

340. Also, a memorial of the Senate of the State of Louisiana, relative to Senate Concurrent Resolution No. 16 memorializing the Congress of the United States to support and adopt legislation to provide for the sharing of revenues generated through mineral exploration on the federal Outer Continental Shelf with coastal states and territories pursuant to a formula recommended by the Outer Continental Shelf Policy Committee; to the Committee on Resources.

341. Also, a memorial of the Legislature of the State of Louisiana, relative to House Concurrent Resolution No. 35 memorializing the Congress of the United States to support and adopt legislation to provide for the sharing with coastal states of revenues generated through mineral exploration on the federal Outer Continental Shelf and territories pursuant to a formula recommended by the Outer Continental Shelf Policy Committee; to the Committee on Resources.

342. Also, a memorial of the House of Representatives of the State of Colorado, relative to House Joint Resolution 98-1036 memorializing the United States Congress to enact and the President to sign the Aircraft Repair Station Safety Act of 1997; to the Committee on Transportation and Infrastructure.

343. Also, a memorial of the Legislature of the State of Louisiana, relative to House Concurrent Resolution No. 42 urging the federal government, who is generating over three billion dollars annually from royalties and lease sales in the Gulf of Mexico, to help fund the necessary infrastructure improvements to access the riches of the Gulf of Mexico; to the Committee on Transportation and Infrastructure.

344. Also, a memorial of the Senate of the State of New Jersey, relative to Senate Resolution 27 memorializing the opposition of any reduction in the budget of the United States Department of Veterans Affairs which may negatively affect the quality of veterans' health care in this State; to the Committee on Veterans' Affairs.

345. Also, a memorial of the House of Representatives of the State of Colorado, relative to House Joint Resolution 98-1020 urging the Congress of the United States to enact legislation to abolish the Internal Revenue Code by December 31, 2000, and to replace it with a new system of federal taxation; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

346. Also, a memorial of the House of Representatives of the State of Ohio, relative to House Resolution No. 397 memorializing the Congress of the United States to enact legislation that sunsets Title 26 of the United States Code, otherwise known as the Internal Revenue Code, and to develop and enact a new tax code for the American people by December 31, 2001; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

347. Also, a memorial of the Senate of the State of Tennessee, relative to Senate Resolution No. 705 urging the Congress of the United States not to take action to mandate competition in the retail or wholesale of electricity without special and careful consideration of the interests of the people of the Tennessee Valley; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

348. Also, a memorial of the Senate of the State of Tennessee, relative to Senate Resolution No. 148 urging the Congress of the United States to address this important issue by not adopting the proposed amendments to the Stark II regulations; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

349. Also, a memorial of the Senate of the State of Louisiana, relative to Senate Concurrent Resolution 41 memorializing the Congress of the United States to support reauthorization of and funding for the Violence Against Women Act of 1998; jointly to the

Committees on the Judiciary and Education and the Workforce.

350. Also, a memorial of the Senate of the State of Wisconsin, relative to Senate Joint Resolution 11 urging President Clinton and the U.S. Congress to uphold the federal government's commitment to accept and take title to civilian spent nuclear fuel on January 31, 1998, through enactment of appropriate funding resolutions and legislation that authorize and fund the development of a federal centralized, temporary storage facility for spent nuclear fuel that will accept spent nuclear fuel between January 31, 1998 and the beginning of commercial operation of the permanent federal nuclear waste repository; jointly to the Committees on Commerce, Transportation and Infrastructure, and Resources.

ADDITIONAL SPONSORS

Under clause 4 of rule XXII, sponsors were added to public bills and resolutions as follows:

H.R. 146: Mr. DUNCAN.
H.R. 225: Ms. LOFGREN.
H.R. 616: Mr. BORSKI.
H.R. 766: Ms. LEE.
H.R. 836: Mr. DREIER, Mr. FOX of Pennsylvania, and Mr. HILL.
H.R. 979: Mr. ENGEL, Mr. ABERCROMBIE, Mr. BAKER, Mr. MEEKS of New York, and Mr. THUNE.
H.R. 1126: Mr. MARKEY, Mr. SHAW, and Mr. WELLER.
H.R. 1382: Mr. EDWARDS, Ms. LEE, Mrs. THURMAN, Mr. OLVER, Mr. HINCHEY, and Mr. MANTON.
H.R. 1401: Mr. PORTMAN.
H.R. 1531: Mr. SHAYS, Mr. FRANKS of New Jersey, Mr. BILBRAY, and Mr. ROMERO-BARCELO.
H.R. 2023: Mr. SERRANO, Mr. TORRES, Mr. THOMPSON, and Mr. MARKEY.
H.R. 2224: Mr. TORRES.
H.R. 2351: Ms. KAPTUR.
H.R. 2477: Mr. BOSWELL.
H.R. 2509: Mr. BOSWELL.
H.R. 2524: Mr. THOMPSON and Mr. PETRI.
H.R. 2538: Ms. JACKSON-LEE, Mr. BURTON of Indiana, Mr. STUMP, Mr. FOLEY, and Mr. WELDON of Florida.
H.R. 2661: Mr. PEASE, Mr. FOLEY, Mr. HASTINGS of Washington, Mr. HERGER, and Mr. ROGERS.
H.R. 2733: Mr. ABERCROMBIE, Mr. COSTELLO, Mr. THOMAS, Mr. WAXMAN, and Mr. LEWIS of Kentucky.
H.R. 2754: Mr. MARKEY.
H.R. 2868: Mr. HOSTETTLER.
H.R. 2869: Mr. MCINTOSH.
H.R. 2873: Mr. MCINTOSH and Mr. TALENT.
H.R. 2937: Mr. MCCOLLUM.
H.R. 3003: Mr. BRYANT.
H.R. 3107: Mr. SALMON and Mr. INGLIS of South Carolina.
H.R. 3152: Mr. PETRI and Mr. PAUL.
H.R. 3156: Mr. LEACH and Mr. SERRANO.
H.R. 3166: Mrs. NORTHUP.
H.R. 3259: Mr. DOYLE, Mr. FAZIO of California, and Mr. BROWN of Ohio.
H.R. 3304: Ms. WOOLSEY and Mr. WELLER.
H.R. 3499: Mr. STOKES, Ms. FURSE, and Mr. FALEOMAVAEGA.
H.R. 3514: Mr. ROTHMAN.
H.R. 3523: Mr. STUMP, Ms. DUNN of Washington, Mr. SPRATT, Mr. BARRETT of Nebraska, and Mrs. CLAYTON.
H.R. 3526: Mr. ROTHMAN.
H.R. 3553: Mr. WAXMAN and Ms. WOOLSEY.
H.R. 3567: Mr. PALLONE, Ms. STABENOW, and Mr. FAWELL.
H.R. 3601: Mr. KLECZKA and Mr. MANTON.
H.R. 3632: Mr. BOEHLERT.
H.R. 3633: Mr. SOLOMON and Mr. OXLEY.

