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A bill to be entitled An act relating to elections; creating the "Florida Clean Elections Act"; providing findings and declarations; defining terms; providing for clean money campaign funding for candidates; providing for a transition rule; providing limitations on contributions and expenditures; providing for seed money contributions; providing for participation in debates; providing for certification by the Division of Elections; providing additional benefits for participating candidates; providing for the amounts and payment schedule of clean money funding; providing for limitations on expenditure of clean money funds; providing for disclosure of excess spending by nonparticipating candidates; providing for reports of independent expenditures; providing for issue advertisements; directing the Secretary of State to create a nonpartisan Voter Information Commission; requiring publicly funded television and radio stations to provide free coverage of specified elections; providing for limitations on public mailing privileges; providing revenue sources for the Clean Money Trust Fund; providing for the administration and dispersal of clean money funds; providing for limitations on political party contributions and expenditures; amending s. 106.011, F.S.; redefining the term "political

1 advertisement"; amending s. 106.021, F.S.; 2 eliminating the authorization for unrestricted 3 expenditures by political parties and 4 committees; amending s. 106.08, F.S.; providing 5 limits on contributions to political parties; 6 revising limits on contributions to candidates 7 by political parties; providing penalties; amending s. 106.087, F.S.; eliminating the 8 9 authorization for specified expenditures by 10 political parties and committees; conforming a 11 statutory cross-reference; reenacting s. 106.19(1), F.S., relating to penalties; 12 amending s. 106.29, F.S; revising reporting 13 14 requirements; conforming statutory cross-references; providing for powers of and 15 reports by the Florida Elections Commission; 16 17 providing for repayment of excess expenditures; providing penalties; providing for 18 19 severability; providing an effective date. 20 21 Be It Enacted by the Legislature of the State of Florida: 22 23 Section 1. Short title.--This act may be cited as the 24 "Florida Clean Elections Act." 25 Section 2. Findings and declarations .--The legislature finds and declares that the 26 27 current system of privately financed campaigns for election to 28 statewide and legislative offices undermines democracy in this 29 state in the following principal ways: 30 (a) It violates the democratic principle of "one

vote by allowing large contributions to have a deleterious influence on the political process.

- (b) It violates the rights of all citizens to equal and meaningful participation in the democratic process.
- (c) It diminishes the free-speech rights of nonwealthy voters and candidates whose voices are drowned out by those who can afford to monopolize the arena of paid political communications.
- (d) It undermines the First Amendment right of voters and candidates to be heard in the political process; it undermines the First Amendment right of voters to hear all candidates' speech; and it undermines the core First Amendment value of open and robust debate in the political process.
- (e) It fuels the public perception of corruption and undermines public confidence in the democratic process and democratic institutions.
- (f) It drives up the cost of election campaigns,
 making it difficult for qualified candidates without access to
 large contributors or personal fortunes to mount competitive
 campaigns.
- (g) It places challengers at a disadvantage, because large campaign contributors tend to give their money to incumbents, thus causing elections to be less competitive.
- (h) It inhibits communication with the electorate by candidates without access to large sums of campaign money.
- (i) It burdens candidates with the incessant rigors of fundraising and thus decreases the time available to carry out their public responsibilities.
- (2) The Legislature finds and declares that providing a voluntary clean money campaign finance system for all

primary and general elections would enhance democracy in the state in the following principal ways:

- (a) It would help eliminate the deleterious influence of large contributions on the political process, remove access to wealth as a major determinant of a person's influence within the political process, and restore meaning to the principle of "one person, one vote."
- (b) It would help restore the rights of all citizens to equal and meaningful participation in the democratic process.
- (c) It would restore the free-speech rights of nonwealthy candidates and voters by providing candidates with the equal resources with which to communicate with the voters.
- (d) It would help restore the First Amendment right of voters and candidates to be heard in the political process; it would help restore the First Amendment right of voters to hear all candidates' speech; and it would help restore the core First Amendment value of open and robust debate in the political process.
- (e) It would diminish the public perception of corruption and strengthen public confidence in the democratic process and democratic institutions.
- (g) It would create a more level playing field for incumbents and challengers, create genuine opportunities for qualified residents of this state to run for statewide or legislative office, and encourage more competitive elections.
- (h) It would facilitate communication with the electorate by candidates, regardless of their access to large sums of campaign money.

- (i) It would free candidates from the incessant rigors of raising money, and allow them more time to carry out their official duties.
- (3) The Legislature further finds and declares that the unique factual circumstances in this state require that this act be enacted to promote the compelling state interests listed in subsection (2). This act is designed to create a rough proportionality between the benefits and restrictions that apply to participating candidates. However, it should be clear that the act is not entirely neutral. Participating candidates are deliberately favored to further the compelling state interest of encouraging participation in the public financing program.
- Section 3. Definitions.--As used in this act, the term:
- (1) "Seed money period" means the period beginning the day following the previous general election for that office and ending on the last day of the clean money qualifying period. This is the exploratory period during which candidates who wish to become eligible for clean money funding for the next elections are permitted to raise and spend a limited amount of private seed money, in contributions of up to \$100 per individual, for the purpose of testing the waters and fulfilling the clean money eligibility requirements. The seed money period begins before, but extends to the end of, the clean money qualifying period.
- (2) "Clean money qualifying period" means the period during which candidates are permitted to collect qualifying contributions in order to qualify for clean money funding. For legislative races, it begins 60 days before the beginning of the first primary election campaign period and ends 30 days

before the beginning of the first primary election. For gubernatorial and statewide races, it begins 120 days before the beginning of the first primary election campaign period and ends 30 days before the beginning of the first primary election.

- (3) "First primary election campaign period" means the period beginning 60 days before the first primary election and ending on the day of the first primary election.
- (4) "Second primary election campaign period" means the period beginning the day after the first primary election and ending on the day of the second primary election.
- (5) "General election campaign period" means the period beginning the day after the first or second primary election and ending on the day of the general election.
- (6) "Seed money contribution" means a contribution of no more than \$100 cumulative from any one source during the seed money period. The term does not include payments by a membership organization for the costs of communications to its members; payments by a membership organization for the purpose of facilitating the making of qualifying contributions; and volunteer activity, including the payment of incidental expenses by volunteers.
- (7) "Qualifying contribution" means a contribution of \$5 that is received during the designated clean money qualifying period by a candidate seeking to become eligible for clean money campaign funding and that is acknowledged by a written receipt identifying the contributor. Contributors must be registered voters who reside within the candidate's electoral district or state and who are therefore eligible to vote for that candidate. Qualifying contributions must be made in cash, or by check or money order; must be accompanied by a

receipt fully identifying the contributor that includes a signed statement indicating that he or she fully understands the purpose of the contribution and that the contribution is made without coercion or reimbursement; and must be turned over to the Division of Elections for deposit in the clean money fund. Qualifying contributions shall be gathered by candidates themselves or by volunteers who receive no compensation.

