

## FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION Washington, DC 20463



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## **MEMORANDUM**

AGENDA ITEM

SUBMITTED LATE

For Meeting of: 10-28-04

TO:

The Commission

THROUGH:

James A. Pehrkon

Staff Director

FROM:

Lawrence H. Norton

General Counsel

Rosemary C. Smith Associate General Counsel

Brad C. Deutsch

Assistant General Counsel

Ron B. Katwan Zi

Attorney

SUBJECT:

Final Rules on Coordinated and Independent Expenditures by Party

Committees (11 CFR 109.35)

On June 30, 2004, the Commission published a Notice of Proposed Rulemaking ("NPRM"), entitled "Coordinated and Independent Expenditures by Party Committees. See 69 Fed. Register 39,373 (June 30, 2004). The NPRM proposed certain changes needed to conform the Commission's regulations in 11 CFR Part 109 to the Supreme Court's invalidation of BCRA Section 213 (2 U.S.C. 441a(d)(4)) in McConnell v. FEC, 540 U.S. 93, 199-205 (2003). After reviewing the comments and considering the issues presented in the NPRM, the Office of the General Counsel has prepared the attached Final Rules and Explanation and Justification for Commission consideration. The draft Final Rules are identical to the rules proposed in the NPRM.

## **Recommendation:**

The Office of the General Counsel recommends that the Commission approve the attached Final Rules and Explanation and Justification for publication in the *Federal Register* and transmittal to Congress.

Attachment

1		FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION
2		11 CFR Parts 102, 106, and 109
3		[Notice 2004 - >]
4	Coord	inated and Independent Expenditures by Party Committees
5	AGENCY:	Federal Election Commission.
6	<b>ACTION:</b>	Final Rules.
7	SUMMARY:	The Federal Election Commission is removing its rules restricting the
8		ability of political party committees to make both independent
9		expenditures and coordinated party expenditures with respect to the
10		same candidate's general election campaign for Federal office. The
11		Commission is also repealing its rules prohibiting political party
12		committees that make coordinated party expenditures with respect to
13		a candidate from transferring funds to, or assigning authority to make
14		coordinated party expenditures to, or receiving a transfer of funds
15		from, a political party committee that has made or intends to make an
16		independent expenditure with respect to that candidate. These rules
17		were originally promulgated to implement section 213 of the
18		Bipartisan Campaign Reform Act of 2002. However, in McConnell
19		v. FEC, the U.S. Supreme Court held that section 213 is
20		unconstitutional. Therefore, the Commission is now removing the
21		rules implementing section 213. Further information is provided in
22		the supplementary information that follows.
23		

1 2 3	EFFECTIVE DATE:	[Insert date thirty days after date of publication in the FEDERAL REGISTER]
4 5 6 7	FOR FURTHER INFORMATION CONTACT:	Mr. Brad C. Deutsch, Assistant General Counsel, or Mr. Ron B.
8		Katwan, Attorney, 999 E Street N.W., Washington, D.C. 20463,
9		(202) 694-1650 or (800) 424-9530.
10 11	SUPPLEMENTAR INFORMATION:	
12	The Notice of	Proposed Rulemaking ("NPRM"), on which these final rules are
13		in the Federal Register on June 30, 2004. 69 Fed. Register 39,373
14		comment period closed on July 30, 2004. The Commission received
15		its on the proposed rules. These Final Rules are identical to the rules
16	proposed in the NPRM	
17	Under the Adr	ministrative Procedures Act, 5 U.S.C. 553(d), and the Congressional
18		llemaking Act, 5 U.S.C. 801(a)(1), agencies must submit final rules to
19		use of Representatives and the President of the Senate, and publish
20		egister at least 30 calendar days before they take effect. The final
21		transmitted to Congress on , 2004.
22		
23	Explanation and Just	tification
24	To conform its	regulations to the Supreme Court's invalidation of section 213 of the
25		Reform Act of 2002 (Pub. L. 107-155 (Mar. 27, 2002)) ("BCRA") in
26		0 U.S. 93, 199-205 (2003), the Commission is removing its

