## S. 3295

To amend the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 to prohibit foreign influence in Federal elections, to prohibit government contractors from making expenditures with respect to such elections, and to establish additional disclosure requirements with respect to spending in such elections, and for other purposes.

### IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

April 30, 2010

Mr. Schumer (for himself, Mr. Feingold, Mr. Wyden, Mr. Bayh, Mr. Franken, Mr. Durbin, Mrs. Murray, Mr. Leahy, Mr. Bennet, Mr. Brown of Ohio, Mr. Reed, Mr. Whitehouse, Mr. Specter, Mr. Merkley, Ms. Klobuchar, Mr. Kaufman, Mr. Udall of Colorado, Mr. Bingaman, Mrs. Gillibrand, Mr. Casey, Mr. Begich, Ms. Mikulski, Mr. Sanders, Mr. Harkin, Mr. Rockefeller, Mrs. McCaskill, Mr. Menendez, Mrs. Shaheen, Mr. Lautenberg, Mrs. Feinstein, Mr. Tester, Mr. Baucus, Mr. Conrad, Mrs. Boxer, Mr. Akaka, Mr. Nelson of Florida, Mr. Levin, and Mr. Burris) introduced the following bill; which was read twice and referred to the Committee on Rules and Administration

### A BILL

To amend the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 to prohibit foreign influence in Federal elections, to prohibit government contractors from making expenditures with respect to such elections, and to establish additional disclosure requirements with respect to spending in such elections, and for other purposes.

- 1 Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representa-
- 2 tives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,
- 3 SECTION 1. SHORT TITLE; TABLE OF CONTENTS.
- 4 (a) Short Title.—This Act may be cited as the
- 5 "Democracy Is Strengthened by Casting Light On Spend-
- 6 ing in Elections Act" or the "DISCLOSE Act".
- 7 (b) Table of Contents of
- 8 this Act is as follows:
  - Sec. 1. Short title; table of contents.
  - Sec. 2. Findings.

#### TITLE I—REGULATION OF CERTAIN POLITICAL SPENDING

- Sec. 101. Prohibiting independent expenditures and electioneering communications by government contractors.
- Sec. 102. Application of ban on contributions and expenditures by foreign nationals to foreign-controlled domestic corporations.
- Sec. 103. Treatment of payments for coordinated communications as contributions.
- Sec. 104. Treatment of political party communications made on behalf of candidates.

### TITLE II—PROMOTING EFFECTIVE DISCLOSURE OF CAMPAIGN-RELATED ACTIVITY

- Subtitle A—Treatment of Independent Expenditures and Electioneering Communications Made by All Persons
- Sec. 201. Independent expenditures.
- Sec. 202. Electioneering communications.

### Subtitle B—Expanded Requirements for Corporations and Other Organizations

- Sec. 211. Additional information required to be included in reports on disbursements by covered organizations.
- Sec. 212. Rules regarding use of general treasury funds by covered organizations for campaign-related activity.
- Sec. 213. Optional use of separate account by covered organizations for campaign-related activity.
- Sec. 214. Modification of rules relating to disclaimer statements required for certain communications.

#### Subtitle C—Reporting Requirements for Registered Lobbyists

Sec. 221. Requiring registered lobbyists to report information on independent expenditures and electioneering communications.

### Subtitle D-Filing by Senate Candidates With Commission

Sec. 231. Filing by Senate candidates with Commission.

### TITLE III—DISCLOSURE BY COVERED ORGANIZATIONS OF INFORMATION ON CAMPAIGN-RELATED ACTIVITY

Sec. 301. Requiring disclosure by covered organizations of information on campaign-related activity.

#### TITLE IV—TELEVISION MEDIA RATES

Sec. 401. Television media rates.

#### TITLE V—OTHER PROVISIONS

Sec. 501. Judicial review.

Sec. 502. Severability.

Sec. 503. Effective date.

### 1 SEC. 2. FINDINGS.

- 2 (a) General Findings.—Congress finds and de-
- 3 clares as follows:
- 4 (1) Throughout the history of the United
- 5 States, the American people have been rightly con-
- 6 cerned about the power of special interests to control
- 7 our democratic processes. That was true over 100
- 8 years ago when Congress first enacted legislation in-
- 9 tended to restrict corporate funds from being used
- in Federal elections, legislation that Congress in
- 11 1947 reaffirmed was intended to include inde-
- pendent expenditures. The Supreme Court held such
- legislation to be constitutional in 1990 in Austin v.
- Michigan Chamber of Commerce (494 U.S. 652)
- and again in 2003 in McConnell v. F.E.C. (540 U.S.
- 16 93).

- 1 (2) The Supreme Court's decision in Citizens 2 United v. Federal Election Commission on January 3 21, 2010, reverses established jurisprudence and sound policy to greatly increase the dangers of 5 undue special interest influence over the democratic 6 process. That decision has opened the floodgates for 7 corporations and labor unions to spend unlimited 8 sums from their general treasury accounts to influ-9 ence the outcome of elections.
  - (3) Congress must take action to ensure that the American public has all the information necessary to exercise its free speech and voting rights, and must otherwise take narrowly tailored steps to regulate independent expenditures and electioneering communications in elections.
- 16 (b) FINDINGS RELATING TO GOVERNMENT CON-17 TRACTORS.—Congress finds and declares as follows:
  - (1) Government contracting is an activity that is particularly susceptible to improper influence, and to the appearance of improper influence. Government contracts must be awarded based on an objective evaluation of how well bidders or potential contractors meet relevant statutory criteria.
  - (2) Independent expenditures and electioneering communications that benefit particular candidates or

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- elected officials or disfavor their opponents can lead to apparent and actual ingratiation, access, influence, and quid pro quo arrangements. Government contracts should be awarded based on an objective application of statutory criteria, not based on other forms of inappropriate or corrupting influence.
  - (3) Prohibiting independent expenditures and electioneering communications by persons negotiating for or performing government contracts will prevent government officials involved in or with influence over the contracting process from influencing the contracting process based, consciously or otherwise, on this kind of inappropriate or corrupting influence.
  - (4) Prohibiting independent expenditures and electioneering communications by persons negotiating for or performing government contracts will likewise prevent such persons from feeling pressure, whether actually exerted by government officials or not, to make expenditures and to fund communications in order to maximize their chances of receiving contracts, or to match similar expenditures and communications made by their competitors.
  - (5) Furthermore, because government contracts often involve large amounts of public money, it is

- critical that the public perceive that the government contracts are awarded strictly in accordance with prescribed statutory standards, and not based on other forms of inappropriate or corrupting influence.

  The public's confidence in government is undermined when corporations that make significant expenditures during Federal election campaigns later receive government funds.
  - (6) Prohibiting independent expenditures and electioneering communications by persons negotiating for or performing government contracts will prevent any appearance that government contracts were awarded based in whole or in part on such expenditures or communications, or based on the inappropriate or corrupting influence such expenditures and communications can create and appear to create.
  - (7) In these ways, prohibiting independent expenditures and electioneering communications by persons negotiating for or performing government contracts will protect the actual and perceived integrity of the government contracting process.
  - (8) Moreover, the risks of waste, fraud and abuse, all resulting in economic losses to taxpayers, are significant when would-be public contractors or

- 1 applicants for public funds make expenditures in
- 2 Federal election campaigns in order to affect elec-
- 3 toral outcomes.
- 4 (c) Findings Relating to Foreign Corpora-
- 5 TIONS.—Congress finds and declares as follows:
- 6 (1) The Supreme Court's decision in the Citi-
- 7 zens United case has provided the means by which
- 8 United States corporations controlled by foreign en-
- 9 tities can freely spend money to influence United
- 10 States elections.
- 11 (2) Foreign corporations commonly own U.S.
- 12 corporations in whole or in part, and U.S. corporate
- equity and debt are also held by foreign individuals,
- sovereign wealth funds, and even foreign nations at
- levels which permit effective control over those U.S.
- entities.
- 17 (3) As recognized in many areas of the law, for-
- eign ownership interests and influences are exerted
- in a perceptible way even when the entity is not ma-
- jority-foreign-owned.
- 21 (4) The Federal Government has broad con-
- stitutional power to protect American interests and
- sovereignty from foreign interference and intrusion.

- 1 (5) Congress has a clear interest in minimizing 2 foreign intervention, and the perception of foreign 3 intervention, in United States elections.
- 4 (d) FINDINGS RELATING TO COORDINATED EXPEND 5 ITURES.—Congress finds and declares as follows:
  - (1) It has been the consistent view of Congress and the courts that coordinated expenditures in campaigns for election are no different in nature from contributions.
  - (2) Existing rules still allow donors to evade contribution limits by making campaign expenditures which, while technically qualifying as independent expenditures under law, are for all relevant purposes coordinated with candidates and political parties and thus raise the potential for corruption or the appearance of corruption.
  - (3) Such arrangements have the potential to give rise to the reality or appearance of corruption to the same degree that direct contributions to a candidate may give rise to the reality or appearance of corruption. Moreover, expenditures which are in fact made in coordination with a candidate or political party have the potential to lessen the public's trust and faith in the rules and the integrity of the electoral process.

- 1 (4) The government therefore has a compelling
  2 interest in making sure that expenditures that are
  3 de facto coordinated with a candidate are treated as
  4 such to prevent corruption, the appearance of cor5 ruption, or the perception that some participants are
  6 circumventing the laws and regulations which govern
  7 the financing of election campaigns.
- 8 (e) FINDINGS RELATING TO DISCLOSURES AND DIS-9 CLAIMERS.—Congress finds and declares as follows:
  - (1) The American people have a compelling interest in knowing who is funding independent expenditures and electioneering communications to influence Federal elections, and the government has a compelling interest in providing the public with that information. Effective disclaimers and prompt disclosure of expenditures, and the disclosure of the funding sources for these expenditures, can provide shareholders, voters, and citizens with the information needed to evaluate the actions by special interests seeking influence over the democratic process. Transparency promotes accountability, increases the fund of information available to the public concerning the support given to candidates by special interests, sheds the light of publicity on political spending, and encourages the leaders of organiza-

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- tions to act only upon legitimate organizational pur poses.
  - (2) Protecting this compelling interest has become particularly important to address the anticipated increase in special interest spending on election-related communications which will result from the Supreme Court's decision in the Citizens United case. The current disclosure and disclaimer requirements were designed for a campaign finance system in which such expenditures were subject to prohibitions that no longer apply.
    - (3) More rigorous disclosure and disclaimer requirements are necessary to protect against the evasion of current rules. Organizations that engage in election-related communications have used a variety of methods to attempt to obscure their sponsorship of communications from the general public. Robust disclosure and disclaimer requirements are necessary to ensure that the electorate is informed about who is paying for particular election-related communications, and so that the shareholders and members of these organizations are aware of their organizations' election-related spending.
    - (4) The current lack of accountability and transparency allow special interest political spending

- 1 to serve as a private benefit for the officials of spe-
- 2 cial interest organizations, to the detriment of the
- 3 organizations and their shareholders and members.
- 4 (f) Findings Relating to Campaign Spending by
- 5 Lobbyists.—Congress finds and declares as follows:
- 6 (1) Lobbyists and lobbying organizations, and
- 7 through them, their clients, influence the public deci-
- 8 sion-making process in a variety of ways.
- 9 (2) In recent years, scandals involving undue
- 10 lobbyist influence have lowered public trust in gov-
- ernment and jeopardized the willingness of voters to
- take part in democratic governance.
- 13 (3) One way in which lobbyists may unduly in-
- 14 fluence Federal officials is through their or their cli-
- ents making independent expenditures or election-
- eering communications targeting elected officials.
- 17 (4) Disclosure of such independent expenditures
- and electioneering communications will allow the
- public to examine connections between such spend-
- ing and official actions, and will therefore limit the
- ability of lobbyists to exert an undue influence on
- elected officials.
- 23 (g) Findings Relating to Lowest Unit
- 24 Charge.—Congress finds and declares as follows:

- (1) The purpose of the First Amendment is to ensure a robust marketplace of ideas. The government has a compelling interest in ensuring that Americans have access to this robust marketplace of ideas through the variety of media supported by the government.
  - (2) In recent years, the cost of political communication has been artificially inflated as candidates, parties, interest groups, and commercial advertisers compete for a dwindling supply of airtime in the periods before elections. Candidates for Federal election are currently forced to pay higher premiums for "nonpreemptible" advertisement time so as not to be replaced by commercial advertisements in such periods.
  - (3) The high cost of advertising for Federal candidates and their political parties makes it less likely that Americans will receive information necessary to engage fully in the electoral process and hear directly from all participants. The high cost of advertising for Federal candidates and political parties also drives the demand for large, potentially corrupting contributions to Federal election campaigns and forces elected officials to spend more time rais-

1	ing money and less time performing their official re-
2	sponsibilities.
3	(4) Lower advertising costs enhance the ability
4	of candidates to present and the public to receive in-
5	formation necessary for the effective operation of the
6	democratic process. Lower advertising costs reduce
7	the potential for corrupting contributions to Federal
8	election campaigns. Lower advertising costs allow
9	elected officials to spend more time serving the pub-
10	lic interest instead of raising funds to pay for cam-
11	paign advertisements.
12	TITLE I—REGULATION OF
13	CERTAIN POLITICAL SPENDING
14	SEC. 101. PROHIBITING INDEPENDENT EXPENDITURES AND
<ul><li>14</li><li>15</li></ul>	SEC. 101. PROHIBITING INDEPENDENT EXPENDITURES AND ELECTIONEERING COMMUNICATIONS BY
15 16	ELECTIONEERING COMMUNICATIONS BY
15 16 17	ELECTIONEERING COMMUNICATIONS BY GOVERNMENT CONTRACTORS.
15 16 17	ELECTIONEERING COMMUNICATIONS BY GOVERNMENT CONTRACTORS.  (a) PROHIBITION APPLICABLE TO GOVERNMENT
15 16 17 18	ELECTIONEERING COMMUNICATIONS BY GOVERNMENT CONTRACTORS.  (a) PROHIBITION APPLICABLE TO GOVERNMENT CONTRACTORS.—
15 16 17 18 19	ELECTIONEERING COMMUNICATIONS BY GOVERNMENT CONTRACTORS.  (a) PROHIBITION APPLICABLE TO GOVERNMENT CONTRACTORS.—  (1) PROHIBITION.—
15 16 17 18 19 20	ELECTIONEERING COMMUNICATIONS BY GOVERNMENT CONTRACTORS.  (a) PROHIBITION APPLICABLE TO GOVERNMENT CONTRACTORS.—  (1) PROHIBITION.—  (A) IN GENERAL.—Section 317(a)(1) of

or use, to make any independent expenditure,

1	or to disburse any funds for an electioneering
2	communication; or".
3	(B) Conforming amendment.—The
4	heading of section 317 of such Act (2 U.S.C.
5	441c) is amended by striking "CONTRIBU-
6	TIONS" and inserting "CONTRIBUTIONS, INDE-
7	PENDENT EXPENDITURES, AND ELECTION-
8	EERING COMMUNICATIONS".
9	(2) Threshold for application of ban.—
10	Section 317 of such Act (2 U.S.C. 441c) is amend-
11	$\operatorname{ed}$ —
12	(A) by redesignating subsections (b) and
13	(c) as subsections (c) and (d); and
14	(B) by inserting after subsection (a) the
15	following new subsection:
16	"(b) To the extent that subsection (a)(1) prohibits
17	a person who enters into a contract described in such sub-
18	section from making any independent expenditure or dis-
19	bursing funds for an electioneering communication, such
20	subsection shall apply only if the value of the contract is
21	equal to or greater than \$50,000.".
22	(b) Application to Recipients of Assistance
23	Under Troubled Asset Program.—Section 317(a) of
24	such Act (2 U.S.C. 441c(a)) is amended—

1	(1) by striking "or" at the end of paragraph
2	(1);
3	(2) by redesignating paragraph (2) as para-
4	graph (3); and
5	(3) by inserting after paragraph (1) the fol-
6	lowing new paragraph:
7	"(2) who enters into negotiations for financial
8	assistance under title I of the Emergency Economic
9	Stabilization Act of 2008 (12 U.S.C. 5211 et seq.)
10	(relating to the purchase of troubled assets by the
11	Secretary of the Treasury), during the period—
12	"(A) beginning on the later of the com-
13	mencement of the negotiations or the date of
14	the enactment of the Democracy Is Strength-
15	ened by Casting Light On Spending in Elec-
16	tions Act; and
17	"(B) ending with the later of the termi-
18	nation of such negotiations or the repayment of
19	such financial assistance;
20	directly or indirectly to make any contribution of
21	money or other things of value, or to promise ex-
22	pressly or impliedly to make any such contribution
23	to any political party, committee, or candidate for
24	public office or to any person for any political pur-
25	pose or use, to make any independent expenditure.

1	or to disburse any funds for an electioneering com-
2	munication; or".
3	(c) Technical Amendment.—Section 317 of such
4	Act (2 U.S.C. 441c) is amended by striking "section 321"
5	each place it appears and inserting "section 316".
6	SEC. 102. APPLICATION OF BAN ON CONTRIBUTIONS AND
7	EXPENDITURES BY FOREIGN NATIONALS TO
8	FOREIGN-CONTROLLED DOMESTIC COR-
9	PORATIONS.
10	(a) Application of Ban.—Section 319(b) of the
11	Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 (2 U.S.C.
12	441e(b)) is amended—
13	(1) by striking "or" at the end of paragraph
14	(1);
15	(2) by striking the period at the end of para-
16	graph (2) and inserting "; or"; and
17	(3) by adding at the end the following new
18	paragraph:
19	"(3) any corporation which is not a foreign na-
20	tional described in paragraph (1) and—
21	"(A) in which a foreign national described
22	in paragraph (1) or (2) directly or indirectly
23	owns 20 percent or more of the voting shares;
24	"(B) with respect to which the majority of
25	the members of the board of directors are for-

1	eign nationals described in paragraph (1) or
2	(2);
3	"(C) over which one or more foreign na-
4	tionals described in paragraph (1) or (2) has
5	the power to direct, dictate, or control the deci-
6	sion-making process of the corporation with re-
7	spect to its interests in the United States; or
8	"(D) over which one or more foreign na-
9	tionals described in paragraph (1) or (2) has
10	the power to direct, dictate, or control the deci-
11	sionmaking process of the corporation with re-
12	spect to activities in connection with a Federal,
13	State, or local election, including—
14	"(i) the making of a contribution, do-
15	nation, expenditure, independent expendi-
16	ture, or disbursement for an electioneering
17	communication (within the meaning of sec-
18	tion $304(f)(3)$ ; or
19	"(ii) the administration of a political
20	committee established or maintained by the
21	corporation.".
22	(b) Certification of Compliance.—Section 319
23	of such Act (2 U.S.C. 441e) is amended by adding at the
24	end the following new subsection:

1	"(c) Certification of Compliance Required
2	PRIOR TO CARRYING OUT ACTIVITY.—Prior to the mak-
3	ing of any contribution, donation, expenditure, inde-
4	pendent expenditure, or disbursement for an election-
5	eering communication by a corporation during a year, the
6	chief executive officer of the corporation (or, if the cor-
7	poration does not have a chief executive officer, the high-
8	est ranking official of the corporation), shall file a certifi-
9	cation with the Commission, under penalty of perjury, that
10	the corporation is not prohibited from carrying out such
11	activity under subsection (b)(3), unless the chief executive
12	officer has previously filed such a certification during the
13	year.".
14	SEC. 103. TREATMENT OF PAYMENTS FOR COORDINATED
14 15	SEC. 103. TREATMENT OF PAYMENTS FOR COORDINATED COMMUNICATIONS AS CONTRIBUTIONS.
15	COMMUNICATIONS AS CONTRIBUTIONS.
15 16	communications as contributions.  (a) In General.—Section 301(8)(A) of the Federal
15 16 17 18	communications as contributions.  (a) In General.—Section 301(8)(A) of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 (2 U.S.C. 431(8)(A)) is
15 16 17	communications as contributions.  (a) In General.—Section 301(8)(A) of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 (2 U.S.C. 431(8)(A)) is amended—
15 16 17 18	communications as contributions.  (a) In General.—Section 301(8)(A) of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 (2 U.S.C. 431(8)(A)) is amended—  (1) by striking "or" at the end of clause (i);
115 116 117 118 119 220	communications as contributions.  (a) In General.—Section 301(8)(A) of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 (2 U.S.C. 431(8)(A)) is amended—  (1) by striking "or" at the end of clause (i);  (2) by striking the period at the end of clause
15 16 17 18 19 20 21	communications as contributions.  (a) In General.—Section 301(8)(A) of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 (2 U.S.C. 431(8)(A)) is amended—  (1) by striking "or" at the end of clause (i);  (2) by striking the period at the end of clause (ii) and inserting "; or"; and
15 16 17 18 19 20 21	communications as contributions.  (a) In General.—Section 301(8)(A) of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 (2 U.S.C. 431(8)(A)) is amended—  (1) by striking "or" at the end of clause (i);  (2) by striking the period at the end of clause (ii) and inserting "; or"; and  (3) by adding at the end the following new

1	mittee of a candidate, or a political committee
2	of a political party) for a coordinated commu-
3	nication (as determined under section 324).".
4	(b) Coordinated Communications Described.—
5	Section 324 of such Act (2 U.S.C. 431 et seq.) is amended
6	to read as follows:
7	"SEC. 324. COORDINATED COMMUNICATIONS.
8	"(a) Coordinated Communications Defined.—
9	For purposes of this Act, the term 'coordinated commu-
10	nication' means—
11	"(1) a covered communication which is made in
12	cooperation, consultation, or concert with, or at the
13	request or suggestion of, a candidate, an authorized
14	committee of a candidate, or a political committee of
15	a political party; or
16	"(2) any communication that republishes, dis-
17	seminates, or distributes, in whole or in part, any
18	broadcast or any written, graphic, or other form of
19	campaign material prepared by a candidate, an au-
20	thorized committee of a candidate, or their agents.
21	"(b) Covered Communication Defined.—
22	"(1) IN GENERAL.—Except as provided in para-
23	graph (4), for purposes of this subsection, the term
24	'covered communication' means, for purposes of the
25	applicable election period described in paragraph (2),

1	a publicly distributed or disseminated communica-
2	tion that refers to a clearly identified candidate for
3	Federal office and is publicly distributed or publicly
4	disseminated during such period.
5	"(2) Applicable election period.—For
6	purposes of paragraph (1), the 'applicable election
7	period' with respect to a communication means—
8	"(A) in the case of a communication which
9	refers to a candidate for the office of President
10	or Vice President, the period—
11	"(i) beginning with the date that is
12	120 days before the date of the first pri-
13	mary election, preference election, or nomi-
14	nating convention for nomination for the
15	office of President which is held in any
16	State; and
17	"(ii) ending with the date of the gen-
18	eral election for such office; or
19	"(B) in the case of a communication which
20	refers to a candidate for any other Federal of-
21	fice, the period—
22	"(i) beginning with the date that is 90
23	days before the earliest of the primary
24	election, preference election, or nominating
25	convention with respect to the nomination

