

114TH CONGRESS  
1ST SESSION

# H. R. 20

To reform the financing of Congressional elections by broadening participation  
by small dollar donors, and for other purposes.

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## IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

JANUARY 21, 2015

Mr. SARBANES (for himself, Ms. PELOSI, Mrs. BEATTY, Mr. BECERRA, Mr. BEYER, Mr. BLUMENAUER, Ms. BONAMICI, Mr. BRADY of Pennsylvania, Ms. BROWN of Florida, Ms. BROWNLEY of California, Mrs. BUSTOS, Mrs. CAPPES, Mr. CAPUANO, Mr. CARNEY, Mr. CARSON of Indiana, Mr. CASTRO of Texas, Ms. CHU of California, Mr. CICILLINE, Ms. CLARK of Massachusetts, Ms. CLARKE of New York, Mr. CLYBURN, Mr. COHEN, Mr. CONNOLLY, Mr. COOPER, Mr. COURTNEY, Mr. CROWLEY, Mr. CUMMINGS, Mrs. DAVIS of California, Mr. DEFazio, Ms. DEGETTE, Mr. DELANEY, Ms. DELAURO, Ms. DELBENE, Mr. DESAULNIER, Mr. DEUTCH, Mrs. DINGELL, Mr. CARTWRIGHT, Ms. EDWARDS, Mr. ELLISON, Mr. ENGEL, Ms. ESTY, Mr. FARR, Mr. FOSTER, Ms. FRANKEL of Florida, Ms. FUDGE, Mr. GALLEGO, Mr. GRAYSON, Mr. AL GREEN of Texas, Mr. GENE GREEN of Texas, Mr. GRIJALVA, Mr. GUTIÉRREZ, Ms. HAHN, Mr. HASTINGS, Mr. HECK of Washington, Mr. HIMES, Ms. NORTON, Mr. HONDA, Mr. HOYER, Mr. HUFFMAN, Mr. ISRAEL, Ms. EDDIE BERNICE JOHNSON of Texas, Mr. JOHNSON of Georgia, Mr. JONES, Ms. KAPTUR, Mr. KENNEDY, Mr. KILMER, Mr. KIND, Mrs. KIRKPATRICK, Mr. LANGEVIN, Mr. LARSEN of Washington, Mr. LARSON of Connecticut, Ms. LEE, Mr. LEWIS, Mr. LIEU of California, Mr. LOEBSACK, Ms. LOFGREN, Mr. LOWENTHAL, Mrs. LOWEY, Ms. MICHELLE LUJAN GRISHAM of New Mexico, Mr. LYNCH, Mrs. CAROLYN B. MALONEY of New York, Mr. SEAN PATRICK MALONEY of New York, Ms. MATSUI, Ms. MCCOLLUM, Mr. McDERMOTT, Mr. MCGOVERN, Ms. KUSTER, Mr. McNERNEY, Mr. MEEKS, Ms. MENG, Ms. MOORE, Mr. MURPHY of Florida, Mr. NADLER, Mrs. NAPOLITANO, Mr. NOLAN, Mr. O'ROURKE, Mr. PALLONE, Mr. PASCRELL, Mr. PERLMUTTER, Mr. PETERS, Ms. PINGREE, Mr. POCAN, Mr. POLIS, Mr. QUIGLEY, Mr. RANGEL, Mr. BEN RAY LUJÁN of New Mexico, Miss RICE of New York, Ms. ROYBAL-ALLARD, Mr. RUPPERSBERGER, Mr. RUSH, Ms. SCHAKOWSKY, Mr. SCHRADER, Mr. SCOTT of Virginia, Mr. SERRANO, Ms. SEWELL of Alabama, Mr. SHERMAN, Mr. SIREs, Ms. SLAUGHTER, Mr. SMITH of Washington, Ms. SPEIER, Mr. SWALWELL of California, Mr. TAKAI, Mr. TAKANO, Mr. THOMPSON of California, Mr. TONKO, Ms. TSONGAS, Mr. VAN HOLLEN, Mr. VARGAS,

Mr. WALZ, Ms. WASSERMAN SCHULTZ, Mr. WELCH, Ms. WILSON of Florida, Mr. YARMUTH, Ms. KELLY of Illinois, Mr. BERA, Ms. ADAMS, Mr. DANNY K. DAVIS of Illinois, Mrs. WATSON COLEMAN, Mr. CONYERS, and Mr. BUTTERFIELD) introduced the following bill; which was referred to the Committee on House Administration, and in addition to the Committees on Energy and Commerce and Ways and Means, for a period to be subsequently determined by the Speaker, in each case for consideration of such provisions as fall within the jurisdiction of the committee concerned

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## A BILL

To reform the financing of Congressional elections by broadening participation by small dollar donors, 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; TABLE OF CONTENTS.**

4       (a) SHORT TITLE.—This Act may be cited as the  
 5       “Government By the People Act of 2015”.

6       (b) TABLE OF CONTENTS.—The table of contents of  
 7       this Act is as follows:

Sec. 1. Short title; table of contents.

### TITLE I—PARTICIPATION IN FUNDING OF ELECTIONS

#### Subtitle A—My Voice Tax Credit

Sec. 101. Refundable tax credit for congressional House campaign contributions.

#### Subtitle B—My Voice Voucher Pilot Program

Sec. 111. Establishment of pilot program.

Sec. 112. Voucher program described.

Sec. 113. Reports.

Sec. 114. Election cycle defined.

### TITLE II—SMALL DOLLAR FINANCING OF CONGRESSIONAL ELECTION CAMPAIGNS

Sec. 201. Benefits and eligibility requirements for candidates.

“TITLE V—SMALL DOLLAR FINANCING OF CONGRESSIONAL  
ELECTION CAMPAIGNS

“Subtitle A—Benefits

“Sec. 501. Benefits for participating candidates.

“Sec. 502. Procedures for making payments.

“Sec. 503. Use of funds.

“Sec. 504. Qualified small dollar contributions described.

“Subtitle B—Eligibility and Certification

“Sec. 511. Eligibility.

“Sec. 512. Qualifying requirements.

“Sec. 513. Certification.

“Subtitle C—Requirements for Candidates Certified as Participating  
Candidates

“Sec. 521. Contribution and expenditure requirements.

“Sec. 522. Administration of campaign.

“Sec. 523. Preventing unnecessary spending of public funds.

“Sec. 524. Remitting unspent funds after election.

“Subtitle D—Enhanced Match Support

“Sec. 531. Enhanced support for general election.

“Sec. 532. Eligibility.

“Sec. 533. Amount.

“Sec. 534. Waiver of authority to retain portion of unspent funds after  
election.

“Subtitle E—Administrative Provisions

“Sec. 541. Freedom From Influence Fund.

“Sec. 542. Government by the People Oversight Commission.

“Sec. 543. Administration by Commission.

“Sec. 544. Violations and penalties.

“Sec. 545. Appeals process.

“Sec. 546. Indexing of amounts.

“Sec. 547. Election cycle defined.

Sec. 202. Contributions and expenditures by multicandidate and political party  
political committees on behalf of participating candidates.

Sec. 203. Prohibiting use of contributions by participating candidates for pur-  
poses other than campaign for election.

TITLE III—OTHER ADMINISTRATIVE REFORMS

Sec. 301. Expanding requirement to disclose bundlers who are registered lobby-  
ists to all bundlers.

Sec. 302. Petition for certiorari.

Sec. 303. Filing by all candidates with Commission.

Sec. 304. Electronic filing of FEC reports.

Sec. 305. Effective date.

TITLE IV—EXPANDING CANDIDATE ACCESS TO ADVERTISING

Sec. 401. Broadcasts by candidates.

TITLE V—CONTRIBUTIONS TO FREEDOM FROM INFLUENCE  
FUND

Sec. 501. Voluntary contributions to the Freedom From Influence Fund.

TITLE VI—MISCELLANEOUS PROVISIONS

Sec. 601. Severability.

**1           TITLE I—PARTICIPATION IN**  
**2                   FUNDING OF ELECTIONS**  
**3           Subtitle A—My Voice Tax Credit**

**4   SEC. 101. REFUNDABLE TAX CREDIT FOR CONGRESSIONAL**  
**5                   HOUSE CAMPAIGN CONTRIBUTIONS.**

**6           (a) IN GENERAL.**—Subpart C of part IV of sub-  
**7   chapter A of chapter 1 of the Internal Revenue Code of**  
**8   1986 (relating to refundable credits) is amended by insert-**  
**9   ing after section 36B the following new section:**

**10   “SEC. 36C. CREDIT FOR CONGRESSIONAL HOUSE CAM-**  
**11                   PAIGN CONTRIBUTIONS.**

**12           “(a) IN GENERAL.**—In the case of an individual,  
**13   there shall be allowed as a credit against the tax imposed**  
**14   by this subtitle an amount equal to 50 percent of the**  
**15   qualified My Voice Federal congressional House campaign**  
**16   contributions paid or incurred by the taxpayer during the**  
**17   taxable year.**

**18           “(b) LIMITATIONS.**—

**19                   “(1) DOLLAR LIMITATION.**—The amount of  
**20           qualified My Voice Federal congressional House**  
**21           campaign contributions taken into account under**

1 subsection (a) for the taxable year shall not exceed  
2 \$50 (twice such amount in the case of a joint re-  
3 turn).

4 “(2) LIMITATION ON CONTRIBUTIONS TO FED-  
5 ERAL CONGRESSIONAL HOUSE CANDIDATES.—No  
6 credit shall be allowed under this section to any tax-  
7 payer for any taxable year if such taxpayer made ag-  
8 gregate contributions in excess of \$300 during the  
9 taxable year to—

10 “(A) any single Federal congressional  
11 House candidate, or

12 “(B) any political committee established  
13 and maintained by a national political party.

14 “(3) PROVISION OF INFORMATION.—No credit  
15 shall be allowed under this section to any taxpayer  
16 unless the taxpayer provides the Secretary with such  
17 information as the Secretary may require to verify  
18 the taxpayer’s eligibility for the credit and the  
19 amount of the credit for the taxpayer.

20 “(4) INELIGIBILITY OF INDIVIDUALS RECEIVING  
21 MY VOICE VOUCHERS.—

22 “(A) IN GENERAL.—No credit shall be al-  
23 lowed under this section with respect to any in-  
24 dividual for any taxable year which occurs dur-  
25 ing an election cycle in which such individual

1 received a My Voice Voucher under subtitle B  
2 of title I of the Government By the People Act  
3 of 2015. In the case of a joint return with re-  
4 spect to which this paragraph applies to one of  
5 the spouses, such return shall not be treated as  
6 a joint return for purposes of determining the  
7 dollar limitation under paragraph (1).

8 “(B) ELECTION CYCLE DEFINED.—In sub-  
9 paragraph (A), the term ‘election cycle’ has the  
10 meaning given such term in section 114 of the  
11 Government By the People Act of 2015.

12 “(c) QUALIFIED MY VOICE FEDERAL CONGRES-  
13 SIONAL HOUSE CAMPAIGN CONTRIBUTIONS.—For pur-  
14 poses of this section, the term ‘My Voice Federal congres-  
15 sional House campaign contribution’ means any contribu-  
16 tion of cash by an individual to a Federal congressional  
17 House candidate or to a political committee established  
18 and maintained by a national political party if such con-  
19 tribution is not prohibited under the Federal Election  
20 Campaign Act of 1971.

21 “(d) FEDERAL CONGRESSIONAL HOUSE CAN-  
22 DIDATE.—For purposes of this section—

23 “(1) IN GENERAL.—The term ‘Federal congres-  
24 sional House candidate’ means any candidate for

election to the office of Representative in, or Delegate or Resident Commissioner to, the Congress.