- 1 regulations at 11 CFR 109.35 and deleting any cross-references to that section in other
- 2 regulations.
- 3 <u>I. 11 CFR 102.6—Transfer of funds; collecting agents.</u>
- The Commission is revising section 102.6 by deleting the cross-reference to section
- 5 109.35, which is being removed.
- 6 II. 11 CFR 106.8—Allocation of expenses for political party committee phone banks
- 7 that refer to clearly identified Federal candidate.
- 8 The Commission is revising section 106.8 by deleting the cross-reference to section
- 9 109.35, which is being removed.
- 10 III. 11 CFR 109.30—How are political party committees treated for purposes of
- 11 coordinated and independent expenditures?
- The Commission is revising section 109.30 by deleting the cross-references to
- section 109.35, which is being removed.
- 14 IV. 11 CFR 109.33—May a political party committee assign its coordinated party
- 15 expenditure authority to another political party committee?
- The Commission is revising section 109.33 by deleting the cross-reference to
- 17 section 109.35, which is being removed.
- 18 V. 11 CFR 109.35—What are the restrictions on a political party committee making
- 19 both independent expenditures and coordinated party expenditures in connection with the
- 20 general election of a candidate?
- Under the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 (the "Act"), as amended, 2
- 22 U.S.C. 431 et seq., a national committee, State committee, or a subordinate committee of a
- 23 State committee of a political party may make expenditures in coordination with a Federal

- 1 candidate for that candidate's general election campaign<sup>1</sup> up to prescribed limits without
- these expenditures counting against the party committee's contribution limits. 2 U.S.C.
- 3 441a(d)(1)-(3); 11 CFR 109.32. While the Act limits coordinated expenditures, the
- 4 Supreme Court has determined that political party committees may make unlimited
- 5 "independent expenditures," which are not coordinated with a candidate or a candidate's
- 6 authorized committees or agents. See Colorado Republican Federal Campaign Committee
- 7 <u>v. FEC</u>, 518 U.S. 604 (1996) ("Colorado I").<sup>3</sup>
- BCRA section 213 amended 2 U.S.C. 441a(d), by prohibiting political party
- 9 committees, under certain conditions, from making both coordinated party expenditures and
- independent expenditures with respect to the same candidate, and from making transfers
- and assignments to other political party committees. 2 U.S.C. 441a(d)(4).

<sup>1</sup> <u>See</u> 2 U.S.C. 441a(a)(7)(B)(i)-(ii) for a definition of coordinated party expenditures. <u>See also</u> 11 CFR 109.20(b).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> "Independent expenditure" is defined in 2 U.S.C. 431(17). See also 11 CFR 100.16.

The holding of Colorado I is limited to independent expenditures in connection with Congressional campaigns. The opinion in Colorado I did not address the issue of whether regulation of independent expenditures is constitutionally permissible in connection with Presidential campaigns. ("Since this case involves only the provision concerning congressional races, we do not address issues that might grow out of the public funding of presidential campaigns.") 518 U.S. at 612. Thus, the opinion in Colorado I did not reach the issue of whether former 11 CFR 110.7(a)(5) which prohibited independent expenditures by the national committee of a political party in connection with a Presidential campaign was constitutional. Subsequently, however, BCRA effectively repealed section 110.7(a)(5) and the Commission replaced the section with 11 CFR 109.36, which prohibits a national committee of a political party from making independent expenditures in connection with a presidential campaign only in certain circumstances in which the national committee of a political party serves as the principal campaign committee or authorized committee of its Presidential candidate. See Coordinated and Independent Expenditures; Final Rules, 68 Fed. Register 421, 447-48 (January 3, 2003).

