104TH CONGRESS 1ST SESSION

S. 1060

AN ACT

To provide for the disclosure of lobbying activities to influence the Federal Government, 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 "Lobbying Disclosure
- 5 Act of 1995".

1	SEC. 2. FINDINGS.
2	The Congress finds that—
3	(1) responsible representative Government re-
4	quires public awareness of the efforts of paid lobby-
5	ists to influence the public decisionmaking process in
6	both the legislative and executive branches of the
7	Federal Government;
8	(2) existing lobbying disclosure statutes have
9	been ineffective because of unclear statutory lan-
10	guage, weak administrative and enforcement provi-
11	sions, and an absence of clear guidance as to who
12	is required to register and what they are required to
13	disclose; and
14	(3) the effective public disclosure of the identity
15	and extent of the efforts of paid lobbyists to influ-
16	ence Federal officials in the conduct of Government
17	actions will increase public confidence in the integ-
18	rity of Government.
19	SEC. 3. DEFINITIONS.
20	As used in this Act:
21	(1) Agency.—The term "agency" has the
22	meaning given that term in section $551(1)$ of title 5,
23	United States Code.
24	(2) CLIENT.—The term "client" means any
25	person or entity that employs or retains another per-

son for financial or other compensation to conduct

1	lobbying activities on behalf of that person or entity.
2	A person or entity whose employees act as lobbyists
3	on its own behalf is both a client and an employer
4	of such employees. In the case of a coalition or asso-
5	ciation that employs or retains other persons to con-
6	duct lobbying activities, the client is the coalition or
7	association and not its individual members.
8	(3) COVERED EXECUTIVE BRANCH OFFICIAL.—
9	The term "covered executive branch official"
10	means—
11	(A) the President;
12	(B) the Vice President;
13	(C) any officer or employee, or any other
14	individual functioning in the capacity of such
15	an officer or employee, in the Executive Office
16	of the President;
17	(D) any officer or employee serving in a
18	position in level I, II, III, IV, or V of the Exec-
19	utive Schedule, as designated by statute or Ex-
20	ecutive order;
21	(E) any member of the uniformed services
22	whose pay grade is at or above O-7 under sec-
23	tion 201 of title 37, United States Code; and
24	(F) any officer or employee serving in a
25	position of a confidential, policy-determining,

1	policy-making, or policy-advocating character
2	described in section 7511(b)(2) of title 5, Unit-
3	ed States Code.
4	(4) COVERED LEGISLATIVE BRANCH OFFI-
5	CIAL.—The term "covered legislative branch official"
6	means—
7	(A) a Member of Congress;
8	(B) an elected officer of either House of
9	Congress;
10	(C) any employee of, or any other individ-
11	ual functioning in the capacity of an employee
12	of—
13	(i) a Member of Congress;
14	(ii) a committee of either House of
15	Congress;
16	(iii) the leadership staff of the House
17	of Representatives or the leadership staff
18	of the Senate;
19	(iv) a joint committee of Congress;
20	and
21	(v) a working group or caucus orga-
22	nized to provide legislative services or
23	other assistance to Members of Congress;
24	and

1	(D) any other legislative branch employee
2	serving in a position described under section
3	109(13) of the Ethics in Government Act of
4	1978 (5 U.S.C. App.).
5	(5) Employee.—The term "employee" means
6	any individual who is an officer, employee, partner,
7	director, or proprietor of a person or entity, but does
8	not include—
9	(A) independent contractors; or
10	(B) volunteers who receive no financial or
11	other compensation from the person or entity
12	for their services.
13	(6) Foreign entity.—The term "foreign en-
14	tity" means a foreign principal (as defined in section
15	1(b) of the Foreign Agents Registration Act of 1938
16	(22 U.S.C. 611(b)).
17	(7) Lobbying activities.—The term "lobby-
18	ing activities" means lobbying contacts and efforts
19	in support of such contacts, including preparation
20	and planning activities, research and other back-
21	ground work that is intended, at the time it is per-
22	formed, for use in contacts, and coordination with
23	the lobbying activities of others.
24	(8) Lobbying contact.—

1 (A) Definition.—The term "lobb	ying
2 contact" means any oral or written commun	nica-
3 tion (including an electronic communication	ı) to
a covered executive branch official or a cov	ered
5 legislative branch official that is made on be	half
of a client with regard to—	
7 (i) the formulation, modification	, or
8 adoption of Federal legislation (inclu	ding
9 legislative proposals);	
(ii) the formulation, modification	ı, or
adoption of a Federal rule, regulation,	Ex-
ecutive order, or any other program, po	olicy,
or position of the United States Gov	ern-
ment;	
(iii) the administration or execution	n of
a Federal program or policy (including	the
negotiation, award, or administration	of a
Federal contract, grant, loan, permit, o	or li-
cense); or	
(iv) the nomination or confirmation	n of
21 a person for a position subject to confi	rma-
tion by the Senate.	
23 (B) Exceptions.—The term ''lobb	ying
contact" does not include a communication	
25 is—	

