

103^D CONGRESS
1ST SESSION

H. R. 275

To amend the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 and related provisions of law to provide for a voluntary system of spending limits and benefits for House of Representatives election campaigns, and for other purposes.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

JANUARY 5, 1993

Mr. MAZZOLI introduced the following bill; which was referred to the Committee on House Administration

A BILL

To amend the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 and related provisions of law to provide for a voluntary system of spending limits and benefits for House of Representatives election campaigns, 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 “House of Representa-
5 tives Campaign Spending Limit and Election Reform Act
6 of 1993”.

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 new title:

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 Represent-
21 atives candidate may not, in an election cycle, make ex-
22 penditures aggregating more than \$600,000, of which not
23 more than \$500,000 may be expended in the general elec-
24 tion period.

1 “(b) RUNOFF ELECTION AND SPECIAL ELECTION
2 AMOUNTS.—

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

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

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

24 “(d) NONPARTICIPATING OPPONENT PROVISIONS.—

1 “(1) LIMITATION EXCEPTION.—The limitations
2 imposed by subsections (a) and (b) do not apply in
3 the case of an eligible House of Representatives can-
4 didate if any other candidate seeking nomination or
5 election to that office—

6 “(A) is not an eligible House of Represent-
7 atives candidate; and

8 “(B) receives contributions or makes ex-
9 penditures in excess of 50 percent of the gen-
10 eral election period limitation specified in sub-
11 section (a).

12 “(2) CONTINUED ELIGIBILITY AND ADDITIONAL
13 MATCHING FUNDS.—An eligible House of Represent-
14 atives candidate referred to in paragraph (1)—

15 “(A) shall continue to be eligible for all
16 benefits under this title; and

17 “(B) shall receive matching funds without
18 regard to the ceiling under section 504(a).

19 “(3) REPORTING REQUIREMENT.—A candidate
20 for the office of Representative in, or Delegate or
21 Resident Commissioner to, the Congress who—

22 “(A) is not an eligible House of Represent-
23 atives candidate; and

24 “(B) receives contributions or makes ex-
25 penditures in excess of 50 percent of the gen-

1 eral election period limitation specified in sub-
2 section (a)(1);

3 shall report that the threshold has been reached to
4 the Commission not later than 48 hours after reach-
5 ing the threshold. Not later than 48 hours after the
6 Commission receives a report under this paragraph,
7 the Commission shall transmit a copy of the report
8 to each other candidate in the election.

9 “(e) INDEPENDENT EXPENDITURE PROVISION.—
10 The limitation imposed by subsection (a) does not apply
11 to an eligible House of Representatives candidate if inde-
12 pendent expenditures totaling \$60,000 are made in the
13 same election in favor of another candidate or against the
14 eligible House of Representatives candidate.

15 “(f) EXEMPTION FOR CERTAIN COSTS AND TAXES.—
16 Payments for legal and accounting compliance costs and
17 Federal and State taxes shall not be considered in the
18 computation of amounts subject to limitation under this
19 section.

20 “(g) CIVIL PENALTIES.—

21 “(1) LOW AMOUNT OF EXCESS EXPENDI-
22 TURES.—Any eligible House of Representatives can-
23 didate who makes expenditures that exceed a limita-
24 tion under subsection (a) or subsection (b) by 5 per-
25 cent or less shall pay to the Commission, for deposit

1 in the Make Democracy Work Fund, an amount
2 equal to the amount of the excess expenditures.

3 “(2) MEDIUM AMOUNT OF EXCESS EXPENDI-
4 TURES.—And eligible House of Representatives can-
5 didate who makes expenditures that exceed a limita-
6 tion under subsection (a) or subsection (b) by more
7 than 5 percent and less than 10 percent shall pay
8 to the Commission, for deposit in the Make Democ-
9 racy Work Fund, an amount equal to three times
10 the amount of the excess expenditures.

11 “(3) LARGE 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) or subsection (b) by 10
15 percent or more shall pay to the Commission, for de-
16 posit in the Make Democracy Work Fund, the
17 amount of matching payments received under sec-
18 tion 504 and an amount equal to three times the
19 amount of the excess expenditures plus a civil pen-
20 alty in an amount determined by the Commission.

21 “(h) INDEXING.—The dollar amounts specified in
22 subsections (a), (b), (c), and (e) shall be adjusted in the
23 manner provided in section 315(c), except that, for the
24 purposes of such adjustment, the base period shall be cal-
25 endar year 1992.”.

1 **“SEC. 502. STATEMENT OF PARTICIPATION; CONTINUING**
2 **ELIGIBILITY.**

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

7 “(1) in the case of an initial determination, be
8 based on a statement of participation submitted by
9 the candidate; and

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

14 “(b) FILING.—The statement of participation re-
15 ferred to in subsection (a) shall be filed not later than
16 January 31 of the election year or on the date on which
17 the candidate files a statement of candidacy, whichever is
18 later.

19 **SEC. 503. CONTRIBUTION LIMITATIONS.**

20 “(a) ELIGIBLE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES CAN-
21 DIDATE LIMITATION.—An eligible House of Representa-
22 tives candidate may not, with respect to an election cycle,
23 accept contributions aggregating in excess of \$600,000.

24 “(b) TRANSFER PROVISIONS.—

25 “(1) If an eligible House of Representatives
26 candidate transfers any amount from an election

1 cycle to a later election cycle, the limitation with re-
2 spect to the candidate under subsection (a) for the
3 later cycle shall be an amount equal to the difference
4 between the amount specified in that subsection and
5 the amount transferred.