- 1 In 2002, the Commission promulgated rules at 11 CFR 109.35 to implement BCRA section 213. Coordinated and Independent Expenditures, Final Rules, 68 Fed. Register 421, 2 3 422 (January 3, 2003). 4 Subsequently, in McConnell v. FEC, the Supreme Court found BCRA section 213 unconstitutional. The Court held that by requiring political parties to choose between 5 coordinated and independent expenditures during the post-nomination, pre-election period, 6 7 BCRA section 213 placed an unconstitutional burden on the parties' right to make unlimited independent expenditures. 540 U.S. at 199-205. Accordingly, the NPRM 8 9 proposed removing the regulations at 11 CFR 109.35, which implemented BCRA section 213. 10 The Commission received three comments on this rulemaking. The Internal 11 12 Revenue Service submitted a comment informing the Commission that it had no comments. A second comment, while urging the Commission to remove the regulations implementing 13 BCRA section 213 on the grounds that it was unconstitutional, primarily addressed issues 14 beyond the scope of this rulemaking. A third brief comment concerned issues also not 15 within the scope of this rulemaking. The Commission received no comments opposing the 16 removal of its regulations at 11 CFR 109.35 as proposed in the NPRM. Accordingly, the 17 Commission is removing and reserving section 109.35 because the statutory foundation for 18
- VI. 11 CFR 109.36—Are there circumstances under which a political party committee
   is prohibited from making independent expenditures?

19

20

v. FEC.

this section, 2 U.S.C. 441a(d)(4), has been invalidated by the Supreme Court in McConnell

1	The Commission is revising section 109.36 by deleting the word "additional" in the	
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3		
4		
5	g sopenditures.	
6	Certification of No Effect Pursuant to 5 U.S.C. § 605(b)	
7 8	[Regulatory Flexibility Act]	
9	The attached rules will not have a significant economic impact on a substantial	
10	number of small entities. The basis of this certification is that the national, State, and local	
11	party committees of the two major political parties are not small entities under 5 U.S.C. 601	
12	because they are not small businesses, small organizations, or small governmental	
13	jurisdictions.	
14	To the extent that political party committees may fall within the definition of "small	
15	entities," their number is not substantial. In addition, the rules do not add but remove	
16	restrictions applicable to political party committees.	
17		
18	List of Subjects	
19	11 CFR Part 102	
20	Political committees and parties, reporting and recordkeeping requirements.	
21	11 CFR Part 106	
22	Political candidates, campaign funds, political committees and parties.	
23	11 CFR Part 109	

- 1 Coordinated expenditures, independent expenditures, political committees and
- 2 parties.

For the reasons set out in the preamble, the Federal Election Commission is amending Subchapter A of Chapter I of Title 11 of the Code of Federal Regulations as 2 3 follows: PART 102 - REGISTRATION, ORGANIZATION, AND RECORDKEEPING BY 4 POLITICAL COMMITTEES (2 U.S.C. 433) 5 6 The authority citation for Part 102 continues to read as follows: 1. 7 Authority: 2 U.S.C. 432, 433, 434(a)(11), 438(a)(8), 441d. Section 102.6 is amended by revising paragraph (a)(1)(ii) to read as follows: 8 2. § 102.6 Transfers of funds; collecting agents. 9 10 (a) 11 **(1)** 12 Subject to the restrictions set forth at 11 CFR 109.35(e), 300.10(a), (ii) 13 300.31 and 300.34(a) and (b), transfers of funds may be made 14 without limit on amount between or among a national party 15 committee, a State party committee and/or any subordinate party 16 committee whether or not they are political committees under 11 17 CFR 100.5 and whether or not such committees are affiliated. 18 19 PART 106 - ALLOCATIONS OF CANDIDATE AND COMMITTEE ACTIVITIES 20 21 3. The authority citation for Part 106 continues to read as follows: **Authority:** 2 U.S.C. 438(a)(8), 441a(b), 441a(g). 22 23 Section 106.8 is amended by revising paragraph (b)(2)(ii) to read as follows: 4.

