

103D CONGRESS  
1ST SESSION

# H. R. 2469

To amend the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 and related laws to strengthen public confidence in the integrity of the legislative process, to reform campaign practices for congressional elections, and for other purposes.

---

## IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

JUNE 18, 1993

Mr. SYNAR (for himself, Mr. BEILENSON, Mr. CALVERT, Mr. DEAL, Mr. GLICKMAN, Mr. GRANDY, Mr. GUNDERSON, Mr. HORN, Mr. LIVINGSTON, Mr. TORRICELLI, Mr. MEEHAN, and Mr. UPTON) introduced the following bill; which was referred jointly to the Committees on House Administration and Energy and Commerce

---

## A BILL

To amend the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 and related laws to strengthen public confidence in the integrity of the legislative process, to reform campaign practices for congressional elections, and for other purposes.

1 *Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representa-*  
2 *tives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,*

3 **SECTION 1. SHORT TITLE.**

4 This Act may be cited as the “Congressional Cam-  
5 paign and Election Reform Act of 1993”.

1 **SEC. 2. REDUCTION IN LIMITATION AMOUNT FOR CON-**  
2 **TRIBUTIONS TO CANDIDATES FOR FEDERAL**  
3 **OFFICE BY MULTICANDIDATE POLITICAL**  
4 **COMMITTEES.**

5 Section 315(a)(2)(A) of the Federal Election Cam-  
6 paign Act of 1971 (2 U.S.C. 441a(a)(2)(A)) is amended  
7 by striking out “\$5,000” and inserting in lieu thereof  
8 “\$1,000”.

9 **SEC. 3. REDUCTION IN LIMITATION AMOUNT FOR CON-**  
10 **TRIBUTIONS TO CANDIDATES FOR FEDERAL**  
11 **OFFICE BY PERSONS OTHER THAN**  
12 **MULTICANDIDATE POLITICAL COMMITTEES.**

13 Section 315(a)(1)(A) of the Federal Election Cam-  
14 paign Act of 1971 (2 U.S.C. 441a(a)(1)(A)) is amended  
15 by striking out “\$1,000” and inserting in lieu thereof  
16 “\$500”.

17 **SEC. 4. CONTRIBUTIONS THROUGH INTERMEDIARIES AND**  
18 **CONDUITS.**

19 Section 315(a)(8) of the Federal Election Campaign  
20 Act of 1971 (2 U.S.C. 441a(a)(8)) is amended to read  
21 as follows:

22 “(8) For the purposes of this subsection:

23 “(A) Contributions made by a person, either di-  
24 rectly or indirectly, to or on behalf of a particular  
25 candidate, including contributions that are in any  
26 way earmarked or otherwise directed through an

1 intermediary or conduit to a candidate, shall be  
2 treated as contributions from the person to the  
3 candidate.

4 “(B) Contributions made directly or indirectly  
5 by a person to or on behalf of a particular candidate  
6 through an intermediary or conduit, including con-  
7 tributions made or arranged to be made by an  
8 intermediary or conduit, shall be treated as contribu-  
9 tions from the intermediary or conduit to the can-  
10 didate if—

11 “(i) the contributions made through the  
12 intermediary or conduit are in the form of a  
13 check or other negotiable instrument made pay-  
14 able to the intermediary or conduit rather than  
15 the intended recipient; or

16 “(ii) the intermediary or conduit is—

17 “(I) a political committee;

18 “(II) an officer, employee, or agent of  
19 such a political committee;

20 “(III) a political party;

21 “(IV) a partnership or sole proprietor-  
22 ship;

23 “(V) a person who is required to reg-  
24 ister or to report its lobbying activities, or  
25 a lobbyist whose activities are required to

1 be reported, under section 308 of the Fed-  
2 eral Regulation of Lobbying Act (2 U.S.C.  
3 267), the Foreign Agents Registration Act  
4 of 1938 (22 U.S.C. 611 et seq.), or any  
5 successor Federal law requiring a person  
6 who is a lobbyist or foreign agent to reg-  
7 ister or a person to report its lobbying ac-  
8 tivities; or

9 “(VI) an organization prohibited from  
10 making contributions under section 316, or  
11 an officer, employee, or agent of such an  
12 organization acting on the organization’s  
13 behalf.

14 “(C)(i) The term ‘intermediary or conduit’ does  
15 not include—

16 “(I) a candidate or representative of a can-  
17 didate receiving contributions to the candidate’s  
18 principal campaign committee or authorized  
19 committee;

20 “(II) a professional fundraiser com-  
21 pensated for fundraising services at the usual  
22 and customary rate, but only if the individual  
23 is not described in subparagraph (B)(ii);

24 “(III) a volunteer hosting a fundraising  
25 event at the volunteer’s home, in accordance

1 with section 301(8)(B), but only if the individ-  
2 ual is not described in subparagraph (B)(ii); or

3 “(IV) an individual who transmits a con-  
4 tribution from the individual’s spouse.

5 “(ii) The term ‘representative’ means an indi-  
6 vidual who is expressly authorized by the candidate  
7 to engage in fundraising, and who occupies a signifi-  
8 cant position within the candidate’s campaign orga-  
9 nization, provided that the individual is not de-  
10 scribed in subparagraph (B)(ii).

11 “(iii) The term ‘contributions made or arranged  
12 to be made’ includes—

13 “(I) contributions delivered to a particular  
14 candidate or the candidate’s authorized commit-  
15 tee or agent; and

16 “(II) contributions directly or indirectly ar-  
17 ranged to be made to a particular candidate or  
18 the candidate’s authorized committee or agent,  
19 in a manner that identifies directly or indirectly  
20 to the candidate or authorized committee or  
21 agent the person who arranged the making of  
22 the contributions or the person on whose behalf  
23 such person was acting.

24 Such term does not include contributions made, or  
25 arranged to be made, by reason of an oral or written

1 communication by a Federal candidate or office-  
2 holder expressly advocating the nomination for elec-  
3 tion, or election, of any other Federal candidate and  
4 encouraging the making of a contribution to such  
5 other candidate.

