ii) are paid from amounts which are donated in accordance with State law and which meet the requirements of subparagraph (C), except that no person (including any person established, financed, maintained, or controlled by such person) may donate more than \$10,000 to a State, district, or local committee of a political party in a calendar year for such expenditures or disbursements; and

(iv) the amounts expended or disbursed are made solely from funds raised by the State, local, or district committee which makes such expenditure or disbursement, and do not include any funds provided to such committee from—

(I) any other State, local, or district committee of any State party,

(II) the national committee of a political party (including a national congressional campaign committee of a political party),

(III) any officer or agent acting on behalf of any committee described in subclause (I) or (II), or

(IV) any entity directly or indirectly established, financed, maintained, or controlled by any committee described in subclause (I) or (II).

(C) *Prohibiting involvement of national parties, federal candidates and officeholders, and state parties acting jointly.* Notwithstanding subsection (e) (other than subsection (e)(3)), amounts specifically authorized to be spent under subparagraph (B)(iii) meet the requirements of this subparagraph only if the amounts—

(i) are not solicited, received, directed, transferred, or spent by or in the name of any person described in subsection (a) or (e); and

(ii) are not solicited, received, or directed through fundraising activities conducted jointly by 2 or more State, local, or district committees of any political party or their agents, or by a State, local, or district committee of a political party on behalf of the State, local, or district committee of a political party or its agent in one or more other States.

(c) *Fundraising costs.* An amount spent by a person described in subsection (a) or (b) to raise funds that are used, in whole or in part, for expenditures and disbursements for a Federal election activity shall be made from funds subject to the limitations, prohibitions, and reporting requirements of this Act.

(d) *Tax-exempt organizations.* A national, State, district, or local committee of a political party (including a national congressional campaign committee of a political party), an entity that is directly or indirectly established, financed, maintained, or controlled by any such national, State, district, or local committee or its agent, and an officer or agent acting on behalf of any such party committee or entity, shall not solicit any funds for, or make or direct any donations to—

(1) an organization that is described in section 501(c) of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 and exempt from taxation under section 501(a) of such Code (or has submitted an application for determination of tax exempt status under such section) and that makes expenditures or disbursements in connection with an election for Federal office (including expenditures or disbursements for Federal election activity); or

(2) an organization described in section 527 of such Code (other than a political committee, a State, district, or local committee of a political party, or the authorized campaign committee of a candidate for State or local office).

(e) *Federal candidates.*

(1) *In general.* A candidate, individual holding Federal office, agent of a candidate or an individual holding Federal office, or an entity directly or indirectly established, financed, maintained or controlled by or acting on behalf of 1 or more candidates or individuals holding Federal office, shall not—

(A) solicit, receive, direct, transfer, or spend funds in connection with an election for Federal office, including funds for any Federal election activity, unless the funds are subject to the limitations, prohibitions, and reporting requirements of this Act; or

(B) solicit, receive, direct, transfer, or spend funds in connection with any election other than an election for Federal office or disburse funds in connection with such an election unless the funds—

(i) are not in excess of the amounts permitted with respect to contributions to candidates and political committees under paragraphs (1), (2), and (3) of section 315(a) (2 U.S.C. § 441a(a)); and

(ii) are not from sources prohibited by this Act from making contributions in connection with an election for Federal office.

(2) *State law.* Paragraph (1) does not apply to the solicitation, receipt, or spending of funds by an individual described in such paragraph who is or was also a candidate for a State or local office solely in connection with such election for State or local office if the solicitation, receipt, or spending of funds is permitted under State law and refers only to such State or local candidate, or to any other candidate for the State or local office sought by such candidate, or both.

(3) *Fundraising events.* Notwithstanding paragraph (1) or subsection (b)(2)(C), a candidate or an individual holding Federal office may attend, speak, or be a featured guest at a fundraising event for a State, district, or local committee of a political party.

(4) *Permitting certain solicitations.*

(A) *General solicitations.* Notwithstanding any other provision of this subsection, an individual described in paragraph (1) may make a general solicitation of funds on behalf of any organization that is described in section 501(c) of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 and exempt from taxation under section 501(a) of such Code (or has submitted an application

for determination of tax exempt status under such section) (other than an entity whose principal purpose is to conduct activities described in clauses (i) and (ii) of section 301(20)(A)) (2 U.S.C. § 431(20)(A)) where such solicitation does not specify how the funds will or should be spent.

(B) *Certain specific solicitations.* In addition to the general solicitations permitted under subparagraph (A), an individual described in paragraph (1) may make a solicitation explicitly to obtain funds for carrying out the activities described in clauses (i) and (ii) of section 301(20)(A) (2 U.S.C. § 431(20)(A)), or for an entity whose principal purpose is to conduct such activities, if—

- (i) the solicitation is made only to individuals;
- and
- (ii) the amount solicited from any individual during any calendar year does not exceed \$20,000.

(f) *State candidates.*

(1) *In general.* A candidate for State or local office, individual holding State or local office, or an agent of such a candidate or individual may not spend any funds for a communication described in section 301(20)(A)(iii) (2 U.S.C. § 431(20)(A)(iii)) unless the funds are subject to the limitations, prohibitions, and reporting requirements of this Act.

(2) *Exception for certain communications.* Paragraph (1) shall not apply to an individual described in such paragraph if the communication involved is in connection with an election for such State or local office and refers only to such individual or to any other candidate for the State or local office held or sought by such individual, or both.

§ 441j. Repealed.

§ 441k. Prohibition of contributions by minors¹

An individual who is 17 years old or younger shall not make a contribution to a candidate or a contribution or donation to a committee of a political party.

¹Section 318 of the Bipartisan Campaign Reform Act of 2002 (BCRA), Pub. L. No. 107-155, amended the Act to add section 441k. This amendment was effective as of November 6, 2002. However, in *McConnell v. FEC*, 124 S. Ct. 619, 711 (2003), the Supreme Court ruled that section 441k was unconstitutional.