6 “(2) If an eligible House of Representatives
7 candidate transfers any amount from an election
8 cycle to a later election cycle, each limitation with
9 respect to the candidate under section 315(i) for the
10 later cycle shall be one-third of the difference be-
11 tween the applicable amount specified in that sub-
12 section and the amount transferred.

13 “(c) RUNOFF AMOUNT.—In addition to the contribu-
14 tions under subsection (a), an eligible House of Represent-
15 atives candidate who is a candidate in a runoff election
16 may accept contributions aggregating not more than
17 \$100,000 in the general election period. Of such contribu-
18 tions, one-half may be from political committees and one-
19 half may be from persons referred to in section 315(i)(2).

20 “(d) PERSONAL CONTRIBUTIONS.—

21 “(1) IN GENERAL.—An eligible House of Rep-
22 resentatives candidate may not, with respect to an
23 election cycle, make contributions to his or her own
24 campaign totaling more than \$60,000 from the per-
25 sonal funds of the candidate. The amount that the

1 candidate may accept from persons referred to in
2 section 315(i)(2) shall be reduced by the amount of
3 contributions made under the preceding sentence.
4 Contributions from the personal funds of a can-
5 didate may not be matched under section 504.

6 “(2) LIMITATION EXCEPTION.—The limitation
7 imposed by paragraph (1) does not apply in the case
8 of an eligible House of Representatives candidate if
9 any other candidate—

10 “(A) is not an eligible House of Represent-
11 atives candidate; and

12 “(B) receives contributions or makes ex-
13 penditures in excess of 50 percent of the gen-
14 eral election period limitation specified in sec-
15 tion 501(a).

16 “(e) CIVIL PENALTIES.—

17 “(1) LOW AMOUNT OF EXCESS CONTRIBU-
18 TIONS.—Any eligible House of Representatives can-
19 didate who accepts contributions that exceed the lim-
20 itation under subsection (a) by 5 percent or less
21 shall refund the excess contributions to the persons
22 who made the contributions.

23 “(2) MEDIUM AMOUNT OF EXCESS CONTRIBU-
24 TIONS.—Any eligible House of Representatives can-
25 didate who accepts contributions that exceed a limi-

1 tation under subsection (a) by more than 5 percent
2 and less than 10 percent shall pay to the Commis-
3 sion, for deposit in the Make Democracy Work
4 Fund, an amount equal to three times the amount
5 of the excess contributions.

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

16 “(f) EXEMPTION FOR CERTAIN COSTS AND TAXES.—
17 Any amount—

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

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

1 “(g) INDEPENDENT EXPENDITURE PROVISION.—
2 The limitation imposed by subsection (a) does not apply
3 to an eligible House of Representatives candidate if inde-
4 pendent expenditures totaling \$60,000 are made in the
5 same election in favor of another candidate or against the
6 eligible House of Representatives candidate.

7 “(h) CLOSELY CONTESTED PRIMARY.—If, as deter-
8 mined by the Commission, an eligible House of Represent-
9 atives candidate in a contested primary election wins that
10 primary election by a margin of 10 percent or less, not-
11 withstanding the limitation in subsection (a), the can-
12 didate may, in the general election period, accept addi-
13 tional contributions of not more than \$150,000, consisting
14 of—

15 “(1) not more than \$50,000 from political com-
16 mittees; and

17 “(2) not more than \$50,000 from individuals
18 referred to in section 315(i)(2).

19 “(i) INDEXING.—The dollar amounts specified in
20 subsections (a), (c), (d), (g), and (h) shall be adjusted in
21 the manner provided in section 315(c), except that, for
22 the purposes of such adjustment, the base period shall be
23 calendar year 1992.”.

1 **“SEC. 504. MATCHING FUNDS.**

2 “(a) IN GENERAL.—An eligible House of Representa-
3 tives candidate shall be entitled to receive, with respect
4 to the general election, an amount equal to the amount
5 of contributions from individuals received by the can-
6 didate, but not more than \$200,000, and not to the extent
7 that contributions from any individual during the election
8 cycle exceed \$200 in the aggregate.

9 “(b) INDEPENDENT EXPENDITURE PROVISION.—If,
10 with respect to a general election involving an eligible
11 House of Representatives candidate, independent expendi-
12 tures totaling \$10,000 are made against the eligible House
13 of Representatives candidate or in favor of another can-
14 didate, the eligible House of Representatives candidate
15 shall be entitled, in addition to any amount received under
16 subsection (a), to a matching payment of \$10,000 and ad-
17 ditional matching payments equal to the amount of such
18 independent expenditures above \$10,000, and expendi-
19 tures may be made from such payments without regard
20 to the limitations in section 501.

21 “(c) SPECIFIC REQUIREMENTS.—A candidate for the
22 office of Representative in, or Delegate or Resident Com-
23 missioner to, the Congress may receive matching funds
24 under subsection (a) only if the candidate—

1 “(1) in an election cycle, has received \$60,000
2 in contributions from individuals, with not more
3 than \$200 to be taken into account per individual;

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

5 “(3) has an opponent on the general election
6 ballot; and

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

9 “(A) comply with the limitations under
10 sections 501 and 503;

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

15 “(C) comply with any repayment require-
16 ment under section 505.

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

22 “(e) MAKE DEMOCRACY WORK FUND.—There is es-
23 tablished in the Treasury a fund, to be known as the
24 ‘Make Democracy Work Fund,’ consisting of such
25 amounts as may be deposited under section 501, section

1 503, or provisions enacted pursuant to section 301 of the
2 House of Representatives Campaign Spending Limit and
3 Election Reform Act of 1991. Amounts in the fund shall
4 be available without fiscal year limitation for payment of
5 matching funds under subsection (f) and initial expendi-
6 tures incurred by the Commission in the administration
7 of section 304(e) or 311(a)(11) of this Act.

