

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

# H. R. 3566

To amend the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 and related laws to establish incentives to limit the cost of campaigns for the Congress, and for other purposes.

---

## IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

NOVEMBER 19, 1993

Mr. MEEHAN introduced the following bill; which was referred jointly to the Committees on House Administration, Post Office and Civil Service, and Energy and Commerce

---

## A BILL

To amend the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 and related laws to establish incentives to limit the cost of campaigns for the Congress, 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 “Comprehensive Cam-  
5 paign Finance Reform Act”.

1 **TITLE I—EXPENDITURE LIMITA-**  
2 **TIONS, CONTRIBUTION LIM-**  
3 **TATIONS, MATCHING FUNDS,**  
4 **AND REDUCED THIRD-CLASS**  
5 **MAIL RATE FOR ELIGIBLE**  
6 **HOUSE OF REPRESENTA-**  
7 **TIVES CANDIDATES**

8 **SEC. 101. NEW TITLE OF THE FEDERAL ELECTION CAM-**  
9 **PAIGN ACT OF 1971.**

10 The Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 (2  
11 U.S.C. 431 et seq.) is amended by adding at the end the  
12 following:

13 **“TITLE V—EXPENDITURE LIM-**  
14 **TATIONS, CONTRIBUTION**  
15 **LIMITATIONS, AND MATCH-**  
16 **ING FUNDS FOR ELIGIBLE**  
17 **HOUSE OF REPRESENTA-**  
18 **TIVES CANDIDATES**

19 **“SEC. 501. EXPENDITURE LIMITATIONS.**

20 “(a) IN GENERAL.—An eligible House of Representa-  
21 tives candidate may not, in an election cycle, make expend-  
22 itures aggregating more than \$500,000.

23 “(b) RUNOFF ELECTION AND SPECIAL ELECTION  
24 AMOUNTS.—

1           “(1) RUNOFF ELECTION AMOUNT.—In addition  
2           to the expenditures under subsection (a), an eligible  
3           House of Representatives candidate who is a can-  
4           didate in a runoff election may make expenditures  
5           aggregating not more than \$100,000 in the general  
6           election period.

7           “(2) SPECIAL ELECTION AMOUNT.—An eligible  
8           House of Representatives candidate who is a can-  
9           didate in a special election may make expenditures  
10          aggregating not more than \$500,000 with respect to  
11          the special election.

12          “(c) CLOSELY CONTESTED PRIMARY.—If, as deter-  
13          mined by the Commission, an eligible House of Represent-  
14          atives candidate in a contested primary election wins that  
15          primary election by a margin of 10 percent or less, subject  
16          to the general election period limitation in subsection (a),  
17          the candidate may make additional expenditures of not  
18          more than \$150,000 in the general election period. The  
19          additional expenditures shall be from contributions de-  
20          scribed in section 503(f) and payments described in sec-  
21          tion 504(f).

22          “(d) EXEMPTION FOR CERTAIN COSTS AND  
23          TAXES.—Payments for legal and accounting compliance  
24          costs and Federal and State taxes shall not be considered

1 in the computation of amounts subject to limitation under  
2 this section.

3 “(e) CIVIL PENALTIES.—

4 “(1) LOW AMOUNT OF EXCESS EXPENDI-  
5 TURES.—Any eligible House of Representatives can-  
6 didate who makes expenditures that exceed a limita-  
7 tion under subsection (a), (b), or (c) by 5 percent  
8 or less shall pay to the Commission, for deposit in  
9 the Make Democracy Work Fund, an amount equal  
10 to the amount of the excess expenditures.

11 “(2) MEDIUM AMOUNT OF EXCESS EXPENDI-  
12 TURES.—Any eligible House of Representatives can-  
13 didate who makes expenditures that exceed a limita-  
14 tion under subsection (a), (b), or (c) by more than  
15 5 percent and less than 10 percent shall pay to the  
16 Commission, for deposit in the Make Democracy  
17 Work Fund, an amount equal to three times the  
18 amount of the excess expenditures.

19 “(3) LARGE AMOUNT OF EXCESS EXPENDI-  
20 TURES.—Any eligible House of Representatives can-  
21 didate who makes expenditures that exceed a limita-  
22 tion under subsection (a), (b), or (c) by 10 percent  
23 or more shall pay to the Commission, for deposit in  
24 the Make Democracy Work Fund, the amount of  
25 matching payments received under section 504 and

1 an amount equal to three times the amount of the  
2 excess expenditures plus a civil penalty in an amount  
3 determined by the Commission.

4 “(f) INDEPENDENT EXPENDITURES.—Any eligible  
5 House of Representatives candidate who makes expendi-  
6 tures that exceed a limitation under subsection (a), (b),  
7 or (c) shall be considered to have made independent ex-  
8 penditures within the meaning of section 301(17) for pur-  
9 poses of section 304(d) of this Act and section 315(a) of  
10 the Communications Act of 1934 (47 U.S.C. 315(a)).

11 “(g) INDEXING.—The dollar amounts specified in  
12 subsections (a), (b), and (c) shall be adjusted in the man-  
13 ner provided in section 315(c), except that, for the pur-  
14 poses of such adjustment, the base period shall be cal-  
15 endar year 1994.

16 **“SEC. 502. STATEMENT OF PARTICIPATION; CONTINUING**  
17 **ELIGIBILITY.**

18 “(a) IN GENERAL.—The Commission shall determine  
19 whether a candidate is in compliance with this title and,  
20 by reason of such compliance, is eligible to receive benefits  
21 under this title. Such determination shall—

22 “(1) in the case of an initial determination, be  
23 based on a statement of participation submitted by  
24 the candidate; and

1           “(2) in the case of a determination of continu-  
2           ing eligibility, be based on relevant additional infor-  
3           mation submitted in such form and manner as the  
4           Commission may require.

5           “(b) FILING.—The statement of participation re-  
6           ferred to in subsection (a) shall be filed not later than  
7           January 31 of the election year or on the date on which  
8           the candidate files a statement of candidacy, whichever is  
9           later.

10   **“SEC. 503. CONTRIBUTION LIMITATIONS.**

11           “(a) ELIGIBLE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES CAN-  
12           DIDATE LIMITATION.—An eligible House of Representa-  
13           tives candidate may not, with respect to an election cycle,  
14           accept contributions aggregating in excess of \$500,000.

15           “(b) TRANSFER PROVISIONS.—

16           “(1) If an eligible House of Representatives  
17           candidate transfers any amount from an election  
18           cycle to a later election cycle, the limitation with re-  
19           spect to the candidate under subsection (a) for the  
20           later cycle shall be an amount equal to the difference  
21           between the amount specified in that subsection and  
22           the amount transferred.

23           “(2) If an eligible House of Representatives  
24           candidate transfers any amount from an election  
25           cycle to a later election cycle, each limitation with

1       respect to the candidate under section 315(i) for the  
2       later cycle shall be one-third of the difference be-  
3       tween the applicable amount specified in that sub-  
4       section and the amount transferred.

5       “(c) RUNOFF AMOUNT.—In addition to the contribu-  
6       tions under subsection (a), an eligible House of Represent-  
7       atives candidate who is a candidate in a runoff election  
8       may accept contributions aggregating not more than  
9       \$100,000 in the general election period.

10       “(d) CIVIL PENALTIES.—

11               “(1) LOW AMOUNT OF EXCESS CONTRIBU-  
12       TIONS.—Any eligible House of Representatives can-  
13       didate who accepts contributions that exceed the lim-  
14       itation under subsection (a) by 5 percent or less  
15       shall refund the excess contributions to the persons  
16       who made the contributions.

