

103<sup>D</sup> CONGRESS  
1<sup>ST</sup> SESSION

# H. R. 3196

To amend the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, the Internal Revenue Code of 1986, and title 39, United States Code, to provide for an open, fair, and responsive electoral process, and for other purposes.

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## IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

SEPTEMBER 30, 1993

Mrs. FOWLER (for herself, Mr. TORKILDSEN, Mr. ROYCE, Mr. MICA, Mr. HUTCHINSON, Mr. CASTLE, Mr. MILLER of Florida, Mr. BLUTE, Mr. SMITH of Michigan, Ms. DUNN, Mr. MCKEON, Mr. LINDER, Mr. FRANKS of New Jersey, Mr. BUYER, Mr. BACHUS of Alabama, Mr. KIM, Mr. BAKER of California, Mr. KNOLLENBERG, Mr. EVERETT, Mr. KINGSTON, and Mr. BARTLETT of Maryland) introduced the following bill; which was referred jointly to the Committees on House Administration, Ways and Means, and Post Office and Civil Service

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## A BILL

To amend the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, the Internal Revenue Code of 1986, and title 39, United States Code, to provide for an open, fair, and responsive electoral process, 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,*

1 **SECTION 1. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES ELECTION LIM-**  
2 **TATION ON OUT-OF-STATE CONTRIBUTIONS.**

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

6 “(i) A candidate for the office of Representative in,  
7 or Delegate or Resident Commissioner to, the Congress  
8 may not, with respect to an election cycle, accept out-of-  
9 State contributions totaling more than 49 percent of the  
10 aggregate of contributions accepted from all sources.”.

11 **SEC. 2. REDUCTION IN LIMITATION AMOUNT APPLICABLE**  
12 **TO MULTICANDIDATE POLITICAL COMMIT-**  
13 **TEE CONTRIBUTIONS TO CANDIDATES.**

14 Section 315(a)(2)(A) of the Federal Election Cam-  
15 paign Act of 1971 (2 U.S.C. 441a(a)(2)(A)) is amended  
16 by striking out “\$5,000” and inserting in lieu thereof  
17 “\$1,000”.

18 **SEC. 3. PROHIBITION ON CONTRIBUTIONS BETWEEN**  
19 **MULTICANDIDATE POLITICAL COMMITTEES.**

20 Section 315 of the Federal Election Campaign Act  
21 of 1971 (2 U.S.C. 441a), as amended by section 1, is fur-  
22 ther amended by adding at the end the following new sub-  
23 section:

24 “(j) Notwithstanding any other provision of this Act,  
25 a multicandidate political committee may not make a con-  
26 tribution to another multicandidate political committee.”.

1 **SEC. 4. MULTICANDIDATE POLITICAL COMMITTEE NAME**  
2 **REQUIREMENT.**

3 Section 303 of the Federal Election Campaign Act  
4 of 1971 (2 U.S.C. 433) is amended by adding at the end  
5 the following new subsection:

6 “(e) Any multicandidate political committee that is  
7 affiliated with another organization shall include the entire  
8 name of the organization in the name of the  
9 multicandidate political committee.”.

10 **SEC. 5. PROHIBITION OF BUNDLING.**

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

14 “(8) No person may make a contribution through an  
15 intermediary or conduit, except that a person may facili-  
16 tate a contribution by providing—

17 “(A) advice to another person as to how the  
18 other person may make a contribution; and

19 “(B) addressed mailing material or similar  
20 items to another person for use by the other person  
21 in making a contribution.”.

22 **SEC. 6. REQUIREMENT FOR DISCLOSURE OF LOBBYIST**  
23 **STATUS BY LOBBYISTS WHO MAKE CON-**  
24 **TRIBUTIONS.**

25 Section 315 of the Federal Election Campaign Act  
26 of 1971 (2 U.S.C. 441a), as amended by sections 1 and

1 3, is further amended by adding at the end the following  
2 new subsection:

3 “(k) Any person who is a lobbyist and who makes  
4 a contribution shall include with the contribution a state-  
5 ment in writing that discloses the status of the person as  
6 a lobbyist.”.