- (8) "Allowable contribution" means a qualifying contribution or a seed money contribution.
- (9) "Participating candidate" means a candidate who qualifies for clean money campaign funding. Such candidates are eligible to receive clean money funding during primary and general election campaign periods.
- who is on the ballot but has chosen not to apply for clean money campaign funding or a candidate who is on the ballot and has applied but has not satisfied the requirements for receiving clean money funding.
- (11) "Excess expenditure amount" means the amount of money spent or obligated to be spent by a nonparticipating candidate in excess of the clean money amount available to a participating candidate running for the same office.
- (12) "Immediate family" means the candidate's spouse, parents, and children.
- (13) "Soft money" means money raised by political parties that is unregulated by state law or which exceeds statutory limits for support for party candidates.
- 29 (14) "Mass mailings" means mailings of 200 or more
 30 identical or nearly identical pieces of mail sent by
 31 candidates or elected officials to the voters, residents, or

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postal box-holders within the jurisdiction candidates are seeking to represent. Such mailings, consisting of 2 3 substantially identical letters, newsletters, pamphlets, brochures, or other written material, are distinct from 4 5 mailings made in direct response to communications from 6 persons or groups to whom the matter is mailed; mailings to 7 federal, state, or local government officials; and news 8 releases to the communications media all of which are exempt 9 from this definition.

- (15) "Party candidate" means a candidate who represents a political party that has been granted ballot status and holds a primary election to choose its nominee for the general election.
- (16) "Independent candidate" means a candidate who does not represent a political party that has been granted ballot status and holds a primary election to choose its nominee for the general election.
- (17) "Florida Elections Commission" means the governmental agency created under section 106.24, Florida Statutes.
 - (18) "Department" means the Department of State.
- (19) "Division" means the Division of Elections in the Department of State.
- Section 4. <u>Eligibility for clean money campaign</u> funding for party candidates.--
- (1) A party candidate qualifies as a participating candidate for the first and second primary election campaign period if the candidate:
- 29 <u>(a) Files a declaration with the Division of Elections</u>
 30 <u>that he or she has complied and will comply with all of the</u>
 31 requirements of this act, including the requirement that

during the seed money period and the clean money qualifying

period the candidate not accept or spend private contributions

from any source other than seed money contributions and clean

money qualifying contributions unless the provisions of

section 6 apply; and

(b) Meets the following qualifying contribution

requirements before the close of the clean money qualifying

period:

- 1. A party candidate must collect at least the following number of qualifying contributions:
- a. For a candidate running for the office of State Representative, 500.
- b. For a candidate running for the office of State Senator, 1,500.
 - c. For a candidate running for state office, 20,000.
- d. For a candidate running for the office of Governor, 30,000.
 - 2. Each qualifying contribution must be:
- a. Acknowledged by a receipt to the contributor with a copy to be kept by the candidate and a third copy to be submitted to the Division of Elections. The receipt shall indicate, by the contributor's signature, that the contributor understands that the purpose of the contribution is to help the candidate qualify for clean money campaign funding, and believes that he or she is currently registered to vote in the candidate's district. The receipt must include the contributor's signature, printed name, home address, and telephone number, and the name of the candidate on whose behalf the contribution is made.
- b. Submitted, with a signed and completed receipt, to the Division of Elections according to a schedule and

procedure to be determined by the division. A contribution submitted as a qualifying contribution that does not include a 2 3 signed and completed receipt may not be counted as a qualifying contribution. 4 5 (2) A party candidate qualifies as a participating 6 candidate for the general election campaign period if the 7 candidate: 8 (a) Has met all of the applicable requirements and 9 filed a declaration with the Division of Elections that he or 10 she has fulfilled and will fulfill all of the requirements of 11 a participating candidate as stated in this act; and 12 (b) As a participating candidate during the first and second primary election campaign period, he or she had the 13 highest number of votes of the candidates contesting the 14 primary elections from his or her respective party, or, by 15 other means, won the party's official nomination. 16 17 Section 5. Eligibility for clean money campaign funding for independent candidates .--18 19 (1) An independent candidate qualifies as a

- (1) An independent candidate qualifies as a participating candidate for the first and second primary election campaign period if the candidate:
- (a) Files a declaration with the Division of Elections that he or she has complied and will comply with all of the requirements of this act, including the requirement that during the seed money period and the clean money qualifying period the candidate not accept or spend private contributions from any source other than seed money contributions and clean money qualifying contributions unless the provisions of section 6 apply; and

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act, and

1 (b) Meets the following qualifying contribution 2 requirements before the close of the clean money qualifying 3 period: 1. An independent candidate must collect the same 4 5 number of qualifying contributions as a party candidate must 6 collect for the same office as provided in section 4. 7 Each qualifying contribution must be: 8 a. Acknowledged by a receipt to the contributor, with 9 a copy to be kept by the candidate and a third copy to be submitted to the division. The receipt must indicate, by the 10 11 contributor's signature, that the contributor understands that the purpose of the contribution is to help the candidate 12 qualify for clean money campaign funding, and believes that he 13 or she is currently registered to vote in the candidate's 14 district. The receipt must include the contributor's 15 signature, printed name, home address, and telephone number, 16 and the name of the candidate on whose behalf the contribution 17 18 is made. 19 Submitted, with a signed and completed receipt, to the Division of Elections according to a schedule and 20 21 procedure to be determined by the division. 22 An independent candidate qualifies as a participating candidate for the general election campaign 23 24 period: (a) If, before the first and second primary election, 25 he or she has met all of the applicable requirements of this 26 27 act and filed a declaration with the Division of Elections

that he or she has fulfilled and will fulfill all of the

requirements of a participating candidate as stated in this

(b) If, during the first and second primary election campaign period, he or she has fulfilled all the requirements of a participating candidate as stated in this act.