§ 442. Authority to procure technical support and other services and incur travel expenses; payment of such expenses

For the purpose of carrying out his duties under the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, the Secretary of the Senate is authorized, from and after July 1, 1972,

- (1) to procure technical support services,
- (2) to procure the temporary or intermittent services of individual technicians, experts, or consultants, or organizations thereof, in the same manner and under the same conditions, to the extent applicable, as a standing committee of the Senate may procure such services under section 72a(i) of this title,
- (3) with the prior consent of the Government department or agency concerned and the Committee on Rules and Administration, to use on a reimbursable basis the services of personnel of any such department or agency, and
- (4) to incur official travel expenses.

Payments to carry out the provisions of this paragraph shall be made from funds included in the appropriation “Miscellaneous Items” under the heading “Contingent Expenses of the Senate” upon vouchers approved by the Secretary of the Senate. All sums received by the Secretary under authority of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 shall be covered into the Treasury as miscellaneous receipts.

Subchapter II—General Provisions**§ 451. Extension of credit by regulated industries; regulations¹**

The Secretary of Transportation, the Federal Communications Commission, and the Surface Transportation Board shall each maintain its own regulations with respect to the extension of credit, without security, by any person regulated by the Secretary under subpart II of part A of subtitle VII of Title 49, or such Commission or Board, to any candidate for Federal office, or to any person on behalf of such a candidate, for goods furnished or services rendered in connection with the campaign of such candidate for nomination for election, or election, to such office.

§ 452. Prohibition against use of certain Federal funds for election activities

No part of any funds appropriated to carry out the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 (42 U.S.C. § 2701 et seq.) shall be used to finance,

¹The wording of section 451 was slightly modified by several technical amendments contained in Pub. L. Nos. 104-287, 104-88 and 103-272.

directly or indirectly, any activity designed to influence the outcome of any election to Federal office, or any voter registration activity, or to pay the salary of any officer or employee of the Office of Economic Opportunity who, in his official capacity as such an officer or employee, engages in any such activity.

§ 453. State laws affected¹

(a) *In general.* Subject to subsection (b), 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.

(b) *State and local committees of political parties.* Notwithstanding any other provision of this Act, a State or local committee of a political party may, subject to State law, use exclusively funds that are not subject to the prohibitions, limitations, and reporting requirements of the Act for the purchase or construction of an office building for such State or local committee.

§ 454. Partial invalidity²

If any provision of this Act, or the application thereof to any person or circumstance, is held invalid, the validity of the remainder of the Act and the application of such provision to other persons and circumstances shall not be affected thereby.

§ 455. Period of limitations³

(a) No person shall be prosecuted, tried, or punished for any violation of subchapter I of this chapter, unless the indictment is found or the information is instituted within 5 years after the date of the violation.

¹Section 103(b)(2) of the Bipartisan Campaign Reform Act of 2002 (BCRA), Pub. L. No. 107-155, amended section 453 to redesignate the existing section as (a) and add paragraph (b). This amendment is effective as of November 6, 2002.

²Section 401 of the Bipartisan Campaign Reform Act of 2002 (BCRA), Pub. L. No. 107-155, provided:

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

³Section 313 of the Bipartisan Campaign Reform Act of 2002 (BCRA), Pub. L. No. 107-155, amended section 455(a) by striking “(3)” and inserting “(5)”. This amendment is effective for violations occurring on or after November 6, 2002.

(b) Notwithstanding any other provision of law—

(1) the period of limitations referred to in subsection (a) of this section 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 subchapter I of this chapter, 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 January 1, 1975.

TITLE 26. INTERNAL REVENUE CODE

Chapter 95—Presidential Election Campaign Fund

§ 9001. Short title

This chapter may be cited as the “Presidential Election Campaign Fund Act”.

§ 9002. 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 President of the United States, any political committee which is authorized 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 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 with respect to any presidential election, an individual who—

(A) has been nominated for election to the office of President of the United States or the office of Vice President of the United States by a major party, or

(B) has qualified to have his name on the election ballot (or to have the names of electors pledged to him on the election ballot) as the candidate of a political party for election to either such office in 10 or more States.

For purposes of paragraphs (6) and (7) of this section and purposes of section 9004(a)(2), the term “candidate” means, with respect to any preceding presidential election, an individual who received popular votes for the office of President in such election. The term “candidate” shall not include any individual who has ceased actively to seek election to the office of President of the United States or to the office of Vice President of the United States, in more than one State.

(3) The term “Commission” means the Federal Election Commission established by section 309(a)(1) of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 (section 437c(a)(1) of title 2).

(4) The term “eligible candidates” means the candidates of a political party for President and Vice President of the United States who have met all applicable conditions for eligibility to receive payments under this chapter set forth in section 9003.

(5) The term “fund” means the Presidential Election Campaign Fund established by section 9006(a).

(6) The term “major party” means, with respect to any presidential election, a political party whose candidate for the office of President in the preceding presidential election received, as the candidate of such party, 25 percent or more of the total number of popular votes received by all candidates for such office.

(7) The term “minor party” means, with respect to any presidential election, a political party whose candidate for the office of President in the preceding presidential election received, as the candidate of such party, 5 percent or more but less than 25 percent of the total number of popular votes received by all candidates for such office.

(8) The term “new party” means with respect to any presidential election, a political party which is neither a major party nor a minor party.

(9) The term “political committee” means any committee, association, or organization (whether or not incorporated) which accepts contributions or makes expenditures for the purpose of influencing, or attempting to influence, the nomination or election of one or more individuals to Federal, State, or local elective public office.

(10) The term “presidential election” means the election of presidential and vice-presidential electors.