6 “(iv) The term ‘acting on the organization’s be-  
7 half’ includes the following activities by an officer,  
8 employee or agent of a person described in subpara-  
9 graph (B)(ii)(VI):

10 “(I) Soliciting or directly or indirectly ar-  
11 ranging the making of a contribution to a par-  
12 ticular candidate in the name of, or by using  
13 the name of, such a person.

14 “(II) Soliciting or directly or indirectly ar-  
15 ranging the making of a contribution to a par-  
16 ticular candidate using other than incidental re-  
17 sources of such a person.

18 “(III) Soliciting contributions for a par-  
19 ticular candidate by substantially directing the  
20 solicitations to other officers, employees, or  
21 agents of such a person.

22 “(D) Nothing in this paragraph shall prohibit—

23 “(i) bona fide joint fundraising efforts con-  
24 ducted solely for the purpose of sponsorship of  
25 a fundraising reception, dinner, or other similar

1 event, in accordance with rules prescribed by  
2 the Commission, by—

3 “(I) 2 or more candidates;

4 “(II) 2 or more national, State, or  
5 local committees of a political party within  
6 the meaning of section 301(4) acting on  
7 their own behalf; or

8 “(III) a special committee formed by  
9 2 or more candidates, or a candidate and  
10 a national, State, or local committee of a  
11 political party acting on their own behalf;  
12 or

13 “(ii) fundraising efforts for the benefit of  
14 a candidate that are conducted by another can-  
15 didate.

16 When a contribution is made to a candidate through an  
17 intermediary or conduit, the intermediary or conduit shall  
18 report the original source and the intended recipient of  
19 the contribution to the Commission and to the intended  
20 recipient.”.

21 **SEC. 5. CONTRIBUTIONS BY DEPENDENTS NOT OF VOTING**

22 **AGE.**

23 Section 315 of the Federal Election Campaign Act  
24 of 1971 (2 U.S.C. 441a) is amended by adding at the end  
25 the following new subsection:

1       “(i) For purposes of this section, any contribution by  
2 an individual who—

3               “(1) is a dependent of another individual; and

4               “(2) has not, as of the time of such contribu-  
5 tion, attained the legal age for voting for elections  
6 to Federal office in the State in which such individ-  
7 ual resides,

8 shall be treated as having been made by such other indi-  
9 vidual. If such individual is the dependent of another indi-  
10 vidual and such other individual’s spouse, the contribution  
11 shall be allocated among such individuals in the manner  
12 determined by them.”.

13 **SEC. 6. CONTRIBUTIONS TO CANDIDATES FROM STATE AND**  
14 **LOCAL COMMITTEES OF POLITICAL PARTIES**  
15 **TO BE AGGREGATED.**

16       Section 315(a) of the Federal Election Campaign Act  
17 of 1971 (2 U.S.C. 441a(a)) is amended by adding at the  
18 end the following new paragraph:

19       “(9) Notwithstanding paragraph (5)(B), a candidate  
20 for Federal office may not accept, with respect to an elec-  
21 tion, any contribution from a State or local committee of  
22 a political party (including any subordinate committee of  
23 such committee), if such contribution, when added to the  
24 total of contributions previously accepted from all such

1 committees of that political party, exceeds a limitation on  
2 contributions to a candidate under this section.”.

3 **SEC. 7. CONTRIBUTIONS AND EXPENDITURES USING**  
4 **MONEY SECURED BY PHYSICAL FORCE OR**  
5 **OTHER INTIMIDATION.**

6 Title III of the Federal Election Campaign Act of  
7 1971 is amended by adding at the end the following new  
8 section:

9 “CONTRIBUTIONS AND EXPENDITURES USING MONEY  
10 SECURED BY PHYSICAL FORCE OR OTHER INTIMIDATION  
11 “SEC. 323. It shall be unlawful for any person to—  
12 “(1) cause another person to make a contribu-  
13 tion or expenditure by using physical force, job dis-  
14 crimination, financial reprisals, or the threat of  
15 physical force, job discrimination, or financial re-  
16 prisal; or  
17 “(2) make a contribution or expenditure utiliz-  
18 ing money or anything of value secured in the man-  
19 ner described in paragraph (1).”.

20 **SEC. 8. PROHIBITION OF ACCEPTANCE BY A CANDIDATE OF**  
21 **CASH CONTRIBUTIONS FROM ANY ONE PER-**  
22 **SON AGGREGATING MORE THAN \$100.**

23 Section 321 of the Federal Election Campaign Act  
24 of 1971 (2 U.S.C. 441g) is amended by inserting “, and  
25 no candidate or authorized committee of a candidate shall  
26 accept from any one person,” after “make”.

1 **SEC. 9. DEFINITIONS.**

2 (a) CONTRIBUTION AND EXPENDITURE EXCEP-  
3 TIONS.—(1) Clause (xii) of section 301(8)(B) of the Fed-  
4 eral Election Campaign Act of 1971 (2 U.S.C.  
5 431(8)(B)(xii)) is amended—

6 (A) by inserting “in connection with volunteer  
7 activities” after “such committee”; and

8 (B) by striking “and” at the end of subclause  
9 (2), by inserting “and” at the end of subclause (3),  
10 and by adding at the end the following new  
11 subclause:

12 “(4) such activities are conducted solely  
13 by, or any materials are distributed solely by,  
14 volunteers;”.

15 (2) Clause (ix) of section 301(9)(B) of the Federal  
16 Election Campaign Act of 1971 (2 U.S.C. 431(9)(B)(ix))  
17 is amended—

18 (A) by inserting “in connection with volunteer  
19 activities” after “such committee”, and

20 (B) by striking “and” at the end of subclause  
21 (2), by inserting “and” at the end of subclause (3),  
22 and by adding at the end the following new  
23 subclause:

24 “(4) any materials in connection with such  
25 activities are prepared for distribution (and are  
26 distributed) solely by volunteers;”.