17               “(2) MEDIUM AMOUNT OF EXCESS CONTRIBU-  
18       TIONS.—Any eligible House of Representatives can-  
19       didate who accepts contributions that exceed a limi-  
20       tation under subsection (a) by more than 5 percent  
21       and less than 10 percent shall pay to the Commis-  
22       sion, for deposit in the Make Democracy Work  
23       Fund, an amount equal to three times the amount  
24       of the excess contributions.

1           “(3) LARGE AMOUNT OF EXCESS CONTRIBU-  
2           TIONS.—Any eligible House of Representatives can-  
3           didate who accepts contributions that exceed a limi-  
4           tation under subsection (a) by 10 percent or more  
5           shall pay to the Commission, for deposit in the Make  
6           Democracy Work Fund, the amount of matching  
7           payments received under section 504 and an amount  
8           equal to three times the amount of the excess con-  
9           tributions plus a civil penalty in an amount deter-  
10          mined by the Commission.

11          “(e) EXEMPTION FOR CERTAIN COSTS AND  
12          TAXES.—Any amount—

13                 “(1) accepted by a candidate for the office of  
14                 Representative in, or Delegate or Resident Commis-  
15                 sioner to the Congress; and

16                 “(2) used for legal and accounting compliance  
17                 costs and Federal and State taxes shall not be con-  
18                 sidered in the computation of amounts subject to  
19                 limitation under subsection (a).

20          “(f) CLOSELY CONTESTED PRIMARY.—If, as deter-  
21          mined by the Commission, an eligible House of Represent-  
22          atives candidate in a contested primary election wins that  
23          primary election by a margin of 10 percent or less, not-  
24          withstanding the limitation in subsection (a), the can-

1 didate may, in the general election period, accept addi-  
2 tional contributions of not more than \$150,000.

3 “(g) PERSONAL CONTRIBUTIONS.—An eligible House  
4 of Representatives candidate who, with respect to an elec-  
5 tion cycle, makes contributions to his or her own campaign  
6 totaling more than \$100,000 from the personal funds of  
7 the candidate shall be considered to have made independ-  
8 ent expenditures within the meaning of section 301(17)  
9 for purposes of section 304(d) of this Act and section  
10 315(a) of the Communications Act of 1934 (47 U.S.C.  
11 315(a)).

12 “(h) INDEXING.—The dollar amounts specified in  
13 subsections (a), (c), (f), and (g) shall be adjusted in the  
14 manner provided in section 315(c), except that, for the  
15 purposes of such adjustment, the base period shall be cal-  
16 endar year 1994.

17 **“SEC. 504. MATCHING FUNDS.**

18 “(a) IN GENERAL.—An eligible House of Representa-  
19 tives candidate shall be entitled to receive, with respect  
20 to the general election, an amount equal to the amount  
21 of contributions from individuals received by the can-  
22 didate.

23 “(b) SPECIFIC REQUIREMENTS.—A candidate for the  
24 office of Representative in, or Delegate or Resident Com-

1 missioner to, the Congress may receive matching funds  
2 under subsection (a) only if the candidate—

3 “(1) in an election cycle, has received \$50,000  
4 in contributions from individuals, with not more  
5 than \$200 to be taken into account per individual;

6 “(2) qualifies for the general election ballot;

7 “(3) has an opponent on the general election  
8 ballot; and

9 “(4) files a statement of participation in which  
10 the candidate agrees to—

11 “(A) comply with the limitations under  
12 sections 501 and 503;

13 “(B) cooperate in the case of any audit by  
14 the Commission by furnishing such campaign  
15 records and other information as the Commis-  
16 sion may require; and

17 “(C) comply with any repayment require-  
18 ment under section 505.

19 “(c) WRITTEN INSTRUMENT REQUIREMENT.—No  
20 contribution in any form other than a gift of money made  
21 by a written instrument that identifies the individual mak-  
22 ing the contribution may be used as a basis for any match-  
23 ing payment under this section.

24 “(d) MAKE DEMOCRACY WORK FUND.—There is es-  
25 tablished in the Treasury a fund, to be known as the

1 ‘Make Democracy Work Fund’, consisting of such  
2 amounts as may be deposited under section 501, section  
3 503, or provisions enacted pursuant to section 301 of the  
4 Comprehensive Campaign Finance Reform Act. Amounts  
5 in the fund shall be available without fiscal year limitation  
6 for payment of matching funds under subsection (e) and  
7 initial expenditures incurred by the Commission in the ad-  
8 ministration of section 304(e) or 311(a)(11) of this Act.

9 “(e) CERTIFICATION AND PAYMENT.—

10 “(1) CERTIFICATION.—Except as provided in  
11 paragraphs (2) and (3), not later than 5 days after  
12 receiving a request for payment, the Commission  
13 shall submit to the Secretary of the Treasury a cer-  
14 tification for payment of the amount requested  
15 under subsection (a) or (b).

16 “(2) PAYMENTS.—The initial payment under  
17 subsection (a) to an eligible candidate shall be  
18 \$50,000. All payments shall be—

19 “(A) made not later than 48 hours after  
20 certification under paragraph (1); and

21 “(B) subject to proportional reduction in  
22 the case of an insufficient balance in the Fund  
23 established by subsection (d).

24 “(3) INCORRECT REQUEST.—If the Commission  
25 determines that any portion of a request is incorrect,

1 the Commission shall withhold the certification for  
2 that portion only and inform the candidate as to  
3 how the candidate may correct the request.

4 “(f) CLOSELY CONTESTED PRIMARY.—If, as deter-  
5 mined by the Commission, an eligible House of Represent-  
6 atives candidate in a contested primary election wins that  
7 primary election by a margin of 10 percent or less, the  
8 candidate shall be entitled to matching funds totaling not  
9 more than \$50,000, in addition to any other amount re-  
10 ceived under this section.

11 “(g) INDEXING.—The dollar amounts specified in  
12 subsections (a) and (b) (other than the amount in sub-  
13 section (b) to be taken into account per individual), and  
14 subsections (e) and (f) shall be adjusted in the manner  
15 provided in section 315(c), except that, for the purposes  
16 of such adjustment, the base period shall be calendar year  
17 1994.

18 **“SEC. 505. EXAMINATION AND AUDITS; REPAYMENTS.**

19 “(a) GENERAL ELECTION.—After each general elec-  
20 tion, the Commission shall conduct an examination and  
21 audit of the campaign accounts of 10 percent of the eligi-  
22 ble House of Representatives candidates, as designated by  
23 the Commission through the use of an appropriate statis-  
24 tical method of random selection, to determine whether  
25 such candidates have complied with the conditions of eligi-

1 bility and other requirements of this title. No other factors  
2 shall be considered in carrying out such an examination  
3 and audit. In selecting the accounts to be examined and  
4 audited, the Commission shall select all eligible candidates  
5 from a congressional district where any eligible candidate  
6 is selected for examination and audit.

7 “(b) SPECIAL ELECTION.—After each special elec-  
8 tion, the Commission shall conduct an examination and  
9 audit of the campaign accounts of all eligible candidates  
10 in the election to determine whether the candidates have  
11 complied with the conditions of eligibility and other re-  
12 quirements of this title.

13 “(c) AFFIRMATIVE VOTE.—The Commission may  
14 conduct an examination and audit of the campaign ac-  
15 counts of any eligible House of Representatives candidate  
16 in a general election if the Commission, by an affirmative  
17 vote of 4 members, determines that there exists reason  
18 to believe that such candidate has violated any provision  
19 of this title.

