

December 9, 2005

<u>CERTIFIED MAIL</u> RETURN RECEIPT REQUESTED

ADVISORY OPINION 2005-19

Mr. Emil Franzi Inside Track Productions P.O. Box 2128 Tucson, AZ 85702

Dear Mr. Franzi:

We are responding to your advisory opinion request concerning the application of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, as amended (the "Act"), and Commission regulations to "The Inside Track," a weekly radio program that you produce and air in Tucson, Arizona. The Commission concludes that any discussion and interviewing of Federal candidates on "The Inside Track" program within 30 days of a primary election or 60 days of a general election is exempt from the prohibition on corporate funding of electioneering communications under the press exemption in the Act and Commission regulations. Moreover, any costs incurred in the production and broadcast of The Inside Track are similarly exempt from the Act's prohibitions on corporate contributions and expenditures under the press exemption.

Background

The facts presented in this advisory opinion are based on your letter received on October 13, 2005, and phone conversations that occurred on October 18, 2005 and November 15, 2005.

You are the host of the radio talk show "The Inside Track," which is broadcast on KJLL in Tucson, Arizona. KJLL broadcasts to virtually the entire metropolitan area of Tucson, reaching a potential audience of approximately 400,000 people, including at least 50,000 people in both Arizona's Seventh and Eighth Congressional Districts. You also operate a for-profit corporation, Paradigm Shift Productions, which purchases airtime on KJLL in order to air The Inside Track. Paradigm Shift Productions then sells advertising on the program to recoup the costs of the airtime.

Neither Paradigm Shift Productions nor KJLL is in any way owned or controlled by any political party, political committee, or candidate. In addition, you are not an officer or employee of any political party or political committee. Finally, you are not currently a candidate for Federal office.

Politics is the major focus of discussion on The Inside Track. As a result, throughout 2006 the program will include discussions of candidates for the United States Senate and House of Representatives, interviews with these candidates, and comments and questions from callers that mention these candidates. You have stated that the candidates you will discuss and interview include those running for Senate in Arizona and for the House of Representatives in Arizona's Seventh and Eight Congressional Districts. These activities would occur within 30 days of the Arizona primary election on September 12, 2006 or 60 days of the November 7, 2006 general election.

Question Presented

May Paradigm Shift Productions produce The Inside Track and purchase airtime to broadcast it within 30 days of a primary election or 60 days of a general election if the program mentions or clearly identifies a Federal candidate?

Legal Analysis and Conclusions

The Commission concludes that Paradigm Shift Productions may produce The Inside Track and purchase airtime to broadcast it within 30 days of a primary election or 60 days of a general election if the program mentions or clearly identifies a Federal candidate because the proposed activities fall within the press exemptions to the prohibition on corporate funding of electioneering communications and the definitions of "contribution" and "expenditure."

I. Electioneering Communications

The Act and Commission regulations define an "electioneering communication" as any broadcast, cable, or satellite communication that refers to a clearly identified candidate for Federal office; is publicly distributed for a fee² within 60 days before a general, special or runoff election for the office sought by the candidate, or within 30 days before a primary or preference election for the office sought by the candidate; and in

¹ While your request specifically addresses the question of communications during the electioneering communications time frames, it also implicates the Act's prohibitions on corporate contributions and expenditures.

² The "for a fee" requirement of the electioneering communications test has been the subject of litigation in *Shays v. FEC*, 337 F. Supp. 2d 28 (D.D.C. 2004), *aff'd*, 414 F.3d 76 (D.C. Cir 2005), petition for rehearing *en banc* denied Oct. 21, 2005. The United States Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia Circuit affirmed the District Court's ruling that the addition of the "for a fee" requirement violated Congress's clearly expressed intent under step one of the analysis required by *Chevron U.S.A. v. Natural Res. Def. Council*, 467 U.S. 837 (1984). 414 F.3d at 109. The Commission has a pending rulemaking to determine how to amend the electioneering communication regulations to comply with these court opinions. However, the analysis in this advisory opinion is not dependent on the "for a fee" requirement.

the case of a candidate for the U.S. Senate or House of Representatives, is targeted to the relevant electorate. *See* 2 U.S.C. 434(f)(3) and 11 CFR 100.29(a). A communication is targeted to the relevant electorate if it can be received by 50,000 or more persons:

- (1) in the district the candidate seeks to represent, in the case of a candidate for Representative; or
- (2) in the State the candidate seeks to represent, in the case of a candidate for Senator. 2 U.S.C. 434(f)(3)(C); 11 CFR 100.29(b)(5).