H.R. 3636: Mr. ALLEN.
H.R. 3641: Mr. BOEHRER.
H.R. 3654: Mr. HASTERT and Mr. GUT-KNECHT.
H.R. 3682: Mr. COOK, Mr. HEFLEY, and Mr. PAXON.
H.R. 3704: Mr. FARR of California and Mr. PETERSON of Minnesota.
H.R. 3778: Mr. SANDLIN.
H.R. 3783: Mr. SMITH of Texas, Mr. HOBSON, Mr. PETERSON of Pennsylvania, Mr. KASICH, and Mr. BILIRAKIS.
H.R. 3833: Mr. WEXLER, Mr. OLVER, Mr. MARKEY, Mr. CLAY, and Ms. CHRISTIAN-GREEN.
H.R. 3853: Mr. GINGRICH, Mr. HASTERT, Mr. MCCOLLUM, Mr. BARTON of Texas, Ms. GRANGER, Mr. MICA, Mrs. MYRICK, Mr. PAPPAS, and Mr. PETERSON of Pennsylvania.
H.R. 3861: Mr. WATTS of Oklahoma.
H.R. 3862: Mrs. JOHNSON of Connecticut and Mr. ENGEL.
H.R. 3875: Mr. BERMAN and Mr. LANTOS.
H.R. 3888: Mr. GREENWOOD, Mr. ADERHOLT, and Mr. LEWIS of Kentucky.
H.R. 3938: Mr. PAUL and Mr. THOMPSON.
H.R. 3949: Mr. JOHN, Mr. ENGLISH of Pennsylvania, Mr. CAMP, Mr. GREEN, Mr. DOOLITTLE, Mr. CALVERT, Mr. STUMP, and Mr. GILLMOR.
H.R. 3972: Mrs. FOWLER and Mr. SCHUMER.
H.R. 4006: Mr. HOEKSTRA, Mr. CHRISTENSEN, Mr. PITTS, Mr. ISTOOK, Mr. KING of New York, Mr. RAHALL, Mr. WATTS of Oklahoma, Mr. TIAHRT, Mr. LATOURETTE, Mr. STUPAK, Mr. HILL, Mr. HUTCHINSON, Mr. LEWIS of Kentucky, Mr. SMITH of New Jersey, Mr. TALENT, Mr. COBURN, Mr. MCCOLLUM, and Mr. BALLENGER.
H.R. 4007: Mr. DEUTSCH, Mr. CALVERT, Mr. CUNNINGHAM, Mr. MEEHAN, and Mr. STARK.
H. Con. Res. 52: Mr. UPTON, Mr. GOODLATTE, and Mr. WISE.
H. Con. Res. 203: Mr. CRAMER, Mr. TOWNS, Mr. LEVIN, Mr. GREENWOOD, Ms. BROWN of Florida, Mrs. EDDIE BERNICE JOHNSON of Texas, Mr. WATTS of Oklahoma, Mr. MENENDEZ, Mr. WELLER, and Mr. SMITH of New Jersey.
H. Con. Res. 237: Ms. SLAUGHTER and Mrs. MYRICK.
H. Con. Res. 290: Mr. GOODE and Mr. BOSWELL.
H. Res. 37: Mr. FALEOMAVAEGA, Mr. WEXLER, and Mr. THUNE.
H. Res. 312: Ms. LOFGREN and Mrs. LINDA SMITH of Washington.
H. Res. 313: Mr. SHAYS.
H. Res. 401: Mr. MALONEY of Connecticut.

DELETIONS OF SPONSORS FROM PUBLIC BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 4 of rule XXII, sponsors were deleted from public bills and resolutions as follows:

H.R. 3396: Mr. QUINN.

AMENDMENTS

Under clause 6 of rule XXIII, proposed amendments were submitted as follows:

H.R. 2183

OFFERED BY: MR. DELAY

(To the Amendments Offered By: Mr. Shays or Mr. Meehan)

AMENDMENT No. 78: Add at the end the following new title:

TITLE —SENSE OF CONGRESS REGARDING APPOINTMENT OF INDEPENDENT COUNSEL

SEC. —01. SENSE OF CONGRESS REGARDING APPOINTMENT OF INDEPENDENT COUNSEL TO INVESTIGATE CLINTON ADMINISTRATION.

(a) FINDINGS.—Congress finds as follows:

(1) The Independent Counsel Act (chapter 40 of title 28, United States Code) was designed to avoid even the appearance of impropriety in the consideration of allegations of misconduct by high-level Executive Branch officials.

(2) Section 591(a)(1) of title 28, United States Code, requires the Attorney General of the United States to conduct a preliminary investigation whenever the Attorney General finds specific and credible evidence that a covered person "may have violated any Federal criminal law"

(3) Under the statute (28 U.S.C. 591(b)), the President is a covered person.

(4) The bribery statute (chapter 11 of title 18, United States Code) prohibits Federal officials, including the President, from receiving any benefit in return for any official action.

(5) Numerous published reports describe circumstances that suggest that President Clinton may have received campaign contributions in return for official government actions he took on behalf of the contributors.

(6) Any such scheme may also violate other statutes including the following sections of title 18, United States Code: section 371 (conspiracy to defraud the United States), section 600 (promising of government benefits in return for political support), section 872 (extortion by government officials), and sections 1341, 1343, and 1346 (mail and wire fraud by defrauding the United States of honest services).

(7) On February 13, 1997, the Washington Post reported that the Department of Justice had obtained intelligence information that the government of the People's Republic of China had sought to direct contributions from foreign sources to the Democratic National Committee ("DNC") before the 1996 presidential campaign.

(8) In March 1995, Johnny Chung, a Democratic National Committee trustee and a businessman from Torrance, California, brought six officials of the government of the People's Republic of China and its state-owned companies, including Hongye Zheng, Chairman of the China Council for the Promotion of International Trade, and Yang Zanzhong, President of China Petro-Chemical Corp., to hear the President give his regular Saturday radio address.

(9) On March 8, 1995, Johnny Chung came to the First Lady's office in the White House seeking various favors for the officials, including admission to the radio address.

(10) Aides to Mrs. Clinton, Margaret Williams and Evan Ryan, suggested that Mr. Chung could get the favors if he helped Mrs. Clinton with her debts to the DNC for holiday parties.

(11) The next day, Mr. Chung gave Ms. Williams a check for \$50,000, and received a lunch in the White House mess, a picture with Mrs. Clinton, and admission to the radio address for himself and the officials. Id. Records indicate that on Friday, March 17, 1995, Mr. Chung donated \$50,000 to the Democratic National Committee and on April 12, 1995, he donated an additional \$125,000.

(12) In commenting on the solicitation in the White House by the First Lady's aides, Mr. Chung said, "I see the White House is like a subway: You have to put in coins to open the gates."

(13) On February 6, 1996, Wang Jun attended a coffee at the White House with President Clinton. Mr. Wang is the head of the state-owned company, China International Trade and Investment Corp. ("CITIC"), a \$21,000,000,000 conglomerate, and its subsidiary Poly Technologies. Poly Technologies is the primary arms dealing company for the Chinese military. Mr. Wang

gained access to the coffee through Charles Yah Lin Trie, an old Arkansas friend of President Clinton and Democratic Party fund-raiser.

(14) After the Wang visit came to public attention, President Clinton said he remembered "literally nothing" about the meeting, but he conceded that it was "clearly inappropriate."

(15) Mr. Trie had a number of interesting sources of funds. Among other things, in the spring of 1996, Mr. Trie delivered suspicious donations totaling \$789,000 to the President's legal defense fund.

(16) Mr. Trie made the donations on three dates: March 21, 1996, \$460,000; April 24, 1996, \$179,000; and May 17, 1996, \$150,000. These donations have now been returned. Recent reports reveal that most of this money came from members of a Taiwan-based religious sect, Suma Ching Hai. President and Mrs. Clinton knew about these suspicious donations at the time, and they concurred in efforts to conceal them until after the election. Notwithstanding that knowledge, President Clinton continued to grant favors to Mr. Trie.

(17) On April 19, 1996, President Clinton appointed Mr. Trie to the Commission on U.S. Pacific Trade and Investment Policy. On April 26, President Clinton signed a letter to Mr. Trie relating to U.S. policy in putting carriers in the Taiwan Straits.

(18) During 1995 and 1996, Mr. Trie received a series of wire transfers in amounts of \$50,000 and \$100,000 from the Chinese government's state-owned bank, the Bank of China.

(19) Recent Senate testimony reveals that Mr. Trie received \$1,400,000 in wire transfers from abroad from 1994 through 1996. At least \$220,000 of this money has been traced into the treasury of the DNC.

(20) Of the total Mr. Trie received from overseas, \$905,000 came from Ng Lap Seng, a Macao-based businessman who was Trie's partner and who was also known as Mr. Wu. Mr. Ng is an adviser to the Chinese Communist government. Although he is a foreign national who cannot legally make donations to U.S. campaigns, he gave money through two employees to attend a dinner for big contributors with President Clinton on February 16, 1995.

(21) Returning to Mr. Wang's visit to the coffee with President Clinton, just four days before the meeting, Mr. Wang's arms trading company received special permission to import 100,000 assault weapons, along with millions of bullets, into the United States despite the assault weapons ban.