1 (b) GENERIC ACTIVITIES; STATE PARTY GRASS-  
2 ROOTS FUND.—Section 301 of the Federal Election Cam-  
3 paign Act of 1971 (2 U.S.C. 431) is amended by adding  
4 at the end the following new paragraphs:

5 “(20) The term ‘generic campaign activity’  
6 means a campaign activity that promotes a political  
7 party rather than any particular Federal or non-  
8 Federal candidate.

9 “(21) The term ‘State Party Grassroots Fund’  
10 means a separate segregated fund established and  
11 maintained by a State committee of a political party  
12 solely for purposes of making expenditures and other  
13 disbursements described in section 324(d).”.

14 **SEC. 10. CONTRIBUTIONS TO POLITICAL PARTY COMMIT-**  
15 **TEES.**

16 (a) INDIVIDUAL CONTRIBUTIONS TO STATE  
17 PARTY.—Paragraph (1) of section 315(a) of the Federal  
18 Election Campaign Act of 1971 (2 U.S.C. 441a(a)(1)) is  
19 amended by striking “or” at the end of subparagraph (B),  
20 by redesignating subparagraph (C) as subparagraph (D),  
21 and by inserting after subparagraph (B) the following new  
22 subparagraph:

23 “(C) to—

24 “(i) a State Party Grassroots Fund estab-  
25 lished and maintained by a State committee of

1 a political party in any calendar year which, in  
2 the aggregate, exceed \$20,000; or

3 “(ii) any other political committee estab-  
4 lished and maintained by a State committee of  
5 a political party in any calendar year which, in  
6 the aggregate, exceed \$5,000,

7 except that the aggregate contributions described in  
8 this subparagraph which may be made by a person  
9 to the State Party Grassroots Fund and all commit-  
10 tees of a State Committee of a political party in any  
11 State in any calendar year shall not exceed \$20,000;  
12 or”.

13 (b) MULTICANDIDATE COMMITTEE CONTRIBUTIONS  
14 TO STATE PARTY.—Paragraph (2) of section 315(a) of  
15 the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 (2 U.S.C.  
16 441a(a)(2)) is amended by striking “or” at the end of sub-  
17 paragraph (B), by redesignating subparagraph (C) as sub-  
18 paragraph (D), and by inserting after subparagraph (B)  
19 the following new subparagraph:

20 “(C) to—

21 “(i) a State Party Grassroots Fund estab-  
22 lished and maintained by a State committee of  
23 a political party in any calendar year which, in  
24 the aggregate, exceed \$15,000; or

1           “(ii) to any other political committee estab-  
2           lished and maintained by a State committee of  
3           a political party which, in the aggregate, exceed  
4           \$5,000,

5           except that the aggregate contributions described in  
6           this subparagraph which may be made by a  
7           multicandidate political committee to the State  
8           Party Grassroots Fund and all committees of a  
9           State Committee of a political party in any State in  
10          any calendar year shall not exceed \$15,000; or”.

11          (c) OVERALL LIMIT.—Paragraph (3) of section  
12 315(a) of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 (2  
13 U.S.C. 441a(a)(3)) is amended to read as follows:

14          “(3)(A) No individual shall make contributions dur-  
15          ing any election cycle (as defined in section 301(29)(B))  
16          which, in the aggregate, exceed \$60,000.

17          “(B) No individual shall make contributions during  
18          any calendar year—

19                 “(i) to all candidates and their authorized polit-  
20                 ical committees which, in the aggregate, exceed  
21                 \$25,000; or

22                 “(ii) to all political committees established and  
23                 maintained by State committees of a political party  
24                 which, in the aggregate, exceed \$20,000.

1       “(C) For purposes of subparagraph (B)(i), any con-  
2 tribution made to a candidate or the candidate’s author-  
3 ized political committees in a year other than the calendar  
4 year in which the election is held with respect to which  
5 such contribution is made shall be treated as made during  
6 the calendar year in which the election is held.”.

7       (d) PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE COMMITTEE TRANS-  
8 FERS.—(1) Subparagraph (B) of section 315(b)(1) of the  
9 Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 (2 U.S.C.  
10 441a(b)(1)) is amended to read as follows:

11               “(B) in the case of a campaign for election  
12 to such office, an amount equal to the sum of—

13                       “(i) \$20,000,000, plus

14                       “(ii) the lesser of—

15                               “(I) 2 cents multiplied by the  
16 voting age population of the United  
17 States (as certified under subsection  
18 (e) of this section), or

19                               “(II) the amounts transferred by  
20 the candidate and the authorized com-  
21 mittees of the candidate to the na-  
22 tional committee of the candidate’s  
23 political party for distribution to State  
24 Party Grassroots Funds.”.

1           (2) Subparagraph (A) of section 9002(11) of the In-  
2 ternal Revenue Code of 1986 (defining qualified campaign  
3 expense) is amended by striking “or” at the end of clause  
4 (ii), by inserting “or” at the end of clause (iii), and by  
5 inserting at the end the following new clause “(iv) any  
6 transfers to the national committee of the candidate’s po-  
7 litical party for distribution to State Party Grassroots  
8 Funds (as defined in section 301(31) of the Federal Elec-  
9 tion Campaign Act of 1971) to the extent such transfers  
10 do not exceed the amount determined under section  
11 315(b)(1)(B)(ii) of such Act.”.

12 **SEC. 11. PROVISIONS RELATING TO NATIONAL, STATE, AND**  
13 **LOCAL PARTY COMMITTEES.**

14           (a) **SOFT MONEY OF COMMITTEES OF POLITICAL**  
15 **PARTIES.**—Title III of the Federal Election Campaign Act  
16 of 1971 is amended by inserting after section 323 the fol-  
17 lowing new section:

18                           “POLITICAL PARTY COMMITTEES

19           “SEC. 324. (a) **LIMITATIONS ON NATIONAL COMMIT-**  
20 **TEE.**—(1) A national committee of a political party and  
21 the congressional campaign committees of a political party  
22 may not solicit or accept contributions or transfers not  
23 subject to the limitations, prohibitions, and reporting re-  
24 quirements of this Act.