(11) The term “qualified campaign expense” means an expense—

(A) incurred—

(i) by the candidate of a political party for the office of President to further his election to such office or to further the election of the candidate of such political party for the office of Vice President, or both

(ii) by the candidate of a political party for the office of Vice President to further his election to such office or to further the election of the candidate of such political party for the office of President, or both, or

(iii) by an authorized committee of the candidates of a political party for the offices of President and Vice President to further the election of either or both of such candidates to such offices,

(B) incurred within the expenditure report period (as defined in paragraph (12)), or incurred before the beginning of

such period to the extent such expense is for property, services, or facilities used during such period, and

(C) neither the incurring nor payment of which constitutes a violation of any law of the United States or of the State in which such expense is incurred or paid.

An expense shall be considered as incurred by a candidate or an authorized committee if it is incurred by a person authorized by such candidate or such committee, as the case may be, to incur such expense on behalf of such candidate or such committee. If an authorized committee of the candidates of a political party for President and Vice President of the United States also incurs expenses to further the election of one or more other individuals to Federal, State, or local elective public office, expenses incurred by such committee which are not specifically to further the election of such other individual or individuals shall be considered as incurred to further the election of such candidates for President and Vice President in such proportion as the Commission prescribes by rules or regulations.

(12) The term “expenditure report period” with respect to any presidential election means—

(A) in the case of a major party, the period beginning with the first day of September before the election, or, if earlier, with the date on which such major party at its national convention nominated its candidate for election to the office of President of the United States, and ending 30 days after the date of the presidential election; and

(B) in the case of a party which is not a major party, the same period as the expenditure report period of the major party which has the shortest expenditure report period for such presidential election under subparagraph (A).

§ 9003. Condition for eligibility for payments

(a) *In general.* In order to be eligible to receive any payments under section 9006, the candidates of a political party in a presidential election shall, in writing—

(1) agree to obtain and furnish to the Commission such evidence as it may request of the qualified campaign expenses of such candidates,

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

(3) agree to an audit and examination by the Commission under section 9007 and to pay any amounts required to be paid under such section.

(b) *Major parties.* In order to be eligible to receive any payments under section 9006, the candidates of a major party in a presidential election shall certify to the Commission, under penalty of perjury, that—

(1) such candidates and their authorized committees will not incur qualified campaign expenses in excess of the aggregate payments to which they will be entitled under section 9004, and

(2) no contributions to defray qualified campaign expenses have been or will be accepted by such candidates or any of their authorized committees except to the extent necessary to make up any deficiency in payments received out of the fund on account of the application of section 9006(c), and no contributions to defray expenses which would be qualified campaign expenses but for subparagraph (C) of section 9002(11) have been or will be accepted by such candidates or any of their authorized committees.

Such certification shall be made within such time prior to the day of the presidential election as the Commission shall prescribe by rules or regulations.

(c) *Minor and new parties.* In order to be eligible to receive any payments under section 9006, the candidates of a minor or new party in a presidential election shall certify to the Commission under penalty of perjury, that—

(1) such candidates and their authorized committees will not incur qualified campaign expenses in excess of the aggregate payments to which the eligible candidates of a major party are entitled under section 9004, and

(2) such candidates and their authorized committees will accept and expend or retain contributions to defray qualified campaign expenses only to the extent that the qualified campaign expenses incurred by such candidates and their authorized committees certified to under paragraph (1) exceed the aggregate payments received by such candidates out of the fund pursuant to section 9006.

Such certification shall be made within such time prior to the day of the presidential election as the Commission shall prescribe by rules or regulations.

(d) *Withdrawal by candidate.* In any case in which an individual ceases to be a candidate as a result of the operation of the last sentence of section 9002(2), such individual—

(1) shall no longer be eligible to receive any payments under section 9006, except that such individual shall be eligible to receive payments under such section to defray qualified campaign expenses incurred while actively seeking election to the office of President of the United States or to the office of Vice President of the United States in more than one State; and

(2) shall pay to the Secretary, as soon as practicable after the date upon which such individual ceases to be a candidate, an amount equal to the amount of payments received by such individual under section 9006 which are not used to defray qualified campaign expenses.

(e) *Closed captioning requirement.* No candidate for the office of President or Vice President may receive amounts from the Presidential Election Campaign Fund under this chapter or chapter 96 unless such candidate has certified that any television commercial prepared or distributed by the candidate will be prepared in a manner which ensures that the commercial contains or is accompanied by closed captioning of the oral content of the commercial to be broadcast in line 21 of the vertical blanking interval, or is capable of being viewed by deaf and hearing impaired individuals via any comparable successor technology to line 21 of the vertical blanking interval.

§ 9004. Entitlement of eligible candidates to payments

(a) *In general.* Subject to the provisions of this chapter—

(1) The eligible candidates of each major party in a presidential election shall be entitled to equal payments under section 9006 in an amount which, in the aggregate, shall not exceed the expenditure limitations applicable to such candidates under section 441a(b)(1)(B) of title 2.

(2) (A) The eligible candidates of a minor party in a presidential election shall be entitled to payments under section 9006 equal in the aggregate to an amount which bears the same ratio to the amount allowed under paragraph (1) for a major party 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 major parties in the preceding presidential election.

(B) If the candidate of one or more political parties (not including a major party) for the office of President was a candidate for such office in the preceding presidential election and received 5 percent or more but less than 25 percent of the total number of popular votes received by all candidates for such office, such candidate and his running mate for the office of Vice President, upon compliance with the provisions of section 9003(a) and (c), shall be treated as eligible candidates entitled to payments under section 9006 in an amount computed as provided in subparagraph (A) by taking into account

all the popular votes received by such candidate for the office of President in the preceding presidential election. If eligible candidates of a minor party are entitled to payments under this subparagraph, such entitlement shall be reduced by the amount of the entitlement allowed under subparagraph (A).