Any broadcast of The Inside Track that refers to a clearly identified candidate for the Senate in Arizona, or for the House of Representatives in the Seventh or Eighth Congressional Districts of Arizona during the electioneering communication windows would satisfy the general test for an electioneering communication. It would be publicly distributed for a fee because it would be broadcast through the facilities of a radio station and Paradigm Shift Productions would purchase the airtime. 11 CFR 100.29(b)(3)(i). Because KJLL is capable of reaching more than 50,000 listeners in the State of Arizona, including in the Seventh and Eighth Congressional Districts of Arizona, the communication would be targeted to the relevant electorate of Arizona Senatorial candidates and Seventh and Eighth District House candidates. 11 CFR 100.29(b)(5).

II. Electioneering Communications Press Exemption

Corporations are generally prohibited from making or financing electioneering communications. 2 U.S.C. 441b(b)(2) and 11 CFR 114.2(b)(2)(iii). However, the Act and Commission regulations provide an exemption for any communication that appears in a news story, commentary, or editorial distributed through the facilities of any broadcast, cable, or satellite television or radio station, unless such facilities are owned or controlled by any political party, political committee, or candidate, in which case additional limitations apply. 2 U.S.C. 434(f)(3)(B)(i) and 11 CFR 100.29(c)(2). This exclusion is known as the "press exemption."

The Commission has applied a two-step analysis to determine whether the press exemption applies. First, the Commission asks whether the entity engaging in the activity is a press entity as described by the Act and Commission regulations. *See e.g.* Advisory Opinions 2005-16, 2004-07, 2003-34, 2000-13, and 1998-17. The analysis of whether an entity is a press entity does not necessarily turn on the presence or absence of any one particular fact. Second, in determining the scope of the exemption, the Commission considers: (1) whether the press entity is owned or controlled by a political party, political committee, or candidate; and (2) whether the press entity is acting as a press entity in conducting the activity at issue (*i.e.*, whether the entity is acting in its "legitimate press function"). *See Reader's Digest Association v. FEC*, 509 F. Supp. 1210, 1215 (S.D.N.Y. 1981); *FEC v. Phillips Publishing*, 517 F. Supp. 1308, 1312-1313 (D.D.C. 1981); Advisory Opinions 2005-16, 2004-07, 2000-13, 1996-48, and 1982-44.

Paradigm Shift Productions is in the business of producing on a regular basis a radio program that disseminates news stories, commentary and/or editorials. It also buys airtime to broadcast the program and resells some of that airtime for third party advertisements. Therefore, the Commission concludes that Paradigm Shift Productions is a press entity.

The Commission also concludes that Paradigm Shift Productions would be acting as a press entity when conducting the proposed activity. Because The Inside Track will discuss political issues through a radio broadcast, any reference to a clearly identified Federal candidate during its broadcast would occur "in a news story, commentary, or editorial." 11 CFR 100.29(c)(2). *See also* Advisory Opinion 2005-16 (availability of an entity's activities "to the general public" is a key consideration in determining whether the press exemption applies). Paradigm Shift Productions was created to produce and disseminate this radio program, and therefore would be acting in its legitimate press function when it distributes The Inside Track.³