“(2) TREATMENT OF AUTHORIZED COMMITTEES.—Any contribution made to an authorized committee of a Federal congressional House candidate shall be treated as made to such candidate.

“(e) INFLATION ADJUSTMENT.—

“(1) IN GENERAL.—In the case of a taxable year beginning after 2015, the \$50 amount under subsection (b)(1) shall be increased by an amount equal to—

“(A) such dollar amount, multiplied by

“(B) the cost-of-living adjustment determined under section 1(f)(3) for the calendar year in which the taxable year begins, determined by substituting ‘calendar year 2015’ for ‘calendar year 1992’ in subparagraph (B) thereof.

“(2) ROUNDING.—If any amount as adjusted under subparagraph (A) is not a multiple of \$5, such amount shall be rounded to the nearest multiple of \$5.”.

(b) CONFORMING AMENDMENTS.—

(1) Section 6211(b)(4)(A) of such Code is amended by inserting “36C,” after “36B,”.

1           (2) Section 1324(b)(2) of title 31, United  
2       States Code, is amended by inserting “36C,” after  
3       “36B,”.

4           (3) The table of sections for subpart C of part  
5       IV of subchapter A of chapter 1 of the Internal Rev-  
6       enue Code of 1986 is amended by inserting after the  
7       item relating to section 36B the following new item:  
      “Sec. 36C. Credit for congressional House campaign contributions.”.

8       (c) FORMS.—The Secretary of the Treasury, or his  
9       designee, shall ensure that the credit for contributions to  
10      Federal congressional House candidates allowed under  
11      section 36C of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986, as  
12      added by this section, may be claimed on Forms 1040EZ  
13      and 1040A.

14      (d) ADMINISTRATION.—At the request of the Sec-  
15      retary of the Treasury, the Federal Election Commission  
16      shall provide the Secretary of the Treasury with such in-  
17      formation and other assistance as the Secretary may rea-  
18      sonably require to administer the credit allowed under sec-  
19      tion 36C of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986, as added  
20      by this section.

21      (e) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendments made by  
22      this section shall apply to taxable years beginning after  
23      December 31, 2014.



1 **Subtitle B—My Voice Voucher Pilot**  
2 **Program**

3 **SEC. 111. ESTABLISHMENT OF PILOT PROGRAM.**

4 (a) ESTABLISHMENT.—The Government by the Peo-  
5 ple Oversight Commission established under section 542  
6 of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 (as added  
7 by section 201) (hereafter in this subtitle referred to as  
8 the “Commission”) shall establish a pilot program under  
9 which the Commission shall select 3 eligible States to oper-  
10 ate a voucher pilot program which is described in section  
11 112.

12 (b) ELIGIBILITY OF STATES.—A State is eligible to  
13 be selected to operate a voucher pilot program under this  
14 subtitle if the State submits to the Commission (at such  
15 time during the application period and in such form as  
16 the Commission may require) an application containing—

17 (1) information and assurances that the State  
18 will operate a voucher program which contains the  
19 elements described in section 112(a);

20 (2) information and assurances that the State  
21 will establish fraud prevention mechanisms described  
22 in section 112(b);

23 (3) information and assurances that the State  
24 will establish a commission to oversee and implement  
25 the program as described in section 112(c);

1           (4) information and assurances that the State  
2     will submit reports as required under section 113;  
3     and

4           (5) such other information and assurances as  
5     the Commission may require.

6     (c) TIMING OF PROGRAM.—

7           (1) ISSUANCE OF INITIAL GUIDANCE.—Not  
8     later than 90 days after the appointment of a  
9     quorum of its members, the Commission shall issue  
10    initial guidance regarding the process by which  
11    States may apply to operate voucher pilot programs  
12    under this subtitle and initial guidance regarding the  
13    implementation of such programs.

14          (2) SELECTION OF PARTICIPATING STATES.—  
15    The Commission shall select the 3 States which will  
16    operate voucher pilot programs under this subtitle  
17    not later than 90 days before the end of the applica-  
18    tion period.

19          (3) PERIOD OF OPERATION OF PROGRAM.—  
20    Each State selected to operate a voucher pilot pro-  
21    gram under this subtitle shall operate such program  
22    during each of the 3 election cycles which begin after  
23    the application period, and shall ensure that the pro-  
24    gram is ready to be operated not later than the first

1       January 1 of the first election cycle which begins  
2       after the application period.

3           (4) TERMINATION.—Each voucher pilot pro-  
4       gram under this subtitle shall terminate as of the  
5       first day after the third election cycle during which  
6       the State operated the program.

7       (d) REIMBURSEMENT OF COSTS.—Upon receiving  
8       the report submitted by a State under section 113 with  
9       respect to an election cycle, the Commission shall transmit  
10      a payment to the State in an amount equal to the reason-  
11      able costs incurred by the State in operating the voucher  
12      pilot program under this subtitle during the cycle.

13      (e) APPLICATION PERIOD DEFINED.—In this section,  
14      the term “application period” means the first election  
15      cycle which begins after the date of the enactment of this  
16      Act.

17      **SEC. 112. VOUCHER PROGRAM DESCRIBED.**

18      (a) GENERAL ELEMENTS OF PROGRAM.—

19           (1) ELEMENTS DESCRIBED.—The elements of a  
20      voucher pilot program operated by a State under  
21      this subtitle are as follows:

22           (A) The State shall provide each qualified  
23      individual upon the individual’s request with a  
24      voucher worth \$50 to be known as a “My Voice  
25      Voucher” during the election cycle which will be

1 assigned a routing number and which at the op-  
2 tion of the individual will be provided in either  
3 paper or electronic form.

4 (B) Using the routing number assigned to  
5 the My Voice Voucher, the individual may sub-  
6 mit the My Voice Voucher in either electronic  
7 or paper form to qualified candidates for elec-  
8 tion for Federal office and allocate such portion  
9 of the value of the My Voice Voucher in incre-  
10 ments of \$5 as the individual may select to any  
11 such candidate.

12 (C) If the candidate transmits the My  
13 Voice Voucher to the Commission, the Commis-  
14 sion shall pay the candidate the portion of the  
15 value of the My Voice Voucher that the indi-  
16 vidual allocated to the candidate, which shall be  
17 considered a contribution by the individual to  
18 the candidate for purposes of the Federal Elec-  
19 tion Campaign Act of 1971.

20 (2) DESIGNATION OF QUALIFIED INDIVID-  
21 UALS.—For purposes of paragraph (1)(A), a “quali-  
22 fied individual” with respect to a State means an in-  
23 dividual—

24 (A) who is a resident of the State;

1 (B) who will be of voting age as of the  
2 date of the election for the candidate to whom  
3 the individual submits a My Voice Voucher;

4 (C) who is not prohibited under Federal  
5 law from making contributions to candidates  
6 for election for Federal office; and

7 (D) who meets such other requirements as  
8 the State may impose, except that the State  
9 may not require the individual to be a reg-  
10 istered voter in the State as a condition of  
11 being a qualified individual.

12 (b) FRAUD PREVENTION MECHANISM.—In addition  
13 to the elements described in subsection (a), a State oper-  
14 ating a voucher pilot program under this subtitle shall per-  
15 mit an individual to revoke a My Voice Voucher not later  
16 than 2 days after submitting the My Voice Voucher to a  
17 candidate.

18 (c) OVERSIGHT COMMISSION.—In addition to the ele-  
19 ments described in subsection (a), a State operating a  
20 voucher pilot program under this subtitle shall establish  
21 a commission or designate an existing entity to oversee  
22 and implement the program in the State, except that no  
23 such commission or entity may be comprised of elected  
24 officials.

1 **SEC. 113. REPORTS.**

2 (a) ELECTION CYCLE REPORTS.—Not later than 6  
3 months after each election cycle during which a State op-  
4 erates a voucher pilot program under this subtitle, the  
5 State shall submit a report to the Commission analyzing  
6 the operation and effectiveness of the program during the  
7 cycle and including such other information as the Commis-  
8 sion may require.

9 (b) FINAL REPORT.—Not later than 6 months after  
10 the termination of the voucher pilot programs under this  
11 subtitle, each State which operated such a program shall  
12 submit a final report to the Commission on the operation  
13 of the program during the previous election cycles, and  
14 shall include in each such report such recommendations  
15 as the State considers appropriate regarding the expan-  
16 sion of the pilot program to all States and territories,  
17 along with such other recommendations and other infor-  
18 mation as the Commission may require.

19 **SEC. 114. ELECTION CYCLE DEFINED.**

20 In this subtitle, the term “election cycle” means the  
21 period beginning on the day after the date of the most  
22 recent regularly scheduled general election for Federal of-  
23 fice and ending on the date of the next regularly scheduled  
24 general election for Federal office.

1 **TITLE II—SMALL DOLLAR FI-**  
 2 **NANCING OF CONGRES-**  
 3 **SIONAL ELECTION CAM-**  
 4 **PAIGNS**

5 **SEC. 201. BENEFITS AND ELIGIBILITY REQUIREMENTS FOR**  
 6 **CANDIDATES.**

7 The Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 (52  
 8 U.S.C. 30101 et seq.) is amended by adding at the end  
 9 the following:

10 **“TITLE V—SMALL DOLLAR FI-**  
 11 **NANCING OF CONGRES-**  
 12 **SIONAL ELECTION CAM-**  
 13 **PAIGNS**

14 **“Subtitle A—Benefits**

15 **“SEC. 501. BENEFITS FOR PARTICIPATING CANDIDATES.**

16 “(a) IN GENERAL.—If a candidate for election to the  
 17 office of Representative in, or Delegate or Resident Com-  
 18 missioner to, the Congress is certified as a participating  
 19 candidate under this title with respect to an election for  
 20 such office, the candidate shall be entitled to payments  
 21 as provided under this title.

22 “(b) AMOUNT OF PAYMENT.—

23 “(1) IN GENERAL.—The amount of a payment  
 24 made under this title shall be equal to 600 percent  
 25 of the amount of qualified small dollar contributions

1 received by the candidate since the most recent pay-  
2 ment made to the candidate under this title during  
3 the election cycle, without regard to whether or not  
4 the candidate received any of the contributions be-  
5 fore, during, or after the Small Dollar Democracy  
6 qualifying period applicable to the candidate under  
7 section 511(c).

8 “(2) INCREASE IN PAYMENT FOR CANDIDATES  
9 ACCEPTING GREATER RESTRICTIONS.—In the case of  
10 a candidate who exercises the option described in  
11 section 521(a)(2) to accept greater restrictions on  
12 the permissible sources of contributions and expendi-  
13 tures, the amount of the payment under this sub-  
14 section shall be the amount otherwise determined  
15 under paragraph (1) increased by 50 percent.

16 “(c) LIMIT ON AGGREGATE AMOUNT OF PAY-  
17 MENTS.—The aggregate amount of payments made to a  
18 participating candidate with respect to an election cycle  
19 under this title may not exceed 50 percent (or, in the case  
20 of a candidate who exercises the option described in sec-  
21 tion 521(a)(2) to accept greater restrictions on the per-  
22 missible sources of contributions and expenditures, 100  
23 percent) of the average of the 20 greatest amounts of dis-  
24 bursements made by the authorized committees of any  
25 winning candidate for the office of Representative in, or



1 Delegate or Resident Commissioner to, the Congress dur-  
2 ing the most recent election cycle, rounded to the nearest  
3 \$100,000.