(3) The eligible candidates of a minor party or a new party in a presidential election whose candidate for President in such election receives, as such candidate, 5 percent or more of the total number of popular votes cast for the office of President in such election shall be entitled to payments under section 9006 equal in the aggregate to an amount which bears the same ratio to the amount allowed under paragraph (1) for a major party as the number of popular votes received by such candidate in such election bears to the average number of popular votes received in such election by the candidates for President of the major parties. In the case of eligible candidates entitled to payments under paragraph (2), the amount allowable under this paragraph shall be limited to the amount, if any, by which the entitlement under the preceding sentence exceeds the amount of the entitlement under paragraph (2).

(b) *Limitations.* The aggregate payments to which the eligible candidates of a political party shall be entitled under subsections (a)(2) and (3) with respect to a presidential election shall not exceed an amount equal to the lower of—

(1) the amount of qualified campaign expenses incurred by such eligible candidates and their authorized committees, reduced by the amount of contributions to defray qualified campaign expenses received and expended or retained by such eligible candidates and such committees, or

(2) the aggregate payments to which the eligible candidates of a major party are entitled under subsection (a)(1), reduced by the amount of contributions described in paragraph (1) of this subsection.

(c) *Restrictions.* The eligible candidates of a political party shall be entitled to payments under subsection (a) only—

(1) to defray qualified campaign expenses incurred by such eligible candidates or their authorized committees, or

(2) to repay loans the proceeds of which were used to defray such qualified campaign expenses, or otherwise to restore funds (other than contributions to defray qualified campaign expenses received and expended by such candidates or such committees) used to defray such qualified campaign expenses.

(d) *Expenditures from personal funds.* In order to be eligible to receive any payment under section 9006, the candidate of a major, minor, or new party in an election for the office of President shall certify to the Commission, under penalty of perjury, that such candidate will not knowingly make expenditures from his personal funds, or the personal funds of his immediate family, in connection with his campaign for election to the office of President in excess of, in the aggregate, \$50,000. For purposes of this subsection, expenditures from personal funds made by a candidate of a major, minor, or new party for the office of Vice President shall be considered to be expenditures by the candidate of such party for the office of President.

(e) *Definition of immediate family.* For purposes of subsection (d), the term “immediate family” means a candidate’s spouse, and any child, parent, grandparent, brother, half-brother, sister, or half-sister of the candidate, and the spouses of such persons.

§ 9005. Certification by Commission

(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 of the Treasury for payment to such eligible candidates under section 9006 payment in full of amounts to which such candidates are entitled under section 9004.

(b) *Finality of certifications and determinations.* Initial certifications by the Commission under subsection (a), and all determinations made by it under this chapter, shall be final and conclusive, except to the extent that they are subject to examination and audit by the Commission under section 9007 and judicial review under section 9011.

§ 9006. Payments to eligible candidates

(a) *Establishment of campaign fund.* There is hereby established on the books of the Treasury of the United States a special fund to be known as the “Presidential Election Campaign Fund”. The Secretary of the Treasury shall, from time to time, transfer to the fund an amount not in excess of the sum of the amounts designated (subsequent to the previous Presidential election) to the fund by individuals under section 6096. 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) *Payments from the fund.* Upon receipt of a certification from the Commission under section 9005 for payment to the eligible candidates of a political party, the Secretary of the Treasury shall pay to such candidates out of the fund the amount certified by the Commission. Amounts paid to any such candidates shall be under the control of such candidates.

(c) *Insufficient amounts in fund.* If at the time of a certification by the Commission under section 9005 for payment to the eligible candidates of a political party, the Secretary determines that the moneys in the fund are not, or may not be, sufficient to satisfy the full entitlements of the eligible candidates of all political parties, he shall withhold from such payment such amount as he determines to be necessary to assure that the eligible candidates of each political party will receive their pro rata share of their full entitlement. Amounts withheld by reason of the preceding sentence shall be paid when the Secretary determines that there are sufficient moneys in the fund to pay such amounts, or portions thereof, to all eligible candidates from whom amounts have been withheld, but, if there are not sufficient moneys in the fund to satisfy the full entitlement of the eligible candidates of all political parties, the amounts so withheld shall be paid in such manner that the eligible candidates of each political party receive their pro rata share of their full entitlement. In any case in which the Secretary determines that there are insufficient moneys in the fund to make payments under subsection (b), section 9008(b)(3), and section 9037(b), moneys shall not be made available from any other source for the purpose of making such payments.

§ 9007. Examinations and audits; repayments

(a) *Examinations and audits.* After each presidential election, the Commission shall conduct a thorough examination and audit of the qualified campaign expenses of the candidates of each political party for President and Vice President.

(b) *Repayments.*

(1) If the Commission determines that any portion of the payments made to the eligible candidates of a political party under section 9006 was in excess of the aggregate payments to which candidates were entitled under section 9004, it shall so notify such candidates, and such candidates shall pay to the Secretary of the Treasury an amount equal to such portion.

(2) If the Commission determines that the eligible candidates of a political party and their authorized committees incurred qualified campaign expenses in excess of the aggregate payments to which the eligible candidates of a major party were entitled under section 9004, it shall notify such candidates of the amount of such excess

and such candidates shall pay to the Secretary of the Treasury an amount equal to such amount.

(3) If the Commission determines that the eligible candidates of a major party or any authorized committee of such candidates accepted contributions (other than contributions to make up deficiencies in payments out of the fund on account of the application of section 9006(c)) to defray qualified campaign expenses (other than qualified campaign expenses with respect to which payment is required under paragraph (2)), it shall notify such candidates of the amount of the contributions so accepted, and such candidates shall pay to the Secretary of the Treasury an amount equal to such amount.

(4) If the Commission determines that any amount of any payment made to the eligible candidates of a political party under section 9006 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 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 such qualified campaign expenses, it shall notify such candidates of the amount so used, and such candidates shall pay to the Secretary of the Treasury an amount equal to such amount.