1	for the office that the candidate is seeking;
2	and
3	"(ii) ending with the date of the gen-
4	eral election for such office.
5	"(3) Special rule for public distribution
6	OF COMMUNICATIONS INVOLVING CONGRESSIONAL
7	CANDIDATES.—For purposes of paragraph (1), in
8	the case of a communication involving a candidate
9	for an office other than President or Vice President,
10	the communication shall be considered to be publicly
11	distributed or publicly disseminated only if the dis-
12	semination or distribution occurs in the jurisdiction
13	of the office that the candidate is seeking.
14	"(4) Exception.—The term 'covered commu-
15	nication' does not include—
16	"(A) a communication appearing in a news
17	story, commentary, or editorial distributed
18	through the facilities of any broadcasting sta-
19	tion, newspaper, magazine, or other periodical
20	publication, unless such facilities are owned or
21	controlled by any political party, political com-
22	mittee, or candidate; or
23	"(B) a communication which constitutes a
24	candidate debate or forum conducted pursuant
25	to the regulations adopted by the Commission

to carry out section 304(f)(3)(B)(iii), or which solely promotes such a debate or forum and is made by or on behalf of the person sponsoring

4 the debate or forum. 5 "(c) Treatment of Coordination With Polit-ICAL PARTIES FOR COMMUNICATIONS REFERRING TO CANDIDATES.—For purposes of this section, if a commu-8 nication which refers to any clearly identified candidate or candidates of a political party or any opponent of such 10 a candidate or candidates is determined to have been made in cooperation, consultation, or concert with or at the re-11 12 quest or suggestion of a political committee of the political 13 party but not in cooperation, consultation, or concert with or at the request or suggestion of such clearly identified 14 15 candidate or candidates, the communication shall be treated as having been made in cooperation, consultation, or 16 17 concert with or at the request or suggestion of the political 18 committee of the political party but not with or at the 19 request or suggestion of such clearly identified candidate 20 or candidates.".

### (c) Effective Date.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—This section and the amendments made by this section shall apply with respect to payments made on or after the expiration of the 30-day period which begins on the date of the enact-

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- 1 ment of this Act, without regard to whether or not 2 the Federal Election Commission has promulgated 3 regulations to carry out such amendments.
- (2) Transition rule for actions taken 5 PRIOR TO ENACTMENT.—No person shall be consid-6 ered to have made a payment for a coordinated com-7 munication under section 324 of the Federal Elec-8 tion Campaign Act of 1971 (as amended by sub-9 section (b)) by reason of any action taken by the 10 person prior to the date of the enactment of this 11 Act. Nothing in the previous sentence shall be con-12 strued to affect any determination under any other provision of such Act which is in effect on the date 13 of the enactment of this Act regarding whether a 14 15 communication is made in cooperation, consultation, 16 or concert with, or at the request or suggestion of, 17 a candidate, an authorized committee of a candidate, 18 or a political committee of a political party.

### 19 SEC. 104. TREATMENT OF POLITICAL PARTY COMMUNICA-

### 20 TIONS MADE ON BEHALF OF CANDIDATES.

- 21 (a) Treatment of Payment for Communication
- 22 AS CONTRIBUTION IF MADE UNDER CONTROL OR DIREC-
- 23 TION OF CANDIDATE.—Section 301(8)(A) of the Federal
- 24 Election Campaign Act of 1971 (2 U.S.C. 431(8)(A)), as
- 25 amended by section 103(a), is amended—

1	(1) by striking "or" at the end of clause (ii);
2	(2) by striking the period at the end of clause
3	(iii) and inserting "; or"; and
4	(3) by adding at the end the following new
5	clause:
6	"(iv) any payment by a political committee
7	of a political party for the direct costs of a com-
8	munication made on behalf of a candidate for
9	Federal office who is affiliated with such party,
10	but only if the communication is controlled by,
11	or made at the direction of, the candidate or an
12	authorized committee of the candidate.".
13	(b) REQUIRING CONTROL OR DIRECTION BY CAN-
14	DIDATE FOR TREATMENT AS COORDINATED PARTY EX-
15	PENDITURE.—
16	(1) In General.—Paragraph (4) of section
17	315(d) of such Act (2 U.S.C. 441a(d)) is amended
18	to read as follows:
19	"(4) Special Rule for Direct Costs of Commu-
20	NICATIONS.—The direct costs incurred by a political com-
21	mittee of a political party for a communication made in
22	connection with the campaign of a candidate for Federal
23	office shall not be subject to the limitations contained in
24	paragraphs (2) and (3) unless the communication is con-

- 1 trolled by, or made at the direction of, the candidate or
- 2 an authorized committee of the candidate.".
- 3 (2) Conforming Amendment.—Paragraph (1)
- 4 of section 315(d) of such Act (2 U.S.C. 441a(d)) is
- 5 amended by striking "paragraphs (2), (3), and (4)"
- 6 and inserting "paragraphs (2) and (3)".
- 7 (c) Effective Date.—This section and the amend-
- 8 ments made by this section shall apply with respect to pay-
- 9 ments made on or after the expiration of the 30-day period
- 10 which begins on the date of the enactment of this Act,
- 11 without regard to whether or not the Federal Election
- 12 Commission has promulgated regulations to carry out
- 13 such amendments.
- 14 TITLE II—PROMOTING EFFEC-
- 15 TIVE DISCLOSURE OF CAM-
- 16 PAIGN-RELATED ACTIVITY
- 17 Subtitle A—Treatment of Inde-
- pendent Expenditures and Elec-
- 19 tioneering Communications
- 20 Made by All Persons
- 21 SEC. 201. INDEPENDENT EXPENDITURES.
- (a) REVISION OF DEFINITION.—Subparagraph (A) of
- 23 section 301(17) of the Federal Election Campaign Act of
- 24 1971 (2 U.S.C. 431(17)) is amended to read as follows:

"(A) that, when taken as a whole, ex-1 2 pressly advocates the election or defeat of a clearly identified candidate, or is the functional 3 4 equivalent of express advocacy because it can be 5 interpreted by a reasonable person only as ad-6 vocating the election or defeat of a candidate, 7 taking into account whether the communication 8 involved mentions a candidacy, a political party, 9 or a challenger to a candidate, or takes a posi-10 tion on a candidate's character, qualifications, 11 or fitness for office; and".

- 12 (b) Uniform 24-Hour Reporting For Persons
  13 Making Independent Expenditures Exceeding
  14 \$10,000 at Any Time.—Section 304(g) of such Act (2
  15 U.S.C. 434(g)) is amended by striking paragraphs (1) and
- 17 "(1) Independent expenditures exceed-18 ing threshold amount.—

(2) and inserting the following:

ing a political committee) that makes or contracts to make independent expenditures in an aggregate amount equal to or greater than the threshold amount described in paragraph (2) shall file a report describing the expenditures within 24 hours.

1	"(B) Additional reports.—After a per-
2	son files a report under subparagraph (A), the
3	person shall file an additional report within 24
4	hours after each time the person makes or con-
5	tracts to make independent expenditures in an
6	aggregate amount equal to or greater than the
7	threshold amount with respect to the same elec-
8	tion as that to which the initial report relates.
9	"(2) Threshold amount described.—In
10	paragraph (1), the 'threshold amount' means—
11	"(A) during the period up to and including
12	the 20th day before the date of an election,
13	\$10,000; or
14	"(B) during the period after the 20th day,
15	but more than 24 hours, before the date of an
16	election, \$1,000.".
17	(e) Effective Date.—
18	(1) In general.—The amendment made by
19	subsection (a) shall apply with respect to contribu-
20	tions and expenditures made on or after the expira-
21	tion of the 30-day period which begins on the date
22	of the enactment of this Act, without regard to
23	whether or not the Federal Election Commission has

promulgated regulations to carry out such amend-

ments.

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1	(2) Reporting requirements.—The amend-
2	ment made by subsection (b) shall apply with re-
3	spect to reports required to be filed after the date
4	of the enactment of this Act.
5	SEC. 202. ELECTIONEERING COMMUNICATIONS.
6	(a) Period During Which Communications
7	TREATED AS ELECTIONEERING COMMUNICATIONS.—
8	(1) Expansion of Period.—Section
9	304(f)(3)(A)(i)(II) of the Federal Election Cam-
10	paign Act of 1971 (2 U.S.C. $434(f)(3)(A)(i)(II)$ ) is
11	amended to read as follows:
12	"(II) is made during the period
13	beginning with the date that is 90
14	days before the earliest of the primary
15	election, preference election, or nomi-
16	nating convention with respect to the
17	nomination for the office that the can-
18	didate is seeking and ending with the
19	date of the general election for such
20	office.".
21	(2) Effective date; transition for com-
22	MUNICATIONS MADE PRIOR TO ENACTMENT.—The
23	amendment made by paragraph (1) shall apply with
24	respect to communications made on or after the date
25	of the enactment of this Act, without regard to

- 1 whether or not the Federal Election Commission has 2 promulgated regulations to carry out such amend-3 ments, except that no communication which is made 4 prior to the date of the enactment of this Act shall 5 be treated as an electioneering communication under 6 section 304(f)(3)(A)(i)(II) of the Federal Election 7 Campaign Act of 1971 (as amended by paragraph 8 (1)) unless the communication would be treated as 9 an electioneering communication under such section 10 if the amendment made by paragraph (1) did not 11 apply. 12 (b) REQUIRING REPORTS TO INCLUDE INFORMATION ON INTENDED TARGET OF COMMUNICATIONS.—Section 304(f)(2)(D) of such Act (2 U.S.C. 434(f)(2)(D)) is 14 15 amended— (1) by striking "and the names" and inserting
- 16 (1) by striking "and the names" and inserting
  17 ", the names"; and
- 18 (2) by inserting ", and (if applicable) a state19 ment regarding whether the communications are in20 tended to support or oppose such candidates" before
  21 the period at the end.

1	Subtitle B-Expanded Require-
2	ments for Corporations and
3	Other Organizations
4	SEC. 211. ADDITIONAL INFORMATION REQUIRED TO BE IN-
5	CLUDED IN REPORTS ON DISBURSEMENTS BY
6	COVERED ORGANIZATIONS.
7	(a) Independent Expenditure Reports.—Sec-
8	tion 304(g) of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971
9	(2 U.S.C. 434(g)) is amended by adding at the end the
10	following new paragraph:
11	"(5) Disclosure of additional informa-
12	TION BY COVERED ORGANIZATIONS MAKING PAY-
13	MENTS FOR PUBLIC INDEPENDENT EXPENDI-
14	TURES.—
15	"(A) Additional information.—If a
16	covered organization makes or contracts to
17	make public independent expenditures in an ag-
18	gregate amount equal to or exceeding \$10,000
19	in a calendar year, the report filed by the orga-
20	nization under this subsection shall include, in
21	addition to the information required under
22	paragraph (3), the following information:
23	"(i) If any person made a donation or
24	payment to the covered organization dur-
25	ing the covered organization reporting pe-

1	riod which was provided for the purpose of
2	being used for campaign-related activity or
3	in response to a solicitation for funds to be
4	used for campaign-related activity—
5	"(I) subject to subparagraph (C),
6	the identification of each person who
7	made such donations or payments in
8	an aggregate amount equal to or ex-
9	ceeding \$1,000 during such period,
10	presented in the order of the aggre-
11	gate amount of donations or payments
12	made by such persons during such pe-
13	riod (with the identification of the
14	person making the largest donation or
15	payment appearing first); and
16	"(II) if any person identified
17	under subclause (I) designated that
18	the donation or payment be used for
19	campaign-related activity with respect
20	to a specific election or in support of
21	a specific candidate, the name of the
22	election or candidate involved, and if
23	any such person designated that the
24	donation or payment be used for a

1 specific public independent expendi-
2 ture, a description of the expenditure.
3 "(ii) The identification of each person
4 who made unrestricted donor payments to
the organization during the covered organi-
6 zation reporting period—
7 "(I) in an aggregate amount
8 equal to or exceeding \$1,000 during
9 such period, if any of the disburse-
0 ments made by the organization for
1 any of the public independent expendi-
2 tures which are covered by the report
were not made from the organization's
4 Campaign-Related Activity Account
5 under section 326; or
6 "(II) in an aggregate amount
7 equal to or exceeding \$10,000 during
8 such period, if the disbursements
9 made by the organization for all of
0 the public independent expenditures
1 which are covered by the report were
2 made exclusively from the organiza-
3 tion's Campaign-Related Activity Ac-
4 count under section 326 (but only if
5 the organization has made deposits

described in subparagraph (D) of section 326(a)(2) into that Account during such period in an aggregate amount equal to or greater than \$10,000),

presented in the order of the aggregate amount of payments made by such persons during such period (with the identification of the person making the largest payment appearing first).