4 **“SEC. 502. PROCEDURES FOR MAKING PAYMENTS.**

5       “(a) IN GENERAL.—The Commission shall make a  
6 payment under section 501 to a candidate who is certified  
7 as a participating candidate upon receipt from the can-  
8 didate of a request for a payment which includes—

9               “(1) a statement of the number and amount of  
10 qualified small dollar contributions received by the  
11 candidate since the most recent payment made to  
12 the candidate under this title during the election  
13 cycle;

14               “(2) a statement of the amount of the payment  
15 the candidate anticipates receiving with respect to  
16 the request;

17               “(3) a statement of the total amount of pay-  
18 ments the candidate has received under this title as  
19 of the date of the statement; and

20               “(4) such other information and assurances as  
21 the Commission may require.

22       “(b) RESTRICTIONS ON SUBMISSION OF RE-  
23 QUESTS.—A candidate may not submit a request under  
24 subsection (a) unless each of the following applies:

1           “(1) The amount of the qualified small dollar  
2           contributions in the statement referred to in sub-  
3           section (a)(1) is equal to or greater than \$5,000, un-  
4           less the request is submitted during the 30-day pe-  
5           riod which ends on the date of a general election.

6           “(2) Of the total number of individuals who  
7           have made qualified small dollar contributions to the  
8           candidate as of the date of the request (including in-  
9           dividuals whose contributions were included in a pre-  
10          vious request under subsection (a) and individuals  
11          who made such contributions during the Small Dol-  
12          lar Democracy qualifying period described in section  
13          511(c)), at least 50 percent are residents of the  
14          State in which the candidate seeks election.

15          “(3) The candidate did not receive a payment  
16          under this title during the 7-day period which ends  
17          on the date the candidate submits the request.

18          “(c) TIME OF PAYMENT.—The Commission shall en-  
19          sure that payments under this section are made from the  
20          Treasury not later than 2 business days after the receipt  
21          of a request submitted under subsection (a).

22          **“SEC. 503. USE OF FUNDS.**

23          “A candidate shall use payments made under this  
24          title, including payments provided with respect to a pre-  
25          vious election cycle which are withheld from remittance to

1 the Commission in accordance with section 524(a)(2), only  
 2 for making direct payments for the receipt of goods and  
 3 services (including legal fees related to the election or a  
 4 legal challenge to the results of the election) which con-  
 5 stitute authorized expenditures (as determined in accord-  
 6 ance with title III) in connection with the election cycle  
 7 involved.

8 **“SEC. 504. QUALIFIED SMALL DOLLAR CONTRIBUTIONS DE-**  
 9 **SCRIBED.**

10 “(a) IN GENERAL.—In this title, the term ‘qualified  
 11 small dollar contribution’ means, with respect to a can-  
 12 didate and the authorized committees of a candidate, a  
 13 contribution that meets the following requirements:

14 “(1) The contribution is in an amount that is—

15 “(A) not less than \$1; and

16 “(B) not more than \$150.

17 “(2) The contribution is made by an individual,  
 18 either directly or through an intermediary or conduit  
 19 (as described in section 315(a)(8)), who is not other-  
 20 wise prohibited from making a contribution under  
 21 this Act.

22 “(3) The individual who makes the contribution  
 23 does not make contributions to the candidate or the  
 24 authorized committees of the candidate with respect  
 25 to the election involved in an aggregate amount that

1 exceeds the amount described in paragraph (1)(B),  
2 or any contribution to the candidate or the author-  
3 ized committees of the candidate with respect to the  
4 election involved that otherwise is not a qualified  
5 small dollar contribution.

6 “(b) TREATMENT OF MY VOICE TAX CREDITS AND  
7 MY VOICE VOUCHERS.—Any payment received by a can-  
8 didate and the authorized committees of a candidate which  
9 is treated as a qualified My Voice Federal congressional  
10 House campaign contribution under section 36C of the In-  
11 ternal Revenue Code of 1986 or which consists of a My  
12 Voice Voucher under subtitle B of title I of the Govern-  
13 ment By the People Act of 2015 shall be considered a  
14 qualified small dollar contribution for purposes of this  
15 title, so long as the individual making the payment meets  
16 the requirements of paragraphs (2) and (3) of subsection  
17 (a).

18 “(c) RESTRICTION ON SUBSEQUENT CONTRIBU-  
19 TIONS.—

20 “(1) PROHIBITING DONOR FROM MAKING SUB-  
21 SEQUENT NON-QUALIFIED CONTRIBUTIONS DURING  
22 ELECTION CYCLE.—

23 “(A) IN GENERAL.—An individual who  
24 makes a qualified small dollar contribution to a  
25 candidate or the authorized committees of a

1 candidate with respect to an election may not  
2 make any subsequent contribution to such can-  
3 didate or the authorized committees of such  
4 candidate with respect to the election cycle  
5 which is not a qualified small dollar contribu-  
6 tion.

7 “(B) EXCEPTION FOR CONTRIBUTIONS TO  
8 CANDIDATES WHO VOLUNTARILY WITHDRAW  
9 FROM PARTICIPATION DURING QUALIFYING PE-  
10 RIOD.—Subparagraph (A) does not apply with  
11 respect to a contribution made to a candidate  
12 who, during the Small Dollar Democracy quali-  
13 fying period described in section 511(c), sub-  
14 mits a statement to the Commission under sec-  
15 tion 513(c) to voluntarily withdraw from par-  
16 ticipating in the program under this title.

17 “(2) TREATMENT OF SUBSEQUENT NON-QUALI-  
18 FIED CONTRIBUTIONS.—If, notwithstanding the pro-  
19 hibition described in paragraph (1), an individual  
20 who makes a qualified small dollar contribution to a  
21 candidate or the authorized committees of a can-  
22 didate with respect to an election makes a subse-  
23 quent contribution to such candidate or the author-  
24 ized committees of such candidate with respect to  
25 the election which is prohibited under paragraph (1)

1 because it is not a qualified small dollar contribu-  
2 tion, the candidate may take one of the following ac-  
3 tions:

4 “(A) Not later than 2 weeks after receiving  
5 the contribution, the candidate may return the  
6 subsequent contribution to the individual.

7 “(B) Unless the candidate has exercised  
8 the option described in section 521(a)(2) to ac-  
9 cept greater restrictions on the permissible  
10 sources of contributions and expenditures, the  
11 candidate may retain the subsequent contribu-  
12 tion, so long as not later than 2 weeks after re-  
13 ceiving the subsequent contribution, the can-  
14 didate remits to the Commission for deposit in  
15 the Freedom From Influence Fund under sec-  
16 tion 541 an amount equal to any payments re-  
17 ceived by the candidate under this title which  
18 are attributable to the qualified small dollar  
19 contribution made by the individual involved.

20 “(3) NO EFFECT ON ABILITY TO MAKE MUL-  
21 TIPLE CONTRIBUTIONS.—Nothing in this section  
22 may be construed to prohibit an individual from  
23 making multiple qualified small dollar contributions  
24 to any candidate or any number of candidates, so  
25 long as each contribution meets each of the require-

1       ments of paragraphs (1), (2), and (3) of subsection  
2       (a).

3       “(d) NOTIFICATION REQUIREMENTS FOR CAN-  
4 DIDATES.—

5               “(1) NOTIFICATION.—Each authorized com-  
6       mittee of a candidate who seeks to be a participating  
7       candidate under this title shall provide the following  
8       information in any materials for the solicitation of  
9       contributions, including any Internet site through  
10      which individuals may make contributions to the  
11      committee:

12              “(A) A statement that if the candidate is  
13      certified as a participating candidate under this  
14      title, the candidate will receive matching pay-  
15      ments in an amount which is based on the total  
16      amount of qualified small dollar contributions  
17      received.

18              “(B) A statement that a contribution  
19      which meets the requirements set forth in sub-  
20      section (a) shall be treated as a qualified small  
21      dollar contribution under this title unless the  
22      contributor notifies the committee not later  
23      than 48 hours after making the contribution  
24      that the contribution is not to be so treated.

1           “(C) A statement that if a contribution is  
 2           treated as qualified small dollar contribution  
 3           under this title, the individual who makes the  
 4           contribution may not make any contribution to  
 5           the candidate or the authorized committees of  
 6           the candidate during the election cycle which is  
 7           not a qualified small dollar contribution.

8           “(2) ALTERNATIVE METHODS OF MEETING RE-  
 9           QUIREMENTS.—An authorized committee may meet  
 10          the requirements of paragraph (1)—

11           “(A) by including the information de-  
 12           scribed in paragraph (1) in the receipt provided  
 13           under section 512(b)(3) to a person making a  
 14           qualified small dollar contribution; or

15           “(B) by modifying the information it pro-  
 16           vides to persons making contributions which is  
 17           otherwise required under title III (including in-  
 18           formation it provides through the Internet).

## 19           **“Subtitle B—Eligibility and** 20           **Certification**

### 21          **“SEC. 511. ELIGIBILITY.**

22           “(a) IN GENERAL.—A candidate for the office of  
 23          Representative in, or Delegate or Resident Commissioner  
 24          to, the Congress is eligible to be certified as a participating



1 candidate under this title with respect to an election if  
2 the candidate meets the following requirements:

3 “(1) The candidate files with the Commission a  
4 statement of intent to seek certification as a partici-  
5 pating candidate, and specifies in the statement  
6 whether the candidate intends to exercise the option  
7 described in section 521(a)(2) to accept greater re-  
8 strictions on the permissible sources of contributions  
9 and expenditures.

10 “(2) The candidate meets the qualifying re-  
11 quirements of section 512.

12 “(3) The candidate files with the Commission a  
13 statement certifying that the authorized committees  
14 of the candidate meet the requirements of section  
15 504(d).

16 “(4) Not later than the last day of the Small  
17 Dollar Democracy qualifying period, the candidate  
18 files with the Commission an affidavit signed by the  
19 candidate and the treasurer of the candidate’s prin-  
20 cipal campaign committee declaring that the can-  
21 didate—

22 “(A) has complied and, if certified, will  
23 comply with the contribution and expenditure  
24 requirements of section 521;

1           “(B) if certified, will run only as a partici-  
 2           pating candidate for all elections for the office  
 3           that such candidate is seeking during that elec-  
 4           tion cycle; and

5           “(C) has either qualified or will take steps  
 6           to qualify under State law to be on the ballot.

7           “(b) GENERAL ELECTION.—Notwithstanding sub-  
 8           section (a), a candidate shall not be eligible to be certified  
 9           as a participating candidate under this title for a general  
 10          election or a general runoff election unless the candidate’s  
 11          party nominated the candidate to be placed on the ballot  
 12          for the general election or the candidate is otherwise quali-  
 13          fied to be on the ballot under State law.

14          “(c) SMALL DOLLAR DEMOCRACY QUALIFYING PE-  
 15          RIOD DEFINED.—The term ‘Small Dollar Democracy  
 16          qualifying period’ means, with respect to any candidate  
 17          for an office, the 180-day period (during the election cycle  
 18          for such office) which begins on the date on which the  
 19          candidate files a statement of intent under section  
 20          511(a)(1), except that such period may not continue after  
 21          the date that is 30 days before the date of the general  
 22          election for the office.

23       **“SEC. 512. QUALIFYING REQUIREMENTS.**

24          “(a) RECEIPT OF QUALIFIED SMALL DOLLAR CON-  
 25          TRIBUTIONS FROM IN-STATE RESIDENTS.—A candidate

1 for the office of Representative in, or Delegate or Resident  
2 Commissioner to, the Congress meets the requirement of  
3 this section if, during the Small Dollar Democracy quali-  
4 fying period described in section 511(c), each of the fol-  
5 lowing occurs:

6 “(1) Not fewer than 1,000 individuals who are  
7 residents of the State in which the candidate seeks  
8 election make a qualified small dollar contribution to  
9 the candidate.