Section 6. Transition rule for current election cycle.--During the election cycle in effect on July 1, 2000, a

cycle.--During the election cycle in effect on July 1, 2000, a candidate may be certified as a participating candidate, notwithstanding the acceptance of contributions or making of expenditures from private funds before July 1, 2000, which would, absent this section, disqualify the candidate as a participating candidate if any private funds accepted but not expended before July 1, 2000, are returned to the contributor or submitted to the Division of Elections for deposit in the clean money fund.

Section 7. Continuing obligation to comply.--A
participating candidate who accepts any benefits during the
first and second primary election campaign period shall comply
with all the requirements of this legislation through the
general election campaign period whether he or she continues
to accept benefits or not, unless a participating candidate
loses in a primary election or withdraws from another
candidacy and subsequently is selected as a candidate for
Lieutenant Governor with a nonparticipating candidate for
governor.

Section 8. Contributions and expenditures. --

- (1) During the primary and general election campaign periods, a participating candidate who has voluntarily agreed to participate in and has become eligible for clean money benefits, may not accept private contributions from any source other than the candidate's political party.
- (2) A person may not make a contribution in the name of another person. A participating candidate who receives a

 qualifying contribution or a seed money contribution that is not from the person listed on the receipt required by subsection (1)(b)2. of section 4 and subsection (3) of section 10 shall be liable to pay the Florida Elections Commission the entire amount of the laundered contribution, in addition to any penalties.

- (3) During the primary and general election campaign periods, a participating candidate shall pay for all of his or her campaign expenditures, except petty cash expenditures, by means of the Division of Elections Clean Money Debit Card, as authorized under section 25 of this act.
- (4) Eligible candidates shall furnish complete campaign records, including all records of seed money contributions and qualifying contributions, to the Division of Elections at regular filing times, or on request by the division. Candidates must cooperate with any audit or examination by the division or the Florida Elections Commission.

Section 9. Use of personal funds. --

- (1) Personal funds contributed as seed money by a candidate seeking to become eligible as a participating candidate or by adult members of his or her immediate family may not exceed the maximum of \$100 per contributor.
- (2) Personal funds may not be used to meet the qualifying contribution requirement except for one \$5 contribution from the candidate and one \$5 contribution from the candidate and his or her spouse are registered voters who reside in the candidate's electoral district.

Section 10. Seed money.--

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- (1) The only private contributions a candidate seeking to become eligible for clean money funding may accept, other than qualifying contributions, are seed money contributions contributed before the end of the clean money qualifying period.
- (2) A seed money contribution may not exceed \$100 from any one source and the aggregate amount of seed money contributions accepted by a candidate seeking to become eligible for clean money funding may not exceed:
- (a) For a candidate running for the office of state representative, \$10,000.
- (b) For a candidate running for the office of state senator, \$30,000.
- (c) For a candidate running for statewide office, 15 \$200,000.
 - (d) For a candidate running for Governor, \$500,000.
 - Receipts for seed money contributions under \$25 shall only include the contributor's signature, printed name, and address. Receipts for seed money contributions of \$25 or more shall include the contributor's signature, printed name, street address and zip code, telephone number, occupation, and name of employer. Contributions may not be accepted if the required disclosure information is not received.
 - (4) Seed money may be spent only during the clean money qualifying period. Seed money may not be spent during the primary or general election campaign periods.
 - Within 48 hours after the close of the clean money qualifying period, candidates seeking to become eligible for clean money funding shall fully disclose all seed money contributions and expenditures to the Division of Elections and turn over to the division for deposit in the clean money

fund any seed money he or she has raised during the designated seed money period that exceeds the aggregate seed money limit.

Section 11. Participation in debates.--

- (1) Participating candidates in contested races shall participate in one 1-hour debate during a contested first primary election, one 1-hour debate during a second primary election, and two 1-hour debates during a contested general election when public debate opportunities are available.
- (2) Licensed broadcasters receiving state funding or providing publicly authorized cable services are required to publicly broadcast debates for gubernatorial and other statewide races.
- (3) Nonparticipating candidates for the same office whose names will appear on the ballot must be invited to join the debates.

Section 12. Certification. --

- (1) No more than 5 days after a candidate applies for clean money benefits, the Division of Elections shall certify that the candidate is or is not eligible. Eligibility can be revoked if the candidate violates the requirements of this act, in which case all clean money funds must be repaid.
- (2) The candidate's request for certification shall be signed by the candidate and his or her campaign treasurer under penalty of perjury.
- (3) The Division of Elections' determination is final except that it is subject to examination and audit by an outside agency and to a prompt expedited judicial review.
- Section 13. <u>Benefits provided to candidates eligible</u> to receive clean money.--
- (1) Candidates who qualify for clean money funding for primary and general elections shall:

- (a) Receive clean money funding from the Division of Elections for each election, the amount of which is specified in section 15. This funding may be used to finance any and all campaign expenses during the particular campaign period for which it was allocated.

 (b) Receive media benefits and mailing privileges as
- (b) Receive media benefits and mailing privileges as provided for in sections 22 and 23 of this act.
- (c) Receive additional clean money funding to match any excess expenditure amount spent by a nonparticipating candidate, as specified in section 17(4) of this act.
- (d) Receive additional clean money funding to match any independent expenditure made in opposition to their candidacies or on behalf of their opponents' candidacies, as specified in sections 18 and 19 of this act.
- (2) The maximum aggregate amount of additional funding a participating candidate may receive to match independent expenditures and the excess expenditures of nonparticipating candidates is 300 percent of the full amount of clean money funding allocated to a participating candidate for a particular primary or general election campaign period.

Section 14. Schedule of clean money payments. --

(1) An eligible party candidate shall receive his or her clean money funding for the first or second primary election campaign period on the date on which the Division of Elections certifies the candidate as a participating candidate. This certification shall take place no later than 5 days after the candidate has submitted the required number of qualifying contributions and a declaration stating that he or she has complied with all other requirements for eligibility as a participating candidate, but no earlier than the

beginning of the first or second primary election campaign period.

- (2) An eligible party candidate shall receive his or her clean money funding for the general election campaign period within 48 hours after certification of the applicable primary election results.
- his or her clean money funding for the first or second primary election campaign period on the date on which the Division of Elections certifies the candidate as a participating candidate. This certification shall take place no later than 5 days after the candidate has submitted the required number of qualifying contributions and a declaration stating that he or she has complied with all other requirements for eligibility as a participating candidate, but no earlier than the beginning of the first or second primary election campaign period.
- (4) An eligible independent candidate shall receive his or her clean money funding for a general election campaign period within 48 hours after certification of the applicable primary election results.