8 “(f) CERTIFICATION AND PAYMENT.—

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

15 “(2) PAYMENTS.—The initial payment under
16 subsection (a) to an eligible candidate shall be
17 \$60,000. All payments shall be—

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

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

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

1 that portion only and inform the candidate as to
2 how the candidate may correct the request.

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

10 “(h) INDEXING.—The dollar amounts specified in
11 subsections (a), (b), and (c) (other than the amount in
12 subsection (c) to be taken into account per individual),
13 and subsections (f) and (g) shall be adjusted in the man-
14 ner provided in section 315(c), except that, for the pur-
15 poses of such adjustment, the base period shall be cal-
16 endar year 1992.”.

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

18 “(a) GENERAL ELECTION.—After each general elec-
19 tion, the Commission shall conduct an examination and
20 audit of the campaign accounts of 10 percent of the eligi-
21 ble House of Representatives candidates, as designated by
22 the Commission through the use of an appropriate statis-
23 tical method of random selection, to determine whether
24 such candidates have complied with the conditions of eligi-
25 bility and other requirements of this title. No other factors

1 shall be considered in carrying out such an examination
2 and audit. In selecting the accounts to be examined and
3 audited, the Commission shall select all eligible candidates
4 from a congressional district where any eligible candidate
5 is selected for examination and audit.

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

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

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

1 graph (19) and inserting in lieu thereof the following new
2 paragraphs:

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

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

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

17 “(B) the date on which the candidate withdraws
18 from the campaign or otherwise ceases actively to
19 seek election; and

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

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

1 candidate seeks and ending on the date of the next
2 general election for such office or seat; or

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

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

10 Section 3626(e) of title 39, United States Code, is
11 amended—

12 (1) in paragraph (2)(A)—

13 (A) by striking out “and the National”
14 and inserting in lieu thereof “the National”;
15 and

16 (B) by striking out “Committee;” and in-
17 serting in lieu thereof “Committee, and, subject
18 to paragraph (3), the principal campaign com-
19 mittee of an eligible House of Representatives
20 candidate;”;

21 (2) in paragraph (2)(B), by striking out “and”
22 after the semicolon;

23 (3) in paragraph (2)(C), by striking out the pe-
24 riod and inserting in lieu thereof “; and”;

1 (4) by adding after paragraph (2)(C) the fol-
2 lowing new subparagraph:

3 “(D) the terms ‘eligible House of Representa-
4 tives candidate’ and ‘principal campaign committee’
5 have the meanings given those terms in section 301
6 of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971.”;
7 and

8 (5) by adding after paragraph (2) the following
9 new paragraph:

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

13 “(A) the general election period (as defined in
14 section 301 of the Federal Election Campaign Act of
15 1971); and

16 “(B) that number of pieces of mail equal to 3
17 times the number of individuals in the voting age
18 population of the congressional district (as certified
19 under section 315(e) of such Act).”.

1 **TITLE II—LIMITATIONS ON PO-**
2 **LITICAL COMMITTEE AND**
3 **LARGE DONOR CONTRIBU-**
4 **TIONS THAT MAY BE ACCEPT-**
5 **ED BY HOUSE OF REP-**
6 **RESENTATIVES CANDIDATES;**
7 **MISCELLANEOUS PROVI-**
8 **SIONS RELATING TO CON-**
9 **TRIBUTIONS UNDER THE**
10 **FEDERAL ELECTION CAM-**
11 **PAIGN ACT OF 1971**

12 **SEC. 201. LIMITATIONS ON POLITICAL COMMITTEE AND**
13 **LARGE DONOR CONTRIBUTIONS THAT MAY**
14 **BE ACCEPTED BY HOUSE OF REPRESENTA-**
15 **TIVES CANDIDATES.**

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

19 “(i)(1) A candidate for the office of Representative
20 in, or Delegate or Resident Commissioner to, the Congress
21 may not, with respect to an election cycle, accept contribu-
22 tions, from political committees aggregating in excess of
23 \$200,000.

24 “(2) A candidate for the office of Representative in,
25 or Delegate or Resident Commissioner to, the Congress

1 may not, with respect to an election cycle, accept contribu-
2 tions aggregating in excess of \$200,000 from persons
3 other than political committees whose contributions total
4 more than \$200.

5 “(3) In addition to the contributions under para-
6 graphs (1) and (2), a House of Representatives candidate
7 who is a candidate in a runoff election may accept con-
8 tributions aggregating not more than \$100,000 with re-
9 spect to the runoff election. Of such contributions, one
10 half may be from political committees and one-half may
11 be from persons referred to in paragraph (2).

12 “(4) Any amount—

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

16 “(B) 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 paragraphs (1), (2), and (3), but
20 shall be subject to the other limitations of this Act.

21 “(5) In addition to any other contributions under this
22 subsection, if, as determined by the Commission, an eligi-
23 ble House of Representatives candidate in a contested pri-
24 mary election wins that primary election by a margin of
25 10 percent or less, the candidate may, in the general elec-

1 tion period, accept contributions of not more than
2 \$150,000, consisting of—

3 “(A) not more than \$50,000 from political com-
4 mittees; and

5 “(B) not more than \$50,000 from persons re-
6 ferred to in paragraph (2).

7 “(6) The dollar amounts specified in paragraphs (1),
8 (2), (3), and (5) (other than the amounts in paragraphs
9 (2) and (5) relating to contribution totals) shall be ad-
10 justed in the manner provided in section 315(c), except
11 that, for the purposes of such adjustment, the base period
12 shall be calendar year 1992.”.