10 “(2) The candidate obtains a total dollar  
11 amount of qualified small dollar contributions from  
12 individuals who are residents of the State in which  
13 the candidate seeks election which is equal to or  
14 greater than \$50,000.

15 “(b) REQUIREMENTS RELATING TO RECEIPT OF  
16 QUALIFIED SMALL DOLLAR CONTRIBUTION.—Each  
17 qualified small dollar contribution—

18 “(1) may be made by means of a personal  
19 check, money order, debit card, credit card, elec-  
20 tronic payment account, or any other method  
21 deemed appropriate by the Commission;

22 “(2) shall be accompanied by a signed state-  
23 ment (or, in the case of a contribution made online  
24 or through other electronic means, an electronic  
25 equivalent) containing—

1           “(A) the contributor’s name and the con-  
2           tributor’s address in the State in which the pri-  
3           mary residence of the contributor is located,  
4           and

5           “(B) an oath declaring that the contrib-  
6           utor—

7                   “(i) understands that the purpose of  
8                   the contribution is to show support for the  
9                   candidate so that the candidate may qual-  
10                  ify for financing under this title,

11                  “(ii) is making the contribution in his  
12                  or her own name and from his or her own  
13                  funds,

14                  “(iii) has made the contribution will-  
15                  ingly, and

16                  “(iv) has not received any thing of  
17                  value in return for the contribution; and

18           “(3) shall be acknowledged by a receipt that is  
19           sent to the contributor with a copy (in paper or elec-  
20           tronic form) kept by the candidate for the Commis-  
21           sion and a copy (in paper or electronic form) kept  
22           by the candidate for the election authorities in the  
23           State with respect to which the candidate is seeking  
24           election.

1       “(c) VERIFICATION OF QUALIFIED SMALL DOLLAR  
 2 CONTRIBUTIONS.—The Commission shall establish proce-  
 3 dures for the auditing and verification of qualified small  
 4 dollar contributions, including procedures for random au-  
 5 dits, to ensure that such contributions meet the require-  
 6 ments of this section.

7       **“SEC. 513. CERTIFICATION.**

8       “(a) DEADLINE AND NOTIFICATION.—

9               “(1) IN GENERAL.—Not later than 5 days after  
 10 a candidate files an affidavit under section  
 11 511(a)(3), the Commission shall—

12               “(A) determine whether or not the can-  
 13 didate meets the requirements for certification  
 14 as a participating candidate;

15               “(B) if the Commission determines that  
 16 the candidate meets such requirements, certify  
 17 the candidate as a participating candidate; and

18               “(C) notify the candidate of the Commis-  
 19 sion’s determination.

20               “(2) DEEMED CERTIFICATION FOR ALL ELEC-  
 21 TIONS IN ELECTION CYCLE.—If the Commission cer-  
 22 tifies a candidate as a participating candidate with  
 23 respect to the first election of the election cycle in-  
 24 volved, the Commissioner shall be deemed to have  
 25 certified the candidate as a participating candidate

1 with respect to all subsequent elections of the elec-  
2 tion cycle.

3 “(b) REVOCATION OF CERTIFICATION.—

4 “(1) IN GENERAL.—The Commission may re-  
5 voke a certification under subsection (a) if—

6 “(A) a candidate fails to qualify to appear  
7 on the ballot at any time after the date of cer-  
8 tification (other than a candidate certified as a  
9 participating candidate with respect to a pri-  
10 mary election who fails to qualify to appear on  
11 the ballot for a subsequent election in that elec-  
12 tion cycle);

13 “(B) a candidate ceases to be a candidate  
14 for the office involved, as determined on the  
15 basis of an official announcement by an author-  
16 ized committee of the candidate or on the basis  
17 of a reasonable determination by the Commis-  
18 sion; or

19 “(C) a candidate otherwise fails to comply  
20 with the requirements of this title, including  
21 any regulatory requirements prescribed by the  
22 Commission.

23 “(2) EXISTENCE OF REPEATED OR SERIOUS  
24 VIOLATIONS.—The Commission shall revoke a cer-  
25 tification under subsection (a) if a penalty is as-

1       sessed against the candidate under section 309(d)  
2       with respect to the election.

3           “(3) EFFECT OF REVOCATION.—If a can-  
4       didate’s certification is revoked under this sub-  
5       section—

6           “(A) the candidate shall repay to the Free-  
7       dom From Influence Fund established under  
8       section 541 an amount equal to the payments  
9       received under this title with respect to the elec-  
10      tion cycle involved plus interest (at a rate deter-  
11      mined by the Commission on the basis of an ap-  
12      propriate annual percentage rate for the month  
13      involved) on any such amount received;

14          “(B) the candidate may not receive pay-  
15      ments under this title during the remainder of  
16      the election cycle involved; and

17          “(C) the candidate may not be certified as  
18      a participating candidate under this title with  
19      respect to the next election cycle.

20          “(4) PROHIBITING PARTICIPATION IN FUTURE  
21      ELECTIONS FOR CANDIDATES WITH MULTIPLE REV-  
22      OCATIONS.—If the Commission revokes the certifi-  
23      cation of an individual as a participating candidate  
24      under this title 3 times, the individual may not be

1       certified as a participating candidate under this title  
 2       with respect to any subsequent election.

3       “(c) VOLUNTARY WITHDRAWAL FROM PARTICI-  
 4       PATING DURING QUALIFYING PERIOD.—At any time dur-  
 5       ing the Small Dollar Democracy qualifying period de-  
 6       scribed in section 511(c), a candidate may withdraw from  
 7       participation in the program under this title by submitting  
 8       to the Commission a statement of withdrawal (without re-  
 9       gard to whether or not the Commission has certified the  
 10      candidate as a participating candidate under this title as  
 11      of the time the candidate submits such statement), so long  
 12      as the candidate has not submitted a request for payment  
 13      under section 502.

14      “(d) PARTICIPATING CANDIDATE DEFINED.—In this  
 15      title, a ‘participating candidate’ means a candidate for the  
 16      office of Representative in, or Delegate or Resident Com-  
 17      missioner to, the Congress who is certified under this sec-  
 18      tion as eligible to receive benefits under this title.

19      **“Subtitle C—Requirements for Can-**  
 20      **didates Certified as Partici-**  
 21      **pating Candidates**

22      **“SEC. 521. CONTRIBUTION AND EXPENDITURE REQUIRE-**  
 23      **MENTS.**

24      “(a) PERMITTED SOURCES OF CONTRIBUTIONS AND  
 25      EXPENDITURES.—



1           “(1) IN GENERAL.—Except as provided in sub-  
2           section (c), a participating candidate with respect to  
3           an election shall, with respect to all elections occur-  
4           ring during the election cycle for the office involved,  
5           accept no contributions from any source and make  
6           no expenditures from any amounts, other than the  
7           following:

8                   “(A) Qualified small dollar contributions.

9                   “(B) Payments under this title.

10                  “(C) Contributions from political commit-  
11                  tees established and maintained by a national  
12                  or State political party, subject to the applica-  
13                  ble limitations of section 315.

14                  “(D) Subject to subsection (b), personal  
15                  funds of the candidate or of any immediate  
16                  family member of the candidate (other than  
17                  funds received through qualified small dollar  
18                  contributions).

19                  “(E) Contributions from individuals who  
20                  are otherwise permitted to make contributions  
21                  under this Act, subject to the applicable limita-  
22                  tions of section 315, except that the aggregate  
23                  amount of contributions a participating can-  
24                  didate may accept from any individual with re-

1 spect to any election during the election cycle  
2 may not exceed \$1,000.

3 “(F) Contributions from multicandidate  
4 political committees, subject to the applicable  
5 limitations of section 315.

6 “(2) OPTION TO ACCEPT STRICTER LIMITS.—A  
7 participating candidate with respect to an election  
8 may, at the time of submitting the first request for  
9 payment under section 502(a), exercise an option to  
10 accept no contributions from any source and make  
11 no expenditures from any amounts with respect to  
12 all elections occurring during the election cycle for  
13 the office involved, other than the following:

14 “(A) Qualified small dollar contributions.

15 “(B) Payments under this title.

16 “(C) Subject to subsection (b), personal  
17 funds of the candidate or of any immediate  
18 family member of the candidate (other than  
19 funds received through qualified small dollar  
20 contributions).

21 “(D) Contributions from individuals who  
22 are otherwise permitted to make contributions  
23 under this Act, subject to the applicable limita-  
24 tions of section 315, except that—

1 “(i) the aggregate amount of con-  
2 tributions the candidate may accept from  
3 any individual with respect to any election  
4 during the election cycle may not exceed  
5 \$1,000;

6 “(ii) the aggregate amount of con-  
7 tributions a candidate may accept from all  
8 individuals under this subparagraph with  
9 respect to the election cycle may not exceed  
10 \$50,000; and

11 “(iii) the candidate may not accept  
12 any contributions under this subparagraph  
13 after the date on which the Commission  
14 notifies the candidate under section 513(a)  
15 that the candidate is certified as a partici-  
16 pating candidate under this title.

17 “(b) SPECIAL RULES FOR PERSONAL FUNDS.—

18 “(1) LIMIT ON AMOUNT.—A candidate who is  
19 certified as a participating candidate may use per-  
20 sonal funds (including personal funds of any imme-  
21 diate family member of the candidate) so long as—

22 “(A) the aggregate amount used with re-  
23 spect to the election cycle (including any period  
24 of the cycle occurring prior to the candidate’s

1 certification as a participating candidate) does  
 2 not exceed \$10,000; and

3 “(B) the funds are used only for making  
 4 direct payments for the receipt of goods and  
 5 services which constitute authorized expendi-  
 6 tures in connection with the election cycle in-  
 7 volved.

8 “(2) IMMEDIATE FAMILY MEMBER DEFINED.—  
 9 In this subsection, the term ‘immediate family’  
 10 means, with respect to a candidate—

11 “(A) the candidate’s spouse;

12 “(B) a child, stepchild, parent, grand-  
 13 parent, brother, half-brother, sister, or half-sis-  
 14 ter of the candidate or the candidate’s spouse;  
 15 and

16 “(C) the spouse of any person described in  
 17 subparagraph (B).

18 “(c) EXCEPTIONS.—

19 “(1) EXCEPTION FOR CONTRIBUTIONS RE-  
 20 CEIVED PRIOR TO FILING OF STATEMENT OF IN-  
 21 TENT.—A candidate who has accepted contributions  
 22 that are not described in paragraph (1) of sub-  
 23 section (a) (or, in the case of a candidate who has  
 24 exercised the option described in paragraph (2) of  
 25 subsection (a), that are not described in paragraph

1       (2) of subsection (a)) is not in violation of sub-  
2       section (a), but only if all such contributions are—

3               “(A) returned to the contributor;

4               “(B) submitted to the Commission for de-  
5       posit in the Freedom From Influence Fund es-  
6       tablished under section 541; or

7               “(C) spent in accordance with paragraph  
8       (2).

9       “(2) EXCEPTION FOR EXPENDITURES MADE  
10      PRIOR TO FILING OF STATEMENT OF INTENT.—If a  
11      candidate has made expenditures prior to the date  
12      the candidate files a statement of intent under sec-  
13      tion 511(a)(1) that the candidate is prohibited from  
14      making under subsection (a) or subsection (b), the  
15      candidate is not in violation of such subsection if the  
16      aggregate amount of the prohibited expenditures is  
17      less than the amount referred to in section  
18      512(a)(2) (relating to the total dollar amount of  
19      qualified small dollar contributions which the can-  
20      didate is required to obtain) which is applicable to  
21      the candidate.