# "(B) Treatment of transfers made to other persons.—

"(i) In general.—For purposes of the requirement to file reports under this subsection (including the requirement under subparagraph (A) to include additional information in such reports), a covered organization which transfers amounts to another person for the purpose of making a public independent expenditure by that person or by any other person, or (in accordance with clause (ii)) which is deemed to have transferred amounts to another person for the purpose of making a public independent expenditure by that

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1	person or by any other person, shall be
2	considered to have made a public inde-
3	pendent expenditure.
4	"(ii) Rules for deeming trans-
5	FERS MADE FOR PURPOSE OF MAKING EX-
6	PENDITURES.—For purposes of clause (i),
7	in determining whether a covered organiza-
8	tion or any other person who transfers
9	amounts to another person shall be deemed
10	to have transferred the amounts for the
11	purpose of making a public independent
12	expenditure, the following rules apply:
13	"(I) The person shall be deemed
14	to have transferred the amounts for
15	the purpose of making a public inde-
16	pendent expenditure if—
17	"(aa) the person making the
18	public independent expenditure
19	or another person acting on that
20	person's behalf solicited funding
21	from the person or from the per-
22	son to whom the amounts were
23	transferred for making any pub-
24	lic independent expenditures,

1	"(bb) the person and the
2	person to whom the amounts
3	were transferred engaged in sub-
4	stantial discussion (whether writ-
5	ten or verbal) regarding the mak-
6	ing of public independent expend-
7	itures,
8	"(cc) the person or the per-
9	son to whom the amounts were
10	transferred knew or should have
11	known of the covered organiza-
12	tion's intent to make public inde-
13	pendent expenditures, or
14	"(dd) the person or the per-
15	son to whom the amounts were
16	transferred made a public inde-
17	pendent expenditure during the
18	election cycle involved or the pre-
19	vious election cycle (as defined in
20	section $301(25)$ ).
21	"(II) The person shall not be
22	deemed to have transferred the
23	amounts for the purpose of making a
24	public independent expenditure if the
25	transfer was a commercial transaction

1	occurring in the ordinary course of
2	business between the person and the
3	person to whom the amounts were
4	transferred.
5	"(C) Exclusion of amounts des-
6	IGNATED FOR OTHER CAMPAIGN-RELATED AC-
7	TIVITY.—For purposes of subparagraph (A)(i),
8	in determining the amount of a donation or
9	payment made by a person which was provided
10	for the purpose of being used for campaign-re-
11	lated activity or in response to a solicitation for
12	funds to be used for campaign-related activity,
13	there shall be excluded any amount which was
14	designated by the person to be used—
15	"(i) for campaign-related activity de-
16	scribed in clause (i) of section
17	325(d)(2)(A) (relating to independent ex-
18	penditures) with respect to a different elec-
19	tion, or with respect to a candidate in a
20	different election, than an election which is
21	the subject of any of the public inde-
22	pendent expenditures covered by the report
23	involved; or
24	"(ii) for any campaign-related activity
25	described in clause (ii) of section

1	325(d)(2)(A) (relating to electioneering
2	communications).
3	"(D) Exclusion of amounts paid from
4	SEPARATE SEGREGATED FUND.—In deter-
5	mining the amount of public independent ex-
6	penditures made by a covered organization for
7	purposes of this paragraph, there shall be ex-
8	cluded any amounts paid from a separate seg-
9	regated fund established and administered by
10	the organization under section $316(b)(2)(C)$ .
11	"(E) COVERED ORGANIZATION REPORTING
12	PERIOD DESCRIBED.—In this paragraph, the
13	'covered organization reporting period' is, with
14	respect to a report filed by a covered organiza-
15	tion under this subsection—
16	"(i) in the case of the first report filed
17	by a covered organization under this sub-
18	section which includes information required
19	under this paragraph, the shorter of—
20	"(I) the period which begins on
21	the effective date of the Democracy Is
22	Strengthened by Casting Light On
23	Spending in Elections Act and ends
24	on the last day covered by the report,
25	or

1	"(II) the 12-month period ending
2	on the last day covered by the report;
3	and
4	"(ii) in the case of any subsequent re-
5	port filed by a covered organization under
6	this subsection which includes information
7	required under this paragraph, the period
8	occurring since the most recent report filed
9	by the organization which includes such in-
10	formation.
11	"(F) Definitions.—In this paragraph—
12	"(i) the terms 'covered organization',
13	'campaign-related activity', and 'unre-
14	stricted donor payment' have the meaning
15	given such terms in section 325; and
16	"(ii) the term 'public independent ex-
17	penditure' means an independent expendi-
18	ture for a public communication (as de-
19	fined in section 301(22)).".
20	(b) Electioneering Communication Reports.—
21	Section 304(f) of such Act (2 U.S.C. 434(f)) is amended—
22	(1) by redesignating paragraphs (6) and (7) as
23	paragraphs (7) and (8); and
24	(2) by inserting after paragraph (5) the end the
25	following new paragraph:

1	"(6) Disclosure of additional informa-
2	TION BY COVERED ORGANIZATIONS.—
3	"(A) Additional information.—If a
4	covered organization files a statement under
5	this subsection, the statement shall include, in
6	addition to the information required under
7	paragraph (2), the following information:
8	"(i) If any person made a donation or
9	payment to the covered organization dur-
10	ing the covered organization reporting pe-
11	riod which was provided for the purpose of
12	being used for campaign-related activity or
13	in response to a solicitation for funds to be
14	used for campaign-related activity—
15	"(I) subject to subparagraph (C),
16	the identification of each person who
17	made such donations or payments in
18	an aggregate amount equal to or ex-
19	ceeding \$1,000 during such period,
20	presented in the order of the aggre-
21	gate amount of donations or payments
22	made by such persons during such pe-
23	riod (with the identification of the
24	person making the largest donation or
25	payment appearing first); and

1	"(II) if any person identified
2	under subclause (I) designated that
3	the donation or payment be used for
4	campaign-related activity with respect
5	to a specific election or in support of
6	a specific candidate, the name of the
7	election or candidate involved, and if
8	any such person designated that the
9	donation or payment be used for a
10	specific electioneering communication,
11	a description of the communication.
12	"(ii) The identification of each person
13	who made unrestricted donor payments to
14	the organization during the covered organi-
15	zation reporting period—
16	"(I) in an aggregate amount
17	equal to or exceeding \$1,000 during
18	such period, if any of the disburse-
19	ments made by the organization for
20	any of the electioneering communica-
21	tions which are covered by the state-
22	ment were not made from the organi-
23	zation's Campaign-Related Activity
24	Account under section 326; or

1	"(II) in an aggregate amount
2	equal to or exceeding \$10,000 during
3	such period, if the disbursements
4	made by the organization for all of
5	the electioneering communications
6	which are covered by the statement
7	were made exclusively from the orga-
8	nization's Campaign-Related Activity
9	Account under section 326 (but only
10	if the organization has made deposits
11	described in subparagraph (D) of sec-
12	tion 326(a)(2) into that Account dur-
13	ing such period in an aggregate
14	amount equal to or greater than
15	\$10,000),
16	presented in the order of the aggregate
17	amount of payments made by such persons
18	during such period (with the identification
19	of the person making the largest payment
20	appearing first).
21	"(B) Treatment of transfers made
22	TO OTHER PERSONS.—
23	"(i) In general.—For purposes of
24	the requirement to file statements under
25	this subsection (including the requirement

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under subparagraph (A) to include additional information in such statements), a covered organization which transfers amounts to another person for the purpose of making an electioneering communication by that person or by any other person, or (in accordance with clause (ii)) which is deemed to have transferred amounts to another person for the purpose of making an electioneering communication by that person or by any other person, shall be considered to have made a disbursement for an electioneering communication.

"(ii) Rules for deeming transfers made for purpose of making communications.—For purposes of clause (i), in determining whether a covered organization or any other person who transfers amounts to another person shall be deemed to have transferred the amounts for the purpose of making an election-eering communication, the following rules apply:

"(I) The person shall be deemed to have transferred the amounts for

1	the purpose of making an election-
2	eering communication if—
3	"(aa) the person making the
4	public independent expenditure
5	or another person acting on that
6	person's behalf solicited funding
7	from the person or from the per-
8	son to whom the amounts were
9	transferred for making any elec-
10	tioneering communications,
11	"(bb) the person and the
12	person to whom the amounts
13	were transferred engaged in sub-
14	stantial discussion (whether writ-
15	ten or verbal) regarding the mak-
16	ing of electioneering communica-
17	tions,
18	"(cc) the person or the per-
19	son to whom the amounts were
20	transferred knew or should have
21	known of the covered organiza-
22	tion's intent to make election-
23	eering communications, or
24	"(dd) the person or the per-
25	son to whom the amounts were

1	transferred made an election-
2	eering communication during the
3	election cycle involved or the pre-
4	vious election cycle (as defined in
5	section 301(25)).
6	"(II) The person shall not be
7	considered to have transferred the
8	amounts for the purpose of making an
9	electioneering communication if the
10	transfer was a commercial transaction
11	occurring in the ordinary course of
12	business between the person and the
13	person to whom the amounts were
14	transferred.
15	"(C) EXCLUSION OF AMOUNTS DES-
16	IGNATED FOR OTHER CAMPAIGN-RELATED AC-
17	TIVITY.—For purposes of subparagraph (A)(i),
18	in determining the amount of a donation or
19	payment made by a person which was provided
20	for the purpose of being used for campaign-re-
21	lated activity or in response to a solicitation for
22	funds to be used for campaign-related activity,
23	there shall be excluded any amount which was

designated by the person to be used—

1	"(i) for campaign-related activity de-
2	scribed in clause (ii) of section
3	325(d)(2)(A) (relating to electioneering
4	communications) with respect to a dif-
5	ferent election, or with respect to a can-
6	didate in a different election, than an elec-
7	tion which is the subject of any of the elec-
8	tioneering communications covered by the
9	statement involved; or
10	"(ii) for any campaign-related activity
11	described in clause (i) of section
12	325(d)(2)(A) (relating to independent ex-
13	penditures consisting of a public commu-
14	nication).
15	"(D) COVERED ORGANIZATION REPORTING
16	PERIOD DESCRIBED.—In this paragraph, the
17	'covered organization reporting period' is, with
18	respect to a statement filed by a covered orga-
19	nization under this subsection—
20	"(i) in the case of the first statement
21	filed by a covered organization under this
22	subsection which includes information re-
23	quired under this paragraph, the shorter
24	of—

1	"(I) the period which begins on
2	the effective date of the Democracy Is
3	Strengthened by Casting Light On
4	Spending in Elections Act and ends
5	on the disclosure date for the state-
6	ment, or
7	"(II) the 12-month period ending
8	on the disclosure date for the state-
9	ment; and
10	"(ii) in the case of any subsequent
11	statement filed by a covered organization
12	under this subsection which includes infor-
13	mation required under this paragraph, the
14	period occurring since the most recent
15	statement filed by the organization which
16	includes such information.
17	"(E) Definitions.—In this paragraph,
18	the terms 'covered organization', 'campaign-re-
19	lated activity', and 'unrestricted donor payment'
20	have the meaning given such terms in section
21	325.".