7 **SEC. 7. REPORTING REQUIREMENT FOR LOBBYISTS.**

8 Section 304 of the Federal Election Campaign Act  
9 of 1971 (2 U.S.C. 434) is amended by adding at the end  
10 the following new subsection:

11 “(d)(1) Not later than 20 days after the end of the  
12 month in which a lobbyist makes a contribution, the lobby-  
13 ist, in such form and manner as the Commission shall pre-  
14 scribe by regulation, shall report the contribution to the  
15 Commission.”.

16 **SEC. 8. REPORTING REQUIREMENT FOR OUT-OF-STATE**  
17 **CONTRIBUTIONS IN HOUSE OF REPRESENTA-**  
18 **TIVES ELECTIONS.**

19 Section 304 of the Federal Election Campaign Act  
20 of 1971 (2 U.S.C. 434), as amended by section 7, is fur-  
21 ther amended by adding at the end the following new sub-  
22 section:

23 “(e) Any report of contributions with respect to an  
24 election for the office of Representative in, or Delegate or

1 Resident Commissioner to, the Congress, shall segregate  
2 and itemize all out-of-State contributions.”.

3 **SEC. 9. BAN ON SOFT MONEY.**

4 Section 315 of the Federal Election Campaign Act  
5 of 1971 (2 U.S.C. 441a), as amended by sections 1, 3,  
6 and 6, is further amended by adding at the end the follow-  
7 ing new subsection:

8 “(l)(1) It shall be unlawful for the purpose of influ-  
9 encing any election to Federal office—

10 “(A) to solicit or receive any soft money; or

11 “(B) to make any payments from soft money.

12 “(2) For purposes of paragraph (1), the term ‘soft  
13 money’ means any amount—

14 “(A) solicited or received from a source which  
15 is prohibited under section 316(a);

16 “(B) contributed, solicited, or received in excess  
17 of the contribution limits under section 315; or

18 “(C) not subject to the recordkeeping, report-  
19 ing, or disclosure requirements under section 304 or  
20 any other provision of this Act.”.

21 **SEC. 10. RESTRICTIONS ON PARTY COMMITTEES.**

22 (a) DISCLOSURE OF INFORMATION BY POLITICAL  
23 COMMITTEE.—(1) Section 302(c) of the Federal Election  
24 Campaign Act of 1971 (2 U.S.C. 432(c)) is amended—

1 (A) by striking out “and” at the end of para-  
2 graph (4);

3 (B) by striking out the period at the end of  
4 paragraph (5) and inserting in lieu thereof “; and”;  
5 and

6 (C) by adding at the end the following new  
7 paragraph:

8 “(6) each account maintained by a political  
9 committee of a political party (including Federal and  
10 non-Federal accounts), and deposits into, and dis-  
11 bursements from, each such account.”.

12 (2) Section 304(b) of the Federal Election Campaign  
13 Act of 1971 (2 U.S.C. 434(b)) is amended—

14 (A) by striking out “and” at the end of para-  
15 graph (7);

16 (B) by striking out the period at the end of  
17 paragraph (8) and inserting in lieu thereof “; and”;  
18 and

19 (C) by adding at the end the following new  
20 paragraph:

21 “(9) each account maintained by a political  
22 committee of a political party (including Federal and  
23 non-Federal accounts), and deposits into, and dis-  
24 bursements from, each such account.”.

1 (b) ALLOCATION OF EXPENDITURES FOR MIXED AC-  
2 TIVITIES.—Title III of the Federal Election Campaign Act  
3 of 1971 is amended by adding at the end the following  
4 new section:

5 “REQUIRED ALLOCATION OF CONTRIBUTIONS AND EX-  
6 PENDITURES FOR MIXED ACTIVITIES BY POLITICAL  
7 PARTY COMMITTEES

8 “SEC. 323. (a) Not later than 180 days after the date  
9 of the enactment of this section, the Commission shall  
10 issue regulations providing for a method for allocating the  
11 contributions and expenditures for any mixed activity be-  
12 tween Federal and non-Federal accounts.