22       “(3) EXCEPTION FOR CAMPAIGN SURPLUSES  
23      FROM A PREVIOUS ELECTION.—Notwithstanding  
24      paragraph (1), unexpended contributions received by  
25      the candidate or an authorized committee of the

1 candidate with respect to a previous election may be  
 2 retained, but only if the candidate places the funds  
 3 in escrow and refrains from raising additional funds  
 4 for or spending funds from that account during the  
 5 election cycle in which a candidate is a participating  
 6 candidate.

7 “(4) EXCEPTION FOR CONTRIBUTIONS RE-  
 8 CEIVED BEFORE THE EFFECTIVE DATE OF THIS  
 9 TITLE.—Contributions received and expenditures  
 10 made by the candidate or an authorized committee  
 11 of the candidate prior to the effective date of this  
 12 title shall not constitute a violation of subsection (a)  
 13 or (b). Unexpended contributions shall be treated  
 14 the same as campaign surpluses under paragraph  
 15 (3), and expenditures made shall count against the  
 16 limit in paragraph (2).

17 “(d) SPECIAL RULE FOR COORDINATED PARTY EX-  
 18 PENDITURES.—For purposes of this section, a payment  
 19 made by a political party in coordination with a partici-  
 20 pating candidate shall not be treated as a contribution to  
 21 or as an expenditure made by the participating candidate.

22 “(e) PROHIBITION ON JOINT FUNDRAISING COMMIT-  
 23 TEES.—

24 “(1) PROHIBITION.—An authorized committee  
 25 of a candidate who is certified as a participating

1 candidate under this title with respect to an election  
2 may not establish a joint fundraising committee with  
3 a political committee other than another authorized  
4 committee of the candidate.

5 “(2) STATUS OF EXISTING COMMITTEES FOR  
6 PRIOR ELECTIONS.—If a candidate established a  
7 joint fundraising committee described in paragraph  
8 (1) with respect to a prior election for which the  
9 candidate was not certified as a participating can-  
10 didate under this title and the candidate does not  
11 terminate the committee, the candidate shall not be  
12 considered to be in violation of paragraph (1) so  
13 long as that joint fundraising committee does not re-  
14 ceive any contributions or make any disbursements  
15 during the election cycle for which the candidate is  
16 certified as a participating candidate under this title.

17 “(f) PROHIBITION ON LEADERSHIP PACS.—

18 “(1) PROHIBITION.—A candidate who is cer-  
19 tified as a participating candidate under this title  
20 with respect to an election may not establish, fi-  
21 nance, maintain, or control a leadership PAC.

22 “(2) STATUS OF EXISTING LEADERSHIP  
23 PACS.—If a candidate established, financed, main-  
24 tained, or controlled a leadership PAC prior to being  
25 certified as a participating candidate under this title

1 and the candidate does not terminate the leadership  
 2 PAC, the candidate shall not be considered to be in  
 3 violation of paragraph (1) so long as the leadership  
 4 PAC does not receive any contributions or make any  
 5 disbursements during the election cycle for which the  
 6 candidate is certified as a participating candidate  
 7 under this title.

8 “(3) LEADERSHIP PAC DEFINED.—In this sub-  
 9 section, the term ‘leadership PAC’ has the meaning  
 10 given such term in section 304(i)(8)(B).

11 **“SEC. 522. ADMINISTRATION OF CAMPAIGN.**

12 “(a) SEPARATE ACCOUNTING FOR VARIOUS PER-  
 13 MITTED CONTRIBUTIONS.—Each authorized committee of  
 14 a candidate certified as a participating candidate under  
 15 this title—

16 “(1) shall provide for separate accounting of  
 17 each type of contribution described in paragraph (1)  
 18 of section 521(a) (or described in paragraph (2) of  
 19 section 521(a) in the case of a candidate who exer-  
 20 cises the option described in such paragraph) which  
 21 is received by the committee; and

22 “(2) shall provide for separate accounting for  
 23 the payments received under this title.

24 “(b) ENHANCED DISCLOSURE OF INFORMATION ON  
 25 DONORS.—



1           “(1) MANDATORY IDENTIFICATION OF INDIVID-  
2           UALS MAKING QUALIFIED SMALL DOLLAR CON-  
3           TRIBUTIONS.—Each authorized committee of a par-  
4           ticipating candidate under this title shall elect, in ac-  
5           cordance with section 304(b)(3)(A), to include in the  
6           reports the committee submits under section 304 the  
7           identification of each person who makes a qualified  
8           small dollar contribution to the committee.

9           “(2) MANDATORY DISCLOSURE THROUGH  
10          INTERNET.—Each authorized committee of a partici-  
11          pating candidate under this title shall ensure that all  
12          information reported to the Commission under this  
13          Act with respect to contributions and expenditures  
14          of the committee is available to the public on the  
15          Internet (whether through a site established for pur-  
16          poses of this subsection, a hyperlink on another pub-  
17          lic site of the committee, or a hyperlink on a report  
18          filed electronically with the Commission) in a search-  
19          able, sortable, and downloadable manner.

20   **“SEC. 523. PREVENTING UNNECESSARY SPENDING OF PUB-**  
21               **LIC FUNDS.**

22          “(a) MANDATORY SPENDING OF AVAILABLE PRI-  
23          VATE FUNDS.—An authorized committee of a candidate  
24          certified as a participating candidate under this title may  
25          not make any expenditure of any payments received under

1 this title in any amount unless the committee has made  
 2 an expenditure in an equivalent amount of funds received  
 3 by the committee which are described in subparagraphs  
 4 (C), (D), and (E) of paragraph (1) of section 521(a) (or  
 5 described in subparagraph (C) of paragraph (2) of section  
 6 521(a) in the case of a candidate who exercises the option  
 7 described in such paragraph).

8 “(b) LIMITATION.—Subsection (a) applies to an au-  
 9 thorized committee only to the extent that the funds re-  
 10 ferred to in such subsection are available to the committee  
 11 at the time the committee makes an expenditure of a pay-  
 12 ment received under this title.

13 **“SEC. 524. REMITTING UNSPENT FUNDS AFTER ELECTION.**

14 “(a) REMITTANCE REQUIRED.—

15 “(1) IN GENERAL.—Not later than the date  
 16 that is 180 days after the last election for which a  
 17 candidate certified as a participating candidate  
 18 qualifies to be on the ballot during the election cycle  
 19 involved, such participating candidate shall remit to  
 20 the Commission for deposit in the Freedom From  
 21 Influence Fund established under section 541 an  
 22 amount equal to the balance of the payments re-  
 23 ceived under this title by the authorized committees  
 24 of the candidate which remain unexpended as of  
 25 such date.

1           “(2) PERMITTING CANDIDATES PARTICIPATING  
2           IN NEXT ELECTION CYCLE TO RETAIN PORTION OF  
3           UNSPENT FUNDS.—Notwithstanding paragraph (1),  
4           a participating candidate may withhold not more  
5           than \$100,000 (or, in the case of a candidate who  
6           exercises the option described in section 521(a)(2) to  
7           accept greater restrictions on the permissible sources  
8           of contributions and expenditures, not more than  
9           \$200,000) from the amount required to be remitted  
10          under paragraph (1) if the candidate files a signed  
11          affidavit with the Commission that the candidate  
12          will seek certification as a participating candidate  
13          with respect to the next election cycle, except that  
14          the candidate may not use any portion of the  
15          amount withheld until the candidate is certified as  
16          a participating candidate with respect to that next  
17          election cycle. If the candidate fails to seek certifi-  
18          cation as a participating candidate prior to the last  
19          day of the Small Dollar Democracy qualifying period  
20          for the next election cycle (as described in section  
21          511), or if the Commission notifies the candidate of  
22          the Commission’s determination does not meet the  
23          requirements for certification as a participating can-  
24          didate with respect to such cycle, the candidate shall

1 immediately remit to the Commission the amount  
2 withheld.

3 “(b) EXCEPTION FOR EXPENSES INCURRED AS A RE-  
4 SULT OF CONTESTED ELECTION.—

5 “(1) IN GENERAL.—A candidate may withhold  
6 from the amount required to be remitted under sub-  
7 section (a) the amount of any authorized expendi-  
8 tures which were incurred as the result of a legal  
9 challenge to the results of the election, except that  
10 any amount withheld pursuant to this paragraph  
11 shall be remitted to the Commission not later than  
12 120 days after the date of the election to which such  
13 subsection applies.

14 “(2) DOCUMENTATION REQUIRED.—A can-  
15 didate may withhold an amount of an expenditure  
16 pursuant to paragraph (1) only if the candidate sub-  
17 mits documentation of the expenditure and the  
18 amount to the Commission not later than the dead-  
19 line applicable to the candidate under subsection (a).

## 20 **“Subtitle D—Enhanced Match** 21 **Support**

22 **“SEC. 531. ENHANCED SUPPORT FOR GENERAL ELECTION.**

23 “(a) AVAILABILITY OF ENHANCED SUPPORT.—In  
24 addition to the payments made under subtitle A, the Com-

1 mission shall make an additional payment to an eligible  
2 candidate under this subtitle.

3 “(b) USE OF FUNDS.—A candidate shall use the ad-  
4 ditional payment under this subtitle only for authorized  
5 expenditures in connection with the election involved.

6 **“SEC. 532. ELIGIBILITY.**

7 “(a) IN GENERAL.—A candidate is eligible to receive  
8 an additional payment under this subtitle if the candidate  
9 meets each of the following requirements:

10 “(1) The candidate is on the ballot for the gen-  
11 eral election for the office the candidate seeks.

12 “(2) The candidate is certified as a partici-  
13 pating candidate under this title with respect to the  
14 election.

15 “(3) During the enhanced support qualifying  
16 period, the candidate receives qualified small dollar  
17 contributions in a total amount of not less than  
18 \$50,000.

19 “(4) During the enhanced support qualifying  
20 period, the candidate submits to the Commission a  
21 request for the payment which includes—

22 “(A) a statement of the number and  
23 amount of qualified small dollar contributions  
24 received by the candidate during the enhanced  
25 support qualifying period;

1                   “(B) a statement of the amount of the  
2                   payment the candidate anticipates receiving  
3                   with respect to the request; and

4                   “(C) such other information and assur-  
5                   ances as the Commission may require.

6                   “(5) After submitting a request for the addi-  
7                   tional payment under paragraph (4), the candidate  
8                   does not submit any other application for an addi-  
9                   tional payment under this subtitle.

10                  “(b) ENHANCED SUPPORT QUALIFYING PERIOD DE-  
11                  SCRIBED.—In this subtitle, the term ‘enhanced support  
12                  qualifying period’ means, with respect to a general elec-  
13                  tion, the period which begins 60 days before the date of  
14                  the election and ends 14 days before the date of the elec-  
15                  tion.

16                  **“SEC. 533. AMOUNT.**

17                  “(a) IN GENERAL.—Subject to subsection (b), the  
18                  amount of the additional payment made to an eligible can-  
19                  didate under this subtitle shall be an amount equal to 50  
20                  percent of—

21                       “(1) the amount of the payment made to the  
22                       candidate under section 501(b) with respect to the  
23                       qualified small dollar contributions which are re-  
24                       ceived by the candidate during the enhanced support

1       qualifying period (as included in the request sub-  
2       mitted by the candidate under section 532(a)(4)); or

3               “(2) in the case of a candidate who is not eligi-  
4       ble to receive a payment under section 501(b) with  
5       respect to such qualified small dollar contributions  
6       because the candidate has reached the limit on the  
7       aggregate amount of payments under subtitle A for  
8       the election cycle under section 501(c), the amount  
9       of the payment which would have been made to the  
10      candidate under section 501(b) with respect to such  
11      qualified small dollar contributions if the candidate  
12      had not reached such limit.