1	SEC. 212. RULES REGARDING USE OF GENERAL TREASURY
2	FUNDS BY COVERED ORGANIZATIONS FOR
3	CAMPAIGN-RELATED ACTIVITY.
4	Title III of the Federal Election Campaign Act of
5	1971 (2 U.S.C. 431 et seq.) is amended by adding at the
6	end the following new section:
7	"SEC. 325. SPECIAL RULES FOR USE OF GENERAL TREAS-
8	URY FUNDS BY COVERED ORGANIZATIONS
9	FOR CAMPAIGN-RELATED ACTIVITY.
10	"(a) Use of Funds for Campaign-Related Ac-
11	TIVITY.—
12	"(1) In general.—Subject to any applicable
13	restrictions and prohibitions under this Act, a cov-
14	ered organization may make disbursements for cam-
15	paign-related activity using—
16	"(A) amounts paid or donated to the orga-
17	nization which are designated by the person
18	providing the amounts to be used for campaign-
19	related activity;
20	"(B) unrestricted donor payments made to
21	the organization; and
22	"(C) other funds of the organization, in-
23	cluding amounts received pursuant to commer-
24	cial activities in the regular course of a covered
25	organization's business.

1 "(2) No effect on use of separate seg-2 Regated fund.—Nothing in this section shall be 3 construed to affect the authority of a covered organi-4 zation to make disbursements from a separate seg-5 regated fund established and administered by the or-6 ganization under section 316(b)(2)(C).

7 "(b) RESTRICTIONS ON USE OF FUNDS FOR CAM-8 PAIGN-RELATED ACTIVITY.—

> "(1) Certification after receiving notifi-CATION BY DONOR TO NOT USE FUNDS FOR ACTIV-ITY.—If any person who makes a donation, payment, or transfer to a covered organization (other than the covered organization) notifies the organization in writing (at the time of making the donation, payment, or transfer) that the organization may not use the donation, payment, or transfer for campaign-related activity, not later than 7 days after the organization receives the donation, payment, or transfer the organization shall transmit to the person a written certification by the chief financial officer of the covered organization (or, if the organization does not have a chief financial officer, the highest ranking financial official of the organization), under penalty of perjury, that—

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1	"(A) the organization will not use the do-
2	nation, payment, or transfer for campaign-re-
3	lated activity; and
4	"(B) the organization will not include any
5	information on the person in any report filed by
6	the organization under section 304 with respect
7	to independent expenditures or electioneering
8	communications, so that the person will not be
9	required to appear in a significant funder state-
10	ment or a Top 5 Funders list under section
11	318(e).
12	"(2) Exception for payments made pursu-
13	ANT TO COMMERCIAL ACTIVITIES.—Paragraph (1)
14	does not apply with respect to any payment or trans-
15	fer made pursuant to commercial activities in the
16	regular course of a covered organization's business.
17	"(c) Certifications Regarding Disbursements
18	FOR CAMPAIGN-RELATED ACTIVITY.—
19	"(1) Certification by Chief executive of-
20	FICER.—If, at any time during a calendar quarter,
21	a covered organization makes a disbursement of
22	funds for campaign-related activity using funds de-

scribed in subsection (a)(1), the chief executive offi-

cer of the covered organization (or, if the organiza-

tion does not have a chief executive officer, the high-

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est ranking official of the organization), under penalty of perjury, shall file a statement with the Commission which contains the following certifications:

- "(A) None of the campaign-related activity for which the organization disbursed the funds during the quarter was made in cooperation, consultation, or concert with, or at the request or suggestion of, any candidate or any authorized committee or agent of such candidate, or political committee of a political party or agent of any political party.
- "(B) The chief executive officer or highest ranking official of the covered organization (as the case may be) has reviewed and approved each statement and report filed by the organization under section 304 with respect to any such disbursement made during the quarter.
- "(C) Each statement and report filed by the organization under section 304 with respect to any such disbursement made during the quarter is complete and accurate and does not contain an untrue statement of a material fact.
- "(D) All such disbursements made during the quarter are in compliance with this Act and all other applicable Federal laws.

1	"(E) No portion of the amounts used to
2	make any such disbursements during the quar-
3	ter is attributable to funds received by the orga-
4	nization that were restricted by the person who
5	provided the funds from being used for cam-
6	paign-related activity pursuant to subsection
7	(b).
8	"(2) Application of electronic filing
9	RULES.—Section 304(d)(1) shall apply with respect
10	to a statement required under this subsection in the
11	same manner as such section applies with respect to
12	a statement under subsection (c) or (g) of section
13	304.
14	"(3) Deadline.—The chief executive officer or
15	highest ranking official of a covered organization (as
16	the case may be) shall file the statement required
17	under this subsection with respect to a calendar
18	quarter not later than 15 days after the end of the
19	quarter.
20	"(d) Definitions.—For purposes of this section, the
21	following definitions apply:
22	"(1) COVERED ORGANIZATION.—The term 'cov-
23	ered organization' means any of the following:
24	"(A) Any corporation which is subject to
25	section 316(a).

1	"(B) Any labor organization (as defined in
2	section 316).
3	"(C) Any organization described in para-
4	graph (4), (5), or (6) of section 501(c) of the
5	Internal Revenue Code of 1986 and exempt
6	from tax under section 501(a) of such Code.
7	"(D) Any political organization under sec-
8	tion 527 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986,
9	other than a political committee under this Act.
10	"(2) Campaign-related activity.—
11	"(A) In General.—The term 'campaign-
12	related activity' means—
13	"(i) an independent expenditure con-
14	sisting of a public communication (as de-
15	fined in section 301(22)), a transfer of
16	funds to another person for the purpose of
17	making such an independent expenditure
18	by that person or by any other person, or
19	(in accordance with subparagraph (B)) a
20	transfer of funds to another person which
21	is deemed to have been made for the pur-
22	pose of making such an independent ex-
23	penditure by that person or by any other
24	person; or

1	"(ii) an electioneering communication,
2	a transfer of funds to another person for
3	the purpose of making an electioneering
4	communication by that person or by any
5	other person, or (in accordance with sub-
6	paragraph (B)) a transfer of funds to an-
7	other person which is deemed to have been
8	made for the purpose of making an elec-
9	tioneering communication by that person
10	or by any other person.
11	"(B) Rule for deeming transfers
12	MADE FOR PURPOSE OF CAMPAIGN-RELATED
13	ACTIVITY.—For purposes of subparagraph (A),
14	in determining whether a transfer of funds by
15	one person to another person shall be deemed
16	to have been made for the purpose of making
17	an independent expenditure consisting of a pub-
18	lic communication or an electioneering commu-
19	nication, the following rules apply:
20	"(i) The transfer shall be deemed to
21	have been made for the purpose of making
22	such an independent expenditure or an
23	electioneering communication if—
24	"(I) the person making the inde-
25	pendent expenditure or electioneering

1	communication or another person act-
2	ing on that person's behalf solicited
3	funding from the person or from the
4	person to whom the amounts were
5	transferred for the purpose of making
6	any such independent expenditures or
7	electioneering communications,
8	" $(\Pi)$ the person and the person
9	to whom the amounts were trans-
10	ferred engaged in substantial discus-
11	sion (whether written or verbal) re-
12	garding the making of such inde-
13	pendent expenditures or electioneering
14	communications,
15	"(III) the person or the person to
16	whom the amounts were transferred
17	knew or should have known of the
18	covered organization's intent to dis-
19	burse funds for campaign-related ac-
20	tivity, or
21	"(IV) the person or the person to
22	whom the amounts were transferred
23	made such an independent expendi-
24	ture or electioneering communication
25	during the election cycle involved or

1	the previous election cycle (as defined
2	in section $301(25)$ ).
3	"(ii) The transfer shall not be deemed
4	to have been made for the purpose of mak-
5	ing such an independent expenditure or an
6	electioneering communication if the trans-
7	fer was a commercial transaction occurring
8	in the ordinary course of business between
9	the person and the person to whom the
10	amounts were transferred.
11	"(3) Unrestricted donor payment.—The
12	term 'unrestricted donor payment' means a payment
13	to a covered organization which consists of a dona-
14	tion or payment from a person other than the cov-
15	ered organization, except that such term does not in-
16	clude—
17	"(A) any payment made pursuant to com-
18	mercial activities in the regular course of a cov-
19	ered organization's business;
20	"(B) any donation or payment which is
21	designated by the person making the donation
22	or payment to be used for campaign-related ac-
23	tivity or made in response to a solicitation for
24	funds to be used for campaign-related activity;
25	or

1	"(C) any donation or payment made by a
2	person who notifies the organization in writing
3	(at the time of making the payment) that the
4	organization may not use the donation or pay-
5	ment for campaign-related activity.".
6	SEC. 213. OPTIONAL USE OF SEPARATE ACCOUNT BY COV-
7	ERED ORGANIZATIONS FOR CAMPAIGN-RE-
8	LATED ACTIVITY.
9	Title III of the Federal Election Campaign Act of
10	1971 (2 U.S.C. 431 et seq.), as amended by section 212,
11	is further amended by adding at the end the following new
12	section:
13	"SEC. 326. OPTIONAL USE OF SEPARATE ACCOUNT BY COV-
14	ERED ORGANIZATIONS FOR CAMPAIGN-RE-
15	LATED ACTIVITY.
16	"(a) Optional Use of Separate Account.—
17	"(1) Establishment of account.—
18	"(A) In general.—At its option, a cov-
19	ered organization described in section 325 may
20	make disbursements for campaign-related activ-
21	ity using amounts from a bank account estab-
22	lished and controlled by the organization to be
23	known as the Campaign-Related Activity Ac-
24	count (hereafter in this section referred to as
25	the 'Account'), which shall be maintained sepa-

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1	rately from all other accounts of the organiza-
2	tion and which shall consist exclusively of the
3	deposits described in paragraph (2).
4	"(B) MANDATORY USE OF ACCOUNT
5	AFTER ESTABLISHMENT.—If a covered organi-
6	zation establishes an Account under this sec-
7	tion, it may not make disbursements for cam-
8	paign-related activity from any source other
9	than amounts from the Account.
10	"(C) EXCLUSIVE USE OF ACCOUNT FOR
11	CAMPAIGN-RELATED ACTIVITY.—Amounts in
12	the Account shall be used exclusively for dis-
13	bursements by the covered organization for
14	campaign-related activity. After such disburse-
15	ments are made, information with respect to de-
16	posits made to the Account shall be disclosed in
17	accordance with section $304(g)(5)$ or section
18	304(f)(6).
19	"(2) Deposits described.—The deposits de-
20	scribed in this paragraph are deposits of the fol-
21	lowing amounts:
22	"(A) Amounts donated or paid to the cov-

"(A) Amounts donated or paid to the covered organization by a person other than the organization for the purpose of being used for campaign-related activity, and for which the

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person providing the amounts has designated that the amounts be used for campaign-related activity with respect to a specific election or specific candidate.