13 “(b)(1) The regulations issued under subsection (a)  
14 shall—

15 “(A) provide for the allocation of contributions  
16 and expenditures in accordance with this subsection;  
17 and

18 “(B) require reporting under this Act of ex-  
19 penditures in connection with a mixed activity to dis-  
20 close—

21 “(i) the method and rationale used in allo-  
22 cating the cost of the mixed activity to Federal  
23 and non-Federal accounts; and

24 “(ii) the amount and percentage of the  
25 cost of the mixed activity allocated to such  
26 accounts.

1       “(2) In the case of a mixed activity that consists of  
2 a voter registration drive, get-out-the-vote drive, or other  
3 activity designed to contact voters (other than an activity  
4 to which paragraph (3) or (4) applies), amounts shall be  
5 allocated on the basis of the composition of the ballot for  
6 the political jurisdiction in which the activity occurs, ex-  
7 cept that in no event shall the amounts allocated to the  
8 Federal account be less than—

9               “(A) 33 $\frac{1}{3}$  percent of the total amount in the  
10 case of the national committee of a political party;  
11 or

12               “(B) 25 percent of the total amount in the case  
13 of a State or local committee of a political party or  
14 any subordinate committee thereof.

15       “(3) In the case of a mixed activity that consists of  
16 preparing and distributing brochures, handbills, slate  
17 cards, or other printed materials identifying or seeking  
18 support of (or opposition to) candidates for both Federal  
19 offices and non-Federal offices, amounts shall be allocated  
20 on the basis of total space devoted to such candidates, ex-  
21 cept that in no event shall the amounts allocated to the  
22 Federal account be less than the percentages under sub-  
23 paragraph (A) or (B) of paragraph (2).

24       “(4)(A) In the case of a mixed activity by a national  
25 committee of a political party that consists of broadcast

1 media advertising (or any portion thereof) that promotes  
2 (or is in opposition to) a political party without mentioning  
3 the name of any individual candidate for Federal office  
4 or non-Federal office, amounts allocated to the Federal  
5 account shall not be less than—

6           “(i) 50 percent of the total amount in the case  
7           of advertising in the national media market; and

8           “(ii) 40 percent in the case of advertising in  
9           other than the national media market.

10          “(B) In the case of a mixed activity by a State or  
11 local committee of a political party or any subordinate  
12 committee thereof that consists of broadcast media adver-  
13 tising (or any portion thereof) described in subparagraph  
14 (A), costs shall be allocated on the basis of the composition  
15 of the ballot for the political jurisdiction in which the ac-  
16 tivity occurs, except that in no event shall the amounts  
17 allocated to the Federal account be less than  $33\frac{1}{3}$  percent  
18 of the total amount.

19          “(5) Overhead and fundraising costs of a political  
20 committee of a political party for each 2-calendar year pe-  
21 riod ending with the calendar year in which a regularly  
22 scheduled election for Federal office occurs shall be allo-  
23 cated to the Federal account on the basis of the same ratio  
24 which—

1           “(A) the aggregate amount of receipts and dis-  
2           bursements of such political committee during such  
3           period in connection with elections for Federal office,  
4           bears to

5           “(B) the aggregate amount of receipts and dis-  
6           bursements of such political committee during such  
7           period.

8           “(c)(1) For purposes of this section, the term ‘mixed  
9           activity’ means an activity the expenditures in connection  
10          with which are required under this Act to be allocated be-  
11          tween Federal and non-Federal accounts because such ac-  
12          tivity affects 1 or more elections for Federal office and  
13          1 or more non-Federal elections.

