

117TH CONGRESS  
2D SESSION

# H. R. 9693

To amend the Lobbying Disclosure Act of 1995 to assign unique identification numbers to each lobbyist who registers under such Act and to each client of the lobbyist and each person who provides strategic lobbying services in support of the lobbyist, to require the disclosure of information on any persons who provide strategic lobbying services in support of registered lobbyists under such Act, to require the Clerk of the House of Representatives and the Secretary of the Senate to assign a unique identification number to each individual who registers as a lobbyist under such Act, and for other purposes.

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## IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

DECEMBER 23, 2022

Mr. PHILLIPS introduced the following bill; which was referred to the  
Committee on the Judiciary

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## A BILL

To amend the Lobbying Disclosure Act of 1995 to assign unique identification numbers to each lobbyist who registers under such Act and to each client of the lobbyist and each person who provides strategic lobbying services in support of the lobbyist, to require the disclosure of information on any persons who provide strategic lobbying services in support of registered lobbyists under such Act, to require the Clerk of the House of Representatives and the Secretary of the Senate to assign a unique identification number to each individual who registers as a lobbyist under such Act, and for other purposes.

1        *Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representa-*  
2 *tives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,*

3 **SECTION 1. SHORT TITLE.**

4        This Act may be cited as the “Lobbying Disclosure  
5 Reform Act of 2022”.

6 **SEC. 2. FINDINGS.**

7        Congress finds that—

8            (1) the right to petition government for redress  
9            of grievances is a fundamental right in our rep-  
10            resentative democracy, which is often realized  
11            through lobbying;

12            (2) responsible representative government re-  
13            quires public awareness of the efforts of paid lobby-  
14            ists to influence the public decision-making process  
15            in both the legislative and executive branches of the  
16            Federal Government;

17            (3) existing lobbying disclosure laws have not  
18            been as effective as they could be because of unclear  
19            statutory language, weak administrative and enforce-  
20            ment provisions, and an absence of clear guidance as  
21            to who is required to register and what they are re-  
22            quired to disclose;

23            (4) the effective public disclosure of the identity  
24            and extent of the efforts of paid lobbyists to influ-  
25            ence Federal officials in the conduct of government

1 actions will increase public confidence in the integ-  
2 rity of government; and

3 (5) experience with lobbying laws and regula-  
4 tions for nearly a half century led to substantial im-  
5 provements in the law in 1995, and experience with  
6 the Lobbying Disclosure Act of 1995 over the last  
7 decade provides a sound basis for new refinements  
8 today.

9 **SEC. 3. ASSIGNMENT OF UNIQUE IDENTIFICATION NUM-**  
10 **BERS TO LOBBYISTS, CLIENTS, AND PRO-**  
11 **VIDERS OF STRATEGIC LOBBYING SERVICES.**

12 (a) ASSIGNMENT OF UNIQUE IDENTIFICATION NUM-  
13 BERS.—Section 6(a)(3) of the Lobbying Disclosure Act of  
14 1995 (2 U.S.C. 1605(a)(3)) is amended—

15 (1) by striking “and” at the end of subpara-  
16 graph (A);

17 (2) by adding “and” after the semicolon at the  
18 end of subparagraph (B); and

19 (3) by adding after subparagraph (B) the fol-  
20 lowing:

21 “(C) a system that assigns an identifica-  
22 tion number for each lobbyist for whom a reg-  
23 istration or report is filed under this Act, each  
24 client of such a lobbyist, and each provider of

1 strategic lobbying services on behalf of such cli-  
2 ent;”.

3 (b) INCLUSION IN REGISTRATION STATEMENTS.—

4 (1) INFORMATION ON REGISTRANTS.—Section  
5 4(b)(1) of such Act (2 U.S.C. 1603(b)(1)) is amend-  
6 ed by striking “name,” and inserting “name, unique  
7 identification number (if available at the time of reg-  
8 istration),”.

9 (2) INFORMATION ON CLIENTS.—Section  
10 4(b)(2) of such Act (2 U.S.C. 1603(b)(2)) is amend-  
11 ed by striking “name,” and inserting “name, unique  
12 identification number (if available at the time of reg-  
13 istration),”.

14 (3) INFORMATION ON EMPLOYEES.—Section  
15 4(b)(6) of such Act (2 U.S.C. 1603(b)(6)) is amend-  
16 ed by striking “the name” and inserting “the name  
17 and unique identification number (if available at the  
18 time of registration)”.

19 (c) INCLUSION IN QUARTERLY REPORTS.—

20 (1) INFORMATION ON REGISTRANTS AND CLI-  
21 ENTS.—Section 5(b)(1) of such Act (2 U.S.C.  
22 1604(b)(1)) is amended by striking “the name of the  
23 registrant, the name of the client” and inserting the  
24 following: “the name and unique identification num-



1           (2) by inserting after “first acted as a lobbyist”  
2           the following: “or was first a provider of strategic  
3           lobbying services”.