- "(B) Amounts donated or paid to the covered organization by a person other than the organization for the purpose of being used for campaign-related activity, and for which the person providing the amounts has not designated that the amounts be used for campaign-related activity with respect to a specific election or specific candidate.
- "(C) Amounts donated or paid to the covered organization by a person other than the organization in response to a solicitation for funds to be used for campaign-related activity.
- "(D) Amounts transferred to the Account by the covered organization from other accounts of the organization, including from the organization's general treasury funds.
- "(3) NO TREATMENT AS POLITICAL COM-MITTEE.—The establishment and administration of an Account in accordance with this subsection shall not by itself be treated as the establishment or ad-

- 1 ministration of a political committee for any purpose
- 2 of this Act.
- 3 "(b) Reduction in Amounts Otherwise Avail-
- 4 ABLE FOR ACCOUNT IN RESPONSE TO DEMAND OF GEN-
- 5 Eral Donors.—
- 6 "(1) IN GENERAL.—If a covered organization which has established an Account obtains any reve-7 8 nues during a year which are attributable to a dona-9 tion or payment from a person other than the cov-10 ered organization, and if any person who makes 11 such a donation or payment to the organization noti-12 fies the organization in writing (at the time of mak-13 ing the donation or payment) that the organization 14 may not use the donation or payment for campaign-15 related activity, the organization shall reduce the amount of its revenues available for deposits to the 16 17 Account which are described in subsection (a)(3)(D) 18 during the year by the amount of the donation or 19 payment.
  - "(2) EXCEPTION.—Paragraph (1) does not apply with respect to any payment made pursuant to commercial activities in the regular course of a covered organization's business.

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1	"(c) Definitions.—In this section, the terms 'cam-
2	paign-related activity' and 'covered organization' have the
3	meaning given such terms in section 325.".
4	SEC. 214. MODIFICATION OF RULES RELATING TO DIS-
5	CLAIMER STATEMENTS REQUIRED FOR CER
6	TAIN COMMUNICATIONS.
7	(a) Applying Requirements to All Inde-
8	PENDENT EXPENDITURE COMMUNICATIONS.—Section
9	318(a) of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 (2
10	U.S.C. 441d(a)) is amended by striking "for the purpose
11	of financing communications expressly advocating the
12	election or defeat of a clearly identified candidate" and
13	inserting "for an independent expenditure consisting of a
14	public communication".
15	(b) Stand by Your Ad Requirements.—
16	(1) Maintenance of existing require-
17	MENTS FOR COMMUNICATIONS BY POLITICAL PAR-
18	TIES AND OTHER POLITICAL COMMITTEES.—Section
19	318(d)(2) of such Act (2 U.S.C. $441d(d)(2)$ ) is
20	amended—
21	(A) in the heading, by striking "OTHERS"
22	and inserting "POLITICAL COMMITTEES";
23	(B) by striking "subsection (a)" and in-
24	serting "subsection (a) which is paid for by a

1	political committee (including a political com-
2	mittee of a political party)"; and
3	(C) by striking "or other person" each
4	place it appears.
5	(2) Special disclaimer requirements for
6	CERTAIN COMMUNICATIONS.—Section 318 of such
7	Act (2 U.S.C. 441d) is amended by adding at the
8	end the following new subsection:
9	"(e) Communications by Others.—
10	"(1) In General.—Any communication de-
11	scribed in paragraph (3) of subsection (a) which is
12	transmitted through radio or television (other than
13	a communication to which subsection (d)(2) applies
14	because the communication is paid for by a political
15	committee, including a political committee of a polit-
16	ical party) shall include, in addition to the require-
17	ments of that paragraph, the following:
18	"(A) The individual disclosure statement
19	described in paragraph (2) (if the person pay-
20	ing for the communication is an individual) or
21	the organizational disclosure statement de-
22	scribed in paragraph (3) (if the person paying
23	for the communication is not an individual).
24	"(B) If the communication is an election-
25	eering communication or an independent ex-

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penditure consisting of a public communication and is paid for in whole or in part with a payment which is treated as a disbursement by a covered organization for campaign-related activity under section 325, the significant funder disclosure statement described in paragraph (4) (if applicable).

"(C) If the communication is transmitted through television and is an electioneering communication or an independent expenditure consisting of a public communication and is paid for in whole or in part with a payment which is treated as a disbursement by a covered organization for campaign-related activity under section 325, the Top Five Funders list described in paragraph (5) (if applicable), unless, on the basis of criteria established in regulations promulgated by the Commission, the communication is of such short duration that including the Top Five Funders list in the communication would constitute a hardship to the person paying for the communication by requiring a disproportionate amount of the communication's content to consist of the Top Five Funders list.

1	"(2) Individual disclosure statement de-
2	SCRIBED.—The individual disclosure statement de-
3	scribed in this paragraph is the following: 'I am
4	, and I approve this message.', with
5	the blank filled in with the name of the applicable
6	individual.
7	"(3) Organizational disclosure state-
8	MENT DESCRIBED.—The organizational disclosure
9	statement described in this paragraph is the fol-
10	lowing: 'I am, the
11	of approves
12	this message.', with—
13	"(A) the first blank to be filled in with the
14	name of the applicable individual;
15	"(B) the second blank to be filled in with
16	the title of the applicable individual; and
17	"(C) the third and fourth blank each to be
18	filled in with the name of the organization or
19	other person paying for the communication.
20	"(4) Significant funder disclosure state-
21	MENT DESCRIBED.—
22	"(A) STATEMENT IF SIGNIFICANT FUNDER
23	IS AN INDIVIDUAL.—If the significant funder of
24	a communication paid for in whole or in part
25	with a payment which is treated as a disburse-

1	ment by a covered organization for campaign-
2	related activity under section 325 is an indi-
3	vidual, the significant funder disclosure state-
4	ment described in this paragraph is the fol-
5	lowing: 'I am I helped to pay
6	for this message, and I approve it.', with the
7	blank filled in with the name of the applicable
8	individual.
9	"(B) STATEMENT IF SIGNIFICANT FUNDER
10	IS NOT AN INDIVIDUAL.—If the significant
11	funder of a communication paid for in whole or
12	in part with a payment which is treated as a
13	disbursement by a covered organization for
14	campaign-related activity under section 325 is
15	not an individual, the significant funder disclo-
16	sure statement described in this paragraph is
17	the following: 'I am, the
18	of
19	helped to pay for this mes-
20	sage, and approves it.', with—
21	"(i) the first blank to be filled in with
22	the name of the applicable individual;
23	"(ii) the second blank to be filled in
24	with the title of the applicable individual;
25	and

1	"(iii) the third, fourth, and fifth blank
2	each to be filled in with the name of the
3	significant funder of the communication.
4	"(C) Significant funder defined.—
5	"(i) Independent expenditures.—
6	For purposes of this paragraph, the 'sig-
7	nificant funder' with respect to an inde-
8	pendent expenditure consisting of a public
9	communication paid for in whole or in part
10	with a payment which is treated as a dis-
11	bursement by a covered organization for
12	campaign-related activity under section
13	325 shall be determined as follows:
14	"(I) If any report filed by any or-
15	ganization with respect to the inde-
16	pendent expenditure under section
17	304 includes information on any per-
18	son who made a payment to the orga-
19	nization in an amount equal to or ex-
20	ceeding \$100,000 which was des-
21	ignated by the person to be used for
22	campaign-related activity consisting of
23	that specific independent expenditure
24	(as required to be included in the re-

 $port \ under \ section \ 304(g)(5)(A)(i)), \\$ 

1 the person who is identified among all 2 such reports as making the largest 3 such payment. "(II) If any report filed by any 4 organization with respect to the inde-6 pendent expenditure under section 7 304 includes information on any per-8 son who made a payment to the orga-9 nization in an amount equal to or ex-10 ceeding \$100,000 which was des-11 ignated by the person to be used for 12 campaign-related activity with respect 13 to the same election or in support of 14 the same candidate (as required to be 15 included in the report under section 16 304(g)(5)(A)(i) but subclause (I)17 does not apply, the person who is 18 identified among all such reports as 19 making the largest such payment. "(III) If any report filed by any 20 21 organization with respect to the inde-22 pendent expenditure under section 23 304 includes information on any per-24 son who made a payment to the orga-

nization which was provided for the

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purpose of being used for campaignrelated activity or in response to a solicitation for funds to be used for
campaign-related activity (as required
to be included in the report under section 304(g)(5)(A)(i)) but subclause (I)
or subclause (II) does not apply, the
person who is identified among all
such reports as making the largest
such payment.

"(IV) If none of the reports filed by any organization with respect to the independent expenditure under section 304 includes information on any person (other than the organization) who made a payment to the organization which was provided for the purpose of being used for campaignrelated activity or in response to a solicitation for funds to be used for campaign-related activity, but any of such reports includes information on any person who made an unrestricted donor payment to the organization (as required to be included in the report under section 304(g)(5)(A)(ii)), the
person who is identified among all
such reports as making the largest
such unrestricted donor payment.

"(ii) ELECTIONEERING COMMUNICATIONS.—For purposes of this paragraph, the 'significant funder' with respect to an electioneering communication paid for in whole or in part with a payment which is treated as a disbursement by a covered organization for campaign-related activity under section 325, shall be determined as follows:

"(I) If any report filed by any organization with respect to the electioneering communication under section 304 includes information on any person who made a payment to the organization in an amount equal to or exceeding \$100,000 which was designated by the person to be used for campaign-related activity consisting of that specific electioneering communication (as required to be included in the report under section

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304(f)(6)(A)(i), the person who is 1 2 identified among all such reports as 3 making the largest such payment. "(II) If any report filed by any 4 organization with respect to the elec-6 tioneering communication under sec-7 tion 304 includes information on any 8 person who made a payment to the 9 organization in an amount equal to or 10 exceeding \$100,000 which was des-11 ignated by the person to be used for 12 campaign-related activity with respect 13 to the same election or in support of 14 the same candidate (as required to be 15 included in the report under section (I)16 304(f)(6)(A)(i)but subclause 17 does not apply, the person who is 18 identified among all such reports as 19 making the largest such payment. "(III) If any report filed by any 20 21 organization with respect to the elec-22 tioneering communication under sec-23 tion 304 includes information on any 24 person who made a payment to the 25

organization which was provided for

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the purpose of being used for campaign-related activity or in response to a solicitation for funds to be used for campaign-related activity (as required to be included in the report under section 304(f)(6)(A)(i)) but subclause (I) or subclause (II) does not apply, the person who is identified among all such reports as making the largest such payment.

"(IV) If none of the reports filed by any organization with respect to the electioneering communication under section 304 includes information on any person who made a payment to the organization which was provided for the purpose of being used for campaign-related activity or in response to a solicitation for funds to be used for campaign-related activity, but any of such reports includes information on any person who made an unrestricted donor payment to the organization (as required to be included in the report under section 1 304(f)(6)(A)(ii)), the person who is 2 identified among all such reports as 3 making the largest such unrestricted 4 donor payment.

"(5) Top 5 funders list described.—With respect to a communication paid for in whole or in part with a payment which is treated as a disbursement by a covered organization for campaign-related activity under section 325, the Top 5 Funders list described in this paragraph is—

"(A) in the case of a disbursement for an independent expenditure consisting of a public communication, a list of the 5 persons who provided the largest payments of any type which are required under section 304(g)(5)(A) to be included in the reports filed by any organization with respect to that independent expenditure under section 304, together with the amount of the payments each such person provided; or

"(B) in the case of a disbursement for an electioneering communication, a list of the 5 persons who provided the largest payments of any type which are required under section 304(f)(6)(A) to be included in the reports filed by any organization with respect to that elec-

1	tioneering communication under section 304,
2	together with the amount of the payments each
3	such person provided.
4	"(6) METHOD OF CONVEYANCE OF STATE-
5	MENT.—
6	"(A) COMMUNICATIONS TRANSMITTED
7	THROUGH RADIO.—In the case of a communica-
8	tion to which this subsection applies which is
9	transmitted through radio, the disclosure state-
10	ments required under paragraph (1) shall be
11	made by audio by the applicable individual in a
12	clearly spoken manner.
13	"(B) Communications transmitted
14	THROUGH TELEVISION.—In the case of a com-
15	munication to which this subsection applies
16	which is transmitted through television, the in-
17	formation required under paragraph (1)—
18	"(i) shall appear in writing at the end
19	of the communication in a clearly readable
20	manner, with a reasonable degree of color
21	contrast between the background and the
22	printed statement, for a period of at least
23	6 seconds; and
24	"(ii) except in the case of a Top 5
25	Funders list described in paragraph (5).