14          “(2) Activities under paragraph (1) include—

15                 “(A) voter registration drives, get-out-the-  
16                 vote drives, telephone banks, and membership  
17                 communications in connection with elections for  
18                 Federal offices and elections for non-Federal  
19                 offices;

20                 “(B) general political advertising, bro-  
21                 chures, or other materials that include any ref-  
22                 erence (however incidental) to both a candidate  
23                 for Federal office and a candidate for non-Fed-  
24                 eral office, or that urge support for or opposi-

1           tion to a political party or to all the candidates  
2           of a political party;

3           “(C) overhead expenses; and

4           “(D) activities described in clauses (v), (x),  
5           and (xii) of section 301(8)(B).

6           “(d) For purposes of this section—

7           “(1) the term ‘Federal account’ means an ac-  
8           count to which receipts and disbursements are allo-  
9           cated to elections for Federal offices; and

10           “(2) the term ‘non-Federal account’ means an  
11           account to which receipts and disbursements are al-  
12           located to elections other than non-Federal offices.”.

13   **SEC. 11. PROTECTION FOR EMPLOYEES.**

14           (a) CONTRIBUTIONS TO ALL POLITICAL COMMIT-  
15           TEES INCLUDED.—Section 316(b)(2) of the Federal Elec-  
16           tion Campaign Act of 1971 (2 U.S.C. 441b(b)(2)) is  
17           amended by inserting “political committee,” after “cam-  
18           paign committee,”.

19           (b) APPLICABILITY OF REQUIREMENTS TO LABOR  
20           ORGANIZATIONS.—Section 316(b) of the Federal Election  
21           Campaign Act of 1971 (2 U.S.C. 441b(b)) is amended by  
22           adding at the end the following new paragraph:

23           “(8)(A) Subparagraphs (A), (B), and (C) of para-  
24           graph (2) shall not apply to a labor organization unless

1 the organization meets the requirements of subparagraphs  
2 (B), (C), and (D).

3 “(B) The requirements of this subparagraph are met  
4 only if the labor organization provides, at least once annu-  
5 ally, to all employees within the labor organization’s bar-  
6 gaining unit or units (and to new employees within 30  
7 days after commencement of their employment) written  
8 notification presented in a manner to inform any such em-  
9 ployee—

10 “(i) that an employee cannot be obligated to  
11 pay, through union dues or any other mandatory  
12 payment to a labor organization, for the political ac-  
13 tivities of the labor organization, including, but not  
14 limited to, the maintenance and operation of, or so-  
15 licitation of contributions to, a political committee,  
16 political communications to members, and voter reg-  
17 istration and get-out-the-vote campaigns;

18 “(ii) that no employee may be required actually  
19 to join any labor organization, but if a collective bar-  
20 gaining agreement covering an employee purports to  
21 require membership or payment of dues or other  
22 fees to a labor organization as a condition of em-  
23 ployment, the employee may elect instead to pay an  
24 agency fee to the labor organization;

1           “(iii) that the amount of the agency fee shall be  
2 limited to the employee’s pro rata share of the cost  
3 of the labor organization’s exclusive representation  
4 services to the employee’s collective bargaining unit,  
5 including collective bargaining, contract administra-  
6 tion, and grievance adjustment;

7           “(iv) that an employee who elects to be a full  
8 member of the labor organization and pay member-  
9 ship dues is entitled to a reduction of those dues by  
10 the employee’s pro rata share of the total spending  
11 by the labor organization for political activities;

12           “(v) that the cost of the labor organization’s ex-  
13 clusive representation services, and the amount of  
14 spending by such organization for political activities,  
15 shall be computed on the basis of such cost and  
16 spending for the immediately preceding fiscal year of  
17 such organization; and

18           “(vi) of the amount of the labor organization’s  
19 full membership dues, initiation fees, and assess-  
20 ments for the current year; the amount of the re-  
21 duced membership dues, subtracting the employee’s  
22 pro rata share of the organization’s spending for po-  
23 litical activities, for the current year; and the  
24 amount of the agency fee for the current year.

1       “(C) The requirements of this subparagraph are met  
2 only if, for purposes of verifying the cost of such labor  
3 organization’s exclusive representation services, the labor  
4 organization provides all represented employees an annual  
5 examination by an independent certified public accountant  
6 of financial statements supplied by such organization  
7 which verify the cost of such services; except that such  
8 examination shall, at a minimum, constitute a ‘special re-  
9 port’ as interpreted by the Association of Independent  
10 Certified Public Accountants.