13 **SEC. 202. CONTRIBUTIONS BY DEPENDENTS NOT OF VOT-**
14 **ING AGE.**

15 Section 315 of the Federal Election Campaign Act
16 of 1971 (2 U.S.C. 441a), as amended by section 201, is
17 further amended by adding at the end of the following new
18 subsection:

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

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

22 “(2) has not, as of the time of such contribu-
23 tion, attained the legal age for voting for election to
24 Federal office in the State in which such individual
25 resides, shall be treated as having been made by

1 such other individual. If such individual is the de-
2 pendent of another individual and such other indi-
3 vidual's spouse, the contribution shall be allocated
4 among such individuals in the manner determined by
5 them.”.

6 **SEC. 203. CONTRIBUTIONS TO CANDIDATES FROM STATE**
7 **AND LOCAL COMMITTEES OF POLITICAL PAR-**
8 **TIES TO BE AGGREGATED.**

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

12 “(9) A candidate for Federal office may not accept,
13 with respect to an election, any contribution from a State
14 or local committee of a political party (including any sub-
15 ordinate committee of such committee), if such contribu-
16 tion, when added to the total of contributions previously
17 accepted from all such committees of that political party,
18 exceeds a limitation on contributions to a candidate under
19 this section.”.

20 **SEC. 204. LIMITED EXCLUSION OF ADVANCES BY CAM-**
21 **PAIGN WORKERS FROM THE DEFINITION OF**
22 **THE TERM “CONTRIBUTION”.**

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

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

3 (2) in clause (xiv), by striking out the period at
4 the end and inserting in lieu thereof the following:
5 “; and”; and

6 (3) by adding at the end the following new
7 clause:

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

17 **SEC. 205. INCREASE IN THE AMOUNT THAT**
18 **MULTICANDIDATE POLITICAL COMMITTEES**
19 **MAY CONTRIBUTE TO NATIONAL POLITICAL**
20 **PARTY COMMITTEES.**

21 Section 315(a)(2)(B) of the Federal Election Cam-
22 paign Act of 1971 (2 U.S.C. 441a(a)(2)(B)) is amended
23 by striking out “\$15,000” and inserting in lieu thereof
24 “\$20,000”.

1 **SEC. 206. AMENDMENT TO SECTION 316 OF THE FEDERAL**
2 **ELECTION CAMPAIGN ACT OF 1971.**

3 Section 316(b) of the Federal Election Campaign Act
4 of 1971 (2 U.S.C. 441b(b)) is amended—

5 (1) by inserting “(A)” at the beginning of para-
6 graph (2) and redesignating subparagraphs (A), (B),
7 and (C) as clauses (i), (ii), and (iii), respectively;

8 (2) at the beginning of the first sentence in
9 subparagraph (A), by inserting the following: “Ex-
10 cept as provided in subparagraph (B),”; and

11 (3) by adding at the end of paragraph (2) the
12 following:

13 “(B) Expenditures by a corporation or
14 labor organization for candidate appearances,
15 candidate debates and voter guides directed to
16 the general public shall be considered contribu-
17 tions unless—

18 “(i) in the case of a candidate appear-
19 ance, the appearance takes place on cor-
20 porate or labor organization premises or at
21 a meeting or convention of the corporation
22 or labor organization, and all candidates
23 for election to that office are notified that
24 they may make an appearance under the
25 same or similar conditions;

1 “(ii) in the case of a candidate debate,
2 the organization staging the debate is ei-
3 ther an organization described in section
4 301 whose broadcasts or publications are
5 supported by commercial advertising, sub-
6 scriptions or sales to the public, including
7 a noncommercial educational broadcaster,
8 or a nonprofit organization exempt from
9 Federal taxation under section 501(c)(3)
10 or 501(c)(4) of the Internal Revenue Code
11 of 1986 that does not endorse, support, op-
12 pose candidates or political parties; and

13 “(iii) in the case of a voter guide, the
14 guide is prepared and distributed by a cor-
15 poration or labor organization and consists
16 of questions posed to at least two can-
17 didates for election to that office,

18 provided that no communication made by a cor-
19 poration or labor organization in connection
20 with the candidate appearance, candidate de-
21 bate or voter guide contains express advocacy,
22 or that no candidate is favored through the
23 structure or format of the candidate appear-
24 ance, candidate debate or voter guide.”.

1 **TITLE III—REQUIREMENT OF**
2 **BUDGET NEUTRALITY**

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

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

16 (b) **ALL COSTS MUST BE FULLY OFFSET BY JANU-**
17 **ARY 1, 1993.**—The provisions of title VII, section 201,
18 and sections 503 through section 509 shall not become
19 effective unless, on January 1, 1993, it is determined that
20 each of the following three conditions has been met:

21 (1) Provisions to raise revenues or reduce
22 spending, such as—

23 (A) limiting the business tax deductibility
24 of amounts spent in lobbying the Government
25 of the United States have been enacted;

1 (B) establishing a Federal Election Com-
2 mission registration fee on political committees
3 have been enacted; or

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

7 (2) The statute enacting any provision referred
8 to in paragraph (1) states that the provision has
9 been enacted for the purpose of effectuating this
10 Act.

11 (3) The savings from provisions under para-
12 graphs (1) and (2), estimated under the procedures
13 specified in section 252(d) of the Deficit Control Act
14 at the time of their enactment, are as great or great-
15 er in both fiscal years 1994 and 1995 than the net
16 costs of this Act in each such year conditionally esti-
17 mated under subsection (a).