25           “(2) Paragraph (1) shall not apply to contributions—

26                           “(A) that—

1           “(i) are to be transferred to a State com-  
2           mittee of a political party and are used solely  
3           for activities described in clauses (xi) through  
4           (xvii) of paragraph (9)(B) of section 301; or

5           “(ii) are described in section  
6           301(8)(B)(viii); and

7           “(B) with respect to which contributors have  
8           been notified that the funds will be used solely for  
9           the purposes described in subparagraph (A).

10          “(b) ACTIVITIES SUBJECT TO THIS ACT.—Any  
11          amount solicited, received, expended, or disbursed directly  
12          or indirectly by a national, State, district, or local commit-  
13          tee of a political party (including any subordinate commit-  
14          tee) with respect to any of the following activities shall  
15          be subject to the limitations, prohibitions, and reporting  
16          requirements of this Act:

17                 “(1)(A) Any get-out-the-vote activity conducted  
18                 during a calendar year in which an election for the  
19                 office of President is held.

20                 “(B) Any other get-out-the-vote activity unless  
21                 subsection (c)(2) applies to the activity.

22                 “(2) Any generic campaign activity.

23                 “(3) Any activity that identifies or promotes a  
24                 Federal candidate, regardless of whether—

1           “(A) a State or local candidate is also  
2 identified or promoted; or

3           “(B) any portion of the funds disbursed  
4 constitutes a contribution or expenditure under  
5 this Act.

6           “(4) Voter registration.

7           “(5) Development and maintenance of voter  
8 files during an even-numbered calendar year.

9           “(6) Any other activity that—

10           “(A) significantly affects a Federal elec-  
11 tion, or

12           “(B) is not otherwise described in section  
13 301(8)(B)(xvii).

14 Any amount spent to raise funds that are used, in whole  
15 or in part, in connection with activities described in the  
16 preceding paragraphs shall be subject to the limitations,  
17 prohibitions, and reporting requirements of this Act.

18           “(c) GET-OUT-THE-VOTE ACTIVITIES BY STATE,  
19 DISTRICT, AND LOCAL COMMITTEES OF POLITICAL PAR-  
20 TIES.—(1) Except as provided in paragraph (2), any get-  
21 out-the-vote activity for a State or local candidate, or for  
22 a ballot measure, which is conducted by a State, district,  
23 or local committee of a political party (including any sub-  
24 ordinate committee) shall be subject to the limitations,  
25 prohibitions, and reporting requirements of this Act.

1       “(2) Paragraph (1) shall not apply to any activity  
2 which the State committee of a political party certifies to  
3 the Commission is an activity which—

4               “(A) is conducted during a calendar year other  
5 than a calendar year in which an election for the of-  
6 fice of President is held,

7               “(B) is exclusively on behalf of (and specifically  
8 identifies only) one or more State or local candidates  
9 or ballot measures, and

10              “(C) does not include any effort or means used  
11 to identify or turn out those identified to be support-  
12 ers of any Federal candidate (including any activity  
13 that is undertaken in coordination with, or on behalf  
14 of, a candidate for Federal office).

15       “(d) STATE PARTY GRASSROOTS FUNDS.—(1) A  
16 State committee of a political party may make disburse-  
17 ments and expenditures from its State Party Grassroots  
18 Fund only for—

19              “(A) any generic campaign activity;

20              “(B) payments described in clauses (v), (x), and  
21 (xii) of paragraph (8)(B) and clauses (iv), (viii), and  
22 (ix) of paragraph (9)(B) of section 301;

23              “(C) subject to the limitations of section  
24 315(d), payments described in clause (xii) of para-  
25 graph (8)(B), and clause (ix) of paragraph (9)(B),

1 of section 301 on behalf of candidates other than for  
2 President and Vice President;

3 “(D) voter registration; and

4 “(E) development and maintenance of voter  
5 files during an even-numbered calendar year.

6 “(2) Notwithstanding section 315(a)(4), no funds  
7 may be transferred by a State committee of a political  
8 party from its State Party Grassroots Fund to any other  
9 State Party Grassroots Fund or to any other political com-  
10 mittee, except a transfer may be made to a district or local  
11 committee of the same political party in the same State  
12 if such district or local committee—

13 “(A) has established a separate segregated fund  
14 for the purposes described in paragraph (1); and

15 “(B) uses the transferred funds solely for those  
16 purposes.

17 “(e) AMOUNTS RECEIVED BY GRASSROOTS FUND  
18 FROM STATE AND LOCAL CANDIDATE COMMITTEES.—(1)  
19 Any amount received by a State Party Grassroots Fund  
20 from a State or local candidate committee for expenditures  
21 described in subsection (b) that are for the benefit of that  
22 candidate shall be treated as meeting the requirements of  
23 subsection (b) and section 304(e) if—

24 “(A) such amount is derived from funds which  
25 meet the requirements of this Act with respect to

1 any limitation or prohibition as to source or dollar  
2 amount specified in section 315(a) (1)(A) and  
3 (2)(A); and

4 “(B) the State or local candidate committee—

5 “(i) maintains, in the account from which  
6 payment is made, records of the sources and  
7 amounts of funds for purposes of determining  
8 whether such requirements are met; and

9 “(ii) certifies that such requirements were  
10 met.

11 “(2) For purposes of paragraph (1)(A), in determin-  
12 ing whether the funds transferred meet the requirements  
13 of this Act described in such paragraph—

14 “(A) a State or local candidate committee’s  
15 cash on hand shall be treated as consisting of the  
16 funds most recently received by the committee, and

17 “(B) the committee must be able to dem-  
18 onstrate that its cash on hand contains sufficient  
19 funds meeting such requirements as are necessary to  
20 cover the transferred funds.