(5) No payment shall be required from the eligible candidates of a political party under this subsection to the extent that such payment, when added to other payments required from such candidates under this subsection, exceeds the amount of payments received by such candidates under section 9006.

(c) *Notification.* No notification shall be made by the Commission under subsection (b) with respect to a presidential election more than 3 years after the day of such election.

(d) *Deposit of repayments.* All payments received by the Secretary of the Treasury under subsection (b) shall be deposited by him in the general fund of the Treasury.

§ 9008. Payments for presidential nominating conventions

(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 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 \$4,000,000.

(2) *Minor parties.* Subject to the provisions of this section, the national committee of a minor 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 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 Commission 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 payments 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 established by this subsection shall be adjusted in the same manner as expenditure limitations established by section 441a(b) and section 441a(d) of title 2, United States Code, are adjusted pursuant to the provisions of section 441a(c) 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 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 contributions

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 expenditures with respect to a presidential nominating convention which, 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 authorization 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 presidential nominating convention by such committee.

(4) *Provision of legal or accounting services.* For purposes of this section, the payment, by any person other than the national committee of a political party (unless the person paying for such services is a person other than the regular employer of the individual rendering such services) of compensation to any individual for legal or accounting services rendered to or on behalf of the national committee of a political party shall not be treated as an expenditure made by or on behalf of such committee with respect to its limitations on presidential nominating convention expenses.

(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 preceding 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 political 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 committee of such party. Such statement shall include the information required by section 433(b) of title 2, 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 calendar 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 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.

§ 9009. Reports to Congress; regulations

(a) *Reports.* The Commission shall, as soon as practicable after each presidential election, 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 9005 for payment to the eligible candidates of each political party;
- (3) the amount of payments, if any, required from such candidates under section 9007, and the reasons for each payment required;
- (4) the expenses incurred by the national committee of a major party or minor party with respect to a presidential nominating convention;¹
- (5) the amounts certified by it under section 9008(g) for payment to each such committee; and
- (6) the amount of payments, if any, required from such committees under section 9008(h), and the reasons for each such payment.

¹This report is no longer required. See House Document No. 103-7, cited at Note, 31 U.S.C. § 1113 and Pub. L. No. 104-66.

Each report submitted pursuant to this section shall be printed as a Senate document.

(b) *Regulations, etc.* The Commission is authorized to prescribe such rules and regulations in accordance with the provisions of subsection (c), to conduct such examinations and audits (in addition to the examinations and audits required by section 9007(a)), to conduct such investigations, and to require the keeping and submission of such books, records, and information, as it deems necessary to carry out the functions and duties imposed on it by this chapter.

(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 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, 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 regulation. Whenever a committee of the House of Representatives reports any resolution relating to any such rule or regulation, it is at any time thereafter in order (even though a previous motion to the same effect has been disagreed to) to move to proceed to the consideration of the resolution. The motion is highly privileged and is not debatable. An amendment to the motion is not in order, and it is not in order to move to reconsider the vote by which the motion is agreed to or disagreed to. 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.

(4) For purposes of this subsection, the term “rule or regulation” means a provision or series of interrelated provisions stating a single separable rule of law.

§ 9010. Participation by Commission in judicial proceedings

(a) *Appearance by counsel.* The Commission is authorized to appear in and defend against any action filed under section 9011, 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 appear in the district courts of the United States to seek recovery of any amounts determined to be payable to the Secretary of the Treasury as a result of examination and audit made pursuant to section 9007.

(c) *Declaratory and injunctive relief.* The Commission is authorized through attorneys and counsel described in subsection (a) to petition the courts of the United States for declaratory or injunctive relief concerning any civil matter covered by the provisions of this subtitle or section 6096. Upon application of the Commission an action brought pursuant to this subsection shall be heard and determined by a court of three judges in accordance with the provisions of section 2284 of title 28, United States Code, and any appeal shall lie to the Supreme Court.

(d) *Appeal.* The Commission is authorized on behalf of the 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.

§ 9011. Judicial review

(a) *Review of certification, determination, or other action by the Commission.* Any certification, determination, or other action by the Commission made or taken pursuant to the provisions of this chapter shall be subject to review by the United States Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia upon petition filed in such Court by any interested person. Any petition filed pursuant to this section shall be filed within thirty days after the certification, determination, or other action by the Commission for which review is sought.

(b) *Suits to implement chapter.*

(1) The Commission, the national committee of any political party, and individuals eligible to vote for President are authorized to institute such actions, including actions for declaratory judgment or injunctive relief, as may be appropriate to implement or construe any provisions of this chapter.

(2) The district courts of the United States shall have jurisdiction of proceedings instituted pursuant to this subsection and shall exercise the same without regard to whether a person asserting rights under provisions of this subsection shall have exhausted any administrative or other remedies that may be provided at law. Such proceedings shall be heard and determined by a court of three judges

in accordance with the provisions of section 2284 of title 28, United States Code, and any appeal shall lie to the Supreme Court.

§ 9012. Criminal penalties

(a) *Excess expenses.*

(1) It shall be unlawful for an eligible candidate of a political party for President and Vice President in a presidential election or any of his authorized committees knowingly and willfully to incur qualified campaign expenses in excess of the aggregate payments to which the eligible candidates of a major party are entitled under section 9004 with respect to such election. 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 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).

(2) Any person who violates paragraph (1) shall be fined not more than \$5,000, or imprisoned not more than one year, or both. In the case of a violation by an authorized committee, any officer or member of such committee who knowingly and willfully consents to such violation shall be fined not more than \$5,000, or imprisoned not more than one year, or both.

(b) *Contributions.*

(1) It shall be unlawful for an eligible candidate of a major party in a presidential election or any of his authorized committees knowingly and willfully to accept any contribution to defray qualified campaign expenses, except to the extent necessary to make up any deficiency in payments received out of the fund on account of the application of section 9006(c), or to defray expenses which would be qualified campaign expenses but for subparagraph (C) of section 9002(11).