18 (c) ADDITION OF ESTIMATED NET COSTS TO THE
19 PAY-AS-YOU-GO SCORECARD.—If, on January 1, 1993, it
20 is determined that the costs of this Act have been fully
21 offset as specified in subsection (b), so that the preceding
22 sections of this Act shall become effective, then the condi-
23 tional estimate of the costs of this Act (made under sub-
24 section (a)) shall be included in the records maintained
25 under section 252 of the Deficit Control Act.

1 (d) DEFINITION OF “COSTS” AND “SAVINGS”.—For
2 purposes of this section, the terms “costs” and “savings”
3 mean outlay increases or decreases from direct spending
4 provisions or revenue increases or decreases from revenue
5 provisions of the type covered under section 252 of the
6 Deficit Control Act.

7 **TITLE IV—INDEPENDENT**
8 **EXPENDITURES**

9 **SEC. 401. CLARIFICATION OF DEFINITIONS RELATING TO**
10 **INDEPENDENT EXPENDITURES.**

11 (a) INDEPENDENT EXPENDITURE DEFINITION
12 AMENDMENT.—Section 301 of the Federal Election Cam-
13 paign Act of 1971 (2 U.S.C. 431) is amended by striking
14 out paragraphs (17) and (18) and inserting in lieu thereof
15 the following:

16 “(17)(A) The term ‘independent expenditure’ means
17 an expenditure for an advertisement or other communica-
18 tion that—

19 “(i) contains express advocacy; and

20 “(ii) is made without the participation or co-
21 operation of a candidate or a candidate’s representa-
22 tive.

23 “(B) Any expenditure made by the following shall not
24 be considered an independent expenditure:

25 “(i) a political committee of a political party;

1 “(ii) a political committee established, main-
2 tained or controlled by a person or organization re-
3 quired to register under section 308 of the Federal
4 Regulation of Lobbying Act (2 U.S.C. 267) or the
5 Foreign Agents Registration Act (22 U.S.C. 611); or

6 “(iii) a person who, during the election cycle,
7 has communicated with or received information from
8 a candidate or a representative of that candidate re-
9 garding activities that have the purpose of influenc-
10 ing that candidate’s election to Federal office, where
11 the expenditure is in support of that candidate or in
12 opposition to another candidate for that office.

13 “(18) The term ‘express advocacy’ means, when a
14 communication is taken as a whole, an expression of sup-
15 port for or opposition to a specific candidate, to a specific
16 group of candidates, or to candidates of a particular politi-
17 cal party, or a suggestion to take action with respect to
18 an election, such as to vote for or against, make contribu-
19 tions to or participate in campaign activity.”.

20 (b) CONTRIBUTION DEFINITION AMENDMENT.—Sec-
21 tion 301(8)(A) of the Federal Election Campaign Act of
22 1971 (2 U.S.C. 431(8)(A)) is amended—

23 (1) in clause (i), by striking out “or” after the
24 semicolon at the end;

1 (2) in clause (ii), by striking out the period at
2 the end and inserting “; or”; and

3 (3) by adding at the end the following new
4 clause:

5 “(iii) any payment or other transaction re-
6 ferred to in paragraph (17)(A)(i) that does not
7 qualify as an independent expenditure under
8 paragraph (17(A)(ii)).”.

9 **SEC. 402. REPORTING REQUIREMENTS FOR CERTAIN INDE-**
10 **PENDENT EXPENDITURES.**

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

13 (1) in paragraph (2), by striking out the undes-
14 ignated matter after subparagraph (C);

15 (2) by redesignating paragraph (3) as para-
16 graph (5); and

17 (3) by inserting after paragraph (2), as amend-
18 ed by paragraph (1), the following new paragraphs:

19 “(3)(A) Any independent expenditure (including
20 those described in subsection (b)(6)(B)(iii) of this section)
21 aggregating \$1,000 or more made after the 20th day, but
22 more than 24 hours, before any election shall be reported
23 within 24 hours after such independent expenditure is
24 made.

1 “(B) Any independent expenditure aggregating
2 \$5,000 or more made at any time up to and including
3 the 20th day before any election shall be reported within
4 48 hours after such independent expenditure is made. An
5 additional statement shall be filed each time independent
6 expenditures aggregating \$5,000 are made with respect to
7 the same election as the initial statement filed under this
8 section.

9 “(C) Such statement shall be filed with the Commis-
10 sion and the Secretary of State and shall contain the infor-
11 mation required by subsection (b)(6)(B)(iii) of this sec-
12 tion, including whether the independent expenditure is in
13 support of, or in opposition to, the candidate involved. Not
14 later than 48 hours after the Commission receives a report
15 under paragraph (A) or (B), the Commission shall trans-
16 mit a copy of the report to each candidate seeking nomina-
17 tion or election to that office.

18 “(D) For purposes of this section, the term ‘made’
19 includes any action taken to incur an obligation for pay-
20 ment.

21 “(4)(A) If any person intends to make independent
22 expenditures totaling \$5,000 during the 20 days before
23 an election, such person shall file a statement no later
24 than the 20th day before the election.

1 “(C) For purposes of this section, the term ‘conduit
2 or intermediary’ means a person who transmits a con-
3 tribution to a candidate or candidate’s committee or rep-
4 resentative from another person, except that—

5 “(i) a candidate or representative of a can-
6 didate is not a conduit or intermediary for the pur-
7 pose of transmitting contributions to the candidate’s
8 principal campaign committee or authorized commit-
9 tee;

10 “(ii) a professional fundraiser is not a conduit
11 or intermediary, if the fundraiser is compensated for
12 fundraising services at the usual and customary
13 rate;

14 “(iii) a volunteer hosting a fundraising event at
15 the volunteer’s home, in accordance with section
16 301(8)(b), is not a conduit or intermediary for the
17 purposes of that event; and

18 “(iv) an individual is not a conduit or
19 intermediary for the purpose of transmitting a con-
20 tribution from the individual’s spouse.