21 “(3) Notwithstanding paragraph (1), any State Party  
22 Grassroots Fund receiving any transfer described in para-  
23 graph (1) from a State or local candidate committee shall  
24 be required to meet the reporting requirements of this Act,  
25 and shall submit to the Commission all certifications re-

1 ceived, with respect to receipt of the transfer from such  
2 candidate committee.

3 “(4) For purposes of this subsection, a State or local  
4 candidate committee is a committee established, financed,  
5 maintained, or controlled by a candidate for other than  
6 Federal office.”.

7 (b) CONTRIBUTIONS AND EXPENDITURES.—(1) Sec-  
8 tion 301(8)(B) of the Federal Election Campaign Act of  
9 1971 (2 U.S.C. 431(8)(B)) is amended by striking “and”  
10 at the end of clause (xiii), by striking the period at the  
11 end of clause (xiv) and inserting a semicolon, and by add-  
12 ing at the end the following new clauses:

13 “(xv) any amount contributed to a  
14 candidate for other than Federal office;

15 “(xvi) any amount received or ex-  
16 pended to pay the costs of a State or local  
17 political convention;

18 “(xvii) any payment for campaign ac-  
19 tivities that are exclusively on behalf of  
20 (and specifically identify only) State or  
21 local candidates and do not identify any  
22 Federal candidate, and that are not activi-  
23 ties described in section 324(b) (without  
24 regard to paragraph (6)(B)) or section  
25 324(c)(1);

1           “(xviii) any payment for administra-  
2           tive expenses of a State or local committee  
3           of a political party, including expenses  
4           for—

5                     “(I) overhead, including party  
6                     meetings;

7                     “(II) staff (other than individuals  
8                     devoting a significant amount of their  
9                     time to elections for Federal office  
10                    and individuals engaged in conducting  
11                    get-out-the-vote activities for a Fed-  
12                    eral election); and

13                    “(III) conducting party elections  
14                    or caucuses;

15                    “(xix) any payment for research per-  
16                    taining solely to State and local candidates  
17                    and issues;

18                    “(xx) any payment for development  
19                    and maintenance of voter files other than  
20                    during the 1-year period ending on the  
21                    date during an even-numbered calendar  
22                    year on which regularly scheduled general  
23                    elections for Federal office occur; and

24                    “(xxi) any payment for any other ac-  
25                    tivity which is solely for the purpose of in-

1           fluencing, and which solely affects, an elec-  
2           tion for non-Federal office and which is  
3           not an activity described in section 324(b)  
4           (without regard to paragraph (6)(B)) or  
5           section 324(c)(1).”.

6           (2) Section 301(9)(B) of the Federal Election Cam-  
7           paign Act of 1971 (2 U.S.C. 431(9)(B)) is amended by  
8           striking “and” at the end of clause (ix), by striking the  
9           period at the end of clause (x) and inserting a semicolon,  
10          and by adding at the end the following new clauses:

11                   “(xi) any amount contributed to a  
12                   candidate for other than Federal office;

13                   “(xii) any amount received or ex-  
14                   pended to pay the costs of a State or local  
15                   political convention;

16                   “(xiii) any payment for campaign ac-  
17                   tivities that are exclusively on behalf of  
18                   (and specifically identify only) State or  
19                   local candidates and do not identify any  
20                   Federal candidate, and that are not activi-  
21                   ties described in section 324(b) (without  
22                   regard to paragraph (6)(B)) or section  
23                   324(c)(1);

1           “(xiv) any payment for administrative  
2 expenses of a State or local committee of  
3 a political party, including expenses for—

4                   “(I) overhead, including party  
5 meetings;

6                   “(II) staff (other than individuals  
7 devoting a significant amount of their  
8 time to elections for Federal office  
9 and individuals engaged in conducting  
10 get-out-the-vote activities for a Fed-  
11 eral election); and

12                   “(III) conducting party elections  
13 or caucuses;

14           “(xv) any payment for research per-  
15 taining solely to State and local candidates  
16 and issues;

17                   “(xvi) any payment for development  
18 and maintenance of voter files other than  
19 during the 1-year period ending on the  
20 date during an even-numbered calendar  
21 year on which regularly scheduled general  
22 elections for Federal office occur; and

23                   “(xvii) any payment for any other ac-  
24 tivity which is solely for the purpose of in-  
25 fluencing, and which solely affects, an elec-

1                   tion for non-Federal office and which is  
2                   not an activity described in section 324(b)  
3                   (without regard to paragraph (6)(B)) or  
4                   section 324(c)(1).”.

5           (c) LIMITATION APPLIED AT NATIONAL LEVEL.—  
6 Paragraph (3) of section 315(d) of the Federal Election  
7 Campaign Act of 1971 (2 U.S.C. 441a(d)(3)) is amended  
8 by adding at the end the following new sentence: “Not-  
9 withstanding the preceding sentence, the applicable con-  
10 gressional campaign committee of a political party shall  
11 make the expenditures described in this paragraph which  
12 are authorized to be made by a national or State commit-  
13 tee with respect to a candidate in any State unless it allo-  
14 cates all or a portion of such expenditures to either or  
15 both of such committees.”.

16           (d) LIMITATIONS APPLY FOR ENTIRE ELECTION  
17 CYCLE.—Section 315(d)(1) of the Federal Election Cam-  
18 paign Act of 1971 (2 U.S.C. 441a(d)(1)) is amended by  
19 adding at the end the following new sentence: “Each limi-  
20 tation under the following paragraphs shall apply to the  
21 entire election cycle for an office.”.

22 **SEC. 12. RESTRICTIONS ON FUNDRAISING BY CANDIDATES**  
23 **AND OFFICEHOLDERS.**

24           (a) STATE FUNDRAISING ACTIVITIES.—Section 315  
25 of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 (2 U.S.C.