13      “(b) LIMIT.—The amount of the additional payment  
14      determined under subsection (a) with respect to a can-  
15      didate may not exceed \$500,000.

16      “(c) NO EFFECT ON AGGREGATE LIMIT.—The  
17      amount of the additional payment made to a candidate  
18      under this subtitle shall not be included in determining  
19      the aggregate amount of payments made to a participating  
20      candidate with respect to an election cycle under section  
21      501(c).

22      **“SEC. 534. WAIVER OF AUTHORITY TO RETAIN PORTION OF**  
23                               **UNSPENT FUNDS AFTER ELECTION.**

24      “Notwithstanding section 524(a)(2), a candidate who  
25      receives an additional payment under this subtitle with re-

1 spect to an election is not permitted to withhold any por-  
 2 tion from the amount of unspent funds the candidate is  
 3 required to remit to the Commission under section  
 4 524(a)(1).

## 5           **“Subtitle E—Administrative** 6                           **Provisions**

### 7   **“SEC. 541. FREEDOM FROM INFLUENCE FUND.**

8           “(a) ESTABLISHMENT.—There is established in the  
 9 Treasury a fund to be known as the ‘Freedom From Infl-  
 10 uence Fund’.

11          “(b) AMOUNTS HELD BY FUND.—The Fund shall  
 12 consist of the following amounts:

13               “(1) APPROPRIATED AMOUNTS.—Amounts ap-  
 14 propriated to the Fund, including trust fund  
 15 amounts appropriated pursuant to applicable provi-  
 16 sions of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986.

17               “(2) VOLUNTARY CONTRIBUTIONS.—Voluntary  
 18 contributions to the Fund, including contributions  
 19 made pursuant to section 6098 of the Internal Rev-  
 20 enue Code of 1986.

21               “(3) OTHER DEPOSITS.—Amounts deposited  
 22 into the Fund under—

23                       “(A) section 521(c) (relating to exceptions  
 24 to contribution requirements);



1 “(B) section 523 (relating to remittance of  
2 unused payments from the Fund);

3 “(C) section 544 (relating to violations);  
4 and

5 “(D) any other section of this Act.

6 “(4) INVESTMENT RETURNS.—Interest on, and  
7 the proceeds from, the sale or redemption of, any  
8 obligations held by the Fund under subsection (c).

9 “(c) INVESTMENT.—The Commission shall invest  
10 portions of the Fund in obligations of the United States  
11 in the same manner as provided under section 9602(b)  
12 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986.

13 “(d) USE OF FUND.—

14 “(1) IN GENERAL.—Amounts in the Fund shall  
15 be available without further appropriation or fiscal  
16 year limitation to make payments to participating  
17 candidates as provided in this title.

18 “(2) INSUFFICIENT AMOUNTS.—Under regula-  
19 tions established by the Commission, rules similar to  
20 the rules of section 9006(c) of the Internal Revenue  
21 Code of 1986 shall apply.

22 **“SEC. 542. GOVERNMENT BY THE PEOPLE OVERSIGHT COM-**  
23 **MISSION.**

24 “(a) ESTABLISHMENT.—There is established within  
25 the Federal Election Commission an entity to be known

1 as the ‘Government by the People Oversight Commission’  
2 (in this title referred to as the ‘Oversight Commission’).

3 “(b) STRUCTURE AND MEMBERSHIP.—

4 “(1) IN GENERAL.—The Oversight Commission  
5 shall be composed of 5 members appointed by the  
6 President with the advice and consent of the Senate,  
7 of whom—

8 “(A) 2 shall be appointed after consulta-  
9 tion with the Majority Leader of the House of  
10 Representatives;

11 “(B) 2 shall be appointed after consulta-  
12 tion with the Minority Leader of the House of  
13 Representatives; and

14 “(C) 1 shall be appointed upon the rec-  
15 ommendation of the members appointed under  
16 subparagraphs (A) and (B).

17 “(2) QUALIFICATIONS.—

18 “(A) IN GENERAL.—The members shall be  
19 individuals who by reason of their education,  
20 experience, and attainments, are exceptionally  
21 qualified to perform the duties of members of  
22 the Oversight Commission.

23 “(B) PROHIBITION.—No individual may be  
24 appointed to the Oversight Commission who  
25 is—

1                   “(i) an employee of the Federal gov-  
2                   ernment;

3                   “(ii) a registered lobbyist or an indi-  
4                   vidual who was a registered lobbyist at any  
5                   time during the 2-year period preceding  
6                   appointment to the Oversight Commission;  
7                   or

8                   “(iii) an officer or employee of a polit-  
9                   ical party or political campaign.

10                  “(3) DATE.—Members of the Oversight Com-  
11                  mission shall be appointed not later than 60 days  
12                  after the date of the enactment of this Act.

13                  “(4) TERMS.—A member of the Oversight Com-  
14                  mission shall be appointed for a term of 5 years.

15                  “(5) VACANCIES.—A vacancy on the Oversight  
16                  Commission shall be filled not later than 30 calendar  
17                  days after the date on which the Oversight Commis-  
18                  sion is given notice of the vacancy, in the same man-  
19                  ner as the original appointment. The individual ap-  
20                  pointed to fill the vacancy shall serve only for the  
21                  unexpired portion of the term for which the individ-  
22                  ual’s predecessor was appointed.

23                  “(6) CHAIRPERSON.—The Oversight Commis-  
24                  sion shall designate a Chairperson from among the  
25                  members of the Board.

1 “(c) DUTIES AND POWERS.—

2 “(1) ADMINISTRATION.—The Oversight Com-  
3 mission shall have such duties and powers as the  
4 Commission may prescribe, including the power to  
5 administer the provisions of this title.

6 “(2) REVIEW OF SMALL DOLLAR FINANCING.—

7 “(A) IN GENERAL.—After each regularly  
8 scheduled general election for Federal office,  
9 the Oversight Commission shall conduct a com-  
10 prehensive review of the Small Dollar financing  
11 program under this title, including—

12 “(i) the maximum and minimum dol-  
13 lar amounts of qualified small dollar con-  
14 tributions under section 504;

15 “(ii) the number and value of quali-  
16 fied small dollar contributions a candidate  
17 is required to obtain under section 512(a)  
18 to be eligible for certification as a partici-  
19 pating candidate;

20 “(iii) the maximum amount of pay-  
21 ments a candidate may receive under this  
22 title;

23 “(iv) the overall satisfaction of partici-  
24 pating candidates and the American public  
25 with the program; and

1 “(v) such other matters relating to fi-  
2 nancing of campaigns as the Oversight  
3 Commission determines are appropriate.

4 “(B) CRITERIA FOR REVIEW.—In con-  
5 ducting the review under subparagraph (A), the  
6 Oversight Commission shall consider the fol-  
7 lowing:

8 “(i) QUALIFIED SMALL DOLLAR CON-  
9 TRIBUTIONS.—The Oversight Commission  
10 shall consider whether the number and dol-  
11 lar amounts of qualified small dollar con-  
12 tributions required strikes an appropriate  
13 balance regarding the importance of voter  
14 involvement, the need to assure adequate  
15 incentives for participating, and fiscal re-  
16 sponsibility, taking into consideration the  
17 number of primary and general election  
18 participating candidates, the electoral per-  
19 formance of those candidates, program  
20 cost, and any other information the Over-  
21 sight Commission determines is appro-  
22 priate.

23 “(ii) REVIEW OF PAYMENT LEVELS.—  
24 The Oversight Commission shall consider  
25 whether the totality of the amount of

1 funds allowed to be raised by participating  
2 candidates (including through qualified  
3 small dollar contributions) and payments  
4 under this title are sufficient for voters in  
5 each State to learn about the candidates to  
6 cast an informed vote, taking into account  
7 the historic amount of spending by winning  
8 candidates, media costs, primary election  
9 dates, and any other information the Over-  
10 sight Commission determines is appro-  
11 priate.

12 “(C) RECOMMENDATIONS FOR ADJUST-  
13 MENT OF AMOUNTS.—Based on the review con-  
14 ducted under subparagraph (A), the Oversight  
15 Commission may recommend to Congress ad-  
16 justments of the following amounts:

17 “(i) The number and value of quali-  
18 fied small dollar contributions a candidate  
19 is required to obtain under section 512(a)  
20 to be eligible for certification as a partici-  
21 pating candidate.

22 “(ii) The maximum amount of pay-  
23 ments may receive under this title.

24 “(d) MEETINGS AND HEARINGS.—

1           “(1) MEETINGS.—The Oversight Commission  
2           may hold such hearings, sit and act at such times  
3           and places, take such testimony, and receive such  
4           evidence as the Oversight Commission considers ad-  
5           visable to carry out the purposes of this Act.

6           “(2) QUORUM.—Three members of the Over-  
7           sight Commission shall constitute a quorum for pur-  
8           poses of voting, but a quorum is not required for  
9           members to meet and hold hearings.

10          “(e) REPORTS.—Not later than each June 1 which  
11       follows a regularly scheduled general election for Federal  
12       office for which payments were made under this title, the  
13       Oversight Commission shall submit to the Committee on  
14       House Administration of the House of Representatives a  
15       report—

16               “(1) containing an analysis of the review con-  
17               ducted under subsection (c)(2), including a detailed  
18               statement of Commission’s findings, conclusions,  
19               and recommendations based on such review, includ-  
20               ing any recommendations for adjustments of  
21               amounts described in subsection (c)(2)(C); and

22               “(2) documenting, evaluating, and making rec-  
23               ommendations relating to the administrative imple-  
24               mentation and enforcement of the provisions of this  
25               title.

1 “(f) ADMINISTRATION.—

2 “(1) COMPENSATION OF MEMBERS.—

3 “(A) IN GENERAL.—Each member, other  
4 than the Chairperson, shall be paid at a rate  
5 equal to the daily equivalent of the minimum  
6 annual rate of basic pay prescribed for level IV  
7 of the Executive Schedule under section 5315  
8 of title 5, United States Code.

9 “(B) CHAIRPERSON.—The Chairperson  
10 shall be paid at a rate equal to the daily equivalent  
11 of the minimum annual rate of basic pay  
12 prescribed for level III of the Executive Schedule  
13 under section 5314 of title 5, United States  
14 Code.

15 “(2) PERSONNEL.—

16 “(A) DIRECTOR.—The Oversight Commission  
17 shall have a staff headed by an Executive  
18 Director. The Executive Director shall be paid  
19 at a rate equivalent to a rate established for the  
20 Senior Executive Service under section 5382 of  
21 title 5, United States Code.

22 “(B) STAFF APPOINTMENT.—With the approval  
23 of the Chairperson, the Executive Director  
24 may appoint such personnel as the Execu-



1           tive Director and the Oversight Commission de-  
2           termines to be appropriate.

3           “(C) EXPERTS AND CONSULTANTS.—With  
4           the approval of the Chairperson, the Executive  
5           Director may procure temporary and intermit-  
6           tent services under section 3109(b) of title 5,  
7           United States Code.

