

103D CONGRESS
1ST SESSION

H. R. 2469

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

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

JUNE 18, 1993

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

A BILL

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

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

3 **SECTION 1. SHORT TITLE.**

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

16 “(ii) the intermediary or conduit is—

17 “(I) a political committee;

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

20 “(III) a political party;

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

3 “(I) 2 or more candidates;

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

1 **SEC. 9. DEFINITIONS.**

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

23 “(C) to—

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

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

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

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

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

20 “(C) to—

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

13 “(i) \$20,000,000, plus

14 “(ii) the lesser of—

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

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

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

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

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

18 “POLITICAL PARTY COMMITTEES

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

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

26 “(A) that—

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

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

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

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

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

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

22 “(2) Any generic campaign activity.

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

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

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

6 “(4) Voter registration.

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

9 “(6) Any other activity that—

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

19 “(A) any generic campaign activity;

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

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

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

3 “(D) voter registration; and

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

25 “(A) holds a Federal office; or

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

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

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

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

20 “(A) holds a Federal office; or

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

5 (d) OTHER REPORTING REQUIREMENTS.—

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

25 “(i) bona fide newscast;

1 “(ii) bona fide news interview;

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

○

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