Your request specifically identifies three scenarios where The Inside Track would broadcast a communication that refers to a Federal candidate during the electioneering communications timeframe: (1) you, as the program host, mention a candidate on the air, (2) a candidate is interviewed on the program, and (3) a person calling into the program mentions a candidate. The Commission concludes that all of these activities during The Inside Track's broadcast would be legitimate press functions; thus they would come within the press exemption in the Act and Commission regulations.⁴ Therefore, Paradigm Shift Productions may produce, and purchase airtime for, the program that mentions or clearly identifies a Federal candidate, including when you mention a candidate, a candidate is interviewed and when a caller mentions a candidate, without violating the prohibition on corporate funding of electioneering communications.⁵

III. Contributions and Expenditures Press Exemption

For the reasons described above, the proposed activities would not violate the Act's prohibition on corporate contributions and expenditures. The Act prohibits "any corporation whatever" from making any contribution or expenditure in connection with a Federal election. 2 U.S.C. 441b(a). The Act and Commission regulations define the terms "contribution" and "expenditure" to include any gift of money or "anything of value" for the purpose of influencing a Federal election. *See* 2 U.S.C. 431(8)(A) and (9)(A); 11 CFR 100.52(a) and 100.111(a). However, there is an exemption for "any cost incurred in covering or carrying a news story, commentary, or editorial by any

³ The Commission also notes that neither Paradigm Shift Productions nor KJLL are owned or controlled by any political party, political committee, or candidate.

⁴ The Commission has previously determined that on-air interviews of candidates are within the press exemption, provided that the broadcaster complies with all applicable requirements of the Communications Act (47 U.S.C. 315(a) and (b)) and Federal Communications Commission regulations. *See* Advisory Opinions 2004-07 and 1987-08.

⁵ In the alternative, you ask if changing the financial arrangement between Paradigm Shift Productions and KJLL would permit the activity. Because the Commission has determined that your proposed activities are exempted from the electioneering communications restrictions, this question is moot.

broadcasting station (including a cable television operator, programmer or producer), newspaper, magazine, or other periodical publication . . . unless the facility is owned or controlled by any political party, political committee, or candidate[.]" 11 CFR 100.73 and 11 CFR 100.132; *see also* 2 U.S.C. 431(9)(B)(i). As in the electioneering communication context, this exclusion is also known as the "press exemption." According to the House Report on the 1974 amendments to the Act, the press exemption made plain Congress's intent that the Act would not "limit or burden in any way the first amendment freedoms of the press" and would assure "the unfettered right of the newspapers, TV networks, and other media to cover and comment on political campaigns." *H.R. Rep. No. 93-1239, 93d Cong., 2d Sess.* at 4 (1974).

This exemption would apply to The Inside Track and Paradigm Shift Productions. As discussed above, Paradigm Shift Productions is a press entity. Its production of, and purchasing of airtime for, The Inside Track constitutes "covering or carrying a news story, commentary, or editorial." The Commission notes that an entity otherwise eligible for the press exemption would not lose its eligibility merely because of a lack of objectivity in a news story, commentary, or editorial, even if the news story, commentary, or editorial expressly advocates the election or defeat of a clearly identified candidate for Federal office. *See* First General Counsel's Report, MUR 5449 (CBS Broadcasting, Inc.) ("Even seemingly biased stories or commentary by a press entity can fall within the media exemption."). *See also* Advisory Opinion 2005-16. The proposed activities described in your request would come within the exemption in 2 U.S.C. 431(9)(B)(i) and would not violate 2 U.S.C. 441b. *See also* 11 CFR 100.73 and 11 CFR 100.132. Therefore, any disbursements made to produce or broadcast The Inside Track are not prohibited corporate contributions or expenditures under the Act.

This response constitutes an advisory opinion concerning the application of the Act and Commission regulations to the specific transaction or activity set forth in your request. *See* 2 U.S.C. 437f. The Commission emphasizes that, if there is a change in any of the facts or assumptions presented, and such facts or assumptions are material to a conclusion presented in this advisory opinion, then the requestor may not rely on that conclusion as support for its proposed activity.

Sincerely,

(signed)

Scott E. Thomas Chairman

Enclosures: Advisory Opinions 2005-16, 2004-07, 2003-34, 2000-13, 1998-17, 1996-48, 1987-08, and 1982-44