Section 15. Determination of clean money amounts. --

- (1) The amount of clean money funding for an eligible party candidate in a contested first primary election is:
- (a) For a candidate running for the office of state representative, \$45,000.
- 29 <u>(c) For a candidate running for statewide office,</u> 30 \$700,000.
 - (d) For a candidate running for Governor, \$2 million.

1	(2) The clean money amount for an eligible party
2	candidate in an uncontested first primary election is 10
3	percent of the amount provided in a contested first primary
4	election.
5	(3) The clean money amount for an eligible party
6	candidate in a second primary election is 25 percent of the
7	amount for the first primary election.
8	(4) The amount of clean money funding for an eligible
9	party candidate in a contested general election is:
10	(a) For a candidate running for the office of state
11	representative, \$60,000.
12	(b) For a candidate running for the office of state
13	senator, \$180,000.
14	(c) For a candidate running for statewide office, \$1
15	million.
16	(d) For a candidate running for Governor, \$5 million.
17	(5) The clean money amount for an eligible independent
18	candidate in a primary election is 10 percent of the amount
19	received by a party candidate in a contested primary election.
20	(6) The clean money amount for an eligible independent
21	candidate in the general election is the same as the full
22	amount received by a party candidate in the general election.
23	(7) After the first cycle of clean money elections,
24	the Division of Elections shall modify all clean money amounts
25	based on the rate of inflation or the cost-of-living index.
26	Section 16. Expenditures made with clean money funds.
27	(1) The clean money funding received by a
28	participating candidate may be used only for the purpose of
29	defraying that candidate's campaign-related expenses during a
30	particular election campaign period for which the clean money
31	funding was allocated.

1 (2) Clean money funding may not be used in violation of the law or to repay any personal, family or business loans, 2 3 expenditures, or debts. 4 Section 17. Disclosure of excess spending by 5 nonparticipating candidates .--6 (1) If a nonparticipating candidate's total 7 expenditures exceed the amount of clean money funding 8 allocated to his or her clean money opponent, he or she shall declare every excess expenditure amount which, in the 9 aggregate, is more than \$1,000 to the Division of Elections 10 11 within 48 hours. 12 (2) During the last 20 days before the end of the relevant campaign period, a nonparticipating candidate shall 13 declare to the Division of Elections each excess expenditure 14 amount over \$500 within 24 hours of when the expenditure is 15 made or obligated to be made. 16 17 (3) The Division of Elections may make its own determination as to whether excess expenditures have been made 18 19 by nonparticipating candidates. 20 (4) Upon receiving an excess expenditure declaration, 21

(4) Upon receiving an excess expenditure declaration, the Division of Elections shall immediately release additional clean money funding to the opposing participating candidate equal to the excess expenditure amount the nonparticipating candidate has spent or intends to spend subject to the limit set forth in section 13(2).

Section 18. Definitions.--

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- (1) As used in this act, the term:
- (a) "Independent expenditure" means an expenditure

 made by a person or group other than a candidate or

 candidate's authorized committee which is made for a

 communication that contains express advocacy, and is made

without the participation or cooperation of and without coordination with a candidate or candidate committee. 2 3 (b) "Express advocacy" means a communication that is made through a broadcast medium, newspaper, magazine, 4 5 billboard, direct mail, or similar type of general public 6 communication or political advertising that advocates the 7 election or defeat of a clearly identified candidate, 8 including any communication that contains a phrase such as 'vote for," "re-elect," "support," "cast your ballot for," 9 10 "(name of candidate) for (name of office)," "(name of 11 candidate) in (year), " "vote against, " "defeat, " "reject, " or contains campaign slogans or individual words that in context 12 can have no reasonable meaning other than to recommend the 13 election or defeat of one or more clearly identified 14 15 candidates. The term does not include any news story, commentary, or editorial by a broadcasting station, newspaper, 16 17 magazine, or other publication, if the entity is not owned by or affiliated with any candidate or candidate committee or a 18 19 regularly published newsletter or other communication whose circulation is limited to an organization's members, 20 employees, shareholders, other affiliated individuals and 21 those who request or purchase the internal publication. 22 "Coordination" as used in paragraph (a) means a 23 24 payment made for a communication or anything of value that is 25 for the purpose of influencing the outcome of a state election and that is made: 26 27 1. By a person in cooperation, consultation, or 28 concert with, at the request or suggestion of, or pursuant to 29 a particular understanding with a candidate, a candidate's 30 authorized committee, or an agent acting on behalf of an

candidate or authorized committee;

- 2. By a person for the dissemination, distribution, or republication, in whole or in part, of any broadcast or any written, graphic, or other form of campaign material prepared by a candidate, a candidate's authorized committee, or an agent of a candidate or authorized committee;
 - 3. Based on specific information about the candidate's plans, projects, or needs provided to the person making the payment by the candidate or the candidate's agent who provides the information with a view toward having the payment made;
 - 4. By a person if, in the same election cycle in which the payment is made, the person making the payment is serving or has served as a member, employee, fund-raiser, or agent of the candidate's authorized committee in an executive or policy-making position;
 - 5. By a person if the person making the payment has served in any formal policy or advisory position with the candidate's campaign or has participated in strategic or policy-making discussions with the candidate's campaign relating to the candidate's pursuit of nomination for election or election to a state office in the same election cycle as the election cycle in which the payment is made; or
 - 6. By a person if the person making the payment retains the professional services of an individual or person who, in a nonministerial capacity, has provided or is providing campaign-related services in the same election cycle to a candidate who is pursuing the same nomination or election as any of the candidates to whom the communication refers.
 - (d) "Professional services" includes services in support of a candidate's pursuit of nomination for election or election to state office such as polling, media advice, direct mail, fundraising, or campaign research.