4           (b) DISCLOSURE IN QUARTERLY REPORTS.—Section  
5           5(b)(2) of such Act (2 U.S.C. 1604(b)(2)) is amended—

6           (1) by striking “and” at the end of subpara-  
7           graph (C);

8           (2) by adding “and” at the end of subpara-  
9           graph (D); and

10          (3) by adding at the end the following new sub-  
11          paragraphs:

12                   “(E) a list of the names and unique identi-  
13                   fication numbers of the employees of the reg-  
14                   istrant who were providers of strategic lobbying  
15                   services in support of the registrant’s lobbying  
16                   activities on behalf of the client during the  
17                   quarterly period; and

18                   “(F) a list of the names of all other per-  
19                   sons who were retained as providers of strategic  
20                   lobbying services in support of the registrant’s  
21                   lobbying activities on behalf of the client during  
22                   the quarterly period, together with—

23                           “(i) the nature of the strategic lob-  
24                           bying services provided, along with a brief  
25                           summary of work performed;

1           “(ii) the amount paid to each such  
2           person for such services;

3           “(iii) the name of any individual em-  
4           ployed by such person who supervised the  
5           provision of such services, and, if the indi-  
6           vidual served as a covered executive branch  
7           official or a covered legislative branch offi-  
8           cial in the previous 20 years, a statement  
9           describing the position in which such indi-  
10          vidual served; and

11          “(iv) the name of any individual em-  
12          ployed by such person who provided such  
13          services during the quarterly period, and, if  
14          the individual served as a covered executive  
15          branch official or a covered legislative  
16          branch official in the previous 20 years, a  
17          statement describing the position in which  
18          such individual served.”.

19          (c) INCLUSION IN FILING, CODING, AND CROSS-IN-  
20          DEXING SYSTEMS.—Section 6(a)(3)(A) of such Act (2  
21          U.S.C. 1605(a)(3)(A)) is amended by striking “and their  
22          clients” and inserting “and their clients and providers of  
23          strategic lobbying services”.

24          (d) DEFINITION.—Section 3 of such Act (2 U.S.C.  
25          1602) is amended—

1           (1) by redesignating paragraphs (15) and (16)  
2 as paragraphs (16) and (17); and

3           (2) by inserting after paragraph (14) the fol-  
4 lowing new paragraph:

5           “(15) PROVIDER OF STRATEGIC LOBBYING  
6 SERVICES.—

7           “(A) IN GENERAL.—The term ‘provider of  
8 strategic lobbying services’ means any person  
9 who, during a quarterly period described in sec-  
10 tion 5, provided a registrant under section 4  
11 with 12 or more hours of services which are de-  
12 scribed in subparagraph (C) but which are not  
13 otherwise treated as lobbying activities or lob-  
14 bying contacts.

15           “(B) SPECIAL RULE FOR FORMER OFFI-  
16 CIALS.—In the case of a person who served as  
17 a covered executive branch official or a covered  
18 legislative branch official in the previous 20  
19 years and who, during a quarterly period de-  
20 scribed in section 5, provided a registrant under  
21 section 4 with services described in subpara-  
22 graph (A) and also carried out lobbying activi-  
23 ties on behalf of the registrant, such person  
24 shall be treated as a provider of strategic lob-  
25 bying services if the combined time spent in



1 providing services described in subparagraph  
2 (A) and lobbying activities on behalf of the reg-  
3 istrant during the period was 12 hours or  
4 greater.

5 “(C) SERVICES DESCRIBED.—The services  
6 described in this subparagraph are the fol-  
7 lowing:

8 “(i) Providing strategic planning for  
9 lobbying activities or lobbying campaigns.

10 “(ii) Providing strategic advice re-  
11 garding earned media or press coverage re-  
12 lated to specific issues upon which a lob-  
13 byist employed by the registrant engaged  
14 in lobbying activities.

15 “(iii) Polling services enlisted by a  
16 registrant related to specific issues upon  
17 which a lobbyist employed by the reg-  
18 istrant engaged in lobbying activities.

19 “(iv) Providing advice on or producing  
20 public communications related to specific  
21 issues upon which a lobbyist employed by  
22 the registrant engaged in lobbying activi-  
23 ties.

24 “(v) Encouraging persons to support  
25 or oppose legislative or administrative ac-

1                   tion or take action with regard to specific  
2                   issues upon which a lobbyist employed by  
3                   the registrant engaged in lobbying activi-  
4                   ties, including the costs of creating formal  
5                   or informal coalitions of organizations for  
6                   such purposes.”.