20 “(d) PAYMENTS.—If the Commission determines that  
21 any amount of a payment to a candidate under this title  
22 was in excess of the aggregate payments to which such  
23 candidate was entitled, the Commission shall so notify the  
24 candidate, and the candidate shall pay to the Secretary  
25 an amount equal to the excess.



1 to the provisions of chapter 51 and subchapter III of chap-  
2 ter 53 of such title.

3 “(b) INSTITUTION OF ACTIONS.—The Commission is  
4 authorized, through attorneys and counsel described in  
5 subsection (a), to institute actions in the district courts  
6 of the United States to seek recovery of any amounts de-  
7 termined under this title to be payable to the Secretary.

8 “(c) APPEALS.—The Commission is authorized on  
9 behalf of the United States to appeal from, and to petition  
10 the Supreme Court for certiorari to review, judgments or  
11 decrees entered with respect to actions in which it appears  
12 pursuant to the authority provided in this section.

13 **“SEC. 508. REPORTS TO CONGRESS; CERTIFICATIONS; REG-**  
14 **ULATIONS.**

15 “(a) REPORTS.—The Commission shall, as soon as  
16 practicable after each election, submit a full report to the  
17 House of Representatives setting forth—

18 “(1) the expenditures (shown in such detail as  
19 the Commission determines appropriate) made by  
20 each eligible candidate and the authorized commit-  
21 tees of such candidate;

22 “(2) the aggregate amount of matching fund  
23 payments certified by the Commission under section  
24 504 for each eligible candidate;

1           “(3) the amount of repayments, if any, required  
2           under section 505, and the reasons for each repay-  
3           ment required; and

4           “(4) the balance in the Make Democracy Work  
5           Fund, and the balance in any account maintained in  
6           the Fund.

7 Each report submitted pursuant to this section shall be  
8 printed as a House document.

9           “(b) DETERMINATIONS BY COMMISSION.—All deter-  
10          minations (including certifications under section 504)  
11          made by the Commission under this title shall be final and  
12          conclusive, except to the extent that they are subject to  
13          examination and audit by the Commission under section  
14          505 or judicial review under section 506.

15          “(c) RULES AND REGULATIONS.—The Commission is  
16          authorized to prescribe such rules and regulations, in ac-  
17          cordance with the provisions of subsection (d), to conduct  
18          such audits, examinations and investigations, and to re-  
19          quire the keeping and submission of such books, records,  
20          and information, as it deems necessary to carry out the  
21          functions and duties imposed on it by this title.

22          “(d) REPORT OF PROPOSED REGULATIONS.—The  
23          Commission shall submit to the House of Representatives  
24          a report containing a detailed explanation and justification  
25          of each rule, regulation, and form of the Commission

1 under this title. No such rule, regulation, or form may  
2 take effect until a period of 30 legislative days has elapsed  
3 after the report is received. As used in this subsection—

4 “(1) the term ‘legislative day’ means any cal-  
5 endar day on which the House of Representatives is  
6 in session; and

7 “(2) the terms ‘rule’ and ‘regulation’ mean a  
8 provision or series of interrelated provisions stating  
9 a single, separable rule of law.

10 **“SEC. 509. CLOSED CAPTIONING REQUIREMENT FOR TELE-**

11 **VISION COMMERCIALS OF ELIGIBLE HOUSE**

12 **OF REPRESENTATIVES CANDIDATES.**

13 “No eligible House of Representatives candidate may  
14 receive amounts from the Make Democracy Work Fund  
15 unless such candidate has certified that any television  
16 commercial prepared or distributed by the candidate will  
17 be prepared in a manner that contains, is accompanied  
18 by, or otherwise readily permits closed captioning of the  
19 oral content of the commercial to be broadcast by way of  
20 line 21 of the vertical blanking interval, or by way of com-  
21 parable successor technologies.”.

22 **SEC. 102. DEFINITIONS.**

23 Section 301 of the Federal Election Campaign Act  
24 of 1971 (2 U.S.C. 431) is amended by striking paragraph  
25 (19) and inserting the following:

1       “(19) The term ‘eligible House of Representatives  
2 candidate’ means a candidate for election to the office of  
3 Representative in, or Delegate or Resident Commissioner  
4 to, the Congress, who, as determined by the Commission  
5 under section 502, is eligible to receive matching payments  
6 and other benefits under title V by reason of filing a state-  
7 ment of participation and complying with the continuing  
8 eligibility requirements under section 502.

9       “(20) The term ‘general election period’ means, with  
10 respect to any candidate, the period beginning on the day  
11 after the date of the primary election for the specific office  
12 the candidate is seeking, whichever is later, and ending  
13 on the earlier of—

14               “(A) the date of such general election; or

15               “(B) the date on which the candidate withdraws  
16 from the campaign or otherwise ceases actively to  
17 seek election.

18       “(21) The term ‘election cycle’ means—

19               “(A) in the case of a candidate or the author-  
20 ized committees of a candidate, the term beginning  
21 on the day after the date of the most recent general  
22 election for the specific office or seat which such  
23 candidate seeks and ending on the date of the next  
24 general election for such office or seat; or

1           “(B) for all other persons, the term beginning  
2           on the first day following the date of the last general  
3           election and ending on the date of the next general  
4           election.”.

5 **SEC. 103. EXTENSION OF REDUCED THIRD-CLASS MAILING**  
6                   **RATES TO ELIGIBLE HOUSE OF REPRESENTA-**  
7                   **TIVES CANDIDATES.**

8           Section 3626(e) of title 39, United States Code, is  
9 amended—

10           (1) in paragraph (2)(A)—

11                   (A) by striking “and the National” and in-  
12                   serting “the National”; and

13                   (B) by striking “Committee;” and insert-  
14                   ing “Committee, and, subject to paragraph (3),  
15                   the principal campaign committee of an eligible  
16                   House of Representatives candidate;”;

17           (2) in paragraph (2)(B), by striking “and”  
18           after the semicolon;

19           (3) in paragraph (2)(C), by striking the period  
20           and inserting “; and”;

21           (4) by adding after paragraph (2)(C) the fol-  
22           lowing:

23                   “(D) the terms ‘eligible House of Representa-  
24                   tives candidate’ and ‘principal campaign committee’  
25                   have the meanings given those terms in section 301

1 of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971.”;  
2 and

3 (5) by adding after paragraph (2) the following:

4 “(3) The rate made available under this subsection  
5 with respect to an eligible House of Representatives can-  
6 didate shall apply only to—

7 “(A) the general election period (as defined in  
8 section 301 of the Federal Election Campaign Act of  
9 1971); and

10 “(B) that number of pieces of mail equal to 3  
11 times the number of individuals in the voting age  
12 population of the congressional district (as certified  
13 under section 315(e) of such Act).”.

1 **TITLE II—ELIMINATION OF**  
2 **MULTICANDIDATE POLITICAL**  
3 **COMMITTEE CONTRIBUTIONS**  
4 **IN HOUSE OF REPRESENTA-**  
5 **TIVES ELECTIONS; MIS-**  
6 **CELLANEOUS PROVISIONS**  
7 **RELATING TO CONTRIBU-**  
8 **TIONS UNDER THE FEDERAL**  
9 **ELECTION CAMPAIGN ACT OF**  
10 **1971**

11 **SEC. 201. ELIMINATION OF MULTICANDIDATE POLITICAL**  
12 **COMMITTEE CONTRIBUTIONS IN HOUSE OF**  
13 **REPRESENTATIVES ELECTIONS.**

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

17 “(i)(1) Notwithstanding any other provision of this  
18 Act, no candidate for the office of Representative in, or  
19 Delegate or Resident Commissioner to, the Congress may  
20 accept any contribution from a multicandidate political  
21 committee.

