## 109TH CONGRESS 1ST SESSION

## H. R. 1316

To amend the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 to repeal the limit on the aggregate amount of campaign contributions that may be made by individuals during an election cycle, to repeal the limit on the amount of expenditures political parties may make on behalf of their candidates in general elections for Federal office, to allow State and local parties to make certain expenditures using nonfederal funds, to restore certain rights to exempt organizations under the Internal Revenue Code of 1986, and for other purposes.

## IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

March 15, 2005

Mr. Pence (for himself and Mr. Wynn) introduced the following bill; which was referred to the Committee on House Administration

## A BILL

To amend the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 to repeal the limit on the aggregate amount of campaign contributions that may be made by individuals during an election cycle, to repeal the limit on the amount of expenditures political parties may make on behalf of their candidates in general elections for Federal office, to allow State and local parties to make certain expenditures using nonfederal funds, to restore certain rights to exempt organizations under the Internal Revenue Code of 1986, and for other purposes.

| 1  | Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representa-         |
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| 2  | tives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, |
| 3  | SECTION 1. SHORT TITLE.                                      |
| 4  | This Act may be cited as the "527 Fairness Act of            |
| 5  | 2005".   |
| 6  | SEC. 2. REPEAL OF AGGREGATE LIMIT ON CONTRIBUTIONS           |
| 7  | BY INDIVIDUALS.  |
| 8  | (a) Repeal of Limit.—Section 315(a) of the Fed-              |
| 9  | eral Election Campaign Act of 1971 (2 U.S.C. 441a(a))        |
| 10 | is amended by striking paragraph (3).                        |
| 11 | (b) Conforming Amendments.—                                  |
| 12 | (1) Indexing.—Section 315(c) of such Act (2                  |
| 13 | U.S.C. 441a(c)) is amended by striking "(a)(3),"             |
| 14 | each place it appears in paragraphs (1)(B)(i),               |
| 15 | (1)(C), and $(2)(B)(ii)$ .                                   |
| 16 | (2) Increase in limits for senate can-                       |
| 17 | DIDATES FACING WEALTHY OPPONENTS.—Section                    |
| 18 | 315(i)(1)(C) of such Act (2 U.S.C. $441a(i)(1)(C))$ is       |
| 19 | amended—   |
| 20 | (A) by amending clause (i) to read as fol-                   |
| 21 | lows:  |
| 22 | "(i) 2 times the threshold amount, but                       |
| 23 | not over 4 times that amount, the in-                        |
| 24 | creased limit shall be 3 times the applica-                  |
| 25 | ble limit;";   |

| 1  | (B) by amending clause (ii) to read as fol-          |
|----|--|
| 2  | lows:  |
| 3  | "(ii) 4 times the threshold amount,                  |
| 4  | but not over 10 times that amount, the in-           |
| 5  | creased limit shall be 6 times the applica-          |
| 6  | ble limit; and"; and                                 |
| 7  | (C) in clause (iii)—                                 |
| 8  | (i) by adding "and" at the end of sub-               |
| 9  | clause (I),  |
| 10 | (ii) by striking subclause (II), and                 |
| 11 | (iii) by redesignating subclause (III)               |
| 12 | as subclause (II).                                   |
| 13 | (3) Increase in limits for house can-                |
| 14 | DIDATES FACING WEALTHY OPPONENTS.—Section            |
| 15 | 315A(a)(1) of such Act (2 U.S.C. $441a-1(a)(1)$ ) is |
| 16 | amended—   |
| 17 | (A) by adding "and" at the end of sub-               |
| 18 | paragraph (A);                                       |
| 19 | (B) by striking subparagraph (B); and                |
| 20 | (C) by redesignating subparagraph (C) as             |
| 21 | subparagraph (B).                                    |

| 1  | SEC. 3. REPEAL OF LIMIT ON AMOUNT OF PARTY EXPENDI-   |
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| 2  | TURES ON BEHALF OF CANDIDATES IN GEN-                 |
| 3  | ERAL ELECTIONS.                                       |
| 4  | (a) Repeal of Limit.—Section 315(d) of the Fed-       |
| 5  | eral Election Campaign Act of 1971 (2 U.S.C. 441a(d)) |
| 6  | is amended—   |
| 7  | (1) in paragraph (1)—                                 |
| 8  | (A) by striking "(1) Notwithstanding" and             |
| 9  | inserting "Notwithstanding",                          |
| 10 | (B) by striking "expenditures or limita-              |
| 11 | tions on" and inserting "amounts of expendi-          |
| 12 | tures or contributions", and                          |
| 13 | (C) by striking "Federal office, subject to           |
| 14 | the limitations contained in paragraphs (2), (3),     |
| 15 | and (4) of this subsection" and inserting "Fed-       |
| 16 | eral office in any amount"; and                       |
| 17 | (2) by striking paragraphs (2), (3), and (4).         |
| 18 | (b) Conforming Amendments.—                           |
| 19 | (1) Indexing.—Section 315(c) of such Act (2           |
| 20 | U.S.C. 441a(c)) is amended—                           |
| 21 | (A) in paragraph (1)(B)(i), by striking               |
| 22 | "(d),"; and   |
| 23 | (B) in paragraph (2)(B)(i), by striking               |
| 24 | "subsections (b) and (d)" and inserting "sub-         |
| 25 | section (b)".   |