(2) It shall be unlawful for an eligible candidate of a political party (other than a major party) in a presidential election or any of his authorized committees knowingly and willfully to accept and expend or retain contributions to defray qualified campaign expenses in an amount which exceeds the qualified campaign expenses incurred with respect to such election by such eligible candidate and his authorized committees.

(3) Any person who violates paragraph (1) or (2) shall be fined not more than \$5,000, or imprisoned not more than one year, or both. In the case of a violation by an authorized committee, any officer or member of such committee who knowingly and willfully consents to such violation shall be fined not more than \$5,000, or imprisoned not more than one year, or both.

(c) *Unlawful use of payments.*

(1) It shall be unlawful for any person who receives any payment under section 9006, or to whom any portion of any payment received under such section is transferred, knowingly and willfully to use, or authorize the use of, such payment or such portion for any purpose other than—

(A) to defray the qualified campaign expenses with respect to which such payment was made, 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 such qualified campaign expenses.

(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).

(3) Any person who violates paragraph (1) shall be fined not more than \$10,000, or imprisoned not more than five years, or both.

(d) *False statements, etc.*

(1) It shall be unlawful for any person knowingly and willfully—

(A) to furnish any false, fictitious, or fraudulent evidence, books, or information to the Commission under this subtitle, 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 paragraph (1) shall be fined not more than \$10,000, or imprisoned not more than five years, or both.

(e) *Kickbacks and illegal payments.*

(1) It shall be 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 eligible candidates or their authorized committees. 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.

(2) Any person who violates paragraph (1) shall be fined not more than \$10,000, or imprisoned not more than five 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 eligible candidates or their authorized committees, 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 shall pay to the Secretary of the Treasury, for deposit in the general fund of the Treasury, an amount equal to 125 percent of the kickback or payment received.

(f) *Unauthorized expenditures and contributions.*¹

(1) Except as provided in paragraph (2), it shall be unlawful for any political committee which is not an authorized committee with respect to the eligible candidates of a political party for President and Vice President in a presidential election knowingly and willfully to incur expenditures to further the election of such candidates, which would constitute qualified campaign expenses if incurred by an authorized committee of such candidates, in an aggregate amount exceeding \$1,000.

(2) This subsection shall not apply to—

(A) expenditures by a broadcaster regulated by the Federal Communications Commission, or by a periodical publication, in reporting the news or in taking editorial positions, or

(B) expenditures by any organization described in section 501(c) of this title which is exempt from tax under section 501(a) of this title in communicating to its members the views of that organization.

(3) Any political committee which violates paragraph (1) shall be fined not more than \$5,000, and any officer or member of such committee who knowingly and willfully consents to such violation and any other individual who knowingly and willfully violates paragraph (1) shall be fined not more than \$5,000, or imprisoned not more than one year, or both.

¹The Supreme Court has held that section 9012(f) is unconstitutional on its face because it violates First Amendment freedoms of speech and association. *Federal Election Commission v. National Conservative Political Action Committee, et al.*, 470 U.S. 480 (1985).

(g) *Unauthorized disclosure of information.*

(1) It shall be unlawful for any individual to disclose any information obtained under the provisions of this chapter except as may be required by law.

(2) Any person who violates paragraph (1) shall be fined not more than \$5,000, or imprisoned not more than one year, or both.

§ 9013. **Effective date of chapter**

The provisions of this chapter shall take effect on January 1, 1973.

Chapter 96—Presidential Primary Matching Payment Account

§ 9031. **Short title**

This chapter may be cited as the “Presidential Primary Matching Payment Account Act”.

§ 9032. **Definitions**

For the purposes of this chapter—

(1) The term “authorized committee” means, with respect to the candidates of a political party for President and Vice President of the United States, any political committee which is authorized 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 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 nomination 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.

The term “candidate” shall not include any individual who is not actively conducting campaigns in more than one State in connection

with seeking nomination for election to be President of the United States.

(3) The term “Commission” means the Federal Election Commission established by section 437c(a)(1) of title 2.

(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 candidate, or his authorized committee, of compensation for the personal services of another person which are rendered to the 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 Presidential 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 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.

(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 candidate 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.

§ 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 evidence 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 under such section.

(b) *Expense limitation; declaration of intent; minimum contributions.* To be eligible to receive payments under section 9037, a candidate shall certify to the Commission that—

(1) the candidate and his authorized committees will not incur qualified campaign expenses in excess of the limitations on such expenses under section 9035,

(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.

(c) *Termination of payments.*

(1) *General rule.* Except as provided by paragraph (2), no payment shall be made to any individual under section 9037—

(A) if such individual ceases to be a candidate as a result of the operation of the last sentence of section 9032(2); or

(B) more than 30 days after the date of the second consecutive primary election in which such individual receives less than 10 percent of the number of votes cast for all candidates of the same party for the same office in such primary election, if such individual permitted or authorized the appearance of his name on the ballot, unless such individual certifies to the Commission that he will not be an active candidate in the primary involved.

(2) *Qualified campaign expenses; payments to Secretary.* Any candidate who is ineligible under paragraph (1) to receive any payments under section 9037 shall be eligible to continue to receive payments under section 9037 to defray qualified campaign expenses incurred before the date upon which such candidate becomes ineligible under paragraph (1).

(3) *Calculation of voting percentage.* For purposes of paragraph (1)(B), if the primary elections involved are held in more than one State on the same date, a candidate shall be treated as receiving that percentage of the votes on such date which he received in the primary election conducted on such date in which he received the greatest percentage vote.

(4) *Reestablishment of eligibility.*

(A) In any case in which an individual is ineligible to receive payments under section 9037 as a result of the operation

of paragraph (1)(A), the Commission may subsequently determine that such individual is a candidate upon a finding that such individual is actively seeking election to the office of President of the United States in more than one State. The Commission shall make such determination without requiring such individual to reestablish his eligibility to receive payments under subsection (a).