21 “(D) For purposes of this section, the term ‘rep-
22 resentative’—

23 “(i) shall mean a person who is expressly au-
24 thorized by the candidate to engage in fundraising,
25 and who, in the case of an individual, occupies a sig-

1 nificant position within the candidate’s campaign or-
 2 ganization, provided that the individual is not acting
 3 as an officer, employee or agent of any other person;

4 “(ii) shall not include—

5 “(I) a political committee with a connected
 6 organization;

7 “(II) a political party;

8 “(III) a partnership or sole proprietorship;

9 or

10 “(IV) an organization prohibited from
 11 making contributions under section 316.”.

12 **SEC. 502. LIMITATIONS ON COMBINED POLITICAL ACTIVI-**
 13 **TIES OF POLITICAL COMMITTEES OF POLITI-**
 14 **CAL PARTIES.**

15 Title III of the Federal Election Campaign Act of
 16 1971 (2 U.S.C. 431 et seq.) is amended by adding at the
 17 end the following new section:

18 “LIMITATIONS ON COMBINED POLITICAL ACTIVITIES OF
 19 POLITICAL COMMITTEES OF POLITICAL PARTIES

20 “SEC. 323. (a)(1) In each Federal election cycle with
 21 respect to each State, a political party the national com-
 22 mittee of which received amounts under section 9008(b)
 23 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 with respect to the
 24 preceding presidential election may not make payments for
 25 combined political activities in a total amount which ex-
 26 ceeds 50 cents multiplied by the voting age population of

1 the State (as certified under section 315(e)) or \$500,000
2 whichever is greater.

3 “(2) For purposes of the limitation of paragraph (1),
4 aggregate payments by national party committees, State
5 party committees, subordinate State party committees and
6 any other local party committees of the same party in any
7 State shall not exceed the limitation in paragraph (1). A
8 State party committee shall administer compliance with
9 the limitation in one of the following ways—

10 “(A) the State party committee shall be respon-
11 sible for ensuring that payments by the entire party
12 organization within that State comply with the limi-
13 tation and shall file consolidated reports with the
14 Commission showing all payments for combined po-
15 litical activity within the State; or

16 “(B) any other method, submitted in advance
17 and approved by the Commission which permits con-
18 trol over payments and disclosure.

19 “(b)(1) Political party committees that make pay-
20 ments for combined political activity must allocate a por-
21 tion of such payments to Federal accounts containing con-
22 tributions subject to the limitations and prohibitions of
23 this Act, as provided for in this section.

24 “(2) National party committees shall allocate as fol-
25 lows:

1 “(A) At least 65 percent of the costs of voter
2 drives and administrative expenses shall be paid
3 from a Federal account in presidential election
4 years. At least 60 percent of the costs of voter drives
5 and administrative expenses shall be paid from a
6 Federal account in all other years.

7 “(B) The costs of fundraising activities which
8 shall be paid from a Federal account shall equal the
9 ratio of funds received into the Federal account to
10 the total receipts from each fundraising program or
11 event.

12 “(C) The costs of activities subject to limitation
13 under section 315(d) which involve both Federal and
14 non-Federal candidates, shall be paid from a Federal
15 account according to the time or space devoted to
16 Federal candidates.

17 “(3) State and local party committees shall allocate
18 as follows:

19 “(A) At least 50 percent of the costs of voter
20 drives and administrative expenses shall be paid
21 from a Federal account in presidential election
22 years. In all other years, the costs of voter drives
23 and administrative expenses which shall be paid
24 from a Federal account shall be determined by the
25 ballot composition for the election cycle, but, in no

1 event, shall the amount paid from the Federal ac-
2 count be less than 33 percent.

3 “(B) The costs of fundraising activities which
4 shall be paid from a Federal account shall equal the
5 ratio of funds received into the Federal account to
6 the total receipts from each fundraising program or
7 event.

8 “(C) The costs of activities exempt from the
9 definition of ‘contribution’ or ‘expenditure’ under
10 section 301, when conducted in conjunction with
11 both Federal and non-Federal elections, shall be
12 paid from a Federal account according to the time
13 or space devoted to Federal candidates or elections.

14 “(D) The costs of activities subject to limitation
15 under section 315(d) which involve both Federal and
16 non-Federal candidates, shall be paid from a Federal
17 account according to the time or space devoted to
18 Federal candidates.

19 “(c) For purposes of this subsection—

20 “(1) the term ‘combined political activity’
21 means any activity that is both—

22 “(A) in connection with an election for
23 Federal office; and

24 “(B) in connection with an election for any
25 non-Federal office.

1 “(2) Any activity which is undertaken solely in
2 connection with a Federal election is not combined
3 political activity.

4 “(3) Except as provided in paragraph (4), com-
5 bined political activity shall include—

6 “(A) State and local party activities ex-
7 empt from the definitions of ‘contribution’ and
8 ‘expenditure’ under section 301 and activities
9 subject to limitation under section 315 which
10 involve both Federal and non-Federal can-
11 didates, except that payments for activities sub-
12 ject to limitation under section 315 are not sub-
13 ject to the limitation of subsection (a)(1);

14 “(B) voter drives including voter registra-
15 tion, voter identification and get-out-the-vote
16 drives or any other activities that urge the gen-
17 eral public to register, vote for or support non-
18 Federal candidates, candidates of a particular
19 party, or candidates associated with a particu-
20 lar issue, without mentioning a specific Federal
21 candidate;

22 “(C) fundraising activities where both Fed-
23 eral and non-Federal funds are collected
24 through such activities; and

1 “(D) administrative expenses not directly
2 attributable to a clearly identified Federal or
3 non-Federal candidate, except that payments
4 for administrative expenses are not subject to
5 the limitation of subsection (a)(1).