Section 19. <u>Disclosure of and additional clean money</u> to respond to independent expenditures.--

- (1) Any person who makes an independent expenditure during a primary or general election campaign period which, in the aggregate, exceeds \$1,000 shall report each expenditure within 48 hours to the Division of Elections.
- include a statement, under penalty of perjury, by the person making the independent expenditure identifying the candidate whom the independent expenditure is intended to help elect or defeat and affirming that the expenditure is totally independent and involves no cooperation or coordination with a candidate or a political party.
- (3) An individual or organization may file a complaint with the Florida Elections Commission if he or she or the organization believes that such a statement if false. The Florida Elections Commission shall make a prompt determination about such a complaint.
- (4) Any person who makes an independent expenditure that in the aggregate exceeds \$500 shall report each expenditure within 24 hours to the Division of Elections.
- (5) Upon receiving a report that an independent expenditure has been made or is obligated to be made, the Division of Elections shall immediately release additional clean money funding, equal in amount to the cost of the independent expenditure, to all participating candidates whom the independent expenditure is intended to oppose or defeat, as set forth in subsections (2) and (4), if the maximum aggregate amount of additional funding a participating candidate receives to match independent expenditures and the excess expenditures of nonparticipating candidates is no more

than 300 percent of the full amount of clean money funding allocated to a participating candidate in that election, and the aggregate amount of the campaign expenditures, combined with the amount of the independent expenditures of the nonparticipating candidate benefitting from the independent expenditure exceeds the amount of clean money funding received by the participating candidate.

(6) Funding in the same amounts must also be granted to any participating candidate when another participating candidate benefits, however unintentionally, from independent expenditures which, in the aggregate with other expenditures, exceed the clean money amount received by the participating candidates.

Section 20. <u>Definition and disclosure of and</u> additional clean money to respond to issue advertisements.--

- (1) As used in this act, the term "issue advertisement" means a communication through a broadcasting station, newspaper, magazine, outdoor advertising facility, mailing, or any other type of general public political advertising the purchase of which is not an independent expenditure or a contribution and which costs, in the aggregate, \$1,000 or more; which contains the name or likeness of one or more candidates; which is communicated during a primary or general election period; and which recommends a position on a political issue.
- (2) A person that makes a disbursement to purchase an issue advertisement shall file a report with the Division of Elections not later than 48 hours after making the disbursement, containing the amount of the disbursement, the name and address of the person making the disbursement, the

purpose of the issue advertisement, and the script or a printed or duplicated audio copy of the advertisement.

advertisement has been made or is obligated to be made, and upon determination that the advertisement can reasonably be interpreted as having the effect of promoting the defeat of a participating candidate or the election of that candidate's opponent, the Division of Elections shall immediately release to that candidate additional clean money funding, equal in amount to the cost of the issue advertisement.

Section 21. Voter Information Commission .--

- (1) The Secretary of State shall establish and administer a nonpartisan Voter Information Commission consisting of representatives of nonprofit organizations, political parties, the media, and interested citizens.
- (2) The Voter Information Commission may establish a voter information program for the purpose of providing voters with election-related information and fostering political dialogue and debate.
- (3) The Voter Information Commission shall organize the publication and distribution of a voter information guide that includes important information about candidates appearing on the ballot, including biographical material submitted by the candidates; whether candidates are funding their campaigns with public money or private money; policy statements by the candidates or their political parties on issues designated by the commission and other issues; and, when pertinent, candidates' voting records.

Section 22. Broadcast debates.--

30 (1) All television and radio broadcast stations
31 publicly funded in part or providing publicly approved cable

services shall make available, as a condition of their licenses, free coverage for gubernatorial and other statewide candidate debates in contested primary and general elections.

- (2) At a minimum, broadcasters shall broadcast, and participating candidates in gubernatorial and other statewide races shall participate in, 1-hour debate during a contested primary election and two 1-hour debates during a contested general election.
- (3) All participating candidates shall participate in public debates when practicable and all nonparticipating candidates for the same office whose names will appear on the ballot must be invited to join the debates.

Section 23. <u>Limit on use of legislative or other</u> public official mailing privileges.--

- (1) Except as provided in subsection (2), an elected official shall not mail any mass mailings as government mail during the period between July 1 of the election year and the date of the general election for that office, unless the candidate has made a public announcement that he or she will not be a candidate for reelection to that office or to any other state office during that election cycle.
- (2) The normal privileges for elected officials shall remain applicable to mailings not covered under the definition of mass mailing in section 3(14).

Section 24. Revenue sources for Clean Money Trust Fund.--

(1) The Legislature may appropriate funds which, when added to the revenue outlined in subsection (2), will be sufficient to fully carry out the activities outlined in this act. The appropriated funds shall be deposited in the Clean Money Trust Fund, if created by law.

1	(2) Other sources of revenue to be deposited in the
2	trust fund include:
3	(a) The qualifying contributions required of
4	candidates seeking to become certified as participating
5	candidates according to section 4 of this act and candidates
6	excess qualifying contributions;
7	(b) The excess seed money contributions of candidates
8	seeking to become certified as participating candidates;
9	(c) Unspent funds distributed to any participating
10	candidate who does not remain a candidate until the primary or
11	general election for which they were distributed, or such
12	funds that remain unspent by a participating candidate
13	following the date of the primary or general election for
14	which they were distributed;
15	(d) Fines levied by the Florida Elections Commission
16	against candidates for violation of election laws;
17	(e) Voluntary donations made directly to the Clean
18	Money Trust Fund;
19	(f) A 10 percent surcharge on civil fines.
20	(g) Any interest generated by the fund; and
21	(h) Any other sources of revenue determined by law.
22	Section 25. Administration and dispersal of clean
23	money
24	(1) Upon determination that a candidate has met all
25	the requirements for becoming a participating candidate as
26	provided for in this act, the Division of Elections shall
27	authorize the issuance to the candidate of a card, known as
28	the Clean Money Debit Card, and a line of debit entitling the
29	candidates and members of the candidate's staff to draw clean
30	money funds from a state account to pay for all campaign costs

and expenses up to the amount of clean money funding the candidate has received.

- (2) Neither a participating candidate nor any other person on behalf of a participating candidate shall pay campaign costs by cash, check, money order, loan, or by any other financial means besides the Clean Money Debit Card, except as provided for in subsection (3).
- (3) Cash amounts of \$100 or less per day may be drawn on the Clean Money Debit Card and used to pay expenses of no more than \$25 each. Records of all such expenditures must be maintained and reported to the Division of Elections.