(B) Notwithstanding the provisions of paragraph (1)(B), a candidate whose payments have been terminated under paragraph (1)(B) may again receive payments (including amounts he would have received but for paragraph (1)(B)) if he receives 20 percent or more of the total number of votes cast for candidates of the same party in a primary election held after the date on which the election was held which was the basis for terminating payments to him.

§ 9034. Entitlement of eligible candidates to payments

(a) *In general.* Every candidate who is eligible to receive payments 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 person 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 instrument 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).

(b) *Limitations.* The total amount of payments to which a candidate is entitled under subsection (a) shall not exceed 50 percent of the expenditure limitation applicable under section 441a(b)(1)(A) of title 2.

§ 9035. Qualified campaign expense limitations

(a) *Expenditure limitations.* No candidate shall knowingly incur qualified campaign expenses in excess of the expenditure limitation applicable under section 441a(b)(1)(A) of title 2, and no candidate shall knowingly make expenditures from his personal funds, or the personal funds of his immediate family, in connection with his campaign for nomination for election to the office of President in excess of, in the aggregate, \$50,000.

(b) *Definition of immediate family.* For purposes of this section, the term “immediate family” means a candidate’s spouse, and any child, parent, grandparent, brother, half-brother, sister, or half-sister of the candidate, and the spouses of such persons.

§ 9036. Certification by Commission

(a) *Initial certifications.* Not later than 10 days after a candidate 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.

§ 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, 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 receipt of a certification from the Commission under section 9036, but not before the beginning of the matching payment period, the Secretary 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 shall seek to achieve an equitable distribution of funds available under subsection (a), and the Secretary shall take into account, in seeking to achieve an equitable distribution, the sequence in which such certifications are received.

§ 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 payments 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 candidate, and the candidate shall pay to the Secretary 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 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 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 an amount equal to such amount.

(3) Amounts received by a candidate from the matching payment 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 promptly repaid to the matching payment account.

(c) *Notification.* 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 under subsection (b) shall be deposited by him in the matching payment account.

§ 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.¹

(b) *Regulations, etc.* The Commission is authorized 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 investigations, and to require the keeping and submission of any books, records, and information, which it determines to be necessary to carry out its responsibilities under this chapter.

(c) *Review of regulations.*¹

(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 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 appropriation 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 regulation. Whenever a committee of the House of Representatives reports any resolution relating to any such rule or regulation, it is at any time thereafter in order (even though a previous motion to the same effect has been disagreed to) to move to proceed to the consideration of the resolution. The motion is highly privileged and is not debatable. An amendment to the motion is not in order, and it is not in order to move to reconsider the vote by which the motion is agreed

¹These reports are no longer required. See House Document No. 103-7, cited at Note, 31 U.S.C. §1113 and Pub. L. No. 104-66.

to or disagreed to. 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.

(4) For purposes of this subsection, the term “rule or regulation” means a provision or series of interrelated provisions stating a single separable rule of law.

§ 9040. Participation by Commission in judicial proceedings

(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 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 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.

§ 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.

§ 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 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—

(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.

(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 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 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 9037.

(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.

(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.

APPENDIX

This appendix includes excerpts from Federal election statutes in titles 18, 26, 28, 36 and 47, United States Code, over which the Commission has no jurisdiction. The appendix does not include the extensive provisions of the Ethics in Government Act of 1978, as amended, 5 U.S.C. appx. 6, §§ 101–111, which require candidates for Federal office to file personal financial disclosure statements.¹

TITLE 18. CRIMES AND CRIMINAL PROCEDURE

Chapter 29—Elections and Political Activities

§ 594. Intimidation of voters

Whoever intimidates, threatens, coerces, or attempts to intimidate, threaten, or coerce, any other person for the purpose of interfering with the right of such other person to vote or to vote as he may choose, or of causing such other person to vote for, or not to vote for, any candidate for the office of President, Vice President, Presidential elector, Member of the Senate, Member of the House of Representatives, Delegate from the District of Columbia, or Resident Commissioner, at any election held solely or in part for the purpose of electing such candidate, shall be fined under this title or imprisoned not more than one year, or both.

§ 595. Interference by administrative employees of Federal, State, or Territorial Governments

Whoever, being a person employed in any administrative position by the United States, or by any department or agency thereof, or by the District of Columbia or any agency or instrumentality thereof, or by any State, Territory, or Possession of the United States, or any political subdivision, municipality, or agency thereof, or agency of such political subdivision or municipality (including any corporation owned or controlled

¹ Except for an incumbent President and Vice President, who file with the Director of the Office of Government Ethics, candidates for President and Vice President file with the Federal Election Commission. House candidates file with the Clerk of the U.S. House of Representatives and Senate candidates file with the Secretary of the U.S. Senate.

by any State, Territory, or Possession of the United States or by any such political subdivision, municipality, or agency), in connection with any activity which is financed in whole or in part by loans or grants made by the United States, or any department or agency thereof, uses his official authority for the purpose of interfering with, or affecting, the nomination or the election of any candidate for the office of President, Vice President, Presidential elector, Member of the Senate, Member of the House of Representatives, Delegate from the District of Columbia, or Resident Commissioner, shall be fined under this title or imprisoned not more than one year, or both.

This section shall not prohibit or make unlawful any act by any officer or employee of any educational or research institution, establishment, agency, or system which is supported in whole or in part by any state or political subdivision thereof, or by the District of Columbia or by any Territory or Possession of the United States; or by any recognized religious, philanthropic or cultural organization.

* * * * *

§ 597. Expenditures to influence voting

Whoever makes or offers to make an expenditure to any person, either to vote or withhold his vote, or to vote for or against any candidate; and

Whoever solicits, accepts, or receives any such expenditure in consideration of his vote or the withholding of his vote—

Shall be fined under this title or imprisoned not more than one year, or both; and if the violation was willful, shall be fined under this title or imprisoned not more than two years, or both.