1 441a), as amended by section 5, is further amended by  
2 adding at the end the following new subsection:

3 “(j) LIMITATIONS ON FUNDRAISING ACTIVITIES OF  
4 FEDERAL CANDIDATES AND OFFICEHOLDERS AND CER-  
5 TAIN POLITICAL COMMITTEES.—(1) For purposes of this  
6 Act, a candidate for Federal office, an individual holding  
7 Federal office, or any agent of the candidate or individual  
8 may not solicit funds to, or receive funds on behalf of,  
9 any Federal or non-Federal candidate or political commit-  
10 tee—

11 “(A) which are to be expended in connection  
12 with any election for Federal office unless such  
13 funds are subject to the limitations, prohibitions,  
14 and requirements of this Act; or

15 “(B) which are to be expended in connection  
16 with any election for other than Federal office unless  
17 such funds are not in excess of amounts permitted  
18 with respect to Federal candidates and political com-  
19 mittees under subsections (a) (1) and (2), and are  
20 not from sources prohibited by such subsections with  
21 respect to elections to Federal office.

22 “(2)(A) The aggregate amount which a person de-  
23 scribed in subparagraph (B) may solicit from a  
24 multicandidate political committee for State committees  
25 described in subsection (a)(1)(C) (including subordinate

1 committees) for any calendar year shall not exceed the dol-  
2 lar amount in effect under subsection (a)(2)(B) for the  
3 calendar year.

4 “(B) A person is described in this subparagraph if  
5 such person is a candidate for Federal office, an individual  
6 holding Federal office, an agent of such a candidate or  
7 individual, or any national, State, district, or local commit-  
8 tee of a political party (including a subordinate committee)  
9 and any agent of such a committee.

10 “(3) The appearance or participation by a candidate  
11 for Federal office or individual holding Federal office in  
12 any fundraising event conducted by a committee of a polit-  
13 ical party or a candidate for other than Federal office shall  
14 not be treated as a solicitation for purposes of paragraph  
15 (1) if such candidate or individual does not solicit or re-  
16 ceive, or make disbursements from, any funds resulting  
17 from such activity.

18 “(4) Paragraph (1) shall not apply to the solicitation  
19 or receipt of funds, or disbursements, by an individual who  
20 is a candidate for other than Federal office if such activity  
21 is permitted under State law.

22 “(5) For purposes of this subsection, an individual  
23 shall be treated as holding Federal office if such individ-  
24 ual—

25 “(A) holds a Federal office; or

1           “(B) holds a position described in level I of the  
2           Executive Schedule under section 5312 of title 5,  
3           United States Code.”.

4           (b) TAX-EXEMPT ORGANIZATIONS.—Section 315 of  
5           the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 (2 U.S.C.  
6           441a), as amended by section 5 and subsection (a), is fur-  
7           ther amended by adding at the end the following new sub-  
8           section:

9           “(k) TAX-EXEMPT ORGANIZATIONS.—(1) If an indi-  
10          vidual is a candidate for, or holds, Federal office during  
11          any period, such individual may not during such period  
12          solicit contributions to, or on behalf of, any organization  
13          which is described in section 501(c) of the Internal Reve-  
14          nue Code of 1986 if a significant portion of the activities  
15          of such organization include voter registration or get-out-  
16          the-vote campaigns.

17          “(2) For purposes of this subsection, an individual  
18          shall be treated as holding Federal office if such individ-  
19          ual—

20                 “(A) holds a Federal office; or

21                 “(B) holds a position described in level I of the  
22                 Executive Schedule under section 5312 of title 5,  
23                 United States Code.”.

1 **SEC. 13. REPORTING REQUIREMENTS.**

2 (a) REPORTING REQUIREMENTS.—Section 304 of the  
3 Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 (2 U.S.C. 434)  
4 is amended by adding at the end the following new sub-  
5 section:

6 “(d) POLITICAL COMMITTEES.—(1) The national  
7 committee of a political party and any congressional cam-  
8 paign committee of a political party, and any subordinate  
9 committee of either, shall report all receipts and disburse-  
10 ments during the reporting period, whether or not in con-  
11 nection with an election for Federal office.

12 “(2) A political committee (not described in para-  
13 graph (1)) to which section 324 applies shall report all  
14 receipts and disbursements including separate schedules  
15 for receipts and disbursements for State Grassroots Funds  
16 described in section 301(31).

17 “(3) Any political committee to which section 324 ap-  
18 plies shall include in its report under paragraph (1) or  
19 (2) the amount of any transfer described in section  
20 324(d)(2) and shall itemize such amounts to the extent  
21 required by section 304(b)(3)(A).

22 “(4) Any political committee to which paragraph (1)  
23 or (2) does not apply shall report any receipts or disburse-  
24 ments which are used in connection with a Federal elec-  
25 tion.

1       “(5) If a political committee has receipts or disburse-  
2 ments to which this subsection applies from any person  
3 aggregating in excess of \$200 for any calendar year, the  
4 political committee shall separately itemize its reporting  
5 for such person in the same manner as subsection (b)  
6 (3)(A), (5), or (6).

7       “(6) Reports required to be filed by this subsection  
8 shall be filed for the same time periods required for politi-  
9 cal committees under subsection (a).”.

10       (b) REPORT OF EXEMPT CONTRIBUTIONS.—Section  
11 301(8) of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 (2  
12 U.S.C. 431(8)) is amended by inserting at the end thereof  
13 the following:

14               “(C) The exclusion provided in clause (viii)  
15 of subparagraph (B) shall not apply for pur-  
16 poses of any requirement to report contribu-  
17 tions under this Act, and all such contributions  
18 aggregating in excess of \$200 shall be  
19 reported.”.

20       (c) REPORTS BY STATE COMMITTEES.—Section 304  
21 of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 (2 U.S.C.  
22 434), as amended by subsection (a), is amended by adding  
23 at the end thereof the following new subsection:

24       “(e) FILING OF STATE REPORTS.—In lieu of any re-  
25 port required to be filed by this Act, the Commission may

1 allow a State committee of a political party to file with  
2 the Commission a report required to be filed under State  
3 law if the Commission determines such reports contain  
4 substantially the same information.”.