1	shall also be conveyed by an unobscured,
2	full-screen view of the applicable indi-
3	vidual, or by the applicable individual mak-
4	ing the statement in voice-over accom-
5	panied by a clearly identifiable photograph
6	or similar image of the individual.
7	"(7) Applicable individual defined.—In
8	this subsection, the term 'applicable individual'
9	means, with respect to a communication to which
10	this paragraph applies—
11	"(A) if the communication is paid for by
12	an individual or if the significant funder of the
13	communication under paragraph (4) is an indi-
14	vidual, the individual involved;
15	"(B) if the communication is paid for by a
16	corporation or if the significant funder of the
17	communication under paragraph (4) is a cor-
18	poration, the chief executive officer of the cor-
19	poration (or, if the corporation does not have a
20	chief executive officer, the highest ranking offi-
21	cial of the corporation);
22	"(C) if the communication is paid for by a
23	labor organization or if the significant funder of
24	the communication under paragraph (4) is a

1	labor organization, the highest ranking officer
2	of the labor organization; or
3	"(D) if the communication is paid for by
4	any other person or if the significant funder of
5	the communication under paragraph (4) is any
6	other person, the highest ranking official of
7	such person.
8	"(8) Other definitions.—In this subsection,
9	the terms 'campaign-related activity', 'covered orga-
10	nization', and 'unrestricted donor payment' have the
11	meaning given such terms in section 325.".
12	Subtitle C—Reporting Require-
13	ments for Registered Lobbyists
14	SEC. 221. REQUIRING REGISTERED LOBBYISTS TO REPORT
15	INFORMATION ON INDEPENDENT EXPENDI-
16	TURES AND ELECTIONEERING COMMUNICA-
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	TIONS.
18	(a) In General.—Section 5(d)(1) of the Lobbying
18 19	
	(a) In General.—Section 5(d)(1) of the Lobbying
19	(a) In General.—Section 5(d)(1) of the Lobbying Disclosure Act of 1995 (2 U.S.C. 1604(d)(1)) is amend-
19 20	(a) IN GENERAL.—Section 5(d)(1) of the Lobbying Disclosure Act of 1995 (2 U.S.C. 1604(d)(1)) is amended—
19 20 21	(a) In General.—Section 5(d)(1) of the Lobbying Disclosure Act of 1995 (2 U.S.C. 1604(d)(1)) is amended—  (1) by striking "and" at the end of subpara-

- 1 (3) by inserting after subparagraph (F) the fol-2 lowing new subparagraphs:
- "(G) the amount of any independent ex-3 4 penditure (as defined in section 301(17) of the 5 Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 (2) 6 U.S.C. 431(17)) equal to or greater than 7 \$1,000 made by such person or organization, 8 and for each such expenditure the name of each 9 candidate being supported or opposed and the 10 amount spent supporting or opposing each such 11 candidate;
  - "(H) the amount of any electioneering communication (as defined in section 304(f)(3) of such Act (2 U.S.C. 434(f)(3)) equal to or greater than \$1,000 made by such person or organization, and for each such communication the name of the candidate referred to in the communication and whether the communication involved was in support of or in opposition to the candidate; and".
- 21 (b) Effective Date.—The amendments made by 22 this section shall apply with respect to reports for semi-23 annual periods described in section 5(d)(1) of the Lob-24 bying Disclosure Act of 1995 that begin after the date 25 of the enactment of this Act.

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1	Subtitle D—Filing by Senate
2	<b>Candidates With Commission</b>
3	SEC. 231. FILING BY SENATE CANDIDATES WITH COMMIS-
4	SION.
5	Section 302(g) of the Federal Election Campaign Act
6	of 1971 (2 U.S.C. 432(g)) is amended to read as follows:
7	"(g) FILING WITH THE COMMISSION.—All des-
8	ignations, statements, and reports required to be
9	filed under this Act shall be filed with the Commis-
10	sion.".
11	TITLE III—DISCLOSURE BY COV-
12	ERED ORGANIZATIONS OF IN-
13	FORMATION ON CAMPAIGN-
14	RELATED ACTIVITY
15	SEC. 301. REQUIRING DISCLOSURE BY COVERED ORGANI-
16	ZATIONS OF INFORMATION ON CAMPAIGN-
17	RELATED ACTIVITY.
18	Section 325 of the Federal Election Campaign Act
19	of 1971, as added by section 212, is amended—
20	(1) by redesignating subsections (c) and (d) as
21	subsections (e) and (f); and
22	(2) by inserting after subsection (b) the fol-
23	lowing new subsections:

1	"(c) Disclosures to Shareholders, Members,
2	AND DONORS OF INFORMATION ON DISBURSEMENTS FOR
3	CAMPAIGN-RELATED ACTIVITY.—
4	"(1) Including information in regular
5	PERIODIC REPORTS.—A covered organization which
6	submits regular, periodic reports to its shareholders,
7	members, or donors on its finances or activities shall
8	include in each such report the information de-
9	scribed in paragraph (2) with respect to the dis-
10	bursements made by the organization for campaign-
11	related activity during the period covered by the re-
12	port.
13	"(2) Information described.—The informa-
14	tion described in this paragraph is, for each dis-
15	bursement for campaign-related activity—
16	"(A) the date of the independent expendi-
17	ture or electioneering communication involved;
18	"(B) the amount of the independent ex-
19	penditure or electioneering communication in-
20	volved;
21	"(C) the name of the candidate identified
22	in the independent expenditure or electioneering
23	communication involved, the office sought by
24	the candidate, and (if applicable) whether the
25	independent expenditure or electioneering com-

1	munication involved was in support of or in op-
2	position to the candidate;
3	"(D) in the case of a transfer of funds to
4	another person, the information required by
5	subparagraphs (A) through (C), as well as the
6	name of the recipient of the funds and the date
7	and amount of the funds transferred;
8	"(E) the source of such funds; and
9	"(F) such other information as the Com-
10	mission determines is appropriate to further the
11	purposes of this subsection.
12	"(d) Public Dissemination of Certain Informa-
13	TION.—
14	"(1) Information included in reports.—
15	"(A) Requiring dissemination.—If a
16	covered organization maintains an Internet site
17	the organization shall post on such Internet
18	site, in a machine-readable, searchable, sortable
19	and downloadable manner and through a direct
20	link from the homepage of the organization, the
21	following information:
22	"(i) The information the organization
23	is required to report under section
24	304(g)(5)(A) with respect to public inde-
25	pendent expenditures.

1	"(ii) The information the organization
2	is required to include in a statement of dis-
3	bursements for electioneering communica-
4	tions under section 304(f)(6).
5	"(B) Deadline; duration of post-
6	ING.—The covered organization shall post the
7	information described in subparagraph (A) not
8	later than 24 hours after the organization files
9	the information with the Commission under the
10	applicable provision of this Act, and shall en-
11	sure that the information remains on the
12	website until the expiration of the 1-year period
13	which begins on the date of the election with re-
14	spect to which the public independent expendi-
15	tures or electioneering communications are
16	made.
17	"(2) Information on Breakdown of dis-
18	BURSEMENTS AMONG TYPES OF RECIPIENTS.—
19	"(A) REQUIRING DISSEMINATION.—If a
20	covered organization maintains an Internet site,
21	the organization shall post on such Internet
22	site, in a machine-readable, searchable, sortable,
23	and downloadable manner and through a direct

link from the homepage of the organization, the

following information with respect to the aggre-

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1	gate amount of disbursements made by the or-
2	ganization for campaign-related activity during
3	a calendar year:
4	"(i) A breakdown by political party of
5	the total amount disbursed in support of
6	and in opposition to candidates of each po-
7	litical party.
8	"(ii) The total amount disbursed in
9	support of or opposition to—
10	"(I) incumbent candidates;
11	"(II) candidates challenging in-
12	cumbent candidates; and
13	"(III) candidates for election to
14	an office for which no incumbent is
15	seeking re-election.
16	"(B) Deadline; duration of post-
17	ING.—A covered organization shall post the in-
18	formation described in subparagraph (A) with
19	respect to a calendar year not later than the
20	first January 31 which follows that calendar
21	year, and shall ensure that the information re-
22	mains on the website until the end of the cal-
23	endar year in which the information is posted.".

# 1 TITLE IV—TELEVISION MEDIA

2	RATES
3	SEC. 401. TELEVISION MEDIA RATES.
4	(a) Application of Equal Opportunities Re-
5	QUIREMENT AND PROHIBITION OF CENSORSHIP TO CAN-
6	DIDATE AND NATIONAL COMMITTEES OF POLITICAL PAR-
7	TIES.—
8	(1) In general.—The matter preceding para-
9	graph (1) of section 315(a) of the Communications
10	Act of 1934 (47 U.S.C. 315(a)) is amended to read
11	as follows:
12	"(a) In General.—If any licensee shall permit any
13	person who is a legally qualified candidate for any public
14	office or any national committee of a political party in con-
15	nection with a campaign of a legally qualified candidate
16	for Federal office to use a broadcasting station, the li-
17	censee shall afford equal opportunities in the use of such
18	broadcasting station to all other such candidates for that
19	office or national committees of political parties in connec-
20	tion with such campaign for such office: Provided, That
21	such licensee shall have no power of censorship over the
22	material broadcast under the provisions of this section. No
23	obligation is imposed under this subsection upon any li-

24 censee to allow the use of its station by any such candidate

25 or national committee. Appearance by a legally qualified

1	candidate or a representative of a national committee of
2	a political party on behalf of any legally qualified can-
3	didate for Federal office on any—''.
4	(2) Conforming Amendment.—Section
5	315(a)(3) of such Act (47 U.S.C. $315(a)(3)$ ) is
6	amended by striking "candidate" and inserting
7	"candidate or representative".
8	(b) Reasonable Access To Purchase Broad-
9	CASTING TIME.—
10	(1) Reasonable access by political par-
11	TIES.—Section 312(a)(7) of such Act (47 U.S.C.
12	312(a)(7)) is amended—
13	(A) by striking "reasonable amounts of
14	time" and inserting "reasonable amounts of
15	time, including reasonable amounts of time pur-
16	chased at the lowest unit charge under section
17	315(b),";
18	(B) by striking "elective"; and
19	(C) by striking the period at the end and
20	inserting the following: "or by a national com-
21	mittee of a political party (including a national
22	congressional campaign committee of a political
23	party) in connection with the campaign of such
24	candidate.".