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§ 106.8 Allocation of expenses for political party committee phone banks that refer to 1 a clearly identified Federal candidate. 2 3 4 (b) 5 **(2)** 6 A coordinated expenditure or an independent expenditure, subject to (ii) 7 the limitations, restrictions, and requirements of 11 CFR 109.10, 8 109.32, and 109.33 and 109.35; or 9 10 PART 109 - COORDINATED AND INDEPENDENT EXPENDITURES (2 U.S.C. 11 431(17), 441a(a) and (d), AND PUB. L. 107-155 SEC. 214(c)) 12 The authority citation for Part 109 continues to read as follows: 13 5. Authority: 2 U.S.C. 431(17), 434(c), 438(a)(8), 441a, 441d; Sec. 214(c) of Pub. L. 14 15 107-155, 116 Stat. 81. 16 Section 109.30 is amended by revising the section to read as follows: 6. § 109.30 How are political party committees treated for purposes of coordinated and 17 18 independent expenditures? 19 20 Political party committees may make independent expenditures subject to the provisions in this subpart. See 11 CFR 109.35 and 109.36. Political party committees may 21 also make coordinated party expenditures in connection with the general election campaign 22 23 of a candidate, subject to the limits and other provisions in this subpart. See 11 CFR 109.32 24 through 11 CFR 109.34109.35.

- 1 Section 109.33 is amended by revising paragraph (a) to read as follows: 7.
- § 109.33 May a political party committee assign its coordinated party expenditure 2 3
- authority to another political party committee?
- 4
- (a) Assignment. Except as provided in 11 CFR 109.35(c), tThe national committee of a 5
- political party and a State committee of a political party, including any subordinate 6
- committee of a State committee, may assign its authority to make coordinated party 7
- expenditures authorized by 11 CFR 109.32 to another political party committee. Such an 8
- assignment must be made in writing, must state the amount of the authority assigned, and 9
- must be received by the assignee committee before any coordinated party expenditure is 10
- 11 made pursuant to the assignment.
- 12
- 13 8. Section 109.35 is removed and reserved.
- § 109.35 What are the restrictions on a political party committee making both 14
- independent expenditures and coordinated party expenditures in connection with the 15
- 16 general election of a candidate?
- (a) Applicability. For the purposes of this section, all political committees established 17
- and maintained by a national political party (including all congressional campaign 18
- 19 committees) and all political committees established and maintained by a State political
- 20 party (including any subordinate committee of a State committee) shall be considered to be
- 21 a single political committee.
- (b) Restrictions on certain coordinated and independent expenditures. On or after the 22
- 23 date on which a political party nominates a candidate for election to Federal office, no
- 24 committee of the political party may make:

	(1) Any coordinated party expenditure under 11 CFR 109.32 with respect to the
2	candidate during the election cycle at any time after it makes any
3	independent expenditure with respect to the candidate during the election
4	
5	(2) Any independent expenditure with respect to the candidate during the
6	election cycle at any time after it makes any coordinated expenditure under
7	11 CFR 109.32 with respect to the candidate during the election cycle.
8	(c) Restrictions on certain transfers and assignments. A committee of a political party
9	that makes coordinated expenditures under 11 CFR 109.32 with respect to a candidate shall
10	not, during the election cycle, transfer any funds to, assign authority to make coordinated
11	expenditures under 11 CFR 109.32 to, or receive a transfer of funds from, a committee of
12	the political party that has made or intends to make an independent expenditure with respect
13	to the candidate.
14	§ 109.35 [Removed and reserved]
15	9. Section 109.36 is amended by revising the heading to read as follows:
16	§ 109.36 Are there additional circumstances under which a political party committee
17	is prohibited from making independent expenditures?
18	* * * * *
19	
20 21 22 23	Bradley A. Smith Chairman Federal Election Commission
24 25	DATED BILLING CODE: 6715-01-U