| 1  | (2) Increase in limits for senate can-             |
|----|--|
| 2  | DIDATES FACING WEALTHY OPPONENTS.—Section          |
| 3  | 315(i) of such Act (2 U.S.C. 441a(i)(1)) is amend- |
| 4  | $\operatorname{ed}$ —                              |
| 5  | (A) in paragraph (1)(C), as amended by             |
| 6  | section 2(b)(2)(C), by amending clause (iii) to    |
| 7  | read as follows:                                   |
| 8  | "(iii) 10 times the threshold amount,              |
| 9  | the increased limit shall be 6 times the ap-       |
| 10 | plicable limit.";                                  |
| 11 | (B) in paragraph (2)(A) in the matter pre-         |
| 12 | ceding clause (i), by striking ", and a party      |
| 13 | committee shall not make any expenditure,";        |
| 14 | (C) in paragraph (2)(A)(ii), by striking           |
| 15 | "and party expenditures previously made"; and      |
| 16 | (D) in paragraph (2)(B), by striking "and          |
| 17 | a party shall not make any expenditure".           |
| 18 | (3) Increase in limits for house can-              |
| 19 | DIDATES FACING WEALTHY OPPONENTS.—Section          |
| 20 | 315A(a) of such Act (2 U.S.C. 441a–1(a)) is amend- |
| 21 | ed—  |
| 22 | (A) in paragraph (1), as amended by sec-           |
| 23 | tion 2(b)(3), by striking "exceeds \$350,000—"     |
| 24 | and all that follows and inserting the following:  |
| 25 | "exceeds \$350.000, the limit under subsection     |

| 1  | (a)(1)(A) with respect to the candidate shall be            |
|----|---|
| 2  | tripled.";  |
| 3  | (B) in paragraph (3)(A) in the matter pre-                  |
| 4  | ceding clause (i), ", and a party committee                 |
| 5  | shall not make any expenditure,";                           |
| 6  | (C) in paragraph (3)(A)(ii), by striking                    |
| 7  | "and party expenditures previously made"; and               |
| 8  | (D) in paragraph (3)(B), by striking "and                   |
| 9  | a party shall not make any expenditure".                    |
| 10 | SEC. 4. INDEXING OF LIMITS ON AMOUNT OF CONTRIBU-           |
| 11 | TIONS MADE TO OR BY MULTICANDIDATE PO-                      |
| 12 | LITICAL COMMITTEES.   |
| 13 | (a) Indexing.—Section 315(c)(1) of the Federal              |
| 14 | Election Campaign Act of 1971 (2 U.S.C. 441a(c)(1)) is      |
| 15 | amended by inserting after "(a)(1)(B)" each place it ap-    |
| 16 | pears in subparagraphs (B)(i) and (C) the following:        |
| 17 | "(a)(1)(C), (a)(2),".                                       |
| 18 | (b) Timing of Increase.—Section 315(c)(1)(B) of             |
| 19 | such Act (2 U.S.C. 441a(c)(1)(B)) is amended in the mat-    |
| 20 | ter preceding clause (i) by striking "after 2002" and in-   |
| 21 | serting "after 2002 (or, in the case of the limitations es- |
| 22 | tablished under subsection (a)(1)(C) or (a)(2), after       |
| 23 | 2004)"  |

1 (c) Determination of Base Year.—Section 315(c)(2)(B) of such Act (2 U.S.C. 441a(c)(2)(B)) is amended— 3 (1) by striking "and" at the end of clause (i); 4 5 (2) by striking the period at the end of clause 6 (ii) and inserting "; and; and 7 (3) by adding at the end the following new 8 clause: 9 "(iii) for purposes of subsections (a)(1)(C) 10 and (a)(2), calendar year 2003.". SEC. 5. PERMITTING EXPENDITURES FOR ELECTION-12 EERING COMMUNICATIONS BY CERTAIN OR-13 GANIZATIONS. 14 (a) Permitting Organizations to Make Expend-15 ITURES FOR CERTAIN TARGETED ELECTIONEERING COM-MUNICATIONS.—Section 316(c) of the Federal Election 16 17 Campaign Act of 1971 (2 U.S.C. 441b(c)) is amended by 18 striking paragraph (6). 19 (b) Expanding Types of Organizations Eligi-20 BLE TO MAKE EXPENDITURES.— 21 (1) IN GENERAL.—Section 316(c) of such Act 22 (2 U.S.C. 441b(c)) is amended by striking "section 23 501(c)(4) organization" each place it appears in 24 paragraphs (2), (3)(A), and (4)(B) and inserting "section 501(c)(4), (5), or (6) organization". 25