1 (2) Determination.—Section 312(c) of such 2 Act (47 U.S.C. 312(c)) is amended by inserting 3 after the second sentence the following: "In deter-4 mining whether reasonable amounts of time, includ-5 ing reasonable amounts of time purchased at the 6 lowest unit charge under section 315(b), have been 7 provided under subsection (a)(7), the Commission 8 shall examine and consider the time provided by the 9 licensee, permittee, or person to purchase time, in-10 cluding nonpreemptible time, by purchasers other 11 than a legally qualified candidate for Federal office 12 on behalf of his candidacy or by a national com-13 mittee of a political party (including a national con-14 gressional campaign committee of a political party) 15 in connection with such campaign." 16 (c) LOWEST UNIT CHARGE.— 17 (1) Charges for candidates for federal 18 OFFICE.—Section 315(b) of such Act (47 U.S.C. 19 315(b)) is amended— 20 (A) in paragraph (1)(A), by striking "paragraph (2)" and inserting "paragraphs (2) 21 22 and (3)"; 23 (B) by redesignating paragraph (2) as

paragraph (3); and

1	(C) by inserting after paragraph (1) the
2	following:
3	"(2) Charges for candidates for federal
4	OFFICE.—
5	"(A) Limitation on Charges.—Subject
6	to subparagraphs (B) and (C), the charges
7	made for the use of any broadcasting station by
8	any person who is a legally qualified candidate
9	for any Federal office in connection with the
10	campaign of such candidate for election to such
11	office, or by a national committee of a political
12	party in connection with such campaign, shall
13	not exceed—
14	"(i) subject to paragraph (3), during
15	the 45 days preceding the date of a pri-
16	mary or primary runoff election and dur-
17	ing the 60 days preceding the date of a
18	general or special election in which such
19	person is a candidate, the lowest unit
20	charge of the station for the same amount
21	of time that was offered at any time dur-
22	ing the 180 days preceding the date of use;
23	and

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1	"(ii) at any other time, the charges
2	made for comparable use of such station
3	by other users thereof.
4	"(B) Geographic Limitation.—The limi-
5	tation on charges under subparagraph (A) shall
6	only apply for the use of a broadcasting station
7	in the media markets that cover the State (or
8	States) in which the candidate is seeking elec-
9	tion to Federal office.
10	"(C) Eligibility.—
11	"(i) In general.—The limitation on
12	charges under subparagraph (A) shall only
13	apply if, in an election for a Federal office,
14	a covered organization under section 325
15	of the Federal Election Campaign Act of
16	1971 makes disbursements for election-
17	eering communications in connection with
18	any legally qualified candidate for Federal
19	office or for independent expenditures in
20	an aggregate amount of \$50,000 or more
21	during a calendar year.
22	"(ii) Application.—In such cir-
23	cumstances, the limitation on charges
24	under subparagraph (A) shall apply to all

legally qualified candidates for Federal of-

fice in such election and national committees of political parties in connection with such election.

- "(iii) Requirement.—In an election for Federal office in which no covered organization has made the disbursements described in clause (i), all legally qualified candidates in such election shall be entitled to receive the lowest unit charge described in paragraph (1) for as long as no such disbursements are made in such election.
- "(D) SEVERABILITY.—If the operation of subparagraph (C) is enjoined by any court of competent jurisdiction, or if subparagraph (C) is held to be constitutionally insufficient by final judicial decision, then subparagraph (A) shall take effect immediately without any limitation imposed by subparagraph (C)."
- (2) NATIONAL COMMITTEE CHARGES.—Section 315(b)(1) of such Act (47 U.S.C. 315(b)(1)) is amended in the matter preceding subparagraph (A) by striking "office shall" and inserting "office or by a national committee of a political party in connection with the campaign of a legally qualified candidate for Federal office shall".

- 1 (3) ADEQUATE ACCESS AT LOWEST UNIT
  2 CHARGE.—Section 315(b) of such Act (47 U.S.C.
  3 315(b)) is amended by adding at the end the fol-
- 4 lowing:

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- 5 "(4) Adequate access at lowest unit 6 CHARGE.—A licensee shall take all actions necessary 7 to ensure access to the use of a broadcasting station. 8 in accordance with the requirements under para-9 graph (2), to meet the obligations under section 10 312(a)(7) for the use of such station by a legally 11 qualified candidate for Federal office on behalf of 12 his candidacy and by a national committee of a po-13 litical party in connection with the campaign of such 14 candidate.".
  - (4) Conforming amendment.—Section 315(b)(3) of such Act (as redesignated by paragraph (1)(A)) is amended by striking "under paragraph (1)(A)" each place it appears and inserting "under paragraph (1)(A) or (2)(A)(i)".
  - (5) REQUIRING ORGANIZATIONS TO NOTIFY COMMISSION IF DISBURSEMENTS EQUAL OR EXCEED THRESHOLD.—Title III of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 (2 U.S.C. 431 et seq.), as amended by section 213(a), is further amended by adding at the end the following new section:

1	"SEC. 327. REQUIRING COVERED ORGANIZATIONS TO NO-
2	TIFY COMMISSION AND FCC IF DISBURSE
3	MENTS EQUAL OR EXCEED THRESHOLD.
4	"(a) Notification Required if Election- or
5	CANDIDATE-SPECIFIC DISBURSEMENTS EQUAL OR EX-
6	CEED THRESHOLD.—Not later than 24 hours after the
7	date by which the aggregate amount of disbursements
8	made by a covered organization for campaign-related ac-
9	tivity with respect to a specific election or a specific can-
10	didate (together with the amount of any disbursements
11	contracted to be made by the organization for such activ-
12	ity) first equals or exceeds \$50,000, the organization shall
13	file a report with the Commission and with the Federal
14	Communications Commission which states the amount of
15	the disbursements and identifies the election or candidate
16	involved.
17	"(b) Definitions.—For purposes of subsection (a),
18	the terms 'campaign-related activity' and 'covered organi-
19	zation' have the meaning given such terms in section
20	325.".
21	(d) Preemption; Random Audits.—Section 315 of
22	the Communications Act of 1934 (47 U.S.C. 315) is
23	amended—
24	(1) by redesignating subsection (c) as sub-
2.5	section $(x)$ :

- 1 (2) by redesignating subsection (d) as sub-2 section (f); and
- 3 (3) by inserting after subsection (b) the fol-4 lowing:

## 5 "(c) Preemption.—

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- "(1) IN GENERAL.—Except as provided in paragraph (2), a licensee shall not preempt the use of a broadcasting station by a legally qualified candidate for Federal office or a national committee of a political party in connection with the campaign of such candidate.
- "(2) CIRCUMSTANCES BEYOND CONTROL OF LI-CENSEE.—If a program to be broadcast by a broadcasting station is preempted because of circumstances beyond the control of the station, any scheduled use of a broadcasting station by such candidate or committee scheduled during that program may also be preempted.

## "(d) Random Audits.—

"(1) IN GENERAL.—During the 45 days preceding a primary election and the 60 days preceding a general election, the Commission shall conduct random audits of designated market areas to ensure that each broadcasting station to which this section applies is allocating broadcast time for legally quali-

1	fied candidates for Federal office in accordance with
2	this section and section 312.
3	"(2) Markets.—Each audit conducted under
4	paragraph (1) shall cover the following markets:
5	"(A) At least 6 of the top 50 largest des-
6	ignated market areas.
7	"(B) At least 3 of the 51–100 largest des-
8	ignated market areas.
9	$^{\circ}(C)$ At least 3 of the 101–150 largest
10	designated market areas.
11	$^{\circ}$ (D) At least 3 of the 151–210 largest
12	designated market areas.
13	"(3) Broadcast stations.—Each random
14	audit shall include each of the 3 largest television
15	broadcast networks, 1 independent television net-
16	work, 1 cable network, 1 provider of satellite serv-
17	ices, and 1 radio network.".
18	(e) Political File.—Section 315(e) of such Act (47
19	U.S.C. 315(e)) is amended by adding at the end the fol-
20	lowing:
21	"(4) Public access to political file.—In
22	making a record available for public inspection
23	under paragraph (1), a licensee shall make available
24	on a timely basis on the station's Web site the
25	record of a request to purchase broadcast time that

1	is made by or on behalf of a legally qualified can-
2	didate for Federal office, a national committee of a
3	political party in connection with a campaign for
4	such office, or by a covered organization under sec-
5	tion 325(c) of the Federal Election Campaign Act of
6	1971 for electioneering communications in connec-
7	tion with any legally qualified candidate for Federal
8	office or for independent expenditures.".
9	(f) Definitions.—Section 315(g) of such Act (as re-
10	designated by subsection (d)(1)) is amended—
11	(1) by striking "For purposes" and inserting
12	"Definitions.—For purposes";
13	(2) in paragraph (1), by striking "; and" and
14	inserting the following: "and a provider of cable or
15	satellite television service, except that such term
16	does not include a noncommercial educational broad-
17	cast station as defined under section 397;"
18	(3) in paragraph (2), by striking the period at
19	the end and inserting a semicolon; and
20	(4) by adding at the end the following:
21	"(3) the terms 'authorized committee', 'elec-
22	tion', 'electioneering communications', 'Federal of-
23	fice', and 'independent expenditure' have the mean-
24	ings given such terms by section 301 of the Federal
25	Election Campaign Act of 1971 (2 U.S.C. 431);

1	"(4) the term 'designated market area' has the
2	meaning given such term in section $122(j)(2)(C)$ of
3	title 17, United States Code; and
4	"(5) the term 'national committee of a political
5	party' includes a national congressional campaign
6	committee of a political party.".
7	(g) Stylistic Amendment.—Section 315(f) of such
8	Act (as redesignated by subsection (d)(2)), is amended by
9	striking "The Commission" and inserting "Regula-
10	TIONS.—The Commission".
11	TITLE V—OTHER PROVISIONS
12	SEC. 501. JUDICIAL REVIEW.
13	(a) Special Rules for Actions Brought on
14	CONSTITUTIONAL GROUNDS.—If any action is brought for
15	declaratory or injunctive relief to challenge the constitu-
16	tionality of any provision of this Act or any amendment
17	made by this Act, the following rules shall apply:
18	(1) The action shall be filed in the United
19	States District Court for the District of Columbia
20	and an appeal from a decision of the District Court
21	may be taken to the Court of Appeals for the Dis-
22	trict of Columbia Circuit.
23	(2) A copy of the complaint shall be delivered
24	promptly to the Clerk of the House of Representa-
25	tives and the Secretary of the Senate.

- 1 (3) It shall be the duty of the United States
  2 District Court for the District of Columbia, the
  3 Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia Cir4 cuit, and the Supreme Court of the United States to
  5 advance on the docket and to expedite to the great6 est possible extent the disposition of the action and
  7 appeal.
- 8 (b) Intervention by Members of Congress.—In any action in which the constitutionality of any provision 10 of this Act or any amendment made by this Act is raised, any member of the House of Representatives (including 11 12 a Delegate or Resident Commissioner to the Congress) or Senate shall have the right to intervene either in support of or opposition to the position of a party to the case re-14 15 garding the constitutionality of the provision or amendment. To avoid duplication of efforts and reduce the bur-16 17 dens placed on the parties to the action, the court in any 18 such action may make such orders as it considers nec-19 essary, including orders to require intervenors taking simi-20 lar positions to file joint papers or to be represented by 21 a single attorney at oral argument.
- 22 (c) CHALLENGE BY MEMBERS OF CONGRESS.—Any
  23 Member of the House of Representatives (including a Del24 egate or Resident Commissioner to the Congress) or Sen25 ate may bring an action, subject to the special rules de-

- 1 scribed in subsection (a), for declaratory or injunctive re-
- 2 lief to challenge the constitutionality of any provision of
- 3 this Act or any amendment made by this Act.

#### 4 SEC. 502. SEVERABILITY.

- 5 If any provision of this Act or amendment made by
- 6 this Act, or the application of a provision or amendment
- 7 to any person or circumstance, is held to be unconstitu-
- 8 tional, the remainder of this Act and amendments made
- 9 by this Act, and the application of the provisions and
- 10 amendment to any person or circumstance, shall not be
- 11 affected by the holding.

### 12 SEC. 503. EFFECTIVE DATE.

- Except as otherwise provided, this Act and the
- 14 amendments made by this Act shall take effect upon the
- 15 expiration of the 30-day period which begins on the date
- 16 of the enactment of this Act, and shall take effect without
- 17 regard to whether or not the Federal Election Commission
- 18 has promulgated regulations to carry out such amend-
- 19 ments.

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