Section 26. <u>Political party contributions and</u> expenditures.--

- in-kind contributions from political parties if the aggregate amount of the contributions from all political party committees combined does not exceed the equivalent of 10 percent of the clean money financing amount for that office and if the aggregate does not exceed \$100,000 per candidate per election period.
- (2) Contributions made to, and expenditures made by, political parties during primary and general election campaign periods must be reported to the Division of Elections on the same basis as contributions and expenditures made to or by candidates.
- (3) This act does not prevent political party funds from being used for: general operating expenses of the party; conventions; nominating and endorsing candidates on a nonrecurring basis within each election period; identifying, researching, and developing the party's positions on issues; party platform activities; non-candidate-specific voter

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registration; non-candidate-specifid get-out-the-vote drives; travel expenses for noncandidate party leaders and staff; and 2 3 other non-candidate-specific party building activities. Section 27. Subsection (17) of section 106.011, 4 5 Florida Statutes, is amended to read: 6 106.011 Definitions.--As used in this chapter, the 7 following terms have the following meanings unless the context clearly indicates otherwise: 8 9 (17)(a) "Political advertisement" means a paid 10 expression in any communications media prescribed in 11 subsection (13), whether radio, television, newspaper, magazine, periodical, campaign literature, direct mail, or 12 13 display or by means other than the spoken word in direct 14 conversation, which shall support or oppose any candidate, elected public official, or issue. A political advertisement 15 shall be deemed to support or oppose a candidate or elected 16 17 public official if it mentions or shows a clearly identifiable candidate for election or reelection and is distributed at any 18 19 point during the period following the last day of qualifying 20 for that candidacy through the immediately ensuing general election, regardless of whether the communication contains the 21 words "vote for," "re-elect," "vote against," "defeat," or any 22 23 similar words or statements. 24 (b) However, "Political advertisement" does not 25 include: 1.(a) A statement by an organization, in existence 26 prior to the time during which a candidate qualifies or an 27 28 issue is placed on the ballot for that election, in support of

or opposition to a candidate or issue, in that organization's

newsletter, which newsletter is distributed only to the

31 members of that organization.

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1 2.(b) Editorial endorsements by any newspaper, radio 2 or television station, or other recognized news medium. 3

- 3. A paid expression in any communications media that mentions or shows a clearly identifiable candidate for election or reelection and that:
- a. Advertises a business rather than the candidate, is paid for out of funds of that business, and is similar to other advertisements for that business that have mentioned or shown the candidate and have been distributed on a regular basis over a period of at least 1 year prior to the qualifying period for that candidacy; or
- b. Is distributed or broadcast only to areas other than the geographical area of the electorate for that candidacy.

Section 28. Subsection (3) of section 106.021, Florida Statutes, is amended to read:

106.021 Campaign treasurers; deputies; primary and secondary depositories .--

(3) Except for independent expenditures, no contribution or expenditure, including contributions or expenditures of a candidate or of the candidate's family, shall be directly or indirectly made or received in furtherance of the candidacy of any person for nomination or election to political office in the state or on behalf of any political committee except through the duly appointed campaign treasurer of the candidate or political committee. However, expenditures may be made directly by any political committee or political party regulated by chapter 103 for obtaining time, space, or services in or by any communications medium for the purpose of jointly endorsing three or more candidates, 31 and any such expenditure shall not be considered a

 contribution or expenditure to or on behalf of any such candidates for the purposes of this chapter.

Section 29. Section 106.08, Florida Statutes, is amended to read:

- 106.08 Contributions; limitations on.--
- (1)(a) Except for political parties, no person, political committee, or committee of continuous existence may, in any election, make contributions in excess of \$500 to any candidate for election to or retention in office or to any political committee supporting or opposing one or more candidates. Candidates for the offices of Governor and Lieutenant Governor on the same ticket are considered a single candidate for the purpose of this section.
- (b)1. The contribution limits provided in this subsection do not apply to contributions made by a state or county executive committee of a political party regulated by chapter 103 or to amounts contributed by a candidate to his or her own campaign.
- 2. Notwithstanding the limits provided in this subsection, an unemancipated child under the age of 18 years of age may not make a contribution in excess of \$100 to any candidate or to any political committee supporting one or more candidates.
- (c) The contribution limits of this subsection apply to each election. For purposes of this subsection, the first primary, second primary, and general election are separate elections so long as the candidate is not an unopposed candidate as defined in s. 106.011(15). However, for the purpose of contribution limits with respect to candidates for retention as a justice or judge, there is only one election, which is the general election. With respect to candidates in a

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circuit holding an election for circuit judge or in a county holding an election for county court judge, there are only two elections, which are the first primary election and general election.

- (2) A person, political committee, or committee of continuous existence may not make contributions to the state and county executive committees of a political party, including any subordinate committee of a state or county executive committee of a political party, which contributions, including in-kind contributions, in the aggregate in any calendar year exceed \$5,000.
- (3) $\frac{(2)}{(a)}$ A candidate may not accept contributions from national, state, including any subordinate committee of a national, state, or county committee of a political party, and county executive committees of a political party, including any subordinate committee of a national, state, or county executive committee of a political party, which contributions, including in-kind contributions, in the aggregate in any calendar year exceed\$5,000\$50,000, no more than \$25,000 of which may be accepted prior to the 28-day period immediately preceding the date of the general election.
- (b) National, state, and county executive committees of a political party, including any subordinate committee of a national, state, or county executive committee of a political party, may not make contributions to a candidate, which contributions, including in-kind contributions, in the aggregate in any calendar year exceed \$5,000. Polling services, research services, costs for campaign staff, professional consulting services, and telephone calls are not contributions to be counted toward the contribution limits of 31 paragraph (a). Any item not expressly identified in this

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 paragraph as nonallocable is a contribution in an amount equal to the fair market value of the item and must be counted as allocable toward the \$50,000 contribution limits of paragraph (a). Nonallocable, in-kind contributions must be reported by the candidate under s. 106.07 and by the political party under s. 106.29.

- (4)(3)(a) Any contribution received by a candidate with opposition in an election or by the campaign treasurer or a deputy campaign treasurer of such a candidate on the day of that election or less than 5 days prior to the day of that election must be returned by him or her to the person or committee contributing it and may not be used or expended by or on behalf of the candidate.
- (b) Except as otherwise provided in paragraph (c), any contribution received by a candidate or by the campaign treasurer or a deputy campaign treasurer of a candidate after the date at which the candidate withdraws his or her candidacy, or after the date the candidate is defeated, becomes unopposed, or is elected to office must be returned to the person or committee contributing it and may not be used or expended by or on behalf of the candidate.
- (c) With respect to any campaign for an office in which an independent or minor party candidate has filed as required in s. 99.0955 or s. 99.096, but whose qualification is pending a determination by the Department of State or supervisor of elections as to whether or not the required number of petition signatures was obtained:
- 1. The department or supervisor shall, no later than 3 days after that determination has been made, notify in writing all other candidates for that office of that determination.