(22) On the day of the coffee, Democratic fund-raiser Ernest G. Green, another Arkansas friend of the President's, delivered a \$50,000 donation to the Democratic National Committee. Mr. Green, a managing director at Lehman Brothers, had never before given such a large contribution to the Democratic Party. Mr. Wang used a letter of invitation written by Mr. Green to obtain a visa for Mr. Wang's trip to the White House for coffee. After delivering the check, Mr. Green met with Mr. Wang before Mr. Wang went to the White House.

(23) Several lengthy reports in the Chicago Tribune and the Washington Post detail the depths of Mr. Wang's international arms dealing activities.

(24) Beginning in the summer of 1994, Federal agents began an undercover sting investigation of Poly's efforts to smuggle weapons into the United States. On March 8, 1996, just a month after Mr. Wang's visit with President Clinton, the President of Poly's U.S. subsidiary, Robert Ma, sold his house in Atlanta and fled the country.

(25) On March 18, 1996, Federal agents surreptitiously seized a Poly shipment of 2,000 AK-47 assault rifles in Oakland, California.

These weapons had left China on February 18 aboard a vessel belonging to another state-owned company, the Chinese Ocean Shipping Company ("COSCO"). Id. In May, Federal agents hastily shut down the operation when they learned that the Chinese had been tipped to its existence. The stories indicate that the Department is currently investigating to determine the source of the leak.

(26) Smuggling the weapons into the United States has not harmed the fortunes of COSCO. In April 1996, with the support of the Clinton Administration, COSCO signed a lease with the City of Long Beach, California to rent a now defunct navy base in Long Beach, California. In addition, the Clinton Administration has allowed COSCO's ships access to our most sensitive ports with one day's notice rather than the usual four, and it has given COSCO a \$138,000,000 loan guarantee to build ships in Alabama. The Administration has made all of these concessions since the coffee with Mr. Wang. That COSCO participated in the shipment of illegal arms does not appear to have dampened the Administration's enthusiasm in any of these matters.

(27) These circumstances strongly suggest that there was a quid pro quo, and that the contributions from Mr. Chung, Mr. Green, and Mr. Trie, may have come from the Chinese government in return for the various government favors described. The President met directly with the Chinese officials whom Mr. Chung and Mr. Trie brought to the White House, and he knew about the suspicious circumstances of Mr. Trie's donations. If the President knew about a quid pro quo, he may have violated section 201 of title 18, United States Code, and the other statutes cited above.

(28) Mr. Chung has admitted that a large portion of the money he raised for the Democrats originated with the People's Liberation Army in China. He has identified the conduit as a Chinese aerospace executive, based in Hong Kong, who is also the daughter of General Liu Huaqing, who was China's top military commander at the time.

(29) Closely related to the allegations concerning the government of the People's Republic of China are the allegations relating to the Lippo Group.

(30) The Lippo Group ("Lippo") is a multi-billion dollar real estate and financial conglomerate based in Indonesia. The Riady family, an ethnic Chinese family living in Indonesia, owns and controls Lippo. The patriarch of the Riady family is Mochtar Riady. His son, James, has known President Clinton since the late 1970s when he interned with an investment bank in Little Rock, Arkansas. Since President Clinton began his first presidential campaign in 1991, members of the Riady family and Lippo's subsidiaries and executives have contributed more than \$475,000 to the Democratic Party and its candidates. Lippo and the Riady family have numerous business interests in China and Hong Kong.

(31) In the early 1980s, John Huang, the former Commerce Department official at the center of this controversy, worked for Lippo in Little Rock at the Worthen Bank, in which Lippo had a large stake. In 1986, Mr. Huang moved to Los Angeles to help run the Lippo Bank, which has had a number of problems with banking regulators. In that role, he became Lippo's chief representative in the United States.

(32) Mr. Huang began raising illegal contributions for the Democratic Party as early as 1992. The recent Senate Governmental Affairs Committee hearings revealed that in August 1992 Huang gave a \$50,000 contribution to the DNC through Hip Hing Holdings, a U.S.-based Lippo subsidiary. He then requested and received reimbursement for the

contribution from Lippo's Indonesian headquarters. Senator Lieberman said, "Here's a clear trail of foreign money coming into United States elections."

(33) Maria L. Haley, a presidential aide, recommended Mr. Huang for a job at the Commerce Department in October 1993. In January 1994 while he was still an employee of Lippo, Mr. Huang received a top-secret security clearance without a full background check.

(34) On July 18, 1994, he became principal deputy assistant secretary for international economic policy in the Department of Commerce. He received a \$780,000 severance payment from Lippo. David J. Rothkopf, the deputy undersecretary of commerce, and Jeffrey Garten, the undersecretary, expressed misgivings about Mr. Huang's suitability for the job. In recent Senate testimony, Mr. Garten said that Mr. Huang was "totally unqualified" for the job and that "he should not be involved in China at all." Mr. Rothkopf has said his complaints were to no avail and that he "got the distinct impression that this was a done deal. But it was unclear to me at what level it was done." The Riadys have apparently boasted to friends that they placed Huang in the job.

(35) The Commerce Department now acknowledges that Mr. Huang attended 109 meetings at which classified information might have been discussed. Phone records show that Mr. Huang made at least 70 calls to Lippo during his tenure at the Commerce Department, many of which occurred near the time of the briefings. He had contacts with officials of the Chinese Embassy. Mr. Huang also maintained an office at a private investment firm with Arkansas and Asian ties, Stephens, Inc., where he made numerous phone calls and received faxes and packages during his Commerce tenure.

(36) Mr. Huang began to raise money illegally before he even left the Commerce Department, and the DNC attributed these donations to his wife. In mid-1995, he expressed an interest in going to the DNC to raise funds. DNC Chairman Don Fowler did not think that the move was necessary and took no action.

(37) In September 1995, the President and his closest adviser, Bruce Lindsey, met with Mr. Huang, James Riady, and C. Joseph Giroir, a former law partner of Mrs. Clinton's who was close to the Riadys, regarding Mr. Huang's desire to move to the DNC. The President has acknowledged that he had a role in recommending Mr. Huang for the DNC job, and other former Clinton aides with ties to Asia, including Mr. Giroir, apparently mounted a concerted campaign to bring about Mr. Huang's job there. In December 1995, Mr. Huang moved to the DNC with the title finance vice chairman. After Mr. Huang left, his Commerce Department position was eliminated. Id. Strangely, however, Mr. Huang kept his security clearance long after he left the Commerce Department.

(38) At the DNC, Mr. Huang embarked on an unusual fund-raising drive in which he raised \$3,400,000. Of that amount, the DNC has identified \$1,600,000 as being illegal, improper, or sufficiently suspect that it will be sent back to donors. Many of these donations came from fictitious donors and, in at least one case, a dead person. One of the most egregious examples is the \$450,000 donated by Arief and Soraya Wiriadinata. Until December 1995 when they left the country, this couple lived in a modest townhouse in Northern Virginia. Mr. Wiriadinata was a landscape architect, and Mrs. Wiriadinata was a homemaker. Despite these modest circumstances, the couple wrote 23 separate checks to the DNC totaling \$425,000 from November 9, 1995 until June 7, 1996. However, Mrs. Wiriadinata is the daughter of Hashim Ning, a partner of

the Riadys in owning Lippo. Democratic Party officials had concerns about the legality of Mr. Huang's activities as early as July 1996, but they did not remove him from his job.

(39) The Wiriadinatas are not the only conduit through which Lippo money apparently benefited the Clintons. Existing Independent Counsel Kenneth Starr is reportedly investigating whether payments that Lippo made to Webster Hubbell were made to buy his silence in the Whitewater investigation. These payments reportedly included paying for a vacation the Hubbell family took to Bali in the summer of 1994.

(40) One possible quid pro quo for this Lippo money is the possibility that Lippo bought Mr. Huang's position in the Commerce Department as well as the accompanying access to classified information. In addition, during September 1996, the President announced that he was designating 1.7 million acres of Utah wilderness as a national monument. This designation abruptly halted plans to mine the world's largest deposit of clean-burning "super compliance coal." The President made this move with virtually no consultation with people in the affected area of Utah. The second largest deposit of this kind of coal lies in Indonesia, and critics suggest that the designation was made as a reward to Lippo.