22 “(2) As used in this subsection, the term  
23 ‘multicandidate political committee’ has the meaning given  
24 that term in subsection (a)(4).”.

1 **SEC. 202. CONTRIBUTIONS BY DEPENDENTS NOT OF VOT-**  
2 **ING AGE.**

3 Section 315 of the Federal Election Campaign Act  
4 of 1971 (2 U.S.C. 441a), as amended by section 201, is  
5 further amended by adding at the end the following:

6 “(j) For purposes of this section, any contribution by  
7 an individual who—

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

9 “(2) has not, as of the time of such contribu-  
10 tion, attained the legal age for voting for elections  
11 to Federal office in the State in which such individ-  
12 ual resides,

13 shall be treated as having been made by such other indi-  
14 vidual. If such individual is the dependent of another indi-  
15 vidual and such other individual’s spouse, the contribution  
16 shall be allocated among such individuals in the manner  
17 determined by them.”.

18 **SEC. 203. CONTRIBUTIONS TO CANDIDATES FROM STATE**  
19 **AND LOCAL COMMITTEES OF POLITICAL PAR-**  
20 **TIES TO BE AGGREGATED.**

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

24 “(9) Notwithstanding paragraph (5)(B), a candidate  
25 for Federal office may not accept, with respect to an elec-  
26 tion, any contribution from a State or local committee of

1 a political party (including any subordinate committee of  
2 such committee), if such contribution, when added to the  
3 total of contributions previously accepted from all such  
4 committees of that political party, exceeds a limitation on  
5 contributions to a candidate under this section.”.

6 **SEC. 204. LIMITED EXCLUSION OF ADVANCES BY CAM-**  
7 **PAIGN WORKERS FROM THE DEFINITION OF**  
8 **THE TERM “CONTRIBUTION”.**

9 Section 301(8)(B) of the Federal Election Campaign  
10 Act of 1971 (2 U.S.C. 431(8)(B)) is amended—

11 (1) in clause (xiii), by striking “and” after the  
12 semicolon at the end;

13 (2) in clause (xiv), by striking the period at the  
14 end and inserting the following: “; and”; and

15 (3) by adding at the end the following:

16 “(xv) any advance voluntarily made on behalf of  
17 an authorized committee of a candidate by an indi-  
18 vidual in the normal course of such individual’s re-  
19 sponsibilities as a volunteer for, or employee of, the  
20 committee, if the advance is reimbursed by the com-  
21 mittee within 60 days after the date on which the  
22 advance is made, and the value of advances on be-  
23 half of a committee does not exceed \$1,000 with re-  
24 spect to an election.”.

1 **SEC. 205. REDUCTION IN LIMITATION AMOUNT FOR CON-**  
2 **TRIBUTIONS TO CANDIDATES FOR FEDERAL**  
3 **OFFICE BY PERSONS OTHER THAN**  
4 **MULTICANDIDATE POLITICAL COMMITTEES.**

5 Section 315(a)(1)(A) of the Federal Election Cam-  
6 paign Act of 1971 (2 U.S.C. 441a(a)(1)(A)) is amended  
7 by striking “\$1,000” and inserting “\$500”.

8 **TITLE III—REQUIREMENT OF**  
9 **BUDGET NEUTRALITY**

10 **SEC. 301. REQUIREMENT OF BUDGET NEUTRALITY.**

11 (a) **CONDITIONAL PAY-AS-YOU-GO ESTIMATE.**—To  
12 achieve the purpose of subsection (b), an estimate shall  
13 be made of the net “pay-as-you-go” costs of this Act as-  
14 suming its preceding sections become effective. That esti-  
15 mate shall be made under the procedures specified in sec-  
16 tion 252(d) of the Balanced Budget and Emergency Defi-  
17 cit Control Act of 1985 (hereinafter referred to as the Defi-  
18 cit Control Act) but shall not be considered to be an esti-  
19 mate required by that section. Until and unless this sub-  
20 section is superseded by subsection (c), no net costs other-  
21 wise attributable to this Act shall be included in any docu-  
22 ments required under the Deficit Control Act.

23 (b) **ALL COSTS MUST BE FULLY OFFSET BY JANU-**  
24 **ARY 1, 1994.**—The provisions of section 504 of the Fed-  
25 eral Election Campaign Act of 1971, as added by section  
26 101 of this Act, shall not become effective unless, on Janu-

1 ary 1, 1994, it is determined that each of the following  
2 three conditions has been met:

3 (1) Provisions to raise revenues or reduce  
4 spending, such as—

5 (A) limiting the business tax deductibility  
6 of amounts spent in lobbying the Government  
7 of the United States have been enacted;

8 (B) establishing a Federal Election Com-  
9 mission registration fee on political committees  
10 have been enacted; or

11 (C) allowing the “Make Democracy Work”  
12 fund to receive funds voluntarily contributed by  
13 individuals or organizations have been enacted.

14 (2) The statute enacting any provision referred  
15 to in paragraph (1) states that the provision has  
16 been enacted for the purpose of effectuating this  
17 Act.

18 (3) The savings from provisions under para-  
19 graphs (1) and (2), estimated under the procedures  
20 specified in section 252(d) of the Deficit Control Act  
21 at the time of their enactment, are as great or great-  
22 er in both fiscal years 1995 and 1996 than the net  
23 costs of this Act in each such year conditionally esti-  
24 mated under subsection (a).

1 (c) ADDITION OF ESTIMATED NET COSTS TO THE  
2 PAY-AS-YOU-GO SCORECARD.—If, on January 1, 1994, it  
3 is determined that the costs of this Act have been fully  
4 offset as specified in subsection (b), so that the preceding  
5 sections of this Act shall become effective, then the condi-  
6 tional estimate of the costs of this Act (made under sub-  
7 section (a)) shall be included in the records maintained  
8 under section 252 of the Deficit Control Act.

9 (d) DEFINITION OF “COSTS” AND “SAVINGS”.—For  
10 purposes of this section, the terms “costs” and “savings”  
11 mean outlay increases or decreases from direct spending  
12 provisions or revenue increases or decreases from revenue  
13 provisions of the type covered under section 252 of the  
14 Deficit Control Act.

## 15 **TITLE IV—INDEPENDENT** 16 **EXPENDITURES**

### 17 **SEC. 401. REPORTING REQUIREMENTS FOR CERTAIN INDE-** 18 **PENDENT EXPENDITURES.**

19 (a) IN GENERAL.—Section 304 of the Federal Elec-  
20 tion Campaign Act of 1971 (2 U.S.C. 434) is amended  
21 by adding at the end the following:

22 “(d) TIME FOR REPORTING CERTAIN EXPENDI-  
23 TURES.—(1) Any person making independent expendi-  
24 tures aggregating \$1,000 or more after the 20th day, but  
25 more than 24 hours, before any election shall file a report

1 of such expenditures within 24 hours after such expendi-  
2 tures are made.

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

11 “(3) Any statement under this subsection shall be  
12 filed with the Commission and the Secretary of State of  
13 the State involved and shall contain the information re-  
14 quired by subsection (b)(6)(B)(iii) of this section, includ-  
15 ing whether the independent expenditure is in support of,  
16 or in opposition to, the candidate involved. Not later than  
17 48 hours after the Commission receives a report, the Com-  
18 mission shall transmit a copy of the report to each can-  
19 didate seeking nomination or election to that office.