7           (e) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendments made by  
8 this section shall apply with respect to statements and re-  
9 ports filed on or after the first day of the One Hundred  
10 Eighteenth Congress.

11 **SEC. 5. PROMOTING ENFORCEMENT BY ATTORNEY GEN-**  
12 **ERAL.**

13           (a) REFERENCE OF NONCOMPLIANCE TO ATTORNEY  
14 GENERAL.—Section 6(a) of the Lobbying Disclosure Act  
15 of 1995 (2 U.S.C. 1605(a)) is amended by striking “the  
16 United States Attorney for the District of Columbia” each  
17 place it appears in paragraph (8) and paragraph (11) and  
18 inserting “the Attorney General”.

19           (b) INCLUSION IN ENFORCEMENT REPORTS OF  
20 IDENTIFICATION OF INDIVIDUALS SUBJECT TO IMPOSI-  
21 TION OF SENTENCE.—Section 6(b)(1) of such Act (2  
22 U.S.C. 1605(b)(1)) is amended by striking “by case, any  
23 sentences imposed, except that such report shall not in-  
24 clude the names of individuals, or personally identifiable  
25 information, that is not already a matter of public record”

1 and inserting “by case and by the name of the individual  
2 and (if applicable) the lobbying firm involved, any sen-  
3 tences imposed”.

4 (c) RECOMMENDATIONS TO PROMOTE ENFORCE-  
5 MENT AND COMPLIANCE.—Section 6 of such Act (2  
6 U.S.C. 1605) is amended by adding at the end the fol-  
7 lowing new subsection:

8 “(c) RECOMMENDATIONS TO PROMOTE ENFORCE-  
9 MENT AND COMPLIANCE.—The Attorney General, at any  
10 time, may make recommendations to Congress on steps  
11 to promote the enforcement of and compliance with this  
12 Act, including recommendations regarding the Attorney  
13 General’s need for resources to carry out the enforcement  
14 of this Act.”.

15 **SEC. 6. INCREASING TRANSPARENCY OF SYSTEM FOR FIL-**  
16 **ING, CODING, AND CROSS-INDEXING OF RE-**  
17 **PORTED INFORMATION.**

18 (a) CLARIFYING REQUIREMENT TO IMPLEMENT SYS-  
19 TEM.—Section 6(a)(3) of the Lobbying Disclosure Act of  
20 1995 (2 U.S.C. 1605(a)(3)) is amended in the matter pre-  
21 ceding subparagraph (A) by striking “develop” and insert-  
22 ing “develop and implement”.

23 (b) AVAILABILITY OF INFORMATION THROUGH  
24 SOFTWARE APPLICATIONS.—Section 6(a)(3)(B) of such  
25 Act (2 U.S.C. 1605(a)(3)(B)) is amended by striking

1 “computerized systems” and inserting “computerized sys-  
2 tems, including a system through which individuals may  
3 use software or web-based applications to obtain access  
4 to a searchable, sortable, and downloadable database of  
5 information,”.

6 **SEC. 7. OTHER REFORMS IN REGULATION OF LOBBYISTS**  
7 **AND LOBBYING ACTIVITY.**

8 (a) REVISION OF THRESHOLD FOR EXEMPTION  
9 FROM TREATMENT AS LOBBYIST.—

10 (1) REVISION.—Section 3(10) of the Lobbying  
11 Disclosure Act of 1995 (2 U.S.C. 1602(10)) is  
12 amended—

13 (A) by striking “by a client” and inserting  
14 “by a client or by a registrant”; and

15 (B) by striking “other than an individual”  
16 and all that follows and inserting the following:  
17 “other than an individual who, over a 3-month  
18 period, spends fewer than 12 hours engaged in  
19 lobbying activities for such client or such reg-  
20 istrant.”.

21 (2) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendments made  
22 by paragraph (1) shall apply with respect to lob-  
23 bying activities occurring on or after the first day of  
24 the One Hundred Eighteenth Congress.

25 (b) DEADLINE FOR REGISTRATION.—

1           (1) REVISION OF DEADLINE.—Section 4(a) of  
2 such Act (2 U.S.C. 1603(a)) is amended—

3           (A) by striking “45 days” and inserting  
4 “30 days”; and

5           (B) by striking “45th day” each place it  
6 appears and inserting “30th day”.

7           (2) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendments made  
8 by paragraph (1) shall apply with respect to lob-  
9 bying contacts occurring on or after the first day of  
10 the One Hundred Eighteenth Congress.