5 (d) OTHER REPORTING REQUIREMENTS.—

6 (1) AUTHORIZED COMMITTEES.—Paragraph (4)  
7 of section 304(b) of the Federal Election Campaign  
8 Act of 1971 (2 U.S.C. 434(b)(4)) is amended by  
9 striking “and” at the end of subparagraph (H), by  
10 inserting “and” at the end of subparagraph (I), and  
11 by adding at the end the following new subpara-  
12 graph:

13 “(J) in the case of an authorized commit-  
14 tee, disbursements for the primary election, the  
15 general election, and any other election in which  
16 the candidate participates;”.

17 (2) NAMES AND ADDRESSES.—Subparagraph  
18 (A) of section 304(b)(5) of the Federal Election  
19 Campaign Act of 1971 (2 U.S.C. 434(b)(5)(A)) is  
20 amended—

21 (A) by striking “within the calendar year”,  
22 and

23 (B) by inserting “, and the election to  
24 which the operating expenditure relates” after  
25 “operating expenditure”.

1 **SEC. 14. REPORTING REQUIREMENTS FOR CERTAIN INDE-**  
2 **PENDENT EXPENDITURES.**

3 (a) IN GENERAL.—Section 304 of the Federal Elec-  
4 tion Campaign Act of 1971 (2 U.S.C. 434), as amended  
5 by section 13, is further amended by adding at the end  
6 the following new subsection:

7 “(f) TIME FOR REPORTING CERTAIN EXPENDI-  
8 TURES.—(1) Any person making independent expendi-  
9 tures aggregating \$1,000 or more after the 20th day, but  
10 more than 24 hours, before any election shall file a report  
11 of such expenditures within 24 hours after such expendi-  
12 tures are made.

13 “(2) Any person making independent expenditures  
14 aggregating \$10,000 or more at any time up to and in-  
15 cluding the 20th day before any election shall file a report  
16 within 48 hours after such expenditures are made. An ad-  
17 ditional statement shall be filed each time independent ex-  
18 penditures aggregating \$10,000 are made with respect to  
19 the same election as the initial statement filed under this  
20 section.

21 “(3) Any statement under this subsection shall be  
22 filed with the Commission and the Secretary of State of  
23 the State involved and shall contain the information re-  
24 quired by subsection (b)(6)(B)(iii) of this section, includ-  
25 ing whether the independent expenditure is in support of,  
26 or in opposition to, the candidate involved. Not later than

1 48 hours after the Commission receives a report, the Com-  
2 mission shall transmit a copy of the report to each can-  
3 didate seeking nomination or election to that office.

4 “(4) For purposes of this subsection, an expenditure  
5 shall be treated as made when it is made or obligated to  
6 be made.

7 “(5)(A) If any person intends to make independent  
8 expenditures totaling \$5,000 or more during the 20 days  
9 before an election, such person shall file a statement no  
10 later than the 20th day before the election.

11 “(B) Any statement under subparagraph (A) shall be  
12 filed with the Commission and the Secretary of State of  
13 the State involved and shall identify each candidate whom  
14 the expenditure will support or oppose. Not later than 48  
15 hours after the Commission receives a statement under  
16 this paragraph, the Commission shall transmit a copy of  
17 the statement to each candidate identified.

18 “(6) The Commission may make its own determina-  
19 tion that a person has made, or has incurred obligations  
20 to make, independent expenditures with respect to any  
21 Federal election which in the aggregate exceed the applica-  
22 ble amounts under paragraph (1) or (2). The Commission  
23 shall notify each candidate in such election of such deter-  
24 mination within 24 hours of making it.”.

1 (b) CONFORMING AMENDMENT.—Section 304(c)(2)  
2 of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 (2 U.S.C.  
3 434(c)(2)) is amended by striking the undesignated mat-  
4 ter after subparagraph (C).

5 **SEC. 15. EQUAL BROADCAST TIME.**

6 Section 315(a) of the Communications Act of 1934  
7 (47 U.S.C. 315(a)) is amended to read as follows:

8 “(a)(1) If a licensee permits any person who is a le-  
9 gally qualified candidate for public office to use a broad-  
10 casting station other than any use required to be provided  
11 under paragraph (2), the licensee shall afford equal oppor-  
12 tunities to all other such candidates for that office in the  
13 use of the broadcasting station.

14 “(2)(A) A person who reserves broadcast time the  
15 payment for which would constitute an independent ex-  
16 penditure within the meaning of section 301(17) of the  
17 Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 (2 U.S.C.  
18 431(17)) shall—

19 “(i) inform the licensee that payment for the  
20 broadcast time will constitute an independent ex-  
21 penditure;

22 “(ii) inform the licensee of the names of all can-  
23 didates for the office to which the proposed broad-  
24 cast relates; and

1           “(iii) provide the licensee a copy of the state-  
2           ment described in section 304A(b)(3)(B) of the Fed-  
3           eral Election Campaign Act of 1971 (2 U.S.C.  
4           434(d)(3)(B)).

5           “(B) A licensee who is informed as described in sub-  
6           paragraph (A) shall, if any of the candidates described in  
7           subparagraph (A)(ii) has provided the licensee the name  
8           and address of a person to whom notification under this  
9           subparagraph is to be given—

10           “(i) notify such person of the proposed making  
11           of the independent expenditure; and

12           “(ii) provide, without charge, any such can-  
13           didate (other than a candidate for whose benefit the  
14           independent expenditure is made) with the same  
15           amount of broadcast time immediately after the  
16           broadcast time paid for by the independent expendi-  
17           ture.

18           “(3) A licensee shall have no power of censorship over  
19           the material broadcast under this section.