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

23 “(5)(A) If any person intends to make independent  
24 expenditures totaling \$5,000 or more during the 20 days

1 before an election, such person shall file a statement no  
2 later than the 20th day before the election.

3 “(B) Any statement under subparagraph (A) shall be  
4 filed with the Commission and the Secretary of State of  
5 the State involved and shall identify each candidate whom  
6 the expenditure will support or oppose. Not later than 48  
7 hours after the Commission receives a statement under  
8 this paragraph, the Commission shall transmit a copy of  
9 the statement to each candidate identified.

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

17 (b) CONFORMING AMENDMENT.—Section 304(c)(2)  
18 of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 (2 U.S.C.  
19 434(c)(2)) is amended by striking the undesignated mat-  
20 ter after subparagraph (C).

1 **TITLE**                   **V—CONTRIBUTIONS**  
2       **THROUGH INTERMEDIARIES**  
3       **AND CONDUITS; PROVISIONS**  
4       **RELATING TO POLITICAL**  
5       **PARTY COMMITTEES**

6 **SEC. 501. CONTRIBUTIONS THROUGH INTERMEDIARIES**  
7                   **AND CONDUITS.**

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

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

12               “(A) Contributions made by a person, either di-  
13 rectly or indirectly, to or on behalf of a particular  
14 candidate, including contributions that are in any  
15 way earmarked or otherwise directed through an  
16 intermediary or conduit to a candidate, shall be  
17 treated as contributions from the person to the can-  
18 didate.

19               “(B) Contributions made directly or indirectly  
20 by a person to or on behalf of a particular candidate  
21 through an intermediary or conduit, including con-  
22 tributions made or arranged to be made by an  
23 intermediary or conduit, shall be treated as contribu-  
24 tions from the intermediary or conduit to the can-  
25 didate if—

1           “(i) the contributions made through the  
2 intermediary or conduit are in the form of a  
3 check or other negotiable instrument made pay-  
4 able to the intermediary or conduit rather than  
5 the intended recipient; or

6           “(ii) the intermediary or conduit is—

7               “(I) a political committee;

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

10              “(III) a political party;

11              “(IV) a partnership or sole proprietor-  
12 ship;

13              “(V) a person who is required to reg-  
14 ister or to report its lobbying activities, or  
15 a lobbyist whose activities are required to  
16 be reported, under section 308 of the Fed-  
17 eral Regulation of Lobbying Act (2 U.S.C.  
18 267), the Foreign Agents Registration Act  
19 of 1938 (22 U.S.C. 611 et seq.), or any  
20 successor Federal law requiring a person  
21 who is a lobbyist or foreign agent to reg-  
22 ister or a person to report its lobbying ac-  
23 tivities; or

24              “(VI) an organization prohibited from  
25 making contributions under section 316, or

1           an officer, employee, or agent of such an  
2           organization acting on the organization's  
3           behalf.

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

6           “(I) a candidate or representative of a can-  
7       didate receiving contributions to the candidate's  
8       principal campaign committee or authorized  
9       committee;

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

14          “(III) a volunteer hosting a fundraising  
15       event at the volunteer's home, in accordance  
16       with section 301(8)(B), but only if the individ-  
17       ual is not described in subparagraph (B)(ii); or

18          “(IV) an individual who transmits a con-  
19       tribution from the individual's spouse.

20          “(ii) The term ‘representative’ means an indi-  
21       vidual who is expressly authorized by the candidate  
22       to engage in fundraising, and who occupies a signifi-  
23       cant position within the candidate's campaign orga-  
24       nization, provided that the individual is not de-  
25       scribed in subparagraph (B)(ii).

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

3           “(I) contributions delivered to a particular  
4 candidate or the candidate’s authorized commit-  
5 tee or agent; and

6           “(II) contributions directly or indirectly ar-  
7 ranged to be made to a particular candidate or  
8 the candidate’s authorized committee or agent,  
9 in a manner that identifies directly or indirectly  
10 to the candidate or authorized committee or  
11 agent the person who arranged the making of  
12 the contributions or the person on whose behalf  
13 such person was acting.

14       Such term does not include contributions made, or  
15 arranged to be made, by reason of an oral or written  
16 communication by a Federal candidate or office-  
17 holder expressly advocating the nomination for elec-  
18 tion, or election, of any other Federal candidate and  
19 encouraging the making of a contribution to such  
20 other candidate.

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

1           “(I) Soliciting or directly or indirectly ar-  
2 ranging the making of a contribution to a par-  
3 ticular candidate in the name of, or by using  
4 the name of, such a person.

5           “(II) Soliciting or directly or indirectly ar-  
6 ranging the making of a contribution to a par-  
7 ticular candidate using other than incidental re-  
8 sources of such a person.

9           “(III) Soliciting contributions for a par-  
10 ticular candidate by substantially directing the  
11 solicitations to other officers, employees, or  
12 agents of such a person.

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

14           “(i) bona fide joint fundraising efforts con-  
15 ducted solely for the purpose of sponsorship of  
16 a fundraising reception, dinner, or other similar  
17 event, in accordance with rules prescribed by  
18 the Commission, by—

19                   “(I) 2 or more candidates;

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

24                   “(III) a special committee formed by  
25 2 or more candidates, or a candidate and

1 a national, State, or local committee of a  
2 political party acting on their own behalf;

3 or

4 “(ii) fundraising efforts for the benefit of  
5 a candidate that are conducted by another  
6 candidate.

7 When a contribution is made to a candidate through an  
8 intermediary or conduit, the intermediary or conduit shall  
9 report the original source and the intended recipient of  
10 the contribution to the Commission and to the intended  
11 recipient.”.

12 **SEC. 502. DEFINITIONS.**

13 Section 301 of the Federal Election Campaign Act  
14 of 1971 (2 U.S.C. 431), as amended by section 102 of  
15 this Act, is further amended by adding at the end the  
16 following:

17 “(22) The term ‘generic campaign activity’  
18 means a campaign activity that promotes a political  
19 party rather than any particular Federal or non-  
20 Federal candidate.

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

1 **SEC. 503. PROVISIONS RELATING TO NATIONAL, STATE,**  
2 **AND LOCAL PARTY COMMITTEES.**

3 (a) SOFT MONEY OF COMMITTEES OF POLITICAL  
4 PARTIES.—Title III of the Federal Election Campaign Act  
5 of 1971 is amended by adding at the end the following:

6 “POLITICAL PARTY COMMITTEES

7 “SEC. 323. (a) LIMITATIONS ON NATIONAL COMMIT-  
8 TEE.—(1) A national committee of a political party and  
9 the congressional campaign committees of a political party  
10 may not solicit or accept contributions or transfers not  
11 subject to the limitations, prohibitions, and reporting re-  
12 quirements of this Act.

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

14 “(A) that—

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

19 “(ii) are described in section  
20 301(8)(B)(xx); and

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

24 “(b) ACTIVITIES SUBJECT TO THIS ACT.—Any  
25 amount solicited, received, expended, or disbursed directly  
26 or indirectly by a national, State, district, or local commit-

1 tee of a political party (including any subordinate commit-  
2 tee) with respect to any of the following activities shall  
3 be subject to the limitations, prohibitions, and reporting  
4 requirements of this Act:

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

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

10 “(2) Any generic campaign activity.

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

13 “(A) a State or local candidate is also  
14 identified or promoted; or

15 “(B) any portion of the funds disbursed  
16 constitutes a contribution or expenditure under  
17 this Act.