2. Any contribution received by a candidate or the campaign treasurer or deputy campaign treasurer of a candidate after the candidate has been notified in writing by the department or supervisor that he or she has become unopposed as a result of an independent or minor party candidate failing to obtain the required number of petition signatures shall be returned to the person, political committee, or committee of continuous existence contributing it and shall not be used or expended by or on behalf of the candidate.

(5)(4) Any contribution received by the chair, campaign treasurer, or deputy campaign treasurer of a political committee supporting or opposing a candidate with opposition in an election or supporting or opposing an issue on the ballot in an election on the day of that election or less than 5 days prior to the day of that election may not be obligated or expended by the committee until after the date of the election.

(6)(5) A person may not make any contribution through or in the name of another, directly or indirectly, in any election. Candidates, political committees, and political parties may not solicit contributions from or make contributions to any religious, charitable, civic, or other causes or organizations established primarily for the public good. However, it is not a violation of this subsection for a candidate, political committee, or political party executive committee to make gifts of money in lieu of flowers in memory of a deceased person or for a candidate to continue membership in, or make regular donations from personal or business funds to, religious, political party, civic, or charitable groups of which the candidate is a member or to which the candidate has been a regular donor for more than 6 months. A candidate may

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purchase, with campaign funds, tickets, admission to events, or advertisements from religious, civic, political party, or charitable groups.

(7) A political party may not accept any contribution which has been specifically designated for the partial or exclusive use of a particular candidate. Any contribution so designated must be returned to the contributor and may not be used or expended by or on behalf of the candidate.

 $(8)\frac{(7)}{(1)}$ (a) Any person who knowingly and willfully makes no more than one contribution in violation of subsection (1), subsection (2), or subsection(6)(5), or any person who knowingly and willfully fails or refuses to return any contribution as required in subsection(4)(3), commits a misdemeanor of the first degree, punishable as provided in s. 775.082 or s. 775.083. If any corporation, partnership, or other business entity or any political party, political committee, or committee of continuous existence is convicted of knowingly and willfully violating any provision punishable under this paragraph, it shall be fined not less than \$1,000 and not more than \$10,000. If it is a domestic entity, it may be ordered dissolved by a court of competent jurisdiction; if it is a foreign or nonresident business entity, its right to do business in this state may be forfeited. Any officer, partner, agent, attorney, or other representative of a corporation, partnership, or other business entity or of a political party, political committee, or committee of continuous existence who aids, abets, advises, or participates in a violation of any provision punishable under this paragraph commits a misdemeanor of the first degree, 31 | punishable as provided in s. 775.082 or s. 775.083.

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(b) Any person who knowingly and willfully makes two or more contributions in violation of subsection (1), subsection (2), or subsection(6)(5)commits a felony of the third degree, punishable as provided in s. 775.082, s. 775.083, or s. 775.084. If any corporation, partnership, or other business entity or any political party, political committee, or committee of continuous existence is convicted of knowingly and willfully violating any provision punishable under this paragraph, it shall be fined not less than \$10,000 and not more than \$50,000. If it is a domestic entity, it may be ordered dissolved by a court of competent jurisdiction; if it is a foreign or nonresident business entity, its right to do business in this state may be forfeited. Any officer, partner, agent, attorney, or other representative of a corporation, partnership, or other business entity, or of a political committee, committee of continuous existence, or political party who aids, abets, advises, or participates in a violation of any provision punishable under this paragraph commits a felony of the third degree, punishable as provided in s. 775.082, s. 775.083, or s. 775.084.

(9)(8) Except when otherwise provided in subsection (8)(7), any person who knowingly and willfully violates any provision of this section shall, in addition to any other penalty prescribed by this chapter, pay to the state a sum equal to twice the amount contributed in violation of this chapter. Each campaign treasurer shall pay all amounts contributed in violation of this section to the state for deposit in the General Revenue Fund.

 $\underline{(10)}(9)$ This section does not apply to the transfer of funds between a primary campaign depository and a savings

account or certificate of deposit or to any interest earned on 2 such account or certificate. 3 Section 30. Paragraph (a) of subsection (1) and 4 paragraph (a) of subsection (2) of section 106.087, Florida 5 Statutes, are amended to read: 6 106.087 Independent expenditures; contribution limits; 7 restrictions on political parties, political committees, and 8 committees of continuous existence. --9 (1)(a) As a condition of receiving a rebate of filing 10 fees and party assessment funds pursuant to s. 99.061(2), s. 11 99.092(1), s. 99.103, or s. 103.121(1)(b), the chair or treasurer of a state or county executive committee shall take 12 13 and subscribe to an oath or affirmation in writing. During the 14 qualifying period for state candidates and prior to 15 distribution of such funds, a printed copy of the oath or affirmation shall be filed with the Secretary of State and 16 17 shall be substantially in the following form: 18 19 State of Florida 20 County of Before me, an officer authorized to administer oaths, 21 22 personally appeared ...(name)..., to me well known, who, being sworn, says that he or she is the ...(title)... of the 23 24 ...(name of party)... (state or specified county)... 25 executive committee; that the executive committee has not made, either directly or indirectly, an independent 26 expenditure in support of or opposition to a candidate or 27 28 elected public official in the prior 6 months; that the 29 executive committee will not make, either directly or indirectly, an independent expenditure in support of or 30