1	(i) made by a public official acting in
2	the public official's official capacity;
3	(ii) made by a representative of a
4	media organization if the purpose of the
5	communication is gathering and dissemi-
6	nating news and information to the public
7	(iii) made in a speech, article, publica-
8	tion or other material that is distributed
9	and made available to the public, or
10	through radio, television, cable television,
11	or other medium of mass communication;
12	(iv) made on behalf of a government
13	of a foreign country or a foreign political
14	party and disclosed under the Foreign
15	Agents Registration Act of 1938 (22
16	U.S.C. 611 et seq.);
17	(v) a request for a meeting, a request
18	for the status of an action, or any other
19	similar administrative request, if the re-
20	quest does not include an attempt to influ-
21	ence a covered executive branch official or
22	a covered legislative branch official;
23	(vi) made in the course of participa-
24	tion in an advisory committee subject to
25	the Federal Advisory Committee Act:

1	(vii) testimony given before a commit-
2	tee, subcommittee, or task force of the
3	Congress, or submitted for inclusion in the
4	public record of a hearing conducted by
5	such committee, subcommittee, or task
6	force;
7	(viii) information provided in writing
8	in response to an oral or written request
9	by a covered executive branch official or a
10	covered legislative branch official for spe-
11	cific information;
12	(ix) required by subpoena, civil inves-
13	tigative demand, or otherwise compelled by
14	statute, regulation, or other action of the
15	Congress or an agency;
16	(x) made in response to a notice in
17	the Federal Register, Commerce Business
18	Daily, or other similar publication solicit-
19	ing communications from the public and
20	directed to the agency official specifically
21	designated in the notice to receive such
22	communications;
23	(xi) not possible to report without dis-
24	closing information, the unauthorized dis-
25	closure of which is prohibited by law;

1	(xii) made to an official in an agency
2	with regard to—
3	(I) a judicial proceeding or a
4	criminal or civil law enforcement in-
5	quiry, investigation, or proceeding; or
6	(II) a filing or proceeding that
7	the Government is specifically re-
8	quired by statute or regulation to
9	maintain or conduct on a confidential
10	basis,
11	if that agency is charged with responsibil-
12	ity for such proceeding, inquiry, investiga-
13	tion, or filing;
14	(xiii) made in compliance with written
15	agency procedures regarding an adjudica-
16	tion conducted by the agency under section
17	554 of title 5, United States Code, or sub-
18	stantially similar provisions;
19	(xiv) a written comment filed in the
20	course of a public proceeding or any other
21	communication that is made on the record
22	in a public proceeding;
23	(xv) a petition for agency action made
24	in writing and required to be a matter of

1	public record pursuant to established agen-
2	cy procedures;
3	(xvi) made on behalf of an individual
4	with regard to that individual's benefits,
5	employment, or other personal matters in-
6	volving only that individual, except that
7	this clause does not apply to any commu-
8	nication with—
9	(I) a covered executive branch of-
10	ficial, or
11	(II) a covered legislative branch
12	official (other than the individual's
13	elected Members of Congress or em-
14	ployees who work under such Mem-
15	bers' direct supervision),
16	with respect to the formulation, modifica-
17	tion, or adoption of private legislation for
18	the relief of that individual;
19	(xvii) a disclosure by an individual
20	that is protected under the amendments
21	made by the Whistleblower Protection Act
22	of 1989, under the Inspector General Act
23	of 1978, or under another provision of law;
24	(xviii) made by—

1	(I) a church, its integrated auxil-
2	iary, or a convention or association of
3	churches that is exempt from filing a
4	Federal income tax return under
5	paragraph 2(A)(i) of section 6033(a)
6	of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986,
7	or
8	(II) a religious order that is ex-
9	empt from filing a Federal income tax
10	return under paragraph (2)(A)(iii) of
11	such section 6033(a); and
12	(xix) between—
13	(I) officials of a self-regulatory
14	organization (as defined in section
15	3(a)(26) of the Securities Exchange
16	Act) that is registered with or estab-
17	lished by the Securities and Exchange
18	Commission as required by that Act
19	or a similar organization that is des-
20	ignated by or registered with the
21	Commodities Future Trading Com-
22	mission as provided under the Com-
23	modity Exchange Act; and
24	(II) the Securities and Exchange
25	Commission or the Commodities Fu-

1	ture Trading Commission, respec-
2	tively;
3	relating to the regulatory responsibilities of
4	such organization under that Act.
5	(9) Lobbying firm.—The term ''lobbying
6	firm" means a person or entity that has 1 or more
7	employees who are lobbyists on behalf of a client
8	other than that person or entity. The term also in-
9	cludes a self-employed individual who is a lobbyist.
10	(10) Lobbyist.—The term "lobbyist" means
11	any individual who is employed or retained by a cli-
12	ent for financial or other compensation for services
13	that include more than one lobbying contact, other
14	than an individual whose lobbying activities con-
15	stitute less than 20 percent of the time engaged in
16	the services provided by such individual to that cli-
17	ent over a six month period.
18	(11) Media organization.—The term "media
19	organization" means a person or entity engaged in
20	disseminating information to the general public
21	through a newspaper, magazine, other publication,
22	radio, television, cable television, or other medium of
23	mass communication.
24	(12) Member of congress.—The term

"Member of Congress" means a Senator or a Rep-

1	resentative in, or Delegate or Resident Commis-
2	sioner to, the Congress.
3	(13) Organization.—The term "organization"
4	means a person or entity other than an individual.
5	(14) Person or entity.—The term "person
6	or entity" means any individual, corporation, com-
7	pany, foundation, association, labor organization,
8	firm, partnership, society, joint stock company,
9	group of organizations, or State or local government.
10	(15) Public official.—The term "public offi-
11	cial" means any elected official, appointed official, or
12	employee of—
13	(A) a Federal, State, or local unit of gov-
14	ernment in the United States other than—
15	(i) a college or university;
16	(ii) a government-sponsored enterprise
17	(as defined in section 3(8) of the Congres-
18	sional Budget and Impoundment Control
19	Act of 1974);
20	(iii) a public utility that provides gas,
21	electricity, water, or communications;
22	(iv) a guaranty agency (as defined in
23	section 435(j) of the Higher Education Act
24	of 1965 (20 U.S.C. 1085(j))), including
25	any affiliate of such an agency; or

1	(v) an agency of any State functioning
2	as a student loan secondary market pursu-
3	ant to section 435(d)(1)(F) of the Higher
4	Education Act of 1965 (20 U.S.C.
5	1085(d)(1)(F));
6	(B) a Government corporation (as defined
7	in section 9101 of title 31, United States
8	Code);
9	(C) an organization of State or local elect-
10	ed or appointed officials other than officials of
11	an entity described in clause (i), (ii), (iii), (iv),
12	or (v) of subparagraph (A);
13	(D) an Indian tribe (as defined in section
14	4(e) of the Indian Self-Determination and Edu-
15	cation Assistance Act (25 U.S.C. 450b(e));
16	(E) a national or State political party or
17	any organizational unit thereof; or
18	(F) a national, regional, or local unit of
19	any foreign government.
20	(16) STATE.—The term "State" means each of
21	the several States, the District of Columbia, and any
22	commonwealth, territory, or possession of the United
23	States.
24	SEC. 4. REGISTRATION OF LOBBYISTS.
25	(a) Registration.—

1	(1) GENERAL RULE.—No later than 45 days
2	after a lobbyist first makes a lobbying contact or is
3	employed or retained to make a lobbying contact
4	whichever is earlier, such lobbyist (or, as provided
5	under paragraph (2), the organization employing
6	such lobbyist), shall register with the Secretary of
7	the Senate and the Clerk of the House of Represent-
8	atives.
9	(2) Employer filing.—Any organization that
10	has 1 or more employees who are lobbyists shall file
11	a single registration under this section on behalf of
12	such employees for each client on whose behalf the
13	employees act as lobbyists.
14	(3) Exemption.—
15	(A) General rule.—Notwithstanding
16	paragraphs (1) and (2), a person or entity
17	whose—
18	(i) total income for matters related to
19	lobbying activities on behalf of a particular
20	client (in the case of a lobbying firm) does
21	not exceed and is not expected to exceed
22	\$5,000; or

(ii) total expenses in connection with

lobbying activities (in the case of an orga-

nization whose employees engage in lobby-

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1	ing activities on its own behalf) do not ex-
2	ceed or are not expected to exceed
3	\$20,000,
4	(as estimated under section 5) in the semi-
5	annual period described in section 5(a) during
6	which the registration would be made is not re-
7	quired to register under subsection (a) with re-
8	spect to such client.
9	(B) Adjustment.—The dollar amounts in
10	subparagraph (A) shall be adjusted—
11	(i) on January 1, 1997, to reflect
12	changes in the Consumer Price Index (as
13	determined by the Secretary of Labor)
14	since the date of enactment of this Act;
15	and
16	(ii) on January 1 of each fourth year
17	occurring after January 1, 1997, to reflect
18	changes in the Consumer Price Index (as
19	determined by the Secretary of Labor)
20	during the preceding 4-year period,
21	rounded to the nearest \$500.
22	(b) Contents of Registration.—Each registra-
23	tion under this section shall contain—
24	(1) the name, address, business telephone num-
25	ber, and principal place of business of the registrant.

1	and a general description of its business or activi-
2	ties;
3	(2) the name, address, and principal place of
4	business of the registrant's client, and a general de-
5	scription of its business or activities (if different
6	from paragraph (1));
7	(3) the name, address, and principal place of
8	business of any organization, other than the client,
9	that—
10	(A) contributes more than \$10,000 toward
11	the lobbying activities of the registrant in a
12	semiannual period described in section 5(a);
13	and
14	(B) in whole or in major part plans, super-
15	vises, or controls such lobbying activities.
16	(4) the name, address, principal place of busi-
17	ness, amount of any contribution of more than
18	\$10,000 to the lobbying activities of the registrant,
19	and approximate percentage of equitable ownership
20	in the client (if any) of any foreign entity that—
21	(A) holds at least 20 percent equitable
22	ownership in the client or any organization
23	identified under paragraph (3);
24	(B) directly or indirectly, in whole or in
25	major part, plans, supervises, controls, directs.

finances, or subsidizes the activities of the client or any organization identified under paragraph (3); or

(C) is an affiliate of the client or any organization identified under paragraph (3) and has

- (C) is an affiliate of the client or any organization identified under paragraph (3) and has a direct interest in the outcome of the lobbying activity;
- (5) a statement of—

- (A) the general issue areas in which the registrant expects to engage in lobbying activities on behalf of the client; and
- (B) to the extent practicable, specific issues that have (as of the date of the registration) already been addressed or are likely to be addressed in lobbying activities; and
- (6) the name of each employee of the registrant who has acted or whom the registrant expects to act as a lobbyist on behalf of the client and, if any such employee has served as a covered executive branch official or a covered legislative branch official in the 2 years before the date on which such employee first acted (after the date of enactment of this Act) as a lobbyist on behalf of the client, the position in which such employee served.
- (c) Guidelines for Registration.—

- 1 (1) MULTIPLE CLIENTS.—In the case of a reg-2 istrant making lobbying contacts on behalf of more 3 than 1 client, a separate registration under this sec-4 tion shall be filed for each such client.
- 5 (2) MULTIPLE CONTACTS.—A registrant who
 6 makes more than 1 lobbying contact for the same
 7 client shall file a single registration covering all such
 8 lobbying contacts.
- 9 (d) TERMINATION OF REGISTRATION.—A registrant
 10 who after registration—
- 11 (1) is no longer employed or retained by a cli-12 ent to conduct lobbying activities, and
- (2) does not anticipate any additional lobbyingactivities for such client,
- 15 may so notify the Secretary of the Senate and the Clerk
- 16 of the House of Representatives and terminate its reg-
- 17 istration.

18 SEC. 5. REPORTS BY REGISTERED LOBBYISTS.

- 19 (a) Semiannual Report.—No later than 45 days
- 20 after the end of the semiannual period beginning on the
- 21 first day of each January and the first day of July of each
- 22 year in which a registrant is registered under section 4,
- 23 each registrant shall file a report with the Secretary of
- 24 the Senate and the Clerk of the House of Representatives
- 25 on its lobbying activities during such semiannual period.

1	A separate report shall be filed for each client of the reg-
2	istrant.
3	(b) CONTENTS OF REPORT.—Each semiannual re-
4	port filed under subsection (a) shall contain—
5	(1) the name of the registrant, the name of the
6	client, and any changes or updates to the informa-
7	tion provided in the initial registration;
8	(2) for each general issue area in which the reg-
9	istrant engaged in lobbying activities on behalf of
10	the client during the semiannual filing period—
11	(A) a list of the specific issues upon which
12	a lobbyist employed by the registrant engaged
13	in lobbying activities, including, to the maxi-
14	mum extent practicable, a list of bill numbers
15	and references to specific executive branch ac-
16	tions;
17	(B) a statement of the Houses of Congress
18	and the Federal agencies contacted by lobbyists
19	employed by the registrant on behalf of the cli-
20	ent;
21	(C) a list of the employees of the registrant
22	who acted as lobbyists on behalf of the client;
23	and
24	(D) a description of the interest, if any, of
25	any foreign entity identified under section

- 1 4(b)(4) in the specific issues listed under sub-2 paragraph (A).
- 3 (3) in the case of a lobbying firm, a good faith
 4 estimate of the total amount of all income from the
 5 client (including any payments to the registrant by
 6 any other person for lobbying activities on behalf of
 7 the client) during the semiannual period, other than
 8 income for matters that are unrelated to lobbying
 9 activities; and
 - (4) in the case of a registrant engaged in lobbying activities on its own behalf, a good faith estimate of the total expenses that the registrant and its employees incurred in connection with lobbying activities during the semiannual filing period.
- 15 (c) ESTIMATES OF INCOME OR EXPENSES.—For pur-16 poses of this section, estimates of income or expenses shall 17 be made as follows:
 - (1) Estimates of amounts in excess of \$10,000 shall be rounded to the nearest \$20,000.
 - (2) In the event income or expenses do not exceed \$10,000, the registrant shall include a statement that income or expenses totaled less than \$10,000 for the reporting period.
- 24 (3) A registrant that reports lobbying expendi-25 tures pursuant to section 6033(b)(8) of the Internal

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1	Revenue Code of 1986 may satisfy the requirement
2	to report income or expenses by filing with the Sec-
3	retary of the Senate and the Clerk of the House of
4	Representatives a copy of the form filed in accord-
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5	ance with section 6033(b)(8).
6	SEC. 6. DISCLOSURE AND ENFORCEMENT.
7	The Secretary of the Senate and the Clerk of the
8	House of Representatives shall—
9	(1) provide guidance and assistance on the reg-
10	istration and reporting requirements of this Act and
11	develop common standards, rules, and procedures for
12	compliance with this Act;
13	(2) review, and, where necessary, verify and in-
14	quire to ensure the accuracy, completeness, and
15	timeliness of registration and reports;
16	(3) develop filing, coding, and cross-indexing
17	systems to carry out the purpose of this Act, includ-
18	ing—
19	(A) a publicly available list of all registered
20	lobbyists, lobbying firms, and their clients; and
21	(B) computerized systems designed to min-
22	imize the burden of filing and maximize public
23	access to materials filed under this Act;

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1	(4) make available for public inspection and
2	copying at reasonable times the registrations and re-
3	ports filed under this Act;
4	(5) retain registrations for a period of at least
5	6 years after they are terminated and reports for a
6	period of at least 6 years after they are filed;
7	(6) compile and summarize, with respect to
8	each semiannual period, the information contained
9	in registrations and reports filed with respect to
10	such period in a clear and complete manner;
11	(7) notify any lobbyist or lobbying firm in writ-
12	ing that may be in noncompliance with this Act; and
13	(8) notify the United States Attorney for the
14	District of Columbia that a lobbyist or lobbying firm
15	may be in noncompliance with this Act, if the reg-
16	istrant has been notified in writing and has failed to
17	provide an appropriate response within 60 days after
18	notice was given under paragraph (6).
19	SEC. 7. PENALTIES.
20	Whoever knowingly fails to—
21	(1) remedy a defective filing within 60 days
22	after notice of such a defect by the Secretary of the

Senate or the Clerk of the House of Representatives;

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or

- 1 (2) comply with any other provision of this Act;
 2 shall, upon proof of such knowing violation by a pre3 ponderance of the evidence, be subject to a civil fine
 4 of not more than \$50,000, depending on the extent
 5 and gravity of the violation.
 6 **SEC. 8. RULES OF CONSTRUCTION.**
- 7 (a) CONSTITUTIONAL RIGHTS.—Nothing in this Act 8 shall be construed to prohibit or interfere with—
- 9 (1) the right to petition the government for the 10 redress of grievances;
 - (2) the right to express a personal opinion; or
- 12 (3) the right of association,
- 13 protected by the first amendment to the Constitution.
- 14 (b) Prohibition of Activities.—Nothing in this
- 15 Act shall be construed to prohibit, or to authorize any
- 16 court to prohibit, lobbying activities or lobbying contacts
- 17 by any person or entity, regardless of whether such person
- 18 or entity is in compliance with the requirements of this
- 19 Act.

- 20 (c) AUDIT AND INVESTIGATIONS.—Nothing in this
- 21 Act shall be construed to grant general audit or investiga-
- 22 tive authority to the Secretary of the Senate or the Clerk
- 23 of the House of Representatives.

1	SEC. 9. AMENDMENTS TO THE FOREIGN AGENTS REG-
2	ISTRATION ACT.
3	The Foreign Agents Registration Act of 1938 (22
4	U.S.C. 611 et seq.) is amended—
5	(1) in section 1—
6	(A) by striking subsection (j);
7	(B) in subsection (o) by striking "the dis-
8	semination of political propaganda and any
9	other activity which the person engaging therein
10	believes will, or which he intends to, prevail
11	upon, indoctrinate, convert, induce, persuade,
12	or in any other way influence" and inserting
13	"any activity that the person engaging in be-
14	lieves will, or that the person intends to, in any
15	way influence";
16	(C) in subsection (p) by striking the semi-
17	colon and inserting a period; and
18	(D) by striking subsection (q);
19	(2) in section 3(g) (22 U.S.C. 613(g)), by strik-
20	ing "established agency proceedings, whether formal
21	or informal." and inserting "judicial proceedings,
22	criminal or civil law enforcement inquiries, investiga-
23	tions, or proceedings, or agency proceedings required
24	by statute or regulation to be conducted on the
25	record.'';

1	(3) in section 3 (22 U.S.C. 613) by adding at
2	the end the following:
3	"(h) Any agent of a person described in section
4	1(b)(2) or an entity described in section 1(b)(3) if the
5	agent is required to register and does register under the
6	Lobbying Disclosure Act of 1995 in connection with the
7	agent's representation of such person or entity.";
8	(4) in section 4(a) (22 U.S.C. 614(a))—
9	(A) by striking "political propaganda" and
10	inserting "informational materials"; and
11	(B) by striking "and a statement, duly
12	signed by or on behalf of such an agent, setting
13	forth full information as to the places, times,
14	and extent of such transmittal";
15	(5) in section 4(b) (22 U.S.C. 614(b))—
16	(A) in the matter preceding clause (i), by
17	striking ''political propaganda'' and inserting
18	"informational materials"; and
19	(B) by striking "(i) in the form of prints,
20	or" and all that follows through the end of the
21	subsection and inserting "without placing in
22	such informational materials a conspicuous
23	statement that the materials are distributed by
24	the agent on behalf of the foreign principal, and
25	that additional information is on file with the

1	Department of Justice, Washington, District of
2	Columbia. The Attorney General may by rule
3	define what constitutes a conspicuous statement
4	for the purposes of this subsection.";
5	(6) in section 4(c) (22 U.S.C. 614(c)), by strik-
6	ing "political propaganda" and inserting "informa-
7	tional materials";
8	(7) in section 6 (22 U.S.C. 616)—
9	(A) in subsection (a) by striking "and all
10	statements concerning the distribution of politi-
11	cal propaganda'';
12	(B) in subsection (b) by striking ", and
13	one copy of every item of political propaganda";
14	and
15	(C) in subsection (c) by striking "copies of
16	political propaganda,'';
17	(8) in section 8 (22 U.S.C. 618)—
18	(A) in subsection (a)(2) by striking "or in
19	any statement under section 4(a) hereof con-
20	cerning the distribution of political propa-
21	ganda''; and
22	(B) by striking subsection (d); and
23	(9) in section 11 (22 U.S.C. 621) by striking
24	", including the nature, sources, and content of po-
25	litical propaganda disseminated or distributed".

SEC. 10. AMENDMENTS TO THE BYRD AMENDMENT.

2	(a) REVISED CERTIFICATION REQUIREMENTS.—Sec-
3	tion 1352(b) of title 31, United States Code, is amended—
4	(1) in paragraph (2) by striking subparagraphs
5	(A), (B), and (C) and inserting the following:
6	"(A) the name of any registrant under the
7	Lobbying Disclosure Act of 1995 who has made
8	lobbying contacts on behalf of the person with
9	respect to that Federal contract, grant, loan, or
10	cooperative agreement; and
11	"(B) a certification that the person making
12	the declaration has not made, and will not
13	make, any payment prohibited by subsection
14	(a).'';
15	(2) in paragraph (3) by striking all that follows
16	"loan shall contain" and inserting "the name of any
17	registrant under the Lobbying Disclosure Act of
18	1995 who has made lobbying contacts on behalf of
19	the person in connection with that loan insurance or
20	guarantee.''; and
21	(3) by striking paragraph (6) and redesignating
22	paragraph (7) as paragraph (6).
23	(b) Removal of Obsolete Reporting Require-
24	MENT.—Section 1352 of title 31, United States Code, is
25	further amended—
26	(1) by striking subsection (d); and

- 1 (2) by redesignating subsections (e), (f), (g),
- and (h) as subsections (d), (e), (f), and (g), respec-
- 3 tively.
- 4 SEC. 11. REPEAL OF CERTAIN LOBBYING PROVISIONS.
- 5 (a) Repeal of the Federal Regulation of Lob-
- 6 BYING ACT.—The Federal Regulation of Lobbying Act (2
- 7 U.S.C. 261 et seq.) is repealed.
- 8 (b) Repeal of Provisions Relating to Housing
- 9 Lobbyist Activities.—
- 10 (1) Section 13 of the Department of Housing
- and Urban Development Act (42 U.S.C. 3537b) is
- repealed.
- 13 (2) Section 536(d) of the Housing Act of 1949
- 14 (42 U.S.C. 1490p(d)) is repealed.
- 15 SEC. 12. CONFORMING AMENDMENTS TO OTHER STATUTES.
- 16 (a) Amendment to Competitiveness Policy
- 17 COUNCIL ACT.—Section 5206(e) of the Competitiveness
- 18 Policy Council Act (15 U.S.C. 4804(e)) is amended by in-
- 19 serting "or a lobbyist for a foreign entity (as the terms
- 20 'lobbyist' and 'foreign entity' are defined under section 3
- 21 of the Lobbying Disclosure Act of 1995)" after "an agent
- 22 for a foreign principal".
- 23 (b) Amendments to Title 18, United States
- 24 Code.—Section 219(a) of title 18, United States Code,
- 25 is amended—

- 1 (1) by inserting "or a lobbyist required to reg2 ister under the Lobbying Disclosure Act of 1995 in
 3 connection with the representation of a foreign en4 tity, as defined in section 3(7) of that Act" after
 5 "an agent of a foreign principal required to register
 6 under the Foreign Agents Registration Act of
 7 1938"; and
- 8 (2) by striking out ", as amended,".
- 9 (c) Amendment to Foreign Service Act of
- 10 1980.—Section 602(c) of the Foreign Service Act of 1980
- 11 (22 U.S.C. 4002(c)) is amended by inserting "or a lobby-
- 12 ist for a foreign entity (as defined in section 3(7) of the
- 13 Lobbying Disclosure Act of 1995)" after "an agent of a
- 14 foreign principal (as defined by section 1(b) of the Foreign
- 15 Agents Registration Act of 1938)".
- 16 SEC. 13. SEVERABILITY.
- 17 If any provision of this Act, or the application there-
- 18 of, is held invalid, the validity of the remainder of this
- 19 Act and the application of such provision to other persons
- 20 and circumstances shall not be affected thereby.
- 21 SEC. 14. IDENTIFICATION OF CLIENTS AND COVERED OFFI-
- 22 CIALS.
- 23 (a) Oral Lobbying Contacts.—Any person or en-
- 24 tity that makes an oral lobbying contact with a covered
- 25 legislative branch official or a covered executive branch of-

- 1 ficial shall, on the request of the official at the time of2 the lobbying contact—
- 3 (1) state whether the person or entity is reg-4 istered under this Act and identify the client on 5 whose behalf the lobbying contact is made; and
- (2) state whether such client is a foreign entity and identify any foreign entity required to be disclosed under section 4(b)(4) that has a direct interest in the outcome of the lobbying activity.
- 10 (b) WRITTEN LOBBYING CONTACTS.—Any person or 11 entity registered under this Act that makes a written lob-12 bying contact (including an electronic communication) 13 with a covered legislative branch official or a covered exec-14 utive branch official shall—
 - (1) if the client on whose behalf the lobbying contact was made is a foreign entity, identify such client, state that the client is considered a foreign entity under this Act, and state whether the person making the lobbying contact is registered on behalf of that client under section 4; and
- 21 (2) identify any other foreign entity identified 22 pursuant to section 4(b)(4) that has a direct interest 23 in the outcome of the lobbying activity.
- 24 (c) IDENTIFICATION AS COVERED OFFICIAL.—Upon 25 request by a person or entity making a lobbying contact,

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- 1 the individual who is contacted or the office employing
- 2 that individual shall indicate whether or not the individual
- 3 is a covered legislative branch official or a covered execu-
- 4 tive branch official.

5 SEC. 15. ESTIMATES BASED ON TAX REPORTING SYSTEM.

- 6 (a) Entities Covered by Section 6033(b) of the
- 7 INTERNAL REVENUE CODE OF 1986.—A registrant that
- 8 is required to report and does report lobbying expenditures
- 9 pursuant to section 6033(b)(8) of the Internal Revenue
- 10 Code of 1986 may—
- 11 (1) make a good faith estimate (by category of
- dollar value) of applicable amounts that would be re-
- quired to be disclosed under such section for the ap-
- propriate semiannual period to meet the require-
- ments of sections 4(a)(3), 5(a)(2), and 5(b)(4); and
- 16 (2) in lieu of using the definition of "lobbying
- activities" in section 3(8) of this Act, consider as
- lobbying activities only those activities that are influ-
- encing legislation as defined in section 4911(d) of
- the Internal Revenue Code of 1986.
- 21 (b) Entities Covered by Section 162(e) of the
- 22 Internal Revenue Code of 1986.—A registrant that
- 23 is subject to section 162(e) of the Internal Revenue Code
- 24 of 1986 may—

- (1) make a good faith estimate (by category of dollar value) of applicable amounts that would not be deductible pursuant to such section for the appropriate semiannual period to meet the requirements of sections 4(a)(3), 5(a)(2), and 5(b)(4); and
 (2) in lieu of using the definition of "lobbying"
 - (2) in lieu of using the definition of "lobbying activities" in section 3(8) of this Act, consider as lobbying activities only those activities, the costs of which are not deductible pursuant to section 162(e) of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986.
- 11 (c) DISCLOSURE OF ESTIMATE.—Any registrant that
 12 elects to make estimates required by this Act under the
 13 procedures authorized by subsection (a) or (b) for report14 ing or threshold purposes shall—
- (1) inform the Secretary of the Senate and the
 Clerk of the House of Representatives that the registrant has elected to make its estimates under such
 procedures; and
- (2) make all such estimates, in a given calendaryear, under such procedures.
- 21 (d) STUDY.—Not later than March 31, 1997, the
- 22 Comptroller General of the United States shall review re-
- 23 porting by registrants under subsections (a) and (b) and
- 24 report to the Congress—

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- 1 (1) the differences between the definition of "lobbying activities" in section 3(8) and the definitions of "lobbying expenditures", "influencing legislation", and related terms in sections 162(e) and 4911 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986, as each
- 7 (2) the impact that any such differences may 8 have on filing and reporting under this Act pursuant 9 to this subsection; and

are implemented by regulations;

- 10 (3) any changes to this Act or to the appro-11 priate sections of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 12 that the Comptroller General may recommend to 13 harmonize the definitions.
- 14 SEC. 16. REPEAL OF THE RAMSPECK ACT.
- 15 (a) Repeal.—Subsection (c) of section 3304 of title 16 5, United States Code, is repealed.
- 17 (b) REDESIGNATION.—Subsection (d) of section 3304
 18 of title 5, United States Code, is redesignated as sub19 section (c).
- 20 (c) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The repeal and amendment 21 made by this section shall take effect 2 years after the 22 date of the enactment of this Act.

1	SEC. 17. EXCEPTED SERVICE AND OTHER EXPERIENCE
2	CONSIDERATIONS FOR COMPETITIVE SERV-
3	ICE APPOINTMENTS.
4	(a) IN GENERAL.—Section 3304 of title 5, United
5	States Code (as amended by section 2 of this Act) is fur-
6	ther amended by adding at the end thereof the following
7	new subsection:
8	"(d) The Office of Personnel Management shall pro-
9	mulgate regulations on the manner and extent that experi-
10	ence of an individual in a position other than the competi-
11	tive service, such as the excepted service (as defined under
12	section 2103) in the legislative or judicial branch, or in
13	any private or nonprofit enterprise, may be considered in
14	making appointments to a position in the competitive serv-
15	ice (as defined under section 2102). In promulgating such
16	regulations OPM shall not grant any preference based on
17	the fact of service in the legislative or judicial branch. The
18	regulations shall be consistent with the principles of equi-
19	table competition and merit based appointments.".
20	(b) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendment made by
21	this section shall take effect 2 years after the date of the
22	enactment of this Act, except the Office of Personnel Man-
23	agement shall—
24	(1) conduct a study on excepted service consid-
25	erations for competitive service appointments relat-
26	ing to such amendment; and

- 1 (2) take all necessary actions for the regula-
- 2 tions described under such amendment to take effect
- as final regulations on the effective date of this sec-
- 4 tion.

5 SEC. 18. EXEMPT ORGANIZATIONS.

- 6 An organization described in section 501(c)(4) of the
- 7 Internal Revenue Code of 1986 which engages in lobbying
- 8 activities shall not be eligible for the receipt of Federal
- 9 funds constituting an award, grant, contract, loan, or any
- 10 other form.
- 11 SEC. 19. AMENDMENT TO THE FOREIGN AGENTS REGISTRA-
- 12 TION ACT (P.L. 75-583).
- 13 Strike section 11 of the Foreign Agents Registration
- 14 Act of 1938, as amended, and insert in lieu thereof the
- 15 following:
- 16 "Section 11. Reports to the Congress.—The
- 17 Attorney General shall every six months report to the Con-
- 18 gress concerning administration of this Act, including reg-
- 19 istrations filed pursuant to the Act, and the nature,
- 20 sources and content of political propaganda disseminated
- 21 and distributed.".
- 22 SEC. 20. DISCLOSURE OF THE VALUE OF ASSETS UNDER
- 23 THE ETHICS IN GOVERNMENT ACT OF 1978.
- 24 (a) INCOME.—Section 102(a)(1)(B) of the Ethics in
- 25 Government Act of 1978 is amended—