18 “(4) Voter registration.

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

21 “(6) Any other activity that—

22 “(A) significantly affects a Federal elec-  
23 tion; or

24 “(B) is not otherwise described in section  
25 301(8)(B)(xviii).

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

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

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

16 “(A) is conducted during a calendar year other  
17 than a calendar year in which an election for the of-  
18 fice of President is held;

19 “(B) is exclusively on behalf of (and specifically  
20 identifies only) one or more State or local candidates  
21 or ballot measures; and

22 “(C) does not include any effort or means used  
23 to identify or turn out those identified to be support-  
24 ers of any Federal candidate (including any activity

1 that is undertaken in coordination with, or on behalf  
2 of, a candidate for Federal office).

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

7 “(A) any generic campaign activity;

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

11 “(C) subject to the limitations of section  
12 315(d), payments described in clause (xii) of para-  
13 graph (8)(B), and clause (ix) of paragraph (9)(B),  
14 of section 301 on behalf of candidates other than for  
15 President and Vice President;

16 “(D) voter registration; and

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

19 “(2) Notwithstanding section 315(a)(4), no funds  
20 may be transferred by a State committee of a political  
21 party from its State Party Grassroots Fund to any other  
22 State Party Grassroots Fund or to any other political com-  
23 mittee, except a transfer may be made to a district or local  
24 committee of the same political party in the same State  
25 if such district or local committee—

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

3           “(B) uses the transferred funds solely for those  
4           purposes.

5           “(e) AMOUNTS RECEIVED BY GRASSROOTS FUND  
6 FROM STATE AND LOCAL CANDIDATE COMMITTEES.—(1)  
7 Any amount received by a State Party Grassroots Fund  
8 from a State or local candidate committee for expenditures  
9 described in subsection (b) that are for the benefit of that  
10 candidate shall be treated as meeting the requirements of  
11 subsection (b) and section 304(e) if—

12           “(A) such amount is derived from funds which  
13           meet the requirements of this Act with respect to  
14           any limitation or prohibition as to source or dollar  
15           amount specified in section 315(a) (1)(A) and  
16           (2)(A); and

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

18           “(i) maintains, in the account from which  
19           payment is made, records of the sources and  
20           amounts of funds for purposes of determining  
21           whether such requirements are met; and

22           “(ii) certifies that such requirements were  
23           met.

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

4           “(A) a State or local candidate committee’s  
5 cash on hand shall be treated as consisting of the  
6 funds most recently received by the committee; and

7           “(B) the committee must be able to dem-  
8 onstrate that its cash on hand contains sufficient  
9 funds meeting such requirements as are necessary to  
10 cover the transferred funds.

11       “(3) Notwithstanding paragraph (1), any State Party  
12 Grassroots Fund receiving any transfer described in para-  
13 graph (1) from a State or local candidate committee shall  
14 be required to meet the reporting requirements of this Act,  
15 and shall submit to the Commission all certifications re-  
16 ceived, with respect to receipt of the transfer from such  
17 candidate committee.

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

22       (b) CONTRIBUTIONS AND EXPENDITURES.—(1) Sec-  
23 tion 301(8)(B) of the Federal Election Campaign Act of  
24 1971 (2 U.S.C. 431(8)(B)), as amended by section 204

1 of this Act, is further amended by adding at the end the  
2 following:

3 “(xvi) any amount contributed to a  
4 candidate for other than Federal office;

5 “(xvii) any amount received or ex-  
6 pended to pay the costs of a State or local  
7 political convention;

8 “(xviii) any payment for campaign ac-  
9 tivities that are exclusively on behalf of  
10 (and specifically identify only) State or  
11 local candidates and do not identify any  
12 Federal candidate, and that are not activi-  
13 ties described in section 324(b) (without  
14 regard to paragraph (6)(B)) or section  
15 324(c)(1);

16 “(xix) any payment for administrative  
17 expenses of a State or local committee of  
18 a political party, including expenses for—

19 “(I) overhead, including party  
20 meetings;

21 “(II) staff (other than individuals  
22 devoting a significant amount of their  
23 time to elections for Federal office  
24 and individuals engaged in conducting

1 get-out-the-vote activities for a Fed-  
2 eral election); and

3 “(III) conducting party elections  
4 or caucuses;

5 “(xx) any payment for research per-  
6 taining solely to State and local candidates  
7 and issues;

8 “(xxi) any payment for development  
9 and maintenance of voter files other than  
10 during the 1-year period ending on the  
11 date during an even-numbered calendar  
12 year on which regularly scheduled general  
13 elections for Federal office occur; and

14 “(xxii) any payment for any other ac-  
15 tivity which is solely for the purpose of in-  
16 fluencing, and which solely affects, an elec-  
17 tion for non-Federal office and which is  
18 not an activity described in section 324(b)  
19 (without regard to paragraph (6)(B)) or  
20 section 324(c)(1).”.

21 (2) Section 301(9)(B) of the Federal Election Cam-  
22 paign Act of 1971 (2 U.S.C. 431(9)(B)) is amended by  
23 striking “and” at the end of clause (ix), by striking the  
24 period at the end of clause (x) and inserting a semicolon,  
25 and by adding at the end the following:

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

3           “(xii) any amount received or ex-  
4 pended to pay the costs of a State or local  
5 political convention;

6           “(xiii) any payment for campaign ac-  
7 tivities that are exclusively on behalf of  
8 (and specifically identify only) State or  
9 local candidates and do not identify any  
10 Federal candidate, and that are not activi-  
11 ties described in section 324(b) (without  
12 regard to paragraph (6)(B)) or section  
13 324(c)(1);

14           “(xiv) any payment for administrative  
15 expenses of a State or local committee of  
16 a political party, including expenses for—

17                   “(I) overhead, including party  
18 meetings;

19                   “(II) staff (other than individuals  
20 devoting a significant amount of their  
21 time to elections for Federal office  
22 and individuals engaged in conducting  
23 get-out-the-vote activities for a Fed-  
24 eral election); and

1                   “(III) conducting party elections  
2                   or caucuses;

3                   “(xv) any payment for research per-  
4                   taining solely to State and local candidates  
5                   and issues;

6                   “(xvi) any payment for development  
7                   and maintenance of voter files other than  
8                   during the 1-year period ending on the  
9                   date during an even-numbered calendar  
10                  year on which regularly scheduled general  
11                  elections for Federal office occur; and

12                  “(xvii) any payment for any other ac-  
13                  tivity which is solely for the purpose of in-  
14                  fluencing, and which solely affects, an elec-  
15                  tion for non-Federal office and which is  
16                  not an activity described in section 324(b)  
17                  (without regard to paragraph (6)(B)) or  
18                  section 324(c)(1).”.

19                  (c) LIMITATION APPLIED AT NATIONAL LEVEL.—  
20                  Paragraph (3) of section 315(d) of the Federal Election  
21                  Campaign Act of 1971 (2 U.S.C. 441a(d)(3)) is amended  
22                  by adding at the end the following:  
23                  “Notwithstanding the preceding sentence, the applicable  
24                  congressional campaign committee of a political party  
25                  shall make the expenditures described in this paragraph

1 which are authorized to be made by a national or State  
2 committee with respect to a candidate in any State unless  
3 it allocates all or a portion of such expenditures to either  
4 or both of such committees.”.

5 (d) LIMITATIONS APPLY FOR ENTIRE ELECTION  
6 CYCLE.—Section 315(d)(1) of the Federal Election Cam-  
7 paign Act of 1971 (2 U.S.C. 441a(d)(1)) is amended by  
8 adding at the end the following: “Each limitation under  
9 the following paragraphs shall apply to the entire election  
10 cycle for an office.”.