8           “(D) DETAIL OF GOVERNMENT EMPLOY-  
9           EES.—Upon the request of the Chairperson, the  
10          head of any Federal agency may detail, without  
11          reimbursement, any of the personnel of such  
12          agency to the Oversight Commission to assist in  
13          carrying out the duties of the Oversight Com-  
14          mission. Any such detail shall not interrupt or  
15          otherwise affect the civil service status or privi-  
16          leges of the Federal employee.

17          “(E) OTHER RESOURCES.—The Oversight  
18          Commission shall have reasonable access to ma-  
19          terials, resources, statistical data, and other in-  
20          formation from the Library of Congress and  
21          other agencies of the executive and legislative  
22          branches of the Federal Government. The  
23          Chairperson of the Oversight Commission shall  
24          make requests for such access in writing when  
25          necessary.

1       “(g) AUTHORIZATION OF APPROPRIATIONS.—There  
2 are authorized to be appropriated such sums as are nec-  
3 essary to carry out the purposes of this subtitle.

4       **“SEC. 543. ADMINISTRATION BY COMMISSION.**

5       “The Commission shall prescribe regulations to carry  
6 out the purposes of this title, including regulations—

7               “(1) to establish procedures for—

8                       “(A) verifying the amount of qualified  
9 small dollar contributions with respect to a can-  
10 didate,

11                      “(B) effectively and efficiently monitoring  
12 and enforcing the limits on the raising of quali-  
13 fied small dollar contributions,

14                      “(C) effectively and efficiently monitoring  
15 and enforcing the limits on the use of personal  
16 funds by participating candidates, and

17                      “(D) monitoring the use of allocations  
18 from the Freedom From Influence Fund estab-  
19 lished under section 541 and matching con-  
20 tributions under this title through audits of not  
21 fewer than  $\frac{1}{10}$  (or, in the case of the first 3  
22 election cycles during which the program under  
23 this title is in effect, not fewer than  $\frac{1}{3}$ ) of all  
24 participating candidates or other mechanisms;  
25 and

1           “(2) regarding the conduct of debates in a man-  
2           ner consistent with the best practices of States that  
3           provide public financing for elections.

4   **“SEC. 544. VIOLATIONS AND PENALTIES.**

5           “(a) CIVIL PENALTY FOR VIOLATION OF CONTRIBU-  
6   TION AND EXPENDITURE REQUIREMENTS.—If a can-  
7   didate who has been certified as a participating candidate  
8   accepts a contribution or makes an expenditure that is  
9   prohibited under section 521, the Commission may assess  
10   a civil penalty against the candidate in an amount that  
11   is not more than 3 times the amount of the contribution  
12   or expenditure. Any amounts collected under this sub-  
13   section shall be deposited into the Freedom From Infl-  
14   uence Fund established under section 541.

15          “(b) REPAYMENT FOR IMPROPER USE OF FREEDOM  
16   FROM INFLUENCE FUND.—

17          “(1) IN GENERAL.—If the Commission deter-  
18   mines that any payment made to a participating  
19   candidate was not used as provided for in this title  
20   or that a participating candidate has violated any of  
21   the dates for remission of funds contained in this  
22   title, the Commission shall so notify the candidate  
23   and the candidate shall pay to the Fund an amount  
24   equal to—

1           “(A) the amount of payments so used or  
2           not remitted, as appropriate; and

3           “(B) interest on any such amounts (at a  
4           rate determined by the Commission).

5           “(2) OTHER ACTION NOT PRECLUDED.—Any  
6           action by the Commission in accordance with this  
7           subsection shall not preclude enforcement pro-  
8           ceedings by the Commission in accordance with sec-  
9           tion 309(a), including a referral by the Commission  
10          to the Attorney General in the case of an apparent  
11          knowing and willful violation of this title.

12          “(c) PROHIBITING CERTAIN CANDIDATES FROM  
13          QUALIFYING AS PARTICIPATING CANDIDATES.—

14               “(1) CANDIDATES WITH MULTIPLE CIVIL PEN-  
15               ALTIES.—If the Commission assesses 3 or more civil  
16               penalties under subsection (a) against a candidate  
17               (with respect to either a single election or multiple  
18               elections), the Commission may refuse to certify the  
19               candidate as a participating candidate under this  
20               title with respect to any subsequent election, except  
21               that if each of the penalties were assessed as the re-  
22               sult of a knowing and willful violation of any provi-  
23               sion of this Act, the candidate is not eligible to be  
24               certified as a participating candidate under this title  
25               with respect to any subsequent election.

1           “(2) CANDIDATES SUBJECT TO CRIMINAL PEN-  
2       ALTY.—A candidate is not eligible to be certified as  
3       a participating candidate under this title with re-  
4       spect to an election if a penalty has been assessed  
5       against the candidate under section 309(d) with re-  
6       spect to any previous election.

7   **“SEC. 545. APPEALS PROCESS.**

8       “(a) REVIEW OF ACTIONS.—Any action by the Com-  
9       mission in carrying out this title shall be subject to review  
10      by the United States Court of Appeals for the District  
11      of Columbia upon petition filed in the Court not later than  
12      30 days after the Commission takes the action for which  
13      the review is sought.

14      “(b) PROCEDURES.—The provisions of chapter 7 of  
15      title 5, United States Code, apply to judicial review under  
16      this section.

17   **“SEC. 546. INDEXING OF AMOUNTS.**

18      “(a) INDEXING.—In any calendar year after 2015,  
19      section 315(c)(1)(B) shall apply to each amount described  
20      in subsection (b) in the same manner as such section ap-  
21      plies to the limitations established under subsections  
22      (a)(1)(A), (a)(1)(B), (a)(3), and (h) of such section, ex-  
23      cept that for purposes of applying such section to the  
24      amounts described in subsection (b), the ‘base period’  
25      shall be 2015.

1       “(b) AMOUNTS DESCRIBED.—The amounts described  
2 in this subsection are as follows:

3           “(1) The amount referred to in section  
4 502(b)(1) (relating to the minimum amount of quali-  
5 fied small dollar contributions included in a request  
6 for payment).

7           “(2) The amounts referred to in section  
8 504(a)(1) (relating to the amount of a qualified  
9 small dollar contribution).

10          “(3) The amount referred to in section  
11 512(a)(2) (relating to the total dollar amount of  
12 qualified small dollar contributions).

13          “(4) The amount referred to in section  
14 521(a)(1)(E) (relating to the aggregate amount of  
15 contributions a participating candidate may accept  
16 from any individual with respect to an election).

17          “(5) The amount referred to in section  
18 521(a)(2)(D)(i) (relating to the aggregate amount of  
19 contributions that may be accepted from any indi-  
20 vidual with respect to an election by a participating  
21 candidate who exercises the option described in such  
22 section to accept greater restrictions on the permis-  
23 sible sources of contributions and expenditures).

24          “(6) The amount referred to in section  
25 521(a)(2)(D)(ii) (relating to the aggregate amount

1 of contributions that may be accepted from all indi-  
2 viduals with respect to an election cycle by a partici-  
3 pating candidate who exercises the option described  
4 in such section to accept greater restrictions on the  
5 permissible sources of contributions and expendi-  
6 tures).

7 “(7) The amount referred to in section  
8 521(b)(1) (relating to the amount of personal funds  
9 that may be used by a candidate who is certified as  
10 a participating candidate).

11 “(8) The amounts referred to in section  
12 524(a)(2) (relating to the amount of unspent funds  
13 a candidate may retain for use in the next election  
14 cycle).

15 “(9) The amount referred to in section  
16 532(a)(3)(B) (relating to the total dollar amount of  
17 qualified small dollar contributions for a candidate  
18 seeking an additional payment under subtitle D).

19 “(10) The amount referred to in section 533(b)  
20 (relating to the limit on the amount of an additional  
21 payment made to a candidate under subtitle D).

22 **“SEC. 547. ELECTION CYCLE DEFINED.**

23 “In this title, the term ‘election cycle’ means, with  
24 respect to an election for an office, the period beginning  
25 on the day after the date of the most recent general elec-

tion for that office (or, if the general election resulted in a runoff election, the date of the runoff election) and ending on the date of the next general election for that office (or, if the general election resulted in a runoff election, the date of the runoff election).”.

**SEC. 202. CONTRIBUTIONS AND EXPENDITURES BY MULTICANDIDATE AND POLITICAL PARTY POLITICAL COMMITTEES ON BEHALF OF PARTICIPATING CANDIDATES.**

(a) AUTHORIZING CONTRIBUTIONS ONLY FROM SEPARATE ACCOUNTS CONSISTING OF QUALIFIED SMALL DOLLAR CONTRIBUTIONS.—Section 315(a) of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 (52 U.S.C. 30116(a)) is amended by adding at the end the following new paragraph:

“(9) In the case of a multicandidate political committee or any political committee of a political party, the committee may make a contribution to a candidate who is a participating candidate under title V with respect to an election only if the contribution is paid from a separate, segregated account of the committee which consists solely of contributions which meet the following requirements:

“(A) Each such contribution is in an amount which meets the requirements for the amount of a



1 qualified small dollar contribution under section  
2 504(a)(1) with respect to the election involved.

3 “(B) Each such contribution is made by an in-  
4 dividual who is not otherwise prohibited from mak-  
5 ing a contribution under this Act.

6 “(C) The individual who makes the contribution  
7 does not make contributions to the committee during  
8 the year in an aggregate amount that exceeds the  
9 limit described in section 504(a)(1).”.

10 (b) PERMITTING UNLIMITED COORDINATED EX-  
11 PENDITURES FROM SMALL DOLLAR SOURCES BY POLIT-  
12 ICAL PARTIES.—Section 315(d) of such Act (52 U.S.C.  
13 30116(d)) is amended—

14 (1) in paragraph (3), by striking “The national  
15 committee” and inserting “Except as provided in  
16 paragraph (5), the national committee”; and

17 (2) by adding at the end the following new  
18 paragraph:

19 “(5) The limits described in paragraph (3) do not  
20 apply in the case of expenditures in connection with the  
21 general election campaign of a candidate for the office of  
22 Representative in, or Delegate or Resident Commissioner  
23 to, the Congress who is a participating candidate under  
24 title V with respect to the election, but only if—

1           “(A) the expenditures are paid from a separate,  
 2           segregated account of the committee which is de-  
 3           scribed in subsection (a)(9); and

4           “(B) the expenditures are the sole source of  
 5           funding provided by the committee to the can-  
 6           didate.”.

7   **SEC. 203. PROHIBITING USE OF CONTRIBUTIONS BY PAR-**  
 8                   **TICIPATING CANDIDATES FOR PURPOSES**  
 9                   **OTHER THAN CAMPAIGN FOR ELECTION.**

10          Section 313 of the Federal Election Campaign Act  
 11          of 1971 (52 U.S.C. 30114) is amended by adding at the  
 12          end the following new subsection:

13          “(d) RESTRICTIONS ON PERMITTED USES OF FUNDS  
 14          BY CANDIDATES RECEIVING SMALL DOLLAR FINANC-  
 15          ING.—Notwithstanding paragraph (2), (3), or (4) of sub-  
 16          section (a), if a candidate for election for the office of Rep-  
 17          resentative in, or Delegate or Resident Commissioner to,  
 18          the Congress is certified as a participating candidate  
 19          under title V with respect to the election, any contribution  
 20          which the candidate is permitted to accept under such title  
 21          may be used only for authorized expenditures in connec-  
 22          tion with the candidate’s campaign for such office.”.