§ 598. Coercion by means of relief appropriations

Whoever uses any part of any appropriation made by Congress for work relief, relief, or for increasing employment by providing loans and grants for public-works projects, or exercises or administers any authority conferred by any Appropriation Act for the purpose of interfering with, restraining, or coercing any individual in the exercise of his right to vote at any election, shall be fined under this title or imprisoned not more than one year, or both.

§ 599. Promise of appointment by candidate

Whoever, being a candidate, directly or indirectly promises or pledges the appointment, or the use of his influence or support for the appointment of any person to any public or private position or employment, for the

purpose of procuring support in his candidacy shall be fined under this title or imprisoned not more than one year, or both; and if the violation was willful, shall be fined under this title or imprisoned not more than two years, or both.

§ 600. Promise of employment or other benefit for political activity

Whoever, directly or indirectly, promises any employment, position, compensation, contract, appointment, or other benefit, provided for or made possible in whole or in part by any Act of Congress, or any special consideration in obtaining any such benefit, to any person as consideration, favor, or reward for any political activity or for the support of or opposition to any candidate or any political party in connection with any general or special election to any political office, or in connection with any primary election or political convention or caucus held to select candidates for any political office, shall be fined under this title or imprisoned not more than one year, or both.

§ 601. Deprivation of employment or other benefit for political contribution

(a) Whoever, directly or indirectly, knowingly causes or attempts to cause any person to make a contribution of a thing of value (including services) for the benefit of any candidate or any political party, by means of the denial or deprivation, or the threat of the denial or deprivation, of—

(1) any employment, position, or work in or for any agency or other entity of the Government of the United States, a State, or a political subdivision of a State, or any compensation or benefit of such employment, position, or work; or

(2) any payment or benefit of a program of the United States, a State, or a political subdivision of a State; if such employment, position, work, compensation, payment, or benefit is provided for or made possible in whole or in part by an Act of Congress, shall be fined under this title or imprisoned not more than one year, or both.

(b) As used in this section—

(1) the term “candidate” means an individual who seeks nomination for election, or election, to Federal, State, or local office, whether or not such individual is elected, and, for purposes of this paragraph, an individual shall be deemed to seek nomination for election, or election, to Federal, State, or local office, if he has—

(A) taken the action necessary under the law of a State to qualify himself for nomination for election, or election, or

- (B) received contributions or made expenditures, or has given his consent for any other person to receive contributions or make expenditures, with a view to bringing about his nomination for election, or election, to such office;
- (2) the term “election” means—
- (A) a general, special primary, or runoff election,
 - (B) a convention or caucus of a political party held to nominate a candidate,
 - (C) a primary election held for the selection of delegates to a nominating convention of a political party,
 - (D) a primary election held for the expression of a preference for the nomination of persons for election to the office of President, and
 - (E) the election of delegates to a constitutional convention for proposing amendments to the Constitution of the United States or of any State; and
- (3) the term “State” means a State of the United States, the District of Columbia, the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico, or any territory or possession of the United States.

§ 602. Solicitation of political contributions

- (a) It shall be unlawful for—
- (1) a candidate for the Congress;
 - (2) an individual elected to or serving in the office of Senator or Representative in, or Delegate or Resident Commissioner to, the Congress;
 - (3) an officer or employee of the United States or any department or agency thereof; or
 - (4) a person receiving any salary or compensation for services from money derived from the Treasury of the United States; to knowingly solicit any contribution within the meaning of section 301(8) of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 [2 U.S.C. § 431(8)] from any other such officer, employee, or person. Any person who violates this section shall be fined under this title or imprisoned not more than three years, or both.
- (b) The prohibition in subsection (a) shall not apply to any activity of an employee (as defined in section 7322(1) of title 5) or any individual employed in or under the United States Postal Service or the Postal Rate Commission, unless that activity is prohibited by section 7323 or 7324 of such title.

§ 603. Making political contributions

(a) It shall be unlawful for an officer or employee of the United States or any department or agency thereof, or a person receiving any salary or compensation for services from money derived from the Treasury of the United States, to make any contribution within the meaning of section 301(8) of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 [2 U.S.C. § 431(8)] to any other such officer, employee or person or to any Senator or Representative in, or Delegate or Resident Commissioner to, the Congress, if the person receiving such contribution is the employer or employing authority of the person making the contribution. Any person who violates this section shall be fined under this title or imprisoned not more than three years, or both.

(b) For purposes of this section, a contribution to an authorized committee as defined in section 302(e)(1) of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 [2 U.S.C. § 432(e)(1)] shall be considered a contribution to the individual who has authorized such committee.

(c) The prohibition in subsection (a) shall not apply to any activity of an employee (as defined in section 7322(1) of title 5) or any individual employed in or under the United States Postal Service or the Postal Rate Commission, unless that activity is prohibited by section 7323 or 7324 of such title.

§ 604. Solicitation from persons on relief

Whoever solicits or receives or is in any manner concerned in soliciting or receiving any assessment, subscription, or contribution for any political purpose from any person known by him to be entitled to, or receiving compensation, employment, or other benefit provided for or made possible by any Act of Congress appropriating funds for work relief or relief purposes, shall be fined under this title or imprisoned not more than one year, or both.

§ 605. Disclosure of names of persons on relief

Whoever, for political purposes, furnishes or discloses any list or names of persons receiving compensation, employment or benefits provided for or made possible by any Act of Congress appropriating, or authorizing the appropriation of funds for work relief or relief purposes, to a political candidate, committee, campaign manager, or to any person for delivery to a political candidate, committee, or campaign manager; and

Whoever receives any such list or names for political purposes—

Shall be fined under this title or imprisoned not more than one year, or both.