- 1 (2) Definition.—Section 316(c)(4)(A)(i) of
- such Act (2 U.S.C. 441b(c)(4)(A)(i)) is amended by
- striking "section 501(c)(4) of the Internal Revenue
- 4 Code of 1986" and inserting "paragraph (4), (5), or
- 5 (6) of section 501(c) of the Internal Revenue Code
- 6 of 1986".
- 7 (c) Clarification of Effect on Tax Treatment
- 8 OF EXPENDITURES.—Section 316(c)(5) of such Act (2
- 9 U.S.C. 441b(c)(5) is amended by striking the period at
- 10 the end and inserting the following: ", or to affect the
- 11 treatment under such Code of any expenditures described
- 12 in section 527(e) of such Code which are made by a sec-
- 13 tion 501(c)(4), (5), or (6) organization.".
- 14 SEC. 6. EXPANDING ABILITY OF CORPORATIONS AND
- 15 LABOR ORGANIZATIONS TO COMMUNICATE
- 16 WITH MEMBERS.
- 17 (a) Types of Communications Permitted.—Sec-
- 18 tion 316(b)(4)(B) of the Federal Election Campaign Act
- 19 of 1971 (2 U.S.C. 441b(b)(4)(B)) is amended by striking
- 20 "only by mail addressed" and inserting "only by commu-
- 21 nications addressed or otherwise delivered".
- 22 (b) Solicitations by Trade Associations.—Sec-
- 23 tion 316(b)(4)(D) of such Act (2 U.S.C. 441b(b)(4)(D))
- 24 is amended by striking "to the extent that" and all that
- 25 follows and inserting a period.

| 1  | SEC. 7. PERMITTING STATE AND LOCAL POLITICAL PAR-      |
|----|--|
| 2  | TIES TO USE NONFEDERAL FUNDS FOR                       |
| 3  | VOTER REGISTRATION AND SAMPLE BAL-                     |
| 4  | LOTS.  |
| 5  | (a) In General.—Section 301(20) of the Federal         |
| 6  | Election Campaign Act of 1971 (2 U.S.C. 431(20)) is    |
| 7  | amended—   |
| 8  | (1) in subparagraph (A), by striking clause (i)        |
| 9  | and redesignating clauses (ii) through (iv) as clauses |
| 10 | (i) through (iii); and                                 |
| 11 | (2) in subparagraph (B)—                               |
| 12 | (A) in clause (i), by striking "subpara-               |
| 13 | graph (A)(i) or (ii)" and inserting "subpara-          |
| 14 | graph (A)(i)";   |
| 15 | (B) by striking "and" at the end of clause             |
| 16 | (iii);   |
| 17 | (C) by striking the period at the end of               |
| 18 | clause (iv); and                                       |
| 19 | (D) by adding at the end the following new             |
| 20 | clauses:   |
| 21 | "(v) voter registration activities; and                |
| 22 | "(vi) the costs incurred with the prep-                |
| 23 | aration of a sample ballot for an election             |
| 24 | in which a candidate for Federal office and            |
| 25 | a candidate for State or local office ap-              |
| 26 | pears on the ballot, if the sample ballot in-          |

- 1 cludes the names of every candidate for 2 Federal office listed on the sample ballot.". 3 (b) AMENDMENTS.—(1) Conforming Section 4 304(f)(3)(B)(iv) of such Act (2 U.S.C. 434(f)(3)(B)(iv)) is amended by striking "section 301(20)(A)(iii)" and in-5 6 serting "section 301(20)(A)(ii)". 7 (2) Section 323 of such Act (2 U.S.C. 441i) is 8 amended— 9 (A) in subsection (b)(2)(A), by striking "clause 10 (i) or (ii)" and inserting "clause (i)"; (B) in subsection (e)(4), by striking "clauses (i) 11 and (ii)" each place it appears in subparagraphs (A) 12 13 and (B) and inserting "clause (i)"; and (C) in subsection (f), by striking 14 "section "section 15 301(20)(A)(iii)" and inserting 16 301(20)(A)(ii)". 17 SEC. 8. EFFECTIVE DATE.
- The amendments made by this Act shall apply with respect to elections for Federal office occurring after 20 2004.

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