(41) If there was a quid pro quo for Mr. Huang's position at the Department of Commerce, his access to classified information, the designation of the national monument, or all three, then there may have been a violation of section 201 of title 18, United States Code, and the other statutes mentioned above. The President's direct involvement includes his participation in the September 1995 meeting at which Mr. Huang expressed his desire to go to the DNC and his participation in the designation of the national monument.

(42) On February 20, 1997, the Wall Street Journal reported that a Miami computer executive with close ties to the government of Paraguay had a number of dealings with the White House.

(43) The computer executive, Mark Jimenez, is a native of the Philippines, and he is a legal resident of the United States. His company, Future Tech International, sells computer parts in Latin America, including Paraguay. He apparently has close ties to the government of Paraguay. Since 1993, Mr. Jimenez and his employees have given over \$800,000 to the Democratic Party, the Clinton-Gore campaign, and other private initiatives linked to President Clinton, like the effort to restore the President's birthplace. Mr. Jimenez has visited the White House at least twelve times since April 1994, and on at least seven of these occasions, he met personally with President Clinton.

(44) The timing of some of these donations strongly suggests that there was a quid pro quo. From February through April 1996, Mr. Jimenez and various officials of the government of Paraguay met in the White House with presidential adviser and former chief of staff, Mack McLarty regarding threats to the government of Paraguay. On March 1, the State Department recommended that Paraguay no longer receive American foreign aid because it had not done enough to stop drug smuggling. President Clinton then issued a waiver allowing the continued aid despite the State Department's finding.

(45) On April 22, the military of Paraguay attempted a coup against the President of Paraguay, Carlos Wasmosy. The White House allowed President Wasmosy to take refuge in the American embassy in Asuncion and took other steps to support him. The same day, Mr. Jimenez gave \$100,000 to the Democratic National Committee.

(46) In addition, during February 1996, Mr. Jimenez attended one of the now famous White House coffees. Ten days later, he gave another \$50,000 to the Democratic National Committee. On September 30, 1996, Mr. Jimenez arranged for a White House tour for a number of business friends who were attending a meeting of the International Monetary Fund. The same day, he sent \$75,000 to the Democratic National Committee. The close coincidence of Mr. Jimenez's contributions with the favors he received is highly suspicious. The President's direct involvement includes his calling President Wasmosy to assure him of American support with respect to the coup attempt and his direct participation in the coffee in question. If there was a quid pro quo involved, these incidents may violate section 201, of title 18, United States Code, and the other statutes cited above.

(47) In February, the Washington Post reported that on September 4, 1995, First Lady Hillary Clinton stopped over in Guam on the way to the International Women's Conference in Beijing, China. She ended her visit with a shrimp cocktail buffet hosted by Guam's governor, Carl T. Gutierrez, a Democrat. Three weeks later, a Guam Democratic Party official arrived in Washington with more than \$250,000 in campaign contributions. Within six additional months, Governor Gutierrez and a small group of Guam businessmen had produced an additional \$132,000 for the Clinton-Gore reelection campaign and \$510,000 in soft money for the Democratic National Committee.

(48) In December 1996, the Administration circulated a memo that would have granted a long sought reversal of the Administration's position on labor and immigration issues in a way that was very favorable to businesses in Guam. The story gave the following reason for this shift: Some officials also attribute the administration's support for the reversal to the money raised for the president's reelection campaign. One senior U.S. official said "the political side" of her agency had informed her that the administration's shift was linked to campaign contributions. "We had always opposed giving Guam authority over its own immigration," the official said. "But when that \$600,000 was paid, the political side switched." United States officials from three other agencies added that they too had been told that the policy shift was linked to money.

(49) Various published reports discussed below indicate that the President was intimately involved in the details of fundraising for his reelection. As President, he ultimately controls the Administration's policy. Thus, if these assertions prove true, a reasonable mind could reach the conclusion that the President knew about and condoned a direct quid pro quo for these policy changes. If he did so, such a quid pro quo would violate section 201 of title 18, United States Code, and the other statutes.

(50) At least three criminal statutes address the use of the White House for political purposes. Section 600 of title 18, United States Code, prohibits the promising of any government benefit in return for any kind of political support or activity. Section 607 of title 18, United States Code, prohibits the solicitation or receipt of contributions for Federal campaigns in Federal buildings. Section 641 of title 18, United States Code, prohibits the conversion of government property to personal use.

(51) During January 1995, President Clinton authorized a plan under which the Democratic National Committee would hold fundraising coffees and sleepovers in the White House. During 1995 and 1996, the White House held 103 of the coffees. To quote the New York Times, "[t]he documents [released by the White House] themselves make explicit

that the coffees were fund-raising vehicles....[they] also make clear that the Democratic National Committee was virtually being run out of the Clinton White House despite the President's initial efforts after the election to draw a distinction between his own campaign organization and the committee." The Los Angeles Times said: "The result [of the coffees] was not only lucrative, according to some involved, but occasionally bizarre—sometimes the political equivalent of the bar scene in the film 'Star Wars.' The president and vice president were surrounded by rotating casts of rich strangers with unknown motives or backgrounds, including some from faraway places who didn't speak the same language."

(52) These reports indicate that Democratic Party fundraising staff have said in interviews that they directly sold access to the President and Vice President at the coffees. The New York Times quoted a Democratic fund-raiser's response to a White House denial that there was a requirement for a coffee participant to make a contribution as: "I don't understand why they continue to deny the obvious." The Los Angeles Times quoted a fund-raiser as saying: "I can't count the number of times I heard, 'Tell them they can come to a coffee with the President for \$50,000.' It was routine. In fact, when [staffers] said, 'This is all I can raise,' they were told, 'Keep selling the coffees.'"

(53) In short, these reports make it obvious that the coffees, which President Clinton directly authorized, were nothing but fundraising events. According to the New York Times, the Democratic National Committee raised \$27,000,000 from 350 people who attended White House coffees.

(54) President Clinton also entertained 938 overnight guests in the White House during his first term. This, too, became a means of fund-raising. When the original plan to hold coffees was suggested to the President, he not only approved it, but also originated the idea of the overnight visits. On the memo suggesting the plan, he wrote, "Ready to start overnights right away ... get other names at 100,000 or more, 50,000 or more." The New York Times reports that these guests donated \$10,210,840 to the Democratic Party from 1992 through 1996. The New York Times said about the President's notation: "The memorandum to Mr. Clinton and the response from the President show Mr. Clinton's direct involvement in authorizing the fund-raising practices that are now under scrutiny by Congressional and Justice Department investigators."

(55) At least one document the White House has recently released strongly suggests that President Clinton made telephone solicitations from the White House. The document, written by Vice President Gore's deputy chief of staff, David Strauss, contained the notation, "BC made 15 to 20 calls, raised 500K." Other documents indicate that presidential adviser Harold Ickes also proposed that President Clinton make fund-raising calls. President Clinton has said that he cannot remember whether he made the calls. If President Clinton made these calls from the White House, he may have violated section 607 of title 18, United States Code.

(56) The circumstances of the coffees, the sleepovers, and the possible telephone calls strongly suggest that the President may have violated the following provisions of title 18, United States Code: (1) Section 600 (by promising government access in return for campaign contributions). (2) Section 607 (by soliciting campaign contributions in Federal buildings). (3) Section 641 (by converting Federal property, the White House, to his own private use).

(57) Under the independent counsel statute (28 U.S.C. 591(b)(1)), the Vice President is a covered person. Based on published reports, the Attorney General has sufficient grounds to investigate whether Vice President Gore may have violated Federal criminal law.

(58) On April 29, 1996, Vice President Gore attended a fund-raiser at the Hsi Lai Buddhist Temple in Hacienda Heights, California. This fund-raiser, organized by John Huang, brought in \$140,000 for the Democratic National Committee. When the event first came to public attention, the Vice President claimed that the event was intended as "community outreach" and that "[i]t was not billed as a fund-raiser" and "no money was offered or collected or raised". The Vice President made this claim notwithstanding reports that checks changed hands at the event and that virtually everyone else involved thought the event was an explicit fund-raiser.

