

113TH CONGRESS  
1ST SESSION

# H. R. 270

To amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 to reform the system of public financing for Presidential elections, to establish a system of public financing for Congressional elections, to promote the disclosure of disbursements made in coordination with campaigns for election for Federal office, and for other purposes.

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## IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

JANUARY 15, 2013

Mr. PRICE of North Carolina (for himself, Mr. VAN HOLLEN, Mr. JONES, Mr. LARSON of Connecticut, Mr. BRADY of Pennsylvania, Mr. SARBANES, Mr. YARMUTH, Ms. ESHOO, Mr. GEORGE MILLER of California, Mr. POLIS, Mr. HOLT, Mr. NOLAN, and Mr. O'ROURKE) introduced the following bill; which was referred to the Committee on House Administration, and in addition to the Committee on 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 amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 to reform the system of public financing for Presidential elections, to establish a system of public financing for Congressional elections, to promote the disclosure of disbursements made in coordination with campaigns for election for Federal office, 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,*

1 **SECTION 1. SHORT TITLE; TABLE OF CONTENTS.**

2 (a) SHORT TITLE.—This Act may be cited as the  
3 “Empowering Citizens Act”.

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

Sec. 1. Short title; table of contents.

**TITLE I—REFORM OF PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION FINANCING**

**Subtitle A—Primary Elections**

Sec. 101. Increase in and modifications to matching payments.  
Sec. 102. Eligibility requirements for matching payments.  
Sec. 103. Inflation adjustment for matching contributions.  
Sec. 104. Repeal of expenditure limitations.  
Sec. 105. Period of availability of matching payments.  
Sec. 106. Examination and audits of matchable contributions.  
Sec. 107. Modification to limitation on contributions for Presidential primary  
candidates.

**Subtitle B—General Elections**

Sec. 111. Modification of eligibility requirements for public financing.  
Sec. 112. Repeal of expenditure limitations and use of qualified campaign con-  
tributions.  
Sec. 113. Matching payments and other modifications to payment amounts.  
Sec. 114. Inflation adjustment for payment amounts.  
Sec. 115. Increase in limit on coordinated party expenditures.  
Sec. 116. Establishment of uniform date for release of payments.  
Sec. 117. Amounts in Presidential Election Campaign Fund.  
Sec. 118. Use of general election payments for general election legal and ac-  
counting compliance.

**Subtitle C—Political Conventions**

Sec. 121. Repeal of public financing of party conventions.  
Sec. 122. Contributions for political conventions.  
Sec. 123. Prohibