105TH CONGRESS 1ST SESSION

## H. R. 458

To amend the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 to ban soft money in elections for Federal office, and for other purposes.

## IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

January 21, 1997

Mr. Clement introduced the following bill; which was referred to the Committee on House Oversight

## A BILL

To amend the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 to ban soft money in elections for Federal office, 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 "Campaign Truth and
- 5 Fairness Act of 1997".
- 6 SEC. 2. BAN ON SOFT MONEY IN ELECTIONS FOR FEDERAL
- 7 **OFFICE.**
- 8 (a) Soft Money of Committees of Political
- 9 Parties.—Title III of the Federal Election Campaign Act

of 1971 is amended by adding at the end the following 2 new section: 3 "SOFT MONEY OF POLITICAL PARTY COMMITTEES "Sec. 323. (a) Limitations on National Commit-4 TEE.—(1) A national committee of a political party and 5 the congressional campaign committees of a political party 6 7 may not solicit or accept contributions or transfers not subject to the limitations, prohibitions, and reporting re-8 9 quirements of this Act. "(2) Paragraph (1) shall not apply to contributions— 10 "(A) that— 11 12 "(i) are to be transferred to a State com-13 mittee of a political party and are used solely 14 for activities described in clauses (xi) through 15 (xvii) of paragraph (9)(B) of section 301; or "(ii) 16 described are in section 17 301(8)(B)(viii); and "(B) with respect to which contributors have 18 19 been notified that the funds will be used solely for 20 the purposes described in subparagraph (A). "(b) ACTIVITIES SUBJECT TO THIS ACT.—Any 21 22 amount solicited, received, expended, or disbursed directly or indirectly by a national, State, district, or local commit-23 tee of a political party with respect to any of the following activities shall be subject to the limitations, prohibitions, 25 and reporting requirements of this Act:

1	"(1)(A) Any get-out-the-vote activity conducted
2	during a calendar year in which an election for the
3	office of President is held.
4	"(B) Any other get-out-the-vote activity unless
5	subsection $(c)(2)$ applies to the activity.
6	"(2) Any generic campaign activity.
7	"(3) Any activity that identifies or promotes a
8	Federal candidate, regardless of whether—
9	"(A) a State or local candidate is also
10	identified or promoted; or
11	"(B) any portion of the funds disbursed
12	constitutes a contribution or expenditure under
13	this Act.
14	"(4) Voter registration.
15	"(5) Development and maintenance of voter
16	files during an even-numbered calendar year.
17	"(6) Any other activity that—
18	"(A) significantly affects a Federal elec-
19	tion, or
20	"(B) is not otherwise described in section
21	301(9)(B)(xvii).
22	Any amount spent to raise funds that are used, in whole
23	or in part, in connection with activities described in the
24	preceding paragraphs shall be subject to the limitations,
25	prohibitions, and reporting requirements of this Act.

- "(c) Get-Out-The-Vote Activities By State, 1 DISTRICT, AND LOCAL COMMITTEES OF POLITICAL PAR-TIES.—(1) Except as provided in paragraph (2), any get-3 out-the-vote activity for a State or local candidate, or for 5 a ballot measure, which is conducted by a State, district, 6 or local committee of a political party shall be subject to the limitations, prohibitions, and reporting requirements 8 of this Act. 9 "(2) Paragraph (1) shall not apply to any activity 10 which the State committee of a political party certifies to the Commission is an activity which— 12 "(A) is conducted during a calendar year other 13 than a calendar year in which an election for the of-14 fice of President is held, "(B) is exclusively on behalf of (and specifically 15 16 identifies only) one or more State or local candidates 17 or ballot measures, and 18 "(C) does not include any effort or means used
- "(C) does not include any effort or means used to identify or turn out those identified to be supporters of any Federal candidate (including any activity that is undertaken in coordination with, or on behalf of, a candidate for Federal office).
- 23 "(d) State Party Grassroots Funds.—(1) A 24 State committee of a political party may make disburse-

ments and expenditures from its State Party Grassroots 2 Fund only for— 3 "(A) any generic campaign activity; "(B) payments described in clauses (v), (x), and 5 (xii) of paragraph (8)(B) and clauses (iv), (viii), and 6 (ix) of paragraph (9)(B) of section 301; "(C) subject to the limitations of section 7 8 315(d), payments described in clause (xii) of para-9 graph (8)(B), and clause (ix) of paragraph (9)(B), of section 301 on behalf of candidates other than for 10 11 President and Vice President; 12 "(D) voter registration; and "(E) development and maintenance of voter 13 14 files during an even-numbered calendar year. 15 "(2) Notwithstanding section 315(a)(4), no funds may be transferred by a State committee of a political 16 party from its State Party Grassroots Fund to any other 17 18 State Party Grassroots Fund or to any other political com-19 mittee, except a transfer may be made to a district or local 20 committee of the same political party in the same State 21 if such district or local committee— 22 "(A) has established a separate segregated fund 23 for the purposes described in paragraph (1); and 24 "(B) uses the transferred funds solely for those 25 purposes.

1	"(e) Amounts Received by Grassroots Fund
2	FROM STATE AND LOCAL CANDIDATE COMMITTEES.—(1)
3	Any amount received by a State Party Grassroots Fund
4	from a State or local candidate committee for expenditures
5	described in subsection (b) that are for the benefit of that
6	candidate shall be treated as meeting the requirements of
7	subsection (b) if—
8	"(A) such amount is derived from funds which
9	meet the requirements of this Act with respect to
10	any limitation or prohibition as to source or dollar
11	amount specified in section 315(a) (1)(A) and
12	(2)(A); and
13	"(B) the State or local candidate committee—
14	"(i) maintains, in the account from which
15	payment is made, records of the sources and
16	amounts of funds for purposes of determining
17	whether such requirements are met; and
18	"(ii) certifies that such requirements were
19	met.
20	"(2) For purposes of paragraph (1)(A), in determin-
21	ing whether the funds transferred meet the requirements
22	of this Act described in such paragraph—
23	"(A) a State or local candidate committee's
24	cash on hand shall be treated as consisting of the
25	funds most recently received by the committee, and

1	"(B) the committee must be able to dem-
2	onstrate that its cash on hand contains sufficient
3	funds meeting such requirements as are necessary to
4	cover the transferred funds.
5	"(3) Notwithstanding paragraph (1), any State Party
6	Grassroots Fund receiving any transfer described in para-
7	graph (1) from a State or local candidate committee shall
8	be required to meet the reporting requirements of this Act,
9	and shall submit to the Commission all certifications re-
10	ceived, with respect to receipt of the transfer from such
11	candidate committee.
12	"(4) For purposes of this subsection, a State or local
13	candidate committee is a committee established, financed,
14	maintained, or controlled by a candidate for other than
15	Federal office.
16	"(f) Related Entities.—The provisions of this Act
17	shall apply to any entity that is established, financed, or
18	maintained by a national committee or State committee
19	of a political party in the same manner as they apply to
20	the national or State committee."
21	(b) Contributions and Expenditures.—
22	(1) Contributions.—Section 301(8)(B) of
23	such Act (2 U.S.C. 431(8)(B)) is amended—
24	(A) by striking "and" at the end of clause
25	(xiii);

1	(B) by striking clause (xiv); and
2	(C) by adding at the end the following new
3	clauses:
4	"(xiv) any amount contributed to a
5	candidate for other than Federal office;
6	"(xv) any amount received or ex-
7	pended to pay the costs of a State or local
8	political convention;
9	"(xvi) any payment for campaign ac-
10	tivities that are exclusively on behalf of
11	(and specifically identify only) State or
12	local candidates and do not identify any
13	Federal candidate, and that are not activi-
14	ties described in section 323(b) (without
15	regard to paragraph (6)(B)) or section
16	323(e)(1);
17	"(xvii) any payment for administrative
18	expenses of a State or local committee of
19	a political party, including expenses for—
20	"(I) overhead, including party
21	meetings;
22	"(II) staff (other than individuals
23	devoting a significant amount of their
24	time to elections for Federal office
25	and individuals engaged in conducting

1	get-out-the-vote activities for a Fed-
2	eral election); and
3	"(III) conducting party elections
4	or caucuses;
5	"(xviii) any payment for research per-
6	taining solely to State and local candidates
7	and issues;
8	"(xix) any payment for development
9	and maintenance of voter files other than
10	during the 1-year period ending on the
11	date during an even-numbered calendar
12	year on which regularly scheduled general
13	elections for Federal office occur; and
14	"(xx) any payment for any other ac-
15	tivity which is solely for the purpose of in-
16	fluencing, and which solely affects, an elec-
17	tion for non-Federal office and which is
18	not an activity described in section 323(b)
19	(without regard to paragraph (6)(B)) or
20	section 323(c)(1).".
21	(2) Expenditures.—Section 301(9)(B) of
22	such Act (2 U.S.C. 431(9)(B)) is amended—
23	(A) by striking "and" at the end of clause
24	(ix);

1	(B) by striking the period at the end of
2	clause (x) and inserting a semicolon; and
3	(C) by adding at the end the following new
4	clauses:
5	"(xi) any amount contributed to a
6	candidate for other than Federal office;
7	"(xii) any amount received or ex-
8	pended to pay the costs of a State or local
9	political convention;
10	"(xiii) any payment for campaign ac-
11	tivities that are exclusively on behalf of
12	(and specifically identify only) State or
13	local candidates and do not identify any
14	Federal candidate, and that are not activi-
15	ties described in section 323(b) (without
16	regard to paragraph (6)(B)) or section
17	323(e)(1);
18	"(xiv) any payment for administrative
19	expenses of a State or local committee of
20	a political party, including expenses for—
21	"(I) overhead, including party
22	meetings;
23	"(II) staff (other than individuals
24	devoting a significant amount of their
25	time to elections for Federal office

1	and individuals engaged in conducting
2	get-out-the-vote activities for a Fed-
3	eral election); and
4	"(III) conducting party elections
5	or caucuses;
6	"(xv) any payment for research per-
7	taining solely to State and local candidates
8	and issues;
9	"(xvi) any payment for development
10	and maintenance of voter files other than
11	during the 1-year period ending on the
12	date during an even-numbered calendar
13	year on which regularly scheduled general
14	elections for Federal office occur; and
15	"(xvii) any payment for any other ac-
16	tivity which is solely for the purpose of in-
17	fluencing, and which solely affects, an elec-
18	tion for non-Federal office and which is
19	not an activity described in section 323(b)
20	(without regard to paragraph (6)(B)) or
21	section $323(c)(1)$ .".

1	SEC. 3. EQUALIZATION OF MULTICANDIDATE POLITICAL
2	COMMITTEE CANDIDATE CONTRIBUTION
3	LIMITATION WITH LIMITATION APPLICABLE
4	TO OTHER PERSONS.
5	(a) Persons Generally.—Section 315(a)(1)(A) of
6	the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 (2 U.S.C.
7	441a(a)(1)(A)) is amended by striking out "\$1,000" and
8	inserting in lieu thereof "\$2,500".
9	(b) Multicandidate Political Committees.—
10	Section 315(a)(2)(A) of the Federal Election Campaign
11	Act of 1971 (2 U.S.C. 441a(a)(2)(A)) is amended by
12	striking out "\$5,000" and inserting in lieu thereof
13	"\$2,500".
14	SEC. 4. LIMITATION ON PERSONAL CONTRIBUTIONS BY
15	CANDIDATES IN HOUSE OF REPRESENTA
16	TIVES ELECTIONS.
17	Section 315 of the Federal Election Campaign Act
18	of 1971 (2 U.S.C. 441a) is amended by adding at the end
19	the following new subsection:
20	"(i) A candidate for the office of Representative in
21	or Delegate or Resident Commissioner to, the Congress
22	may not make contributions of more than \$100,000 to the
23	campaign of the candidate with respect to an election
24	cycle. As used in this subsection, the term 'election cycle
25	means, with respect to a candidate, the period beginning

26 on the day after the date of the most recent general elec-

- 1 tion for the office involved and ending on the date of the
- 2 next general election for such office.".

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