11 **SEC. 504. PROHIBITION OF SOLICITATION OF CONTRIBU-**  
12 **TIONS FOR CERTAIN TAX-EXEMPT ORGANIZA-**  
13 **TIONS BY FEDERAL CANDIDATES AND OF-**  
14 **FICE HOLDERS.**

15 Section 315 of the Federal Election Campaign Act  
16 of 1971 (2 U.S.C. 441a), as amended by sections 201 and  
17 202, is further amended by adding at the end the follow-  
18 ing:

19 “(k) During any period an individual is a candidate  
20 for, or holds, Federal office, such individual may not dur-  
21 ing such period solicit contributions to, or on behalf of,  
22 any organization which is described in section 501(c) of  
23 the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 if a substantial part  
24 of the activities of such organization include voter reg-  
25 istration or get-out-the-vote campaigns.”.

1 **TITLE VI—PROHIBITIONS RE-**  
2 **LATING TO POLITICAL COM-**  
3 **MITTEES AND FOREIGN NA-**  
4 **TIONALS**

5 **SEC. 601. PROHIBITION OF CERTAIN USES OF THE NAME**  
6 **OF A CANDIDATE BY POLITICAL COMMIT-**  
7 **TEES OTHER THAN THE PRINCIPAL CAM-**  
8 **PAIGN COMMITTEE OF THE CANDIDATE.**

9 Section 302(e)(4) of the Federal Election Campaign  
10 Act of 1971 (2 U.S.C. 432(e)(4)) is amended to read as  
11 follows:

12 “(4)(A) The name of each authorized committee shall  
13 include the name of the candidate who authorized the com-  
14 mittee under paragraph (1).

15 “(B) A political committee that is not an authorized  
16 committee shall not include the name of any candidate in  
17 its name or use the name of any candidate in any fund-  
18 raising activity on behalf of such committee in such a con-  
19 text as to suggest that the committee is an authorized  
20 committee of the candidate.”.

21 **SEC. 602. PROHIBITION OF CERTAIN ELECTION-RELATED**  
22 **ACTIVITIES OF FOREIGN NATIONALS.**

23 Section 319 of the Federal Election Campaign Act  
24 of 1971 (2 U.S.C. 441e) is amended by adding at the end  
25 the following:

1 “(c) A foreign national shall not directly or indirectly  
2 direct, control, influence or participate in any person’s  
3 election-related activities, such as the making of contribu-  
4 tions or expenditures in connection with elections for any  
5 local, State, or Federal office or the administration of a  
6 political committee.”.

7 **TITLE VII—LIMITATION ON CARRYOVER OF CAMPAIGN**  
8 **FUNDS**  
9 **FUNDS**

10 **SEC. 701. LIMITATION ON CARRYOVER OF HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES**  
11 **CAMPAIGN FUNDS FOR USE**  
12 **IN LATER ELECTIONS.**

13 Section 315 of the Federal Election Campaign Act  
14 of 1971 (2 U.S.C. 441a), as amended by sections 201,  
15 202, and 504 is further amended by adding at the end  
16 the following:

17 “(l) Notwithstanding any other provision of this Act,  
18 no contribution received with respect to an election by a  
19 candidate for the office of Representative in, or Delegate  
20 or Resident Commissioner to, the Congress may be used  
21 with respect to a later election for such office, except  
22 that—

23 “(1) a contribution received with respect to a  
24 primary election may be used with respect to the

1 general election relating to that primary election;  
2 and

3 “(2) if, after a general election, a candidate has  
4 a balance of funds remaining, the candidate may use  
5 not more than \$25,000 of that balance with respect  
6 to a later election for such office.”.

## 7 **TITLE VIII—CAMPAIGN** 8 **ADVERTISING**

### 9 **SEC. 801. CAMPAIGN ADVERTISING AMENDMENTS.**

10 Section 318 of the Federal Election Campaign Act  
11 of 1971 (2 U.S.C. 441d) is amended—

12 (1) in the matter before paragraph (1) of sub-  
13 section (a), by striking “an expenditure” and insert-  
14 ing “a disbursement”;

15 (2) in the matter before paragraph (1) of sub-  
16 section (a), by striking “direct”;

17 (3) in paragraph (3) of subsection (a), by in-  
18 sserting after “name” the following: “and permanent  
19 street address”; and

20 (4) by adding at the end the following:

21 “(c) Any printed communication described in sub-  
22 section (a) shall be—

23 “(1) of sufficient type size to be clearly read-  
24 able by the recipient of the communication;

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

3           “(3) consist of a reasonable degree of color con-  
4           trast between the background and the printed state-  
5           ment.

6           “(d) Any broadcast or cablecast communication de-  
7           scribed in subsection (a)(1) or subsection (a)(2) shall in-  
8           clude, in addition to the requirements of those subsections,  
9           in a clearly spoken manner, the following statement—

10           ‘ \_\_\_\_\_ is responsible for the con-  
11           tent of this advertisement.’

12           with the blank to be filled in with the name of the can-  
13           didate, and, if broadcast or cablecast by means of tele-  
14           vision, shall also—

15           “(1) appear in a clearly readable manner with  
16           a reasonable degree of color contrast between the  
17           background and the printed statement, for a period  
18           of at least 4 seconds; and

19           “(2) be accompanied by a clearly identifiable  
20           photographic or similar image of the candidate.

21           “(e) Any broadcast or cablecast communication de-  
22           scribed in subsection (a)(3) shall include, in addition to  
23           the requirements of those subsections, in a clearly spoken  
24           manner, the following statement—

1           ‘ \_\_\_\_\_ is responsible for the con-  
2           tent of this advertisement.’

3 with the blank to be filled in with the name of the political  
4 committee or other person paying for the communication  
5 and the name of any connected organization of the payor,  
6 and, if broadcast or cablecast by means of television, shall  
7 also appear in a clearly readable manner with a reasonable  
8 degree of color contrast between the background and the  
9 printed statement, for a period of at least 4 seconds.”.

10 **SEC. 802. EQUAL BROADCAST TIME.**

11           Section 315(a) of the Communications Act of 1934  
12 (47 U.S.C. 315(a)) is amended to read as follows:

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

19           “(2)(A) A person who reserves broadcast time the  
20 payment for which would constitute an independent ex-  
21 penditure within the meaning of section 301(17) of the  
22 Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 (2 U.S.C.  
23 431(17) shall—

1           “(i) inform the licensee that payment for the  
2 broadcast time will constitute an independent ex-  
3 penditure;

4           “(ii) inform the licensee of the names of all can-  
5 didates for the office to which the proposed broad-  
6 cast relates; and

7           “(iii) provide the licensee a copy of the state-  
8 ment described in section 304A(b)(3)(B) of the Fed-  
9 eral Election Campaign Act of 1971 (2 U.S.C.  
10 434(d)(3)(B)).

11          “(B) A licensee who is informed as described in sub-  
12 paragraph (A) shall, if any of the candidates described in  
13 subparagraph (A)(ii), has provided the licensee the name  
14 and address of a person to whom notification under this  
15 subparagraph is to be given—

16           “(i) notify such person of the proposed making  
17 of the independent expenditure; and

18           “(ii) provide, without charge, any such can-  
19 didate (other than a candidate for whose benefit the  
20 independent expenditure is made) with the same  
21 amount of broadcast time immediately after the  
22 broadcast time paid for by the independent expendi-  
23 ture.