(59) In January 1997, the Vice President admitted that he knew the event was "a finance-related event." A month later, documents released by the White House revealed that the Vice President's staff had referred to the event as a fund-raiser in making inquiries to the National Security Council staff about the appropriateness of the event. The National Security Council advised that he should proceed with "great, great caution", but the Vice President proceeded to go forward with the fund-raiser. This event is apparently now under investigation by a Federal grand jury.

(60) Hsi Lai Temple, if it is like most religious organizations, is a tax-exempt organization under section 501(c) of the Internal Revenue Code. If that is so, it may not "participate in, or intervene in (including the publishing or distributing of statements), any political campaign on behalf of (or in opposition to) any candidate for public office." (section 501(c)(3) of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986). By holding such an obviously political event, the Temple violated its tax exempt status, and Vice President Gore actively and enthusiastically participated in that violation. That action may violate section 371 of title 18, United States Code, as a conspiracy to defraud the United States by interfering with the functions of the Internal Revenue Service, and section 7201 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986, as an evasion of the income tax.

(61) On March 2, 1997, the Washington Post reported that Vice President Gore "played the central role in soliciting millions of dollars in campaign money for the Democratic Party during the 1996 election" and that he was known as the administration's "solicitor-in-chief". The next day, Vice President Gore held a nationally televised press conference in which he admitted making numerous calls from the White House in which he solicited campaign contributions. He said that he made these phone calls with a DNC credit card. His spokesman later clarified that the card that he used belonged to the Clinton-Gore reelection campaign (statement of Vice Presidential Communications Director Lorraine Voles, dated March 5, 1997). The use of the Clinton-Gore credit card suggests that the solicitations were for "hard money" which goes to campaigns rather than "soft money" which goes to parties.

(62) Documents that the White House has only recently released reveal that Vice President Gore made 86 fundraising calls from his White House Office. More disturbingly, these new records reveal that Vice President Gore made twenty of these calls at taxpayer expense. This use of taxpayer resources for private political uses may violate section 641 of title 18, United States Code,

(converting government property to personal use).

(63) On its face, the conduct to which Vice President Gore admitted appears to be a clear violation of section 607 of title 18, United States Code. Section 607 of such title makes it unlawful for "any person to solicit ... any [campaign] contribution ... in any room or building occupied in the discharge of official [government] duties...."

(64) Recent reports have completely undermined these two claims with respect to the calls that Vice President Gore made. The Washington Post on September 3, 1997, reported that at least \$120,000 of the money he solicited from his office was "hard money." As the story notes, "The [hard] money came from at least eight of 46 donors the vice president telephoned from his White House office to ask for contributions to the Democratic National Committee, according to records released by Gore's office." The American people should be deeply troubled by the length of time it took for these records, which have apparently been under Vice President Gore's control, to come to public light. With respect to the second claim, no person has made any claim that Vice President Gore made these calls from any place other than his office, an area clearly covered under section 607 of title 18, United States Code, as a "room or building occupied in the discharge of official [government] duties."

(65) The Washington Post also asserted that Vice President Gore made the telephone solicitations "with an urgency and directness that several large Democratic donors said they found heavy-handed and inappropriate." The story quoted two donors as follows: "Another donor recalled Gore phoning and saying, 'I've been tasked with raising \$2,000,000 by the end of the week, and you're on my list.' The donor, a well-known business figure who declined to allow his name to be used, gave about \$100,000 to the DNC. The donor said he felt pressured by the Vice President's sales pitch. 'It's revolting,' said the donor, a longtime Gore friend and supporter. Yet another major business figure and donor who was solicited by Gore, and who refused to be identified, said, 'There were elements of a shakedown in the call. It was very awkward. For a Vice President, particularly this Vice President who has real power and is the heir apparent, to ask for money gave me no choice. I have so much business that touches on the Federal Government—the Telecommunications Act, tax policy, regulations galore.' The donor said he immediately sent a check for \$100,000 to the DNC."

(66) Although the Vice President may legally solicit campaign contributions, it is not legal to exert pressure based on government actions. The bribery statute (section 201(b)(2) of title 18, United States Code) provides that a public official may not "directly or indirectly, corruptly demand[], [or] seek[], ... anything of value personally or for any other person or entity, in return for: (A) being influenced in the performance of any official act; ..." In addition, section 872 of title 18, United States Code, prohibits government officials from engaging in acts of extortion. Through the use of untoward pressure, the Vice President may have violated these statutes.

(67) Sufficient specific and credible evidence exists to warrant a preliminary investigation under the independent counsel statute.

(68) The fund-raising disclosures have blown up into the biggest scandal in the United States since Watergate.

(69) This situation is paralyzing the President, preoccupying Congress and fueling public cynicism about our political system.

(b) SENSE OF CONGRESS.—It is the sense of Congress that Attorney General Reno should apply immediately for the appointment of an independent counsel to investigate alleged criminal conduct relating to the financing of the 1996 Federal elections.

H.R. 2183

OFFERED BY: MR. DELAY

(To the Amendment Offered By: Mr. Shays or Mr. Meehan)

AMENDMENT NO. 79: Add at the end the following new title:

TITLE ____—SENSE OF CONGRESS REGARDING FUNDRAISING ON FEDERAL PROPERTY

SEC. ____01. SENSE OF CONGRESS REGARDING APPLICABILITY OF CONTROLLING LEGAL AUTHORITY TO FUNDRAISING ON FEDERAL PROPERTY.

(a) FINDINGS.—Congress finds the following:

(1) On March 2, 1997, the Washington Post reported that Vice President Gore “played the central role in soliciting millions of dollars in campaign money for the Democratic Party during the 1996 election” and that he was known as the administration’s “solicitor-in-chief”.

(2) The next day, Vice President Gore held a nationally televised press conference in which he admitted making numerous calls from the White House in which he solicited campaign contributions.

(3) The Vice President said that there was “no controlling legal authority” regarding the use of government telephones and properties for the use of campaign fundraising.

(4) Documents that the White House released reveal that Vice President Gore made 86 fundraising calls from his White House office, and these new records reveal that Vice President Gore made 20 of these calls at taxpayer expense.

(5) Section 641 of title 18, United States Code, (prohibiting the conversion of government property to personal use) clearly prohibits the use of government property to raise campaign funds.

(6) On its face, the conduct to which Vice President Gore admitted appears to be a clear violation of section 607 of title 18, United States Code, which makes it unlawful for “any person to solicit...any (campaign) contribution...in any room or building occupied in the discharge of official (government) duties”.

(b) SENSE OF CONGRESS.—It is the sense of Congress that Federal law clearly demonstrates that “controlling legal authority” prohibits the use of Federal property to raise campaign funds.

H.R. 2183

OFFERED BY: MR. DELAY

(To the Amendments Offered By: Mr. Shays or Mr. Meehan)

AMENDMENT NO. 80: Add at the end the following new title:

TITLE ____—REPEAL OF MEDIA EXPENDITURE EXEMPTION

SEC. ____01. REPEAL MEDIA EXEMPTION FROM TREATMENT AS EXPENDITURE UNDER FEDERAL ELECTION LAW.

Section 301(9)(B) of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 (2 U.S.C. 431(9)(B)) is amended by striking clause (i).

H.R. 2183

OFFERED BY: MR. DELAY

(To the Amendment Offered By: Mr. Shays or Mr. Meehan)

AMENDMENT NO. 81: Add at the end of section 301(20) of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, as added by section 201(b) of the substitute, the following:

“(C) EXCEPTION FOR LEGISLATIVE ALERTS.—The term ‘express advocacy’ does not include any communication which—

“(i) deals solely with an issue or legislation which is or may be the subject of a vote in the Senate or House of Representatives; and
“(ii) encourages an individual to contact an elected representative in Congress in order to exercise the right protected under the first amendment of the Constitution to inform the representative of the individual’s views on such issue or legislation.”.

H.R. 2183

OFFERED BY: MR. DELAY

(To the Amendment Offered By: Mr. Shays or Mr. Meehan)

AMENDMENT NO. 82: Strike section 301(20)(B) of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, as added by section 201(b) of the substitute, and insert the following:

“(B) NONAPPLICATION TO PUBLICATIONS ON VOTING RECORDS.—The term ‘express advocacy’ shall not apply with respect to any communication which provides information or commentary on the voting record of, or positions on issues taken by, any individual holding Federal office or any candidate for election for Federal office, unless the communication contains explicit words expressly urging a vote for or against any identified candidate or political party.”.