1	(1) in clause (vii) by striking "or"; and
2	(2) by striking clause (viii) and inserting the
3	following:
4	"(viii) greater than \$1,000,000 but not
5	more than \$5,000,000, or
6	"(ix) greater than \$5,000,000.".
7	(b) Assets and Liabilities.—Section 102(d)(1) of
8	the Ethics in Government Act of 1978 is amended—
9	(1) in subparagraph (F) by striking "and"; and
10	(2) by striking subparagraph (G) and inserting
11	the following:
12	"(G) greater than \$1,000,000 but not
13	more than \$5,000,000;
14	"(H) greater than \$5,000,000 but not
15	more than \$25,000,000;
16	"(I) greater than \$25,000,000 but not
17	more than \$50,000,000; and
18	"(J) greater than \$50,000,000.".
19	(c) Exception.—Section 102(e)(1) of the Ethics in
20	Government Act of 1978 is amended by adding after sub-
21	paragraph (E) the following:
22	"(F) For purposes of this section, cat-
23	egories with amounts or values greater than
24	1,000,000 set forth in sections $102(a)(1)(B)$
25	and 102(d)(1) shall apply to the income, assets,

1	or liabilities of spouses and dependent children
2	only if the income, assets, or liabilities are held
3	jointly with the reporting individual. All other
4	income, assets, or liabilities of the spouse or de-
5	pendent children required to be reported under
6	this section in an amount or value greater than
7	\$1,000,000 shall be categorized only as an
8	amount or value greater than \$1,000,000.".
9	SEC. 21. BAN ON TRADE REPRESENTATIVE REPRESENTING
10	OR ADVISING FOREIGN ENTITIES.
11	(a) Representing After Service.—Section
12	207(f)(2) of title 18, United States Code, is amended by—
13	(1) inserting "or Deputy United States Trade
14	Representative" after "is the United States Trade
15	Representative"; and
16	(2) striking "within 3 years" and inserting "at
17	any time''.
18	(b) Limitation on Appointment as United
19	STATES TRADE REPRESENTATIVE AND DEPUTY UNITED
20	STATES TRADE REPRESENTATIVE.—Section 141(b) of the
21	Trade Act of 1974 (19 U.S.C. 2171(b)) is amended by
22	adding at the end the following new paragraph:
23	"(3) Limitation on appointments.—A per-
24	son who has directly represented, aided, or advised
25	a foreign entity (as defined by section 207(f)(3) of

- title 18, United States Code) in any trade negotia-
- tion, or trade dispute, with the United States may
- anot be appointed as United States Trade Represent-
- 4 ative or as a Deputy United States Trade Rep-
- 5 resentative.".
- 6 (c) Effective Date.—The amendments made by
- 7 this section shall apply with respect to an individual ap-
- 8 pointed as United States Trade Representative or as a
- 9 Deputy United States Trade Representative on or after
- 10 the date of enactment of this Act.
- 11 SEC. 22. FINANCIAL DISCLOSURE OF INTEREST IN QUALI-
- 12 FIED BLIND TRUST.
- 13 (a) IN GENERAL.—Section 102(a) of the Ethics in
- 14 Government Act of 1978 is amended by adding at the end
- 15 thereof the following:
- 16 "(8) The category of the total cash value of any
- interest of the reporting individual in a qualified
- blind trust, unless the trust instrument was executed
- prior to July 24, 1995 and precludes the beneficiary
- from receiving information on the total cash value of
- any interest in the qualified blind trust.".
- 22 (b) Conforming Amendment.—Section 102(d)(1)
- 23 of the Ethics in Government Act of 1978 is amended by
- 24 striking "and (5) and inserting "(5), and (8)".
- 25 (c) Effective Date.—

1	(1) In general.—Except as provided in para-
2	graph (2), the amendment made by this section shall
3	apply with respect to reports filed under title I of
4	the Ethics in Government Act of 1978 for calendar
5	year 1996 and thereafter.
6	SEC. 23. SENSE OF THE SENATE THAT LOBBYING EXPENSES
7	SHOULD REMAIN NONDEDUCTIBLE.
8	(a) Findings.—The Senate finds that ordinary
9	Americans generally are not allowed to deduct the costs
10	of communicating with their elected representatives.
11	(b) Sense of the Senate.—It is the sense of the
12	Senate that lobbying expenses should not be tax deduct-
13	ible.
14	SEC. 24. EFFECTIVE DATES.
15	(a) Except as otherwise provided in this section, this
16	Act and the amendments made by this Act shall take ef-
17	fect on January 1, 1996.
18	(b) The repeals and amendments made under sec-
19	tions 13, 14, 15, and 16 shall take effect as provided
20	under subsection (a), except that such repeals and amend-
21	ments—
22	(1) shall not affect any proceeding or suit com-
23	menced before the effective date under subsection
24	(a), and in all such proceedings or suits, proceedings
25	shall be had, appeals taken, and judgments rendered

1	in the same manner and with the same effect as if
2	this Act had not been enacted; and
3	(2) shall not affect the requirements of Federal
4	agencies to compile, publish, and retain information
5	filed or received before the effective date of such re-
6	peals and amendments.

Passed the Senate July 25 (legislative day, July 10), 1995.

Attest:

Secretary.

104TH CONGRESS S. 1060

AN ACT

To provide for the disclosure of lobbying activities to influence the Federal Government, and for other purposes.

S 1060 ES——2
S 1060 ES——3
S 1060 ES——4
S 1060 ES——5