20           “(4) Except as provided in paragraph (2), no obliga-  
21           tion is imposed under this subsection upon any licensee  
22           to allow the use of its station by any candidate.

23           “(5)(A) Appearance by a legally qualified candidate  
24           on a—

25           “(i) bona fide newscast;

1           “(ii) bona fide news interview;

2           “(iii) bona fide news documentary (if the ap-  
3           pearance of the candidate is incidental to the presen-  
4           tation of the subject or subjects covered by the news  
5           documentary); or

6           “(iv) on-the-spot coverage of bona fide news  
7           events (including political conventions and activities  
8           incidental thereto),

9 shall not be deemed to be use of a broadcasting station  
10 within the meaning of this subsection.

11          “(B) Nothing in subparagraph (A) shall be construed  
12 as relieving broadcasters, in connection with the presen-  
13 tation of newscasts, news interviews, news documentaries,  
14 and on-the-spot coverage of news events, from their obliga-  
15 tion under this Act to operate in the public interest and  
16 to afford reasonable opportunity for the discussion of con-  
17 flicting views on issues of public importance.

18          “(6)(A) A licensee that endorses a candidate for Fed-  
19 eral office in an editorial shall, within the time stated in  
20 subparagraph (B), provide to all other candidates for elec-  
21 tion to the same office—

22           “(i) notice of the date and time of broadcast of  
23           the editorial;

24           “(ii) a taped or printed copy of the editorial;  
25           and

1           “(iii) a reasonable opportunity to broadcast a  
2           response using the licensee’s facilities.

3           “(B) In the case of an editorial described in subpara-  
4 graph (A) that—

5           “(i) is first broadcast 72 hours or more prior to  
6           the date of a primary, runoff, or general election,  
7           the notice and copy described in subparagraph (A)  
8           (i) and (ii) shall be provided not later than 24 hours  
9           after the time of the first broadcast of the editorial,  
10          and

11          “(ii) is first broadcast less than 72 hours before  
12          the date of an election, the notice and copy shall be  
13          provided at a time prior to the first broadcast that  
14          will be sufficient to enable candidates a reasonable  
15          opportunity to prepare and broadcast a response.

16          “(7) A communication under reserved broadcast time  
17 described in paragraph (2)—

18          “(A) in the case of a television broadcast, shall  
19          include during the entire length of the communica-  
20          tion a clearly readable video statement covering at  
21          least 25 percent of the viewing area of a television  
22          screen stating the information required in section  
23          318(a) of the Federal Election Campaign Act of  
24          1971 and, if the independent expenditure is made by  
25          a political committee, stating the name of its con-

1 nected organization (if any) and the city and State  
2 in which such organization is located; and

3 “(B) in the case of any audio broadcast (includ-  
4 ing a television broadcast), shall include an audio  
5 statement at the conclusion of the broadcast stating  
6 the information described in section 318(a) of the  
7 Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 and, if the  
8 independent expenditure is made by a political com-  
9 mittee, stating the name of its connected organiza-  
10 tion (if any) and the city and State in which such  
11 organization is located.”.

12 **SEC. 16. PROHIBITION OF LEADERSHIP COMMITTEES; RE-**  
13 **STRICTION ON CONTRIBUTIONS BETWEEN**  
14 **PRINCIPAL CAMPAIGN COMMITTEES.**

15 (a) LEADERSHIP COMMITTEE PROHIBITION.—Sec-  
16 tion 302 of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971  
17 (2 U.S.C. 432) is amended by adding at the end the fol-  
18 lowing new subsection:

19 “(j) A candidate for Federal office may not establish,  
20 maintain, finance, or control a political committee, other  
21 than the principal campaign committee of the candidate.”.

22 (b) PRINCIPAL CAMPAIGN COMMITTEE RESTRIC-  
23 TION.—Section 315 of the Federal Election Campaign Act  
24 of 1971 (2 U.S.C. 441a), as amended by sections 5 and

1 12, is further amended by adding at the end the following  
2 new subsection:

3 “(l) A principal campaign committee of a candidate  
4 for Federal office may not make any contribution to any  
5 other principal campaign committee (other than the prin-  
6 cipal campaign committee of the same individual as a can-  
7 didate for another Federal office).”.

8 **SEC. 17. PROHIBITION OF TRANSFERS AMONG NONCAN-**  
9 **DIDATE, NONPARTY POLITICAL COMMITTEES.**

10 Section 315 of the Federal Election Campaign Act  
11 of 1971 (2 U.S.C. 441a), as amended by sections 5, 12,  
12 and 16, is further amended by adding at the end the fol-  
13 lowing new subsection:

14 “(m) A noncandidate, nonparty political committee  
15 may not make contributions, or otherwise transfer funds,  
16 to any other noncandidate, nonparty political committee.  
17 As used in this subsection, the term ‘noncandidate,  
18 nonparty political committee’ means a political committee  
19 that is not an authorized committee of a candidate for  
20 Federal office and is not a political committee of a political  
21 party.”.

22 **SEC. 18. RESTRICTIONS ON CONNECTED POLITICAL AC-**  
23 **TION COMMITTEE ACTIVITIES.**

24 Section 316(b)(2) of the Federal Election Campaign  
25 Act of 1971 (2 U.S.C. 441b(b)(2)) is amended by adding

1 at the end the following new sentence: “The exclusion  
2 under subparagraph (C) does not permit receipt of direct  
3 or indirect subsidies for administrative expenses (including  
4 salaries, utility expenses, office equipment expenses, and  
5 general overhead) from a corporation, labor organization,  
6 membership organization, cooperative, or corporation  
7 without capital stock.”.

8 **SEC. 19. EFFECTIVE DATE AND SUNSET PROVISIONS.**

9 This Act and the amendments made by this Act shall  
10 become effective January 1, 1994, and shall apply with  
11 respect to elections beginning with the general election of  
12 1994 (and any primary election relating to such general  
13 election).

○

HR 2469 IH—2

HR 2469 IH—3

HR 2469 IH—4