H.R. 2183

OFFERED BY: MR. DELAY

(To the Amendment Offered By: Mr. Shays or Mr. Meehan)

AMENDMENT NO. 83. In section 301(8)(C) of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, as added by section 205(a)(1)(B) of the substitute, strike clause (vi) and redesignate clauses (vii) through (x) as clauses (vi) through (ix).

H.R. 2183

OFFERED BY: MR. DELAY

(To the Amendment Offered By: Mr. Shays or Mr. Meehan)

AMENDMENT NO. 84: In section 301(8) of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, as amended by section 205(a)(1)(B) of the substitute, add at the end the following:

“(F) For purposes of subparagraph (C), no communication with a Senator or Member of the House of Representatives (including the staff of a Senator or Member) regarding any pending legislative matter, including any survey, questionnaire, or written communication soliciting or providing information regarding the position of any Senator or Member on such matter, may be construed to establish coordination with a candidate.”.

H.R. 2183

OFFERED BY: MR. DELAY

(To the Amendment Offered By: Mr. Shays or Mr. Meehan)

AMENDMENT NO. 85: In section 301(8)(A)(iii) of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, as added by section 205(a)(1)(A)(iii) of the substitute, strike “for the purpose of influencing” and all that follows and insert the following: “if the value being provided is a communication that is express advocacy.”.

H.R. 2183

OFFERED BY: MR. DOOLITTLE

(To the Amendment Offered By: Mr. Shays or Mr. Meehan)

AMENDMENT NO. 86: Add at the end the following new title:

TITLE ____—TERMINATION OF TAXPAYER FINANCING OF PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION CAMPAIGNS

SEC. ____01. TERMINATION OF TAXPAYER FINANCING OF PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION CAMPAIGNS.

(a) TERMINATION OF DESIGNATION OF INCOME TAX PAYMENTS.—Section 6096 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 is amended by adding at the end the following new subsection:

“(d) TERMINATION.—This section shall not apply to taxable years beginning after December 31, 1998.”

(b) TERMINATION OF FUND AND ACCOUNT.—

(1) TERMINATION OF PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION CAMPAIGN FUND.—

(A) IN GENERAL.—Chapter 95 of subtitle H of such Code is amended by adding at the end the following new section:

“SEC. 9014. TERMINATION.

“The provisions of this chapter shall not apply with respect to any presidential election (or any presidential nominating convention) after December 31, 1998, or to any candidate in such an election.”

(B) TRANSFER OF EXCESS FUNDS TO GENERAL FUND.—Section 9006 of such Code is amended by adding at the end the following new subsection:

“(d) TRANSFER OF FUNDS REMAINING AFTER 1998.—The Secretary shall transfer all amounts in the fund after December 31, 1998, to the general fund of the Treasury.”

(2) TERMINATION OF ACCOUNT.—Chapter 96 of subtitle H of such Code is amended by adding at the end the following new section:

“SEC. 9043. TERMINATION.

“The provisions of this chapter shall not apply to any candidate with respect to any presidential election after December 31, 1998.”

(c) CLERICAL AMENDMENTS.—

(1) The table of sections for chapter 95 of subtitle H of such Code is amended by adding at the end the following new item:

“Sec. 9014. Termination.”

(2) The table of sections for chapter 96 of subtitle H of such Code is amended by adding at the end the following new item:

“Sec. 9043. Termination.”

H.R. 2183

OFFERED BY: MR. DOOLITTLE

(To the Amendment Offered By: Mr. Shays or Mr. Meehan)

AMENDMENT NO. 87: Add at the end of title V the following new section (and conform the table of contents accordingly):

SEC. 510. TERM LIMITS FOR STAFF DIRECTOR AND GENERAL COUNSEL OF FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION.

(a) IN GENERAL.—The first sentence of section 306(f)(1) of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 (2 U.S.C. 437c(f)(1)) is amended by striking “by the Commission” and inserting the following: “by an affirmative vote of not less than 4 members of the Commission and may not serve for a term of more than 4 consecutive years”.

(b) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendment made by subsection (b) shall apply with respect to any individual serving as the staff director or general counsel of the Federal Election Commission on or after January 1, 1999, without regard to whether or not the individual served as staff director or general counsel prior to such date.

H.R. 2183

OFFERED BY: MR. DOOLITTLE

(To the Amendment Offered By: Mr. Shays or Mr. Meehan)

AMENDMENT NO. 88: Add at the end of title V the following new section (and conform the table of contents accordingly):

SEC. 510. PERMITTING COURTS TO REQUIRE FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION TO PAY ATTORNEY’S FEES AND COSTS TO CERTAIN PREVAILING PARTIES.

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

“(e) In any action or proceeding brought by the Commission against any person which is based on an alleged violation of this Act or

of chapter 95 or 96 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986, the court in its discretion may require the Commission to pay the costs incurred by the person under the action or proceeding, including a reasonable attorney's fee, if the court finds that the law, rule, or regulation upon which the action or proceeding is based is unconstitutional or that the bringing of the action or proceeding against the person is unconstitutional."

H.R. 2183

OFFERED BY: MR. DOOLITTLE

(To the Amendment Offered By: Mr. Shays or Mr. Meehan)

AMENDMENT No. 89: Section 201 is amended by striking subsection (c).

H.R. 2183

OFFERED BY: MR. DOOLITTLE

(To the Amendment Offered By: Mr. Shays or Mr. Meehan)

AMENDMENT No. 90: Section 201(b) is amended to read as follows:

(b) DEFINITION OF EXPRESS ADVOCACY.—Section 301 of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 (2 U.S.C. 431) is amended by adding at the end the following:

"(20) EXPRESS ADVOCACY.—The term 'express advocacy' means a communication containing express words of advocacy of election or defeat of a candidate, such as 'vote for', 'elect', 'support', 'cast your ballot for', 'name of candidate for Congress', 'vote against', 'defeat', or 'reject'."

H.R. 2183

OFFERED BY: MR. FOSSELLA

(To the Amendment Offered By: Mr. Shays or Mr. Meehan)

AMENDMENT No. 91: Add at the end of title V the following new section (and conform the table of contents accordingly):

SEC. 510. PROHIBITING NON-CITIZEN INDIVIDUALS FROM MAKING CONTRIBUTIONS IN CONNECTION WITH FEDERAL ELECTIONS.

(a) PROHIBITION APPLICABLE TO ALL NON-CITIZENS.—Section 319(b)(2) of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 (2 U.S.C. 441e(b)(2)) is amended by striking "and who is not lawfully admitted" and all that follows and inserting a period.

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

H.R. 2183

OFFERED BY: MR. GILLMOR

(To the Amendment Offered By: Mr. Shays or Mr. Meehan)

AMENDMENT No. 92: Add at the end of title V the following new section (and conform the table of contents accordingly):

SEC. 510. PROTECTING EQUAL PARTICIPATION OF ELIGIBLE VOTERS IN CAMPAIGNS AND ELECTIONS.

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

"PROTECTING EQUAL PARTICIPATION OF ELIGIBLE VOTERS IN CAMPAIGNS AND ELECTIONS"

"SEC. 326. Nothing in this Act may be construed to prohibit any individual eligible to vote in an election for Federal office from making contributions or expenditures in support of a candidate for such an election (including voluntary contributions or expenditures made through a separate segregated fund established by the individual's employer or labor organization) or otherwise participating in any campaign for such an election in the same manner and to the same extent as any other individual eligible to vote in an election for such office."

H.R. 2183

OFFERED BY: MR. MILLER OF FLORIDA

(To the Amendment Offered By: Mr. Shays and Mr. Meehan)

AMENDMENT No. 93: Page 39, line 3, insert "(a) IN GENERAL.—" before "Section".