11       (c) INCLUSION OF SPECIFIC INFORMATION IN REG-  
12 ISTRATION STATEMENTS ON ISSUES ADDRESSED IN LOB-  
13 BYING ACTIVITIES.—

14           (1) IN GENERAL.—Section 4(b)(5)(B) of such  
15 Act (2 U.S.C. 1603(b)(5)(B)) is amended by strik-  
16 ing the semicolon at the end and inserting the fol-  
17 lowing: “, including any Federal rule, regulation,  
18 Executive order, or any other program, policy, or po-  
19 sition of the United States Government, as well as  
20 any proposed Federal legislation or a description  
21 thereof;”.

22           (2) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendment made  
23 by paragraph (1) shall apply with respect to state-  
24 ments filed on or after the first day of the One Hun-  
25 dred Eighteenth Congress.

1 (d) CLARIFICATION OF TIMING OF TERMINATION OF  
2 REGISTRATION.—Section 4(d) of such Act (2 U.S.C.  
3 1603(d)) is amended—

4 (1) in paragraph (1), by striking “by a client”  
5 and inserting “by a client or by a registrant”; and

6 (2) in paragraph (2), by striking “for such cli-  
7 ent” and inserting “for such client or lobbying  
8 firm”.

9 **SEC. 8. QUADRENNIAL REPORTS ON EFFECTIVENESS OF**  
10 **COLLECTION, STORING, AND RELEASE OF IN-**  
11 **FORMATION.**

12 (a) INCLUSION IN ANNUAL AUDITS BY COMP-  
13 TROLLER GENERAL.—

14 (1) IN GENERAL.—Section 26 of the Lobbying  
15 Disclosure Act of 1995 (2 U.S.C. 1614) is amend-  
16 ed—

17 (A) by redesignating subsection (b) as sub-  
18 section (c); and

19 (B) by inserting after subsection (a) the  
20 following new subsection:

21 “(b) QUADRENNIAL REPORTS ON MODERNIZATION  
22 OF REPORTING AND DISCLOSURES.—Beginning in 2023  
23 and every 4 years thereafter, the Comptroller General  
24 shall include with the audit conducted under subsection  
25 (a) an evaluation of the technology and methods employed

1 by the Secretary of the Senate and the Clerk of the House  
2 to collect, store, review, and electronically publish the in-  
3 formation filed with the Secretary and Clerk under this  
4 Act, and shall include in such evaluation an analysis of—

5           “(1) whether additional technological means  
6           could be employed to reduce the burden on filers and  
7           increase the accuracy of filings;

8           “(2) whether automated means are being maxi-  
9           mally employed to allow the Secretary and the Clerk  
10          to automatically process, normalize, and verify the  
11          data they have received; and

12          “(3) whether the Secretary and the Clerk could  
13          undertake other measures to improve how such in-  
14          formation is collected, reviewed, and reported to the  
15          public.”.

16           (2) CONFORMING AMENDMENT RELATING TO  
17          SUBMISSION OF REPORT TO CONGRESS.—Section  
18          26(c)(1) of such Act (2 U.S.C. 1614(c)(1)), as re-  
19          designated by paragraph (1), is amended in the mat-  
20          ter preceding subparagraph (A) by striking the pe-  
21          riod at the end of the first sentence and inserting  
22          the following: “, and, if applicable, the quadrennial  
23          evaluation conducted under subsection (b).”.

24           (b) JOINT REVIEW BY SECRETARY OF SENATE AND  
25          CLERK OF HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.—The Lobbying

1 Disclosure Act of 1995 (2 U.S.C. 1601 et seq.) is amended  
2 by adding at the end the following new section:

3 **“SEC. 27. QUADRENNIAL REVIEW OF INFORMATION COL-**  
4 **LECTION AND DISSEMINATION BY SEC-**  
5 **RETARY OF SENATE AND CLERK OF HOUSE**  
6 **OF REPRESENTATIVES.**

7 “(a) REVIEW.—Not later than April 1, 2023, and  
8 every 4 years thereafter, the Secretary of the Senate and  
9 the Clerk of the House of Representatives shall jointly  
10 conduct and submit to Congress a review of how the Sec-  
11 retary and Clerk collect, store, review, and disseminate in-  
12 formation filed with the Secretary and the Clerk under  
13 this Act.

14 “(b) FACTORS.—In conducting the review under sub-  
15 section (a), the Secretary and the Clerk—

16 “(1) shall include an analysis of how the filing  
17 and public disclosure of the information filed under  
18 this Act can be improved, including a detailed plan  
19 with deadlines for improving filing and disclosure  
20 mechanisms; and

21 “(2) shall consult with members of the public,  
22 with an emphasis on those members of the public  
23 who regularly seek access to such information.

24 “(c) ADDITIONAL OR SEPARATE VIEWS PER-  
25 MITTED.—The Secretary and the Clerk may each include



- 1 additional or separate views in the review submitted to
- 2 Congress under subsection (a).”.

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