31 opposition to a candidate or elected public official, through

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and including the upcoming general election; and that the
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    executive committee will not violate the contribution limits
3
   applicable to candidates under s. 106.08(3) s. 106.08(2),
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    Florida Statutes.
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                            ...(Signature of committee officer)...
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                                                    ...(Address)...
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    Sworn to and subscribed before me this .... day of ....,
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    ...(year)..., at .... County, Florida.
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         ...(Signature and title of officer administering oath)...
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           (2)(a) Any political committee or committee of
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    continuous existence that accepts the use of public funds,
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    equipment, personnel, or other resources to collect dues from
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    its members agrees not to make independent expenditures in
    support of or opposition to a candidate or elected public
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    official. However, expenditures may be made for the sole
   purpose of jointly endorsing three or more candidates.
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           Section 31. For the purpose of incorporating the
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    amendment to section 106.08, Florida Statutes, in a reference
    thereto, subsection (1) of section 106.19, Florida Statutes,
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    is reenacted to read:
           106.19 Violations by candidates, persons connected
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    with campaigns, and political committees .--
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           (1) Any candidate; campaign manager, campaign
    treasurer, or deputy treasurer of any candidate; committee
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    chair, vice chair, campaign treasurer, deputy treasurer, or
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    other officer of any political committee; agent or person
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    acting on behalf of any candidate or political committee; or
   other person who knowingly and willfully:
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1 (a) Accepts a contribution in excess of the limits 2 prescribed by s. 106.08; 3 Fails to report any contribution required to be (b) 4 reported by this chapter; 5 (c) Falsely reports or deliberately fails to include 6 any information required by this chapter; or 7 (d) Makes or authorizes any expenditure in violation 8 of s. 106.11(3) or any other expenditure prohibited by this 9 chapter; 10 11 is guilty of a misdemeanor of the first degree, punishable as provided in s. 775.082 or s. 775.083. 12 Section 32. Subsection (6) of section 106.29, Florida 13 Statutes, is amended to read: 14 106.29 Reports by political parties; restrictions on 15 contributions and expenditures; penalties .--16 17 (6)(a) The national, state, and county executive committees of a political party, including any subordinate 18 19 committee of a national, state, or county executive committee 20 of a political party, may not contribute to any candidate any amount in excess of the limits contained in s. 106.08(3)s. 21 106.08(2), and all contributions required to be reported under 22 s. 106.08(2) by the national executive committee of a 23 24 political party shall be reported by the state executive 25 committee of that political party. (b) A violation of the contribution limits contained 26 in s. 106.08(3)s. 106.08(2)is a misdemeanor of the first 27 28 degree, punishable as provided in s. 775.082 or s. 775.083. A 29 civil penalty equal to three times the amount in excess of the

limits contained in s. 106.08(3) s. 106.08(2) shall be

1	assessed against any executive committee found in violation
2	thereof.
3	Section 33. Florida Elections Commission powers and
4	procedures
5	(1) After every primary and general election, the
6	Florida Elections Commission may conduct random audits and
7	investigations to ensure compliance with this act.
8	(2) The subjects of audits and investigations shall be
9	selected on the basis of impartial criteria established by a
10	vote of at least three members of the commission.
11	(3) The commission may seek injunctions if:
12	(a) There is a substantial likelihood that a violation
13	of this act is occurring or is about to occur;
14	(b) The failure to act expeditiously will result in
15	irreparable harm to a party affected by the potential
16	violation;
17	(c) An expeditious action will not cause undue harm or
18	prejudice to the interests of others; and
19	(d) The public interest would be best served by the
	(d) The public interest would be best served by the
20	issuance of an injunction.
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	issuance of an injunction.
21	issuance of an injunction. (4) The commission may levy fines for violations of
21 22	issuance of an injunction. (4) The commission may levy fines for violations of the law. Fines paid shall be deposited in the Clean Money
21 22 23	issuance of an injunction. (4) The commission may levy fines for violations of the law. Fines paid shall be deposited in the Clean Money Trust Fund, if created by law.
21 22 23 24	issuance of an injunction. (4) The commission may levy fines for violations of the law. Fines paid shall be deposited in the Clean Money Trust Fund, if created by law. (5) The commission shall refer criminal violations to
21 22 23 24 25	issuance of an injunction. (4) The commission may levy fines for violations of the law. Fines paid shall be deposited in the Clean Money Trust Fund, if created by law. (5) The commission shall refer criminal violations to the appropriate state attorney for prosecution.
21 22 23 24 25 26	issuance of an injunction. (4) The commission may levy fines for violations of the law. Fines paid shall be deposited in the Clean Money Trust Fund, if created by law. (5) The commission shall refer criminal violations to the appropriate state attorney for prosecution. (6) The commission may participate fully in any
21 22 23 24 25 26 27	issuance of an injunction. (4) The commission may levy fines for violations of the law. Fines paid shall be deposited in the Clean Money Trust Fund, if created by law. (5) The commission shall refer criminal violations to the appropriate state attorney for prosecution. (6) The commission may participate fully in any actions filed under this section.

31 include a detailed summary of all seed money contributions,

qualifying contributions, and benefits received, and
expenditures made, by all participating candidates. The report
shall also include a summary and evaluation of the
commission's activities and recommendations relating to the
implementation, administration, and enforcement of this act.

Section 35. Repayments of excess expenditures.--

- (1) If a participating candidate spends or obligates to spend more than the clean money funding the candidate is given, and if such is determined not to be an amount that had or could have been expected to have a significant impact on the outcome of the election, the candidate shall repay an amount equal to the excess.
- (2) If a participating candidate spends or obligates to spend more than the clean money funding the candidate is given, and if such is determined to be an amount that had or could have been expected to have a significant impact on the outcome of the election, the candidate shall repay an amount equal to ten time the value of the excess.

Section 36. Penalties.--

- knowingly accept more benefits than those to which they are entitled, spend more than the amount of clean money funding they have received, or misuse such benefits or clean money funding.
- (a) If it is determined that the violation was intentional and involved an amount that had or could have been expected to have a significant impact on the outcome of the election, the candidate is guilty of a felony of the third degree, punishable as provided in section 775.082, section 775.083, or section 775.084, Florida Statutes.

1	(b) If it is determined that the violation was
2	intentional and involved an amount that had or could have been
3	expected to have a significant impact on the outcome of the
4	election, and if, in the judgment of the commission, the
5	violation is believed to have contributed to the violator
6	winning the election, the commission may recommend to the
7	Legislature that the results of the election be nullified and
8	a new election called.
9	(2) It is a violation of this act to provide false
10	information to the commission and to conceal or withhold
11	information from the commission. Any person violating this
12	section commits a felony of the third degree, punishable as
13	provided in section 775.082, section 775.083, or section
14	775.084, Florida Statutes.
15	Section 37. SeverabilityIf any provision of this
16	act or the application thereof to any person or circumstance
17	is held invalid, the invalidity does not affect other
18	provisions or applications of the act which can be given
19	effect without the invalid provision or application, and to
20	this end the provisions of this act are declared severable.
21	Section 38. This act shall take effect July 1, 2000.
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23	*****************
24	SENATE SUMMARY
25	Creates the "Florida Clean Elections Act" to provide
26	clean money campaign funding for specified candidates. Revises and limits some current campaign funding
27	provisions. (See bill for details.)
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