Page 41, after line 6, insert the following:

(b) REPORTING AND DISCLOSURE.—

(1) REQUIREMENTS.—Section 201(b) of the Labor Management and Disclosure Act of 1959 is amended—

(1) in paragraph (3), by striking "\$10,000" and inserting "40,000";

(2) by redesignating paragraphs (5) and (6) as (7) and (8), respectively; and

(3) by inserting after paragraph (4), the following:

"(5) a functional allocation that—

"(A) aggregates the amount spent for (i) officer payments, (ii) employee payments, (iii) fees, fines, and assessments, (iv) office and administrative expense and direct taxes, (v) educational and publicity expenses, (vi) professional fees, benefits, (vii) contributions, gifts and grants, and

"(B) specifies the total amount reported for each category in subparagraph (A) and the portion of such total expended for (i) contract negotiations, (ii) organizing, (iii) strike activities, (iv) political activities, and (v) lobbying and promotional activities;."

(2) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendments made by paragraph (1) shall take effect on December 31, 2000.

H.R. 2183

OFFERED BY: MR. MILLER OF FLORIDA

(To the Amendment Offered By: Mr. Schaffer of Colorado)

AMENDMENT No. 94: Page 39, line 3, insert "(a) IN GENERAL.—" before "Section".

Page 41, after line 6, insert the following:

(b) REPORTING AND DISCLOSURE.—

(1) REQUIREMENTS.—Section 201(b) of the Labor Management and Disclosure Act of 1959 is amended—

(1) in paragraph (3), by striking "\$10,000" and inserting "40,000";

(2) by redesignating paragraphs (5) and (6) as (7) and (8), respectively; and

(3) by inserting after paragraph (4), the following:

"(5) a functional allocation that—

"(A) aggregates the amount spent for (i) officer payments, (ii) employee payments, (iii) fees, fines, and assessments, (iv) office and administrative expense and direct taxes, (v) educational and publicity expenses, (vi) professional fees, benefits, (vii) contributions, gifts and grants, and

"(B) specifies the total amount reported for each category in subparagraph (A) and the portion of such total expended for (i) contract negotiations, (ii) organizing, (iii) strike activities, (iv) political activities, and (v) lobbying and promotional activities;."

(2) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendments made by paragraph (1) shall take effect on December 31, 2000.

H.R. 2183

OFFERED BY: MR. PAXON

(To the Amendments Offered By: Mr. Shays or Mr. Meehan)

AMENDMENT No. 95: Add at the end the following new title:

TITLE —UNION DISCLOSURE

SEC. 01. UNION DISCLOSURE.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Section 201(b) of the Labor Management Reporting and Disclosure Act of 1959 (29 U.S.C. 431(b)) is amended—

(1) by striking "and" at the end of paragraph (5); and

(2) by adding at the end the following:

"(7) an itemization of amounts spent by the labor organization for—

"(A) contract negotiation and administration;

"(B) organizing activities;

"(C) strike activities;

"(D) political activities;

"(E) lobbying and promotional activities; and

"(F) market recovery and job targeting programs; and

"(8) all transactions involving a single source or payee for each of the activities described in subparagraphs (A) through (F) of paragraph (7) in which the aggregate cost exceeds \$10,000."

(b) COMPUTER NETWORK ACCESS.—Section 201(c) of the Labor Management Reporting and Disclosure Act of 1959 (29 U.S.C. 431(c)) is amended by inserting "including availability of such reports via a public Internet site or another publicly accessible computer network," after "its members."

(c) REPORTING BY SECRETARY.—Section 205(a) of the Labor Management Reporting and Disclosure Act of 1959 (29 U.S.C. 435(a)) is amended by inserting after "and the Secretary" the following: "shall make the reports and documents filed pursuant to section 201(b) available via a public Internet site or another publicly accessible computer network. The Secretary".

H.R. 2183

OFFERED BY: MR. PICKERING

(To the Amendments Offered By: Mr. Shays or Mr. Meehan)

AMENDMENT No. 96: Add at the end the following new title:

TITLE —PROHIBITING FUNDRAISING ON RELIGIOUS PROPERTY

SEC. —01. PROHIBITING FUNDRAISING EVENTS ON RELIGIOUS PROPERTY.

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

"PROHIBITING FUNDRAISING EVENTS ON RELIGIOUS PROPERTY

"SEC. 323. (a) IN GENERAL.—It shall be unlawful for any political committee to sponsor directly or indirectly any event which is held on any religious property for the purpose of raising amounts in support of any political party or the campaign for electoral office of any candidate.

"(b) RELIGIOUS PROPERTY DEFINED.—In subsection (a), the term 'religious property' means any church, synagogue, mosque, religious cemetery, or other religious property."

H.R. 2183

OFFERED BY: MR. WHITFIELD

(To the Amendments Offered By: Mr. Shays or Mr. Meehan)

AMENDMENT No. 97: Add at the end the following new title:

TITLE —BAN ON COORDINATED SOFT MONEY ACTIVITIES BY PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATES

SEC. —01. BAN ON COORDINATION OF SOFT MONEY FOR ISSUE ADVOCACY BY PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATES RECEIVING PUBLIC FINANCING.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Section 9003 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 (26 U.S.C. 9003) is amended by adding at the end the following new subsection:

"(f) BAN ON COORDINATION OF SOFT MONEY FOR ISSUE ADVOCACY.—

"(1) IN GENERAL.—No candidate for election to the office of President or Vice President who is certified to receive amounts from the Presidential Election Campaign Fund under this chapter or chapter 96 may coordinate the expenditure of any funds for issue advocacy with any political party unless the

funds are subject to the limitations, prohibitions, and reporting requirements of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971.

“(2) **ISSUE ADVOCACY DEFINED.**—In this section, the term ‘issue advocacy’ means any activity carried out for the purpose of influencing the consideration or outcome of any Federal legislation or the issuance or outcome of any Federal regulations, or educating individuals about candidates for election for Federal office or any Federal legislation, law, or regulations (without regard to whether the activity is carried out for the purpose of influencing any election for Federal office).”.

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

H.R. 2183

OFFERED BY: MR. WHITFIELD

(To the Amendments Offered By: Mr. Shays or Mr. Meehan)

AMENDMENT No. 98: In section 323(a) of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, as added by section 101 of the substitute, insert after paragraph (1) the following new paragraph (and redesignate paragraph (2) as paragraph (3)):

“(2) **EXCEPTION FOR CERTAIN ACTIVITIES.**—Paragraph (1) shall not apply with respect to the use of funds for voter identification, get-out-the-vote activity, or generic campaign activity conducted in connection with an election in which a candidate for Federal office appears on the ballot.”

H.R. 2183

OFFERED BY: MR. WHITFIELD

(To the Amendment Offered By: Mr. Shays or Mr. Meehan)

AMENDMENT No. 99: In section 323(b)(2)(A)(i) of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, as added by section 101 of the substitute, strike “120 days” and insert “7 days”.

H.R. 2183

OFFERED BY: MR. WHITFIELD

(To the Amendment Offered By: Mr. Shays or Mr. Meehan)

AMENDMENT No. 100: In section 323(b)(2) of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, as added by section 101 of the substitute, strike subparagraph (A) and insert the following:

“(A) **IN GENERAL.**—The term ‘Federal election activity’ means a communication that refers to a clearly identified candidate for Federal office (regardless of whether a candidate for State or local office is also mentioned or identified) and is made for the purpose of influencing a Federal election (regardless of whether the communication is express advocacy).”

H.R. 2183

OFFERED BY: MR. WHITFIELD

(To the Amendment Offered By: Mr. Shays or Mr. Meehan)

AMENDMENT No. 101: In section 323(b)(2)(B)(i) of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, as added by section 101 of the substitute, strike “, provided the campaign activity is not a Federal election activity described in subparagraph (A)”.

H.R. 2183

OFFERED BY: MR. WHITFIELD

(To the Amendment Offered By: Mr. Shays or Mr. Meehan)

AMENDMENT No. 102: In section 323(b)(2)(B)(iv) of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, as added by section 101 of the substitute, strike “only a candidate for State or local office” and insert “a candidate for Federal, State, or local office”.

H.R. 2183

OFFERED BY: MR. WHITFIELD

(To the Amendment Offered By: Mr. Shays or Mr. Meehan)

AMENDMENT No. 103: In section 323(b)(2)(B) of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, as added by section 101 of the substitute, strike clause (v) and insert the following:

“(v) the Federal share of a State, district, or local party committee’s administrative and overhead expenses; and”.