**TITLE III—OTHER  
ADMINISTRATIVE REFORMS**

**SEC. 301. EXPANDING REQUIREMENT TO DISCLOSE  
BUNDLERS WHO ARE REGISTERED LOBBY-  
ISTS TO ALL BUNDLERS.**

(a) EXPANDING BUNDLER DISCLOSURE REQUIREMENTS TO ALL BUNDLERS.—Section 304(i)(1) of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 (52 U.S.C. 30104(i)(1)) is amended by striking “reasonably known by the committee to be a person described in paragraph (7)”.

(b) CONFORMING AMENDMENTS.—Section 304(i) of such Act (52 U.S.C. 30104(i)) is amended—

(1) in paragraph (2)(C), by striking “described in paragraph (7)”;

(2) in paragraph (3)(A), by striking “a person described in paragraph (7)” and inserting “any person”;

(3) in paragraph (5)—

(A) by striking subparagraph (B) and redesignating subparagraphs (C) and (D) as subparagraphs (B) and (C),

(B) in subparagraph (B) (as so redesignated), by striking “described in paragraph (7)”, and

1 (C) in subparagraph (C) (as so redesign-  
 2 nated), by striking “by persons described in  
 3 paragraph (7)”;

4 (4) by striking paragraph (7) and redesignating  
 5 paragraph (8) as paragraph (7); and

6 (5) in paragraph (7)(A) (as so redesignated), by  
 7 striking “a person described in paragraph (7),” and  
 8 inserting “a person,”.

9 **SEC. 302. PETITION FOR CERTIORARI.**

10 Section 307(a)(6) of the Federal Election Campaign  
 11 Act of 1971 (52 U.S.C. 30107(a)(6)) is amended by in-  
 12 serting “(including a proceeding before the Supreme  
 13 Court on certiorari)” after “appeal”.

14 **SEC. 303. FILING BY ALL CANDIDATES WITH COMMISSION.**

15 Section 302(g) of the Federal Election Campaign Act  
 16 of 1971 (52 U.S.C. 30102(g)) is amended to read as fol-  
 17 lows:

18 “(g) FILING WITH THE COMMISSION.—All designa-  
 19 tions, statements, and reports required to be filed under  
 20 this Act shall be filed with the Commission.”.

21 **SEC. 304. ELECTRONIC FILING OF FEC REPORTS.**

22 Section 304(a)(11) of the Federal Election Campaign  
 23 Act of 1971 (52 U.S.C. 30104(a)(11)) is amended—

24 (1) in subparagraph (A), by striking “under  
 25 this Act—” and all that follows and inserting

1 “under this Act shall be required to maintain and  
 2 file such designation, statement, or report in elec-  
 3 tronic form accessible by computers.”;

4 (2) in subparagraph (B), by striking “48  
 5 hours” and all that follows through “filed electroni-  
 6 cally)” and inserting “24 hours”; and

7 (3) by striking subparagraph (D).

8 **SEC. 305. EFFECTIVE DATE.**

9 The amendments made by this title shall apply with  
 10 respect to reports filed on or after the date of the enact-  
 11 ment of this Act.

12 **TITLE IV—EXPANDING CANDIDATE ACCESS TO ADVERTISING**

15 **SEC. 401. BROADCASTS BY CANDIDATES.**

16 (a) **LOWEST UNIT CHARGE.**—Section 315(b)(1)(A)  
 17 of the Communications Act of 1934 (47 U.S.C.  
 18 315(b)(1)(A)) is amended by inserting “for preemptible  
 19 use thereof” after “station”.

20 (b) **PREEMPTION; AUDITS.**—Section 315 of the Com-  
 21 munications Act of 1934 (47 U.S.C. 315) is amended—

22 (1) by redesignating subsection (c) as sub-  
 23 section (g) and transferring such subsection, as re-  
 24 designated, to the end;

1           (2) by redesignating subsection (d) as sub-  
2           section (f) and transferring such subsection, as re-  
3           designated, so that it appears after subsection (e);  
4           and

5           (3) by inserting after subsection (b) the fol-  
6           lowing:

7           “(c) PREEMPTION.—

8           “(1) IN GENERAL.—Except as provided in para-  
9           graph (2) and notwithstanding the requirements of  
10          subsection (b)(1)(A), a licensee may not preempt the  
11          use of a broadcasting station by a legally qualified  
12          candidate that has purchased and paid for such use  
13          under circumstances entitling such candidate to re-  
14          ceive the rate under such subsection for such use.

15          “(2) CIRCUMSTANCES BEYOND CONTROL OF LI-  
16          CENSEE.—If a program to be broadcast by a broad-  
17          casting station is preempted because of cir-  
18          cumstances beyond the control of the licensee, an  
19          advertisement that is scheduled to be broadcast dur-  
20          ing such program and the broadcast of which con-  
21          stitutes use of the broadcasting station described in  
22          paragraph (1) shall be treated in the same fashion  
23          as a comparable commercial advertisement.

24          “(d) AUDITS.—During the 45-day period preceding  
25          the date of a primary or primary runoff election and dur-

1 ing the 60-day period preceding the date of a general elec-  
 2 tion or special election, the Commission shall conduct such  
 3 audits as it considers necessary to ensure that the licensee  
 4 of each broadcasting station is allocating use of the station  
 5 in accordance with this section and in a manner that does  
 6 not warrant revocation of the station license under section  
 7 312(a)(7).”.

8 (c) REVOCATION OF LICENSE FOR FAILURE TO  
 9 ALLOW ACCESS BY FEDERAL CANDIDATES.—Section 312  
 10 of the Communications Act of 1934 (47 U.S.C. 312) is  
 11 amended—

12 (1) in subsection (a)(7)—

13 (A) by inserting “in accordance with sub-  
 14 section (h),” before “for willful”;

15 (B) by striking “or repeated”;

16 (C) by inserting “or a cable system” after  
 17 “non-commercial educational broadcast sta-  
 18 tion,”; and

19 (D) by striking “his candidacy” and insert-  
 20 ing “the candidacy of the candidate, under the  
 21 same terms, conditions, and business practices  
 22 as apply to the most-favored advertiser of the  
 23 broadcasting station or cable system”; and

24 (2) by adding at the end the following:

1       “(h) CONDITIONS FOR REVOCATION FOR FAILURE  
2 TO ALLOW ACCESS BY FEDERAL CANDIDATES.—

3           “(1) THREE-STRIKES RULE.—The Commission  
4 may revoke a station license or construction permit  
5 under subsection (a)(7) only if the Commission finds  
6 that the licensee or permittee has engaged in at least  
7 3 failures described in such subsection with respect  
8 to the broadcasting station or cable system to which  
9 the license or permit relates.

10          “(2) DURATION.—In the case of a person  
11 whose station license or construction permit with re-  
12 spect to a broadcasting station or cable system has  
13 been revoked under subsection (a)(7)—

14           “(A) the Commission may not grant a sta-  
15 tion license or construction permit to such per-  
16 son with respect to such broadcasting station or  
17 cable system during the 5-year period following  
18 the revocation; and

19           “(B) if the Commission grants such a sta-  
20 tion license or construction permit to such per-  
21 son after such 5-year period, the number of  
22 failures described in subsection (a)(7) shall be  
23 calculated for purposes of paragraph (1) with-  
24 out regard to any such failures that occurred



1 while a previous license or permit was in ef-  
 2 fect.”.

3 (d) TECHNICAL AMENDMENTS.—Section 315 of the  
 4 Communications Act of 1934 (47 U.S.C. 315), as amend-  
 5 ed by subsection (b), is further amended—

6 (1) in subsection (a), by striking “If any li-  
 7 censee” and inserting “EQUAL OPPORTUNITIES FOR  
 8 CANDIDATES FOR SAME OFFICE.—If any licensee”;

9 (2) in subsection (b)(1), by moving subpara-  
 10 graphs (A) and (B) 2 ems to the right;

11 (3) in subsection (f), as redesignated, by strik-  
 12 ing “The Commission” and inserting “REGULA-  
 13 TIONS.—The Commission”; and

14 (4) in subsection (g), as redesignated, by strik-  
 15 ing “For purposes” and inserting “DEFINITIONS.—  
 16 For purposes”.

## 17 **TITLE V—CONTRIBUTIONS TO** 18 **FREEDOM FROM INFLUENCE** 19 **FUND**

### 20 **SEC. 501. VOLUNTARY CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE FREEDOM** 21 **FROM INFLUENCE FUND.**

22 (a) IN GENERAL.—Subchapter A of chapter 61 of the  
 23 Internal Revenue Code of 1986 is amended by adding at  
 24 the end the following new part:

1   **“PART IX—CONTRIBUTIONS TO FREEDOM FROM**  
2                                   **INFLUENCE FUND**

“Sec. 6098. Contributions to Freedom From Influence Fund.

3   **“SEC. 6098. CONTRIBUTIONS TO FREEDOM FROM INFLU-**  
4                                   **ENCE FUND.**

5           “(a) IN GENERAL.—Every individual, with respect to  
6 the taxpayer’s return for the taxable year of the tax im-  
7 posed by chapter 1, may designate that a specified portion  
8 (not less than \$1) of any overpayment of tax shall be con-  
9 tributed to the Freedom From Influence Fund established  
10 under section 541 of the Federal Election Campaign Act  
11 of 1971.

12           “(b) MANNER AND TIME OF DESIGNATION.—

13                   “(1) TIME OF DESIGNATION.—A designation  
14 under subsection (a) may be made with respect to  
15 any taxable year—

16                           “(A) at the time of filing the return of the  
17 tax imposed by chapter 1 for such taxable year,  
18 or

19                           “(B) at any other time (after such time of  
20 filing) specified in regulations prescribed by the  
21 Secretary.

22                   “(2) MANNER OF DESIGNATION.—Such des-  
23 ignation shall be made in such manner as the Sec-  
24 retary prescribes by regulations except that, if such  
25 designation is made at the time of filing the return

1 of the tax imposed by chapter 1 for such taxable  
 2 year, such designation shall be made either on the  
 3 first page of the return or on the page bearing the  
 4 taxpayer's signature.

5 “(c) OVERPAYMENTS TREATED AS REFUNDED.—For  
 6 purposes of this title, any portion of an overpayment of  
 7 tax designated under subsection (a) shall be treated as—

8 “(1) being refunded to the taxpayer as of the  
 9 last date prescribed for filing the return of tax im-  
 10 posed by chapter 1 (determined without regard to  
 11 extensions) or, if later, the date the return is filed,  
 12 and

13 “(2) a contribution made by such taxpayer on  
 14 such date to the United States.

15 “(d) ON-LINE CONTRIBUTIONS.—The Secretary  
 16 shall establish and maintain a Web site through which per-  
 17 sons may make contributions to the Freedom From Influ-  
 18 ence Fund. Any such contribution shall not be treated as  
 19 an overpayment of tax but shall be treated as a contribu-  
 20 tion made by such person to the United States.”.

21 (b) CLERICAL AMENDMENT.—The table of parts for  
 22 subchapter A of chapter 61 of the Internal Revenue Code  
 23 of 1986 is amended by adding at the end the following  
 24 new item:

“PART IX. CONTRIBUTIONS TO FREEDOM FROM INFLUENCE FUND.”.

1       (c) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendments made by  
2 this section shall apply with respect to tax returns re-  
3 quired to be filed after December 31, 2014.

4       **TITLE VI—MISCELLANEOUS**  
5                   **PROVISIONS**

6       **SEC. 601. SEVERABILITY.**

7       If any provision of this Act or any amendment made  
8 by this Act, or the application of a provision of this Act  
9 or an amendment made by this Act to any person or cir-  
10 cumstance, is held to be unconstitutional, the remainder  
11 of this Act, and the application of the provisions to any  
12 person or circumstance, shall not be affected by the hold-  
13 ing.

○