6 “(4) The following payments are exempt from
7 the definition of combined political activity;

8 “(A) Any amount described in section
9 301(8)(B)(viii).

10 “(B) Any payments for legal or accounting
11 services, if such services are for the purpose of
12 ensuring compliance with this Act.

13 “(5) The term ‘ballot composition’ means the
14 number of Federal offices on the ballot compared to
15 the total number of offices on the ballot during the
16 next election cycle for the State. In calculating the
17 number of offices for purposes of this paragraph, the
18 following offices shall be counted, if on the ballot
19 during the next election cycle: President, United
20 States Senator, United States Representative, Gov-
21 ernor, State Senator, and State Representative. No
22 more than three additional statewide partisan can-
23 didates shall be counted, if on the ballot during the
24 next election cycle. No more than three additional
25 local partisan candidates shall be counted, if such of-

1 fices are on the ballot in the majority of the State's
2 counties during the next election cycle.

3 “(6) The term ‘time or space devoted to Fed-
4 eral candidates’ means with respect to a particular
5 communication, the portion of the communication
6 devoted to Federal candidates compared to the en-
7 tire communication, except that no less than one-
8 third of any communication shall be considered de-
9 voted to a Federal candidate.”.

10 **SEC. 503. PROHIBITION OF SOLICITATION OF CONTRIBU-**
11 **TIONS FOR CERTAIN TAX-EXEMPT ORGANIZA-**
12 **TIONS BY FEDERAL CANDIDATES AND OF-**
13 **FICE HOLDERS.**

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

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

1 **SEC. 504. REPORTING REQUIREMENTS FOR CERTAIN RE-**
2 **CEIPTS AND DISBURSEMENTS THAT ARE NOT**
3 **IN CONNECTION WITH ELECTIONS FOR FED-**
4 **ERAL OFFICE OR ARE NOT CONTRIBUTIONS**
5 **OR EXPENDITURES.**

6 (a) REPORTING REQUIREMENTS.—Section 304 of the
7 Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 (2 U.S.C. 434)
8 is amended by adding at the end thereof the following new
9 subsection:

10 “(d)(1) Political committees established and main-
11 tained by a national political party shall report all receipts
12 and disbursements during the reporting period, whether
13 or not in connection with an election for Federal office.

14 “(2) A political committee (not described in para-
15 graph (1)) to which section 323 applies shall report all
16 receipts and disbursements in connection with a Federal
17 election or combined political activity (as determined
18 under section 323).

19 “(3) Any political committee to which paragraph (1)
20 or (2) does not apply shall report any receipts or disburse-
21 ments which are used in connection with a Federal elec-
22 tion or combined political activity (as determined by the
23 Commission).

24 “(4) If any receipt or disbursement to which this sub-
25 section applies exceeds \$200, the political committee shall

1 include identification of the person from whom, or to
2 whom, such receipt or disbursement was received or made.

3 “(5) Reports required to be filed by this subsection
4 shall be filed for the same time periods required for politi-
5 cal committees under subsection (a).”.

6 (b) REPORT OF EXEMPT CONTRIBUTIONS.—Section
7 301(8) of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 (2
8 U.S.C. 431(8)) is amended by adding at the end the fol-
9 lowing:

10 “(C) The exclusions provided in subparagraph (v)
11 and (viii) of subparagraph (B) shall not apply for purposes
12 of any requirement to report contributions under this Act,
13 and all such contributions aggregating in excess of \$200
14 shall be reported.”.

15 (c) REPORTING OF EXEMPT EXPENDITURES.—Sec-
16 tion 301(9) of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971
17 (2 U.S.C. 431(9)) is amended by adding at the end the
18 following:

19 “(C) The exclusions provided in subparagraph (iv) of
20 subparagraph (B) shall not apply for purposes of any re-
21 quirement to report expenditures under this Act, and all
22 such expenditures aggregating in excess of \$200 shall be
23 reported.”.

1 **SEC. 505. CLARIFICATION OF EXCLUSION OF MAILING**
2 **COSTS FROM PARTY-BUILDING PROVISIONS.**

3 Section 301(8)(B)(x)(1), section 301(8)(B)(xi), sec-
4 tion 301(8)(B)(xii)(1), section 301(9)(B)(viii)(1), and sec-
5 tion 301(9)(B)(ix)(1) of the Federal Election Campaign
6 Act of 1971 (2 U.S.C. 431(8)(B)(x)(1)), (2 U.S.C.
7 (8)(B)(xi)), (2 U.S.C. 431(8)(B)(xii)(1)), (2 U.S.C.
8 431(9)(B)(viii)(1)), and (2 U.S.C. 431(9)(B)(ix)(1)), are
9 each amended by striking out “direct mail” and inserting
10 in lieu thereof “mail”.

11 **TITLE VI—PROHIBITIONS RE-**
12 **LATING TO POLITICAL COM-**
13 **MITTEES AND FOREIGN NA-**
14 **TIONALS**

15 **SEC. 601. PROHIBITION OF LEADERSHIP COMMITTEES.**

16 Section 302(e) of the Federal Election Campaign Act
17 of 1971 (2 U.S.C. 432(e)) is amended by inserting the
18 following new paragraph:

19 “(6)(A) A candidate for Federal office may not estab-
20 lish, maintain, or control any political committee other
21 than a principal campaign committee of the candidate, au-
22 thorized committee, party committee, or other political
23 committee designated in accordance with paragraph (3).
24 A candidate for more than one Federal office may des-
25 ignate a separate principal campaign committee for each
26 Federal office.

