

ture limitation did not. The contribution limitation was seen as imposing only a marginal restriction upon the contributor's ability to engage in free communication, inasmuch as the contribution shows merely a generalized expression of support for a candidate without communicating reasons for the support; "the size of the contribution provides a very rough index of the intensity of the contributors' support for the candidate."⁸⁶⁰ The political expression really occurs when the funds are spent by a candidate; only if the restrictions were set so low as to impede this communication would there arise a constitutional infringement. This incidental restraint upon expression may therefore be justified by Congress's purpose to limit the actuality and appearance of corruption resulting from large individual financial contributions.⁸⁶¹

Of considerable importance to the contributions analysis, the Court voided a section restricting the aggregate expenditure anyone could make to advocate the election or defeat of a "clearly identified candidate" to \$1,000 a year. Though the Court treated the restricted spending as purely an expenditure, the activity seems to partake equally of the nature of a contribution spent on behalf of a candidate (although not given to him or her directly). However, "[a]dvocacy of the election or defeat of candidates for federal office is no less entitled to protection under the First Amendment than the discussion of political policy generally or advocacy of the passage or defeat of legislation."⁸⁶² The Court found that none of the justifications offered in support of a restriction on such expression was adequate; independent expenditures did not appear to pose the dangers of corruption that contributions did, and it was an impermissible purpose to attempt to equalize the ability of some individuals and groups to express themselves by restricting the speech of other individuals and groups.⁸⁶³

⁸⁶⁰ 424 U.S. at 21.

⁸⁶¹ 424 U.S. at 14–38. Chief Justice Burger and Justice Blackmun would have struck down the contribution limitations. *Id.* at 235, 241–46, 290. *See also* California Medical Ass'n v. FEC, 453 U.S. 182 (1981), sustaining a provision barring individuals and unincorporated associations from contributing more than \$5,000 per year to any multicandidate political action committee, on the basis of the standards applied to contributions in *Buckley*; and FEC v. National Right to Work Comm., 459 U.S. 197 (1982), sustaining a provision barring nonstock corporations from soliciting contributions from persons other than their members when the corporation uses the funds for designated federal election purposes.

⁸⁶² 424 U.S. at 48.

⁸⁶³ 424 U.S. at 39–51. Justice White dissented. *Id.* at 257. In an oblique return to the right-privilege distinction, the Court agreed that Congress could condition receipt of public financing funds upon acceptance of expenditure limitations. *Id.* at 108–09. In *Common Cause v. Schmitt*, 512 F. Supp. 489 (D.D.C. 1980), *aff'd by an equally divided Court*, 455 U.S. 129 (1982), a provision was invalidated that limited independent political committees to expenditures of no more than \$1,000 to further the elec-