H.R. 2183

OFFERED BY: MR. WHITFIELD

(To the Amendment Offered By: Mr. Shays or Mr. Meehan)

AMENDMENT No. 104: Strike title I (and conform the table of contents accordingly).

In section 307(a), strike “section 103(c) and section 203” and insert “section 203”.

In section 401, strike “(as amended by section 101)”.

Redesignate section 324 of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, as added by section 401, as section 323.

In section 507, strike “sections 101 and 401” and insert “section 401”.

Redesignate section 325 of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, as added by section 507, as section 324.

H.R. 2183

OFFERED BY: MR. WHITFIELD

(To the Amendment Offered By: Mr. Shays or Mr. Meehan)

AMENDMENT No. 105: In section 323 of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, as added by section 101 of the substitute, strike subsection (d) and redesignate subsection (e) as subsection (d).

H.R. 2183

OFFERED BY: MR. WHITFIELD

(To the Amendment Offered By: Mr. Shays or Mr. Meehan)

AMENDMENT No. 106: In section 323 of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, as added by section 101 of the substitute, strike subsection (c) and redesignate subsections (d) and (e) as subsections (c) and (d).

H.R. 2183

OFFERED BY: MR. WHITFIELD

(To the Amendment Offered By: Mr. Shays or Mr. Meehan)

AMENDMENT No. 107: Add at the end of title I the following new section (and conform the table of contents accordingly):

SEC. 104. INCREASE IN CONTRIBUTION LIMIT FOR CONTRIBUTIONS TO CANDIDATES BY PERSONS OTHER THAN PACS.

Section 315(a)(1)(A) of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 (2 U.S.C. 441a(a)(1)(A)) is amended by striking “\$1,000” and inserting “\$3,000”.

H.R. 2183

OFFERED BY: MR. WHITFIELD

(To the Amendment Offered By: Mr. Shays or Mr. Meehan)

AMENDMENT No. 108: Amend section 102(b) to read as follows:

(b) **INCREASE IN AGGREGATE ANNUAL CONTRIBUTION LIMIT FOR INDIVIDUALS.**—Section 315(a)(3) of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 (2 U.S.C. 441a(a)(3)) is amended by striking “\$25,000” and inserting “\$50,000”. Add at the end of title I the following new section (and conform the table of contents accordingly):

SEC. 104. INCREASE IN CONTRIBUTION LIMIT FOR CONTRIBUTIONS TO CANDIDATES BY PERSONS OTHER THAN PACS.

Section 315(a)(1)(A) of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 (2 U.S.C. 441a(a)(1)(A))

is amended by striking “\$1,000” and inserting “\$3,000”.

H.R. 2183

OFFERED BY: MR. WHITFIELD

(To the Amendment Offered By: Mr. Shays or Mr. Meehan)

AMENDMENT No. 109: Strike section 201(c).

H.R. 2183

OFFERED BY: MR. WHITFIELD

(To the Amendment Offered By: Mr. Shays or Mr. Meehan)

AMENDMENT No. 110: Strike section 303 (and redesignate the succeeding provisions and conform the table of contents accordingly).

H.R. 2183

OFFERED BY: MR. WHITFIELD

(To the Amendment Offered By: Mr. Shays or Mr. Meehan)

AMENDMENT No. 111: Strike section 304 (and redesignate the succeeding provisions and conform the table of contents accordingly).

H.R. 2183

OFFERED BY: MR. WHITFIELD

(To the Amendment Offered By: Mr. Shays or Mr. Meehan)

AMENDMENT No. 112: In section 3210(a)(6)(A) of title 39, United States Code, as amended by section 503 of the substitute, strike “during the 180-day period” and all that follows and insert the following: “during the 90-day period which ends on the date of the general election for the office held by the Member.”.

H.R. 2183

OFFERED BY: MR. WHITFIELD

(To the Amendment Offered By: Mr. Shays or Mr. Meehan)

AMENDMENT No. 113: Add at the end of title V the following new section (and conform the table of contents accordingly):

SEC. 510. REQUIRING FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION TO OBSERVE FIRST AMENDMENT LIMITS IN REGULATORY ACTIVITIES.

Section 307 of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 (2 U.S.C. 437d) is amended by adding at the end the following new subsection:

“(f)(1) When developing prescribed forms and making, amending, or repealing rules pursuant to the authority granted to the Commission by subsection (a)(8), the Commission shall act in a manner that will have the least restrictive effect on the rights of free speech and association so protected by the First Article of Amendment to the Constitution of the United States.

“(2) When the Commission’s actions under paragraph (1) are challenged, a reviewing court shall hold unlawful and set aside any actions of the Commission that do not conform with the principles set forth in paragraph (1).”.

H.R. 2183

OFFERED BY: MR. WHITFIELD

(To the Amendment Offered By: Mr. Shays or Mr. Meehan)

AMENDMENT No. 114: Insert after section 601 the following new section (and redesignate the succeeding sections and conform the table of contents accordingly):

SEC. 602. APPLICATION OF STRICT SCRUTINY AS STANDARD FOR REVIEW.

In any action brought to construe the constitutionality of any provision of this Act or any amendment made by this Act, the court may not find the provision or amendment to be consistent with the Constitution of the United States unless the court finds that the provision or amendment carries out a compelling governmental interest in the least restrictive manner possible.

H.R. 2183

OFFERED BY: MR. WHITFIELD

(To the Amendment Offered By: Mr. Shays or Mr. Meehan)

AMENDMENT No. 115: Amend section 204 to read as follows (and conform the table of contents accordingly):

SEC. 204. REPEAL OF LIMITATIONS ON AMOUNT OF COORDINATED EXPENDITURES BY POLITICAL PARTIES IN CONGRESSIONAL ELECTIONS.

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

(b) CONFORMING AMENDMENTS.—Section 315(d)(1) of such Act (2 U.S.C. 441a(d)(1)) is amended by striking “paragraphs (2) and (3)” and inserting “paragraph (2)”.

Strike section 402 (and conform the table of contents accordingly).

H.R. 2183

OFFERED BY: MR. WICKER

(To the Amendments Offered By: Mr. Shays)

AMENDMENT No. 116: Add at the end the following new title:

TITLE ____—PROHIBITING USE OF WHITE HOUSE MEALS AND ACCOMMODATIONS FOR POLITICAL FUNDRAISING

SEC. ____01. PROHIBITING USE OF WHITE HOUSE MEALS AND ACCOMMODATIONS FOR POLITICAL FUNDRAISING.

(a) IN GENERAL.—Chapter 29 of title 18, United States Code, is amended by adding at the end the following new section:

“§612. Prohibiting use of meals and accommodations at White House for political fundraising.

“(a) It shall be unlawful for any person to provide or offer to provide any meals or accommodations at the White House in exchange for any money or other thing of value, or as a reward for the provision of any money or other thing of value, in support of any political party or the campaign for electoral office of any candidate.

“(b) Any person who violates this section shall be fined under this title or imprisoned not more than three years, or both.

“(c) For purposes of this section, any official residence or retreat of the President (including private residential areas and the grounds of such a residence or retreat) shall be treated as part of the White House.”.

(b) CLERICAL AMENDMENT.—The table of sections for chapter 29 of title 18, United

States Code, is amended by adding at the end the following new item:

“612. Prohibiting use of meals and accommodations at white house for political fundraising.”.

H.R. 2183

OFFERED BY: MR. WICKER

(To the Amendments Offered By: Mr. Shays)

AMENDMENT No. 117: Add at the end the following new title:

TITLE ____—PHOTO IDENTIFICATION REQUIREMENT FOR VOTERS

SEC. ____01. PERMITTING STATE TO REQUIRE VOTERS TO PRODUCE PHOTOGRAPHIC IDENTIFICATION.

Section 8 of the National Voter Registration Act of 1993 (42 U.S.C. 1973gg-6) is amended—

(1) by redesignating subsection (j) as subsection (k); and

(2) by inserting after subsection (i) the following new subsection:

“(i) PERMITTING STATES TO REQUIRE VOTERS TO PRODUCE PHOTO IDENTIFICATION.—A State may require an individual to produce a valid photographic identification before receiving a ballot for voting in an election for Federal office.”.