11       “(D) The requirements of this subparagraph are met  
12 only if the labor organization—

13           “(i) maintains procedures to promptly deter-  
14 mine the costs that may properly be charged to  
15 agency fee payors as costs of exclusive representa-  
16 tion, and explains such procedures in the written no-  
17 tification required under subparagraph (B); and

18           “(ii) if any person challenges the costs which  
19 may be properly charged as costs of exclusive rep-  
20 resentation—

21           “(I) provides a mutually selected impartial  
22 decisionmaker to hear and decide such chal-  
23 lenge pursuant to rules of discovery and evi-  
24 dence and subject to de novo review by the Na-

1 tional Labor Relations Board or an applicable  
2 court; and

3 “(II) places in escrow amounts reasonably  
4 in dispute pending the outcome of the chal-  
5 lenge.

6 “(E)(i) A labor organization that does not satisfy the  
7 requirements of subparagraphs (B), (C), and (D) shall fi-  
8 nance any expenditures specified in subparagraphs (A),  
9 (B), or (C) of paragraph (2) only with funds legally col-  
10 lected under this Act for its separate segregated fund.

11 “(ii) For purposes of this paragraph, subparagraph  
12 (A) of paragraph (2) shall apply only with respect to com-  
13 munications expressly advocating the election or defeat of  
14 any clearly identified candidate for elective public office.”.

15 **SEC. 12. RESTRICTIONS ON SOFT MONEY ACTIVITIES OF**  
16 **TAX-EXEMPT ORGANIZATIONS.**

17 (a) IN GENERAL.—Section 501 of the Internal Reve-  
18 nue Code of 1986 (relating to exemption from tax) is  
19 amended by redesignating subsection (n) as subsection (o)  
20 and by inserting after subsection (m) the following new  
21 subsection:

22 “(n) DENIAL OF TAX-EXEMPT STATUS FOR ACTIVI-  
23 TIES TO INFLUENCE A FEDERAL ELECTION.—An organi-  
24 zation shall not be treated as exempt from tax under sub-  
25 section (a) if such organization participates or intervenes

1 in any political campaign on behalf of or in opposition to  
2 any candidate for Federal office.”.

3 (b) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendment made by  
4 subsection (a) shall apply to any participation or interven-  
5 tion by an organization on or after September 1, 1992.

6 **SEC. 13. DENIAL OF TAX-EXEMPT STATUS FOR CERTAIN PO-**  
7 **LITICALLY ACTIVE ORGANIZATIONS.**

8 (a) IN GENERAL.—Section 501 of the Internal Reve-  
9 nue Code of 1986 (relating to exemption from tax), as  
10 amended by section 12, is further amended by redesignat-  
11 ing subsection (o) as subsection (p) and by inserting after  
12 subsection (n) the following new subsection:

13 “(o) DENIAL OF TAX-EXEMPT STATUS FOR CERTAIN  
14 POLITICALLY ACTIVE ORGANIZATIONS.—

15 “(1) IN GENERAL.—An organization shall not  
16 be treated as exempt from tax under subsection (a)  
17 if—

18 “(A) such organization devotes any of its  
19 operating budget to—

20 “(i) voter registration or get-out-the-  
21 vote campaigns; or

22 “(ii) participation or intervention in  
23 any political campaign on behalf of or in  
24 opposition to any candidate for public of-  
25 fice; and

1           “(B) a candidate, or an authorized com-  
2           mittee of a candidate, has—

3                   “(i) solicited contributions to, or on  
4                   behalf of, such organization; and

5                   “(ii) the solicitation is made in co-  
6                   operation, consultation, or concert with, or  
7                   at the request or suggestion of, such orga-  
8                   nization.