1 “(B) For one year after January 1, 1993, any such
2 political committee may continue to make contributions.
3 At the end of that period such political committee shall
4 disburse all funds by one or more of the following means:
5 making contributions to an entity qualified, under section
6 501(c)(3) of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986, or mak-
7 ing a contribution to the treasury of the United States
8 or the Make Democracy Work Fund; or, contributing to
9 the national, State or local committees of a political party,
10 or, making contributions not to exceed \$1,000 to any can-
11 didate for effective office.”.

12 **SEC. 602. PROHIBITION OF CERTAIN USES OF THE NAME**
13 **OF A CANDIDATE BY POLITICAL COMMIT-**
14 **TEES OTHER THAN THE PRINCIPAL CAM-**
15 **PAIGN COMMITTEE OF THE CANDIDATE.**

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

19 “(4)(A) The name of each authorized committee shall
20 include the name of the candidate who authorized the com-
21 mittee under paragraph (1).

22 “(B) A political committee that is not an authorized
23 committee shall not include the name of any candidate in
24 its name or use the name of any candidate in any fund-
25 raising activity on behalf of such committee in such a con-

1 text as to suggest that the committee is an authorized
2 committee of the candidate.”.

3 **SEC. 603. PROHIBITION OF CERTAIN ELECTION-RELATED**
4 **ACTIVITIES OF FOREIGN NATIONALS.**

5 Section 319 of the Federal Election Campaign Act
6 of 1971 (2 U.S.C. 441e) is amended by adding at the end
7 the following new subsection:

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

14 **TITLE VII—CAMPAIGN SURPLUS**

15 **SEC. 701. EXCESS FUNDS OF INCUMBENTS WHO ARE CAN-**
16 **DIDATES FOR THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTA-**
17 **TIVES.**

18 An individual who—

19 (1) is a candidate for the office of Representa-
20 tive in, or Delegate or Resident Commissioner to,
21 the Congress in an election cycle to which title V of
22 the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 (as en-
23 acted by section 101 of this Act) applies;

24 (2) is an incumbent of that office; and

1 (3) as of the date of the first statement of par-
2 ticipation submitted by the individual under section
3 502 of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971,
4 has campaign accounts containing in excess of
5 \$600,000;

6 shall deposit such excess in a separate account subject to
7 the provision of section 304 of the Federal Election Cam-
8 paign Act of 1971. The amount so deposited shall be avail-
9 able for any lawful purpose other than use, with respect
10 to the individual, for an election for the office of Rep-
11 resentative in, or Delegate or Resident Commissioner to,
12 the Congress, unless section 501(d)(1) of the Federal
13 Election Campaign Act of 1971 is applicable.

14 **TITLE VIII—CAMPAIGN**
15 **ADVERTISING**

16 **SEC. 801. CAMPAIGN ADVERTISING AMENDMENTS.**

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

19 (1) in the matter before paragraph (1) of sub-
20 section (a), by striking out “an expenditure” and in-
21 serting in lieu thereof “a disbursement”;

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

1 background and the printed statement, for a period
2 of at least 4 seconds; and

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

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

9 ‘ is responsible for the content of
10 this advertisement.’

11 with the blank to be filled in with the name of the political
12 committee or other person paying for the communication
13 and the name of any connected organization of the payor;
14 and, if broadcast or cablecast by means of television, shall
15 also appear in a clearly readable manner with a reasonable
16 degree of color contrast between the background and the
17 printed statement, for a period of at least 4 seconds.”.

18 **SEC. 802. AMENDMENTS TO THE COMMUNICATIONS ACT OF**

19 **1934.**

20 Section 315 of the Communications Act of 1934 (47
21 U.S.C. 315), as amended by section 801, is further
22 amended—

23 (1) in subsection (b)(1)—

24 (A) by striking out “forty-five” and insert-
25 ing in lieu thereof “30”;

1 (B) by striking out “sixty” and inserting
2 in lieu thereof “45”; and

3 (C) by striking out “lowest unit charge of
4 the station for the same class and amount of
5 time for the same period” and insert “lowest
6 charge of the station for the same amount of
7 time for the same period on the same date”;

8 (2) by redesignating subsections (c), (d), and
9 (e) as subsections (d), (e) and (f), respectively; and

10 (3) by inserting immediately after subsection
11 (b) the following new subsection:

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

18 “(2) If a paragraph to be broadcast by a broadcasting
19 station is preempted because of circumstances beyond the
20 control of the broadcasting station, any candidate adver-
21 tising spot scheduled to be broadcast during that program
22 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 out “\$200” and inserting in lieu thereof
21 “\$50”.

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

24 Section 304 of the Federal Election Campaign Act
25 of 1971 (2 U.S.C. 434), as amended by section 504 of

1 this Act, is further amended by adding at the end the fol-
2 lowing new subsection:

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

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

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

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

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

20 (1) by striking out “and” at the end of para-
21 graph (9);

22 (2) by striking out the period at the end of
23 paragraph (10) and inserting in lieu thereof “; and”;
24 and

1 (3) by adding at the end the following new
2 paragraph:

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

5 **TITLE XI—EFFECTIVE DATE**

6 **SEC. 1101. EFFECTIVE DATE.**

7 Except as otherwise provided in this Act, the provi-
8 sions of, and the amendments made by, this Act shall take
9 effect on the date of the enactment of this Act but shall
10 not apply with respect to any election occurring before
11 January 1, 1993.

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