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

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

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

6           “(i) bona fide newscast;

7           “(ii) bona fide news interview;

8           “(iii) bona fide news documentary (if the ap-  
9 pearance of the candidate is incidental to the presen-  
10 tation of the subject or subjects covered by the news  
11 documentary); or

12           “(iv) on-the-spot coverage of bona fide news  
13 events (including political conventions and activities  
14 incidental thereto),

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

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

24       “(6)(A) A licensee that endorses a candidate for Fed-  
25 eral office in an editorial shall, within the time stated in

1 subparagraph (B), provide to all other candidates for elec-  
2 tion to the same office—

3 “(i) notice of the date and time of broadcast of  
4 the editorial;

5 “(ii) a taped or printed copy of the editorial;  
6 and

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

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

11 “(i) is first broadcast 72 hours or more prior to  
12 the date of a primary, runoff, or general election,  
13 the notice and copy described in subparagraph (A) (i)  
14 and (ii) shall be provided not later than 24 hours  
15 after the time of the first broadcast of the editorial,  
16 and

17 “(ii) is first broadcast less than 72 hours before  
18 the date of an election, the notice and copy shall be  
19 provided at a time prior to the first broadcast that  
20 will be sufficient to enable candidates a reasonable  
21 opportunity to prepare and broadcast a response.

22 “(7) A communication under reserved broadcast time  
23 described in paragraph (2)—

24 “(A) in the case of a television broadcast, shall  
25 include during the entire length of the communica-

1       tion a clearly readable video statement covering at  
2       least 25 percent of the viewing area of a television  
3       screen stating the information required in section  
4       318(a) of the Federal Election Campaign Act of  
5       1971 and, if the independent expenditure is made by  
6       a political committee, stating the name of its con-  
7       nected organization (if any) and the city and State  
8       in which such organization is located; and

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

18 **SEC. 803. OTHER AMENDMENTS TO THE COMMUNICATIONS**

19                       **ACT OF 1934.**

20       Section 315 of the Communications Act of 1934 (47  
21 U.S.C. 315), as amended by section 802, is further  
22 amended—

23               (1) in subsection (b)—

24                       (A) in the matter preceding paragraph (1),

25               by striking “The charges” and inserting “Ex-

1           cept as provided in subsection (c), the charges”;  
2           and

3                   (B) in paragraph (1)—

4                           (i) by striking “forty-five” and insert-  
5                           ing “30”;

6                           (ii) by striking “sixty” and inserting  
7                           “45”; and

8                           (iii) by striking “lowest unit charge of  
9                           the station for the same class and amount  
10                          of time for the same period” and inserting  
11                          “lowest charge of the station for the same  
12                          amount of time for the same period on the  
13                          same date”;

14                   (2) by redesignating subsections (c) and (d) as  
15                   subsections (e) and (f), respectively; and

16                   (3) by inserting after subsection (b) the follow-  
17                   ing:

18           “(c) Subsection (b) shall not apply to an eligible  
19   House of Representatives candidate (as defined in section  
20   301 of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971) who  
21   makes expenditures that exceed a limitation under sub-  
22   section (a), (b), or (c) of section 501 of the Federal Elec-  
23   tion Campaign Act of 1971 or who, with respect to an  
24   election cycle, makes contributions to his or her own cam-  
25   paign totaling more than \$100,000 from the personal

1 funds of the candidate. The charges made pursuant to  
2 subsection (b) for the use of any broadcasting station by  
3 any eligible House of Representatives candidate who  
4 agrees not to make, and does not make, expenditures that  
5 exceed a limitation under subsection (a), (b), or (c) of sec-  
6 tion 501 of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971  
7 shall not exceed, at any time, the lowest charge of the sta-  
8 tion for the same amount of time for the same period on  
9 the same date.

10 “(d)(1) Except as provided in paragraph (2), a li-  
11 censee shall not preempt the use, during any period speci-  
12 fied in subsection (b)(1), of a broadcasting station by a  
13 legally qualified candidate for public office who has pur-  
14 chased and paid for such use pursuant to the provisions  
15 of subsection (b)(1).

16 “(2) If a program to be broadcast by a broadcasting  
17 station is preempted because of circumstances beyond the  
18 control of the broadcasting station, any candidate adver-  
19 tising spot scheduled to be broadcast during that program  
20 may also be preempted.”.

1           **TITLE IX—CONTRIBUTION**  
2                           **SOLICITATION**

3   **SEC. 901. PROHIBITION OF FALSE REPRESENTATION TO**  
4                           **SOLICIT CONTRIBUTIONS.**

5           Section 322 of the Federal Election Campaign Act  
6 of 1971 (2 U.S.C. 441h) is amended—

7                   (1) by inserting after “SEC. 322.” the follow-  
8           ing: “(a)”; and

9                   (2) by adding at the end the following:

10           “(b) No person shall solicit contributions by falsely  
11 representing himself as a candidate or as a representative  
12 of a candidate, a political committee, or a political party.”.

13                           **TITLE X—REPORTING**  
14                                   **REQUIREMENTS**

15   **SEC. 1001. REDUCTION IN THRESHOLD FOR REPORTING OF**  
16                           **CERTAIN INFORMATION BY PERSONS OTHER**  
17                           **THAN POLITICAL COMMITTEES.**

18           Section 304(b)(3)(A) of the Federal Election Cam-  
19 paign Act of 1971 (2 U.S.C. 434(b)(3)(A)) is amended  
20 by striking “\$200” and inserting “\$50”.

21   **SEC. 1002. REPORTING OF OPERATING EXPENDITURES BY**  
22                           **CATEGORY.**

23           Section 304 of the Federal Election Campaign Act  
24 of 1971 (2 U.S.C. 434) is amended by adding at the end  
25 the following:

1 “(d) The Commission shall require, with respect to  
2 reports under this section, that operating expenditures be  
3 reported on an election cycle basis, by category, as speci-  
4 fied by the Commission.”.

5 **SEC. 1003. CHANGE IN CERTAIN REPORTING FROM A CAL-**  
6 **ENDAR YEAR BASIS TO AN ELECTION CYCLE**  
7 **BASIS.**

8 Paragraphs (2) through (7) of subsection (b) of sec-  
9 tion 304 of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971  
10 (2 U.S.C. 434(b)(2)–(7)) are amended by inserting after  
11 “calendar year” each place it appears the following:  
12 “(election cycle, in the case of an authorized committee  
13 of a candidate for the office of Representative in, or Dele-  
14 gate or Resident Commissioner to, the Congress)”.

15 **SEC. 1004. COMPUTERIZED INDICES OF CONTRIBUTIONS.**

16 Section 311(a) of the Federal Election Campaign Act  
17 of 1971 (2 U.S.C. 438(a)) is amended—

18 (1) by striking “and” at the end of paragraph

19 (9);

20 (2) by striking the period at the end of para-  
21 graph (10) and inserting “; and”; and

22 (3) by adding at the end the following:

23 “(11) maintain computerized indices of con-  
24 tributions of \$50 or more.”.

1       **TITLE XI—EFFECTIVE DATE**

2   **SEC. 1101. EFFECTIVE DATE.**

3       Except as otherwise provided in this Act, the provi-  
4   sions of, and the amendments made by, this Act shall take  
5   effect on the date of the enactment of this Act but shall  
6   not apply with respect to any election occurring before  
7   January 1, 1994.

○

HR 3566 IH—2

HR 3566 IH—3

HR 3566 IH—4

HR 3566 IH—5

HR 3566 IH—6