9           “(2) CANDIDATE DEFINED.—For purposes of  
10           this subsection—

11                   “(A) IN GENERAL.—The term ‘candidate’  
12                   has the meaning given such term by paragraph  
13                   (2) of section 301 of the Federal Election Cam-  
14                   paign Act of 1971 (2 U.S.C. 431(2)).

15                   “(B) MEMBERS OF CONGRESS.—The term  
16                   ‘candidate’ shall include any Senator or Rep-  
17                   resentative in, or Delegate or Resident Commis-  
18                   sioner to, the Congress unless—

19                           “(i) the date for filing for nomination,  
20                           or election to, such office has passed and  
21                           such individual has not so filed, and

22                           “(ii) such individual is not otherwise a  
23                           candidate described in subparagraph (A).”.

24           (b) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendments made by  
25           this section shall apply to taxable years ending after the

1 date of enactment of this Act, but only with respect to  
2 solicitations or suggestions by candidates made after the  
3 date of enactment of this Act.

4 **SEC. 14. CONTRIBUTIONS TO CERTAIN POLITICAL ORGANI-**  
5 **ZATIONS MAINTAINED BY A CANDIDATE.**

6 (a) CONTRIBUTIONS BY PERSONS IN GENERAL AND  
7 BY MULTICANDIDATE POLITICAL COMMITTEES.—(1) Sec-  
8 tion 315(a)(1)(A) of the Federal Election Campaign Act  
9 of 1971 (2 U.S.C. 441a(a)(1)(A)) is amended by striking  
10 out “candidate and his authorized political committees”  
11 and inserting in lieu thereof “candidate, a candidate’s au-  
12 thorized political committees, and any political organiza-  
13 tions (other than authorized committees) maintained by  
14 a candidate,”.

15 (2) Section 315(a)(2)(A) of the Federal Election  
16 Campaign Act of 1971 (2 U.S.C. 441a(a)(2)(A)) is  
17 amended by striking out “candidate and his authorized po-  
18 litical committees” and inserting in lieu thereof “can-  
19 didate, a candidate’s authorized political committees, and  
20 any political organizations (other than authorized commit-  
21 tees) maintained by a candidate,”.

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

1       “(9) For the purposes of paragraphs (1)(A) and  
2 (2)(A), the term ‘political organization maintained by a  
3 candidate’ means any non-Federal political action commit-  
4 tee, non-Federal multicandidate political committee, or  
5 any other form of political organization regulated under  
6 State law which is not a political committee of a national,  
7 State, or local political party—

8               “(A) that is set up by or on behalf of a can-  
9 didate and engages in political activity which directly  
10 influences Federal elections; and

11               “(B) for which that candidate has solicited a  
12 contribution.”.

13       (b) CONTRIBUTIONS BY NATIONAL BANKS, COR-  
14 PORATIONS, AND LABOR ORGANIZATIONS.—(1) Section  
15 316(b)(2) of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971  
16 (2 U.S.C. 441b(b)(2)) is amended by striking out “can-  
17 didate, campaign committee” and inserting in lieu thereof  
18 “candidate, political organization (other than an author-  
19 ized committee) maintained by a candidate, campaign  
20 committee,”.

21       (2) Section 316(b) of the Federal Election Campaign  
22 Act of 1971 (2 U.S.C. 441b(b)), as amended by section  
23 11(b), is further amended by adding at the end the follow-  
24 ing new paragraph:

1       “(9) For the purposes of paragraph (2), the term ‘po-  
2 litical organization maintained by a candidate’ means any  
3 non-Federal political action committee, non-Federal  
4 multicandidate political committee, or any other form of  
5 political organization regulated under State law which is  
6 not a political committee of a national, State, or local  
7 political party—

8           “(A) that is set up by or on behalf of a can-  
9 didate and engages in political activity which directly  
10 influences Federal elections; and

11           “(B) for which that candidate has solicited a  
12 contribution.”.

13       (c) DATE OF APPLICATION.—The amendments made  
14 by subsections (a) and (b) shall apply to contributions de-  
15 scribed in sections 315 and 316 of the Federal Election  
16 Campaign Act of 1971 (2 U.S.C. 441a and 441b) made  
17 in response to solicitations made after January \_\_\_\_\_,  
18 1993.

19 **SEC. 15. CONTRIBUTIONS TO STATE AND LOCAL PARTY**  
20 **COMMITTEES.**

21       Section 315(a)(1) of the Federal Election Campaign  
22 Act of 1971 (2 U.S.C. 441a(a)(1)) is amended—

23           (1) by striking out “or” at the end of subpara-  
24 graph (B);

1           (2) by striking out the period at the end of sub-  
2 paragraph (C) and inserting in lieu thereof “; or”;  
3 and

4           (3) by adding at the end the following new sub-  
5 paragraph:

6           “(D) to the political committees established and  
7 maintained by a State or local political party, in con-  
8 nection with any activity that may influence an elec-  
9 tion for Federal office, in any calendar year which,  
10 in the aggregate, exceed the lesser of—

11                   “(i) \$50,000; or

12                   “(ii) the difference between \$50,000 and  
13 the amount of contributions made by such per-  
14 son to any political committees established and  
15 maintained by a national political party.”.

16 **SEC. 16. INCREASE IN LIMITATION AMOUNT APPLICABLE**  
17 **TO AGGREGATE CONTRIBUTIONS BY AN INDI-**  
18 **VIDUAL.**

19           The first sentence of section 315(a)(3) of the Federal  
20 Election Campaign Act of 1971 (2 U.S.C. 441a(a)(3)) is  
21 amended by striking out “\$25,000” and inserting in lieu  
22 thereof “\$50,000”.

1 **SEC. 17. LENGTHENING OF PRE-ELECTION PERIOD DURING**  
2 **WHICH MEMBERS OF CONGRESS MAY NOT**  
3 **SEND FRANKED MASS MAILINGS.**

4 Section 3210(a)(6)(A) of title 39, United States  
5 Code, is amended by striking out “60 days” each place  
6 it appears and inserting in lieu thereof “90 days”.

7 **SEC. 18. DEFINITION AMENDMENTS.**

8 (a) TRANSFER OF MULTICANDIDATE POLITICAL  
9 COMMITTEE DEFINITION.—Section 301 of the Federal  
10 Election Campaign Act of 1971 (2 U.S.C. 431) is amend-  
11 ed by striking out paragraph (19) and inserting in lieu  
12 thereof the following new paragraph:

13 “(19) The term ‘multicandidate political committee’  
14 means a political committee which has been registered  
15 under section 303 for a period of not less than 6 months,  
16 which has received contributions from more than 50 per-  
17 sons, and, except for any State political party organiza-  
18 tion, has made contributions to 5 or more candidates for  
19 Federal office.”.

20 (b) LOBBYIST.—Section 301 of the Federal Election  
21 Campaign Act of 1971 (2 U.S.C. 431), as amended by  
22 subsection (a) is further amended by adding at the end  
23 the following new paragraph:

24 “(20) The term ‘lobbyist’ means a person who is re-  
25 quired to register under the Federal Regulation of Lobby-  
26 ing Act (2 U.S.C. 261 et seq.).”.

1 (c) OUT-OF-STATE CONTRIBUTION.—Section 301 of  
2 the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 (2 U.S.C.  
3 431), as amended by subsections (a) and (b) is further  
4 amended by adding at the end the following new para-  
5 graph:

6 “(21) The term ‘out-of-State contribution’ means,  
7 with respect to an election for the office of Representative  
8 in, or Delegate or Resident Commissioner to, the Con-  
9 gress, a contribution from a source outside the State in  
10 which the congressional district involved is located.”.

11 (d) CONFORMING AMENDMENT.—Section 315(a)(4)  
12 of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 (2 U.S.C.  
13 441a(a)(4)) is amended by striking out the second sen-  
14 tence.

15 **SEC. 19. EFFECTIVE DATE.**

16 Except as otherwise provided in this Act, the amend-  
17 ments made by this Act shall apply with respect to elec-  
18 tions beginning with the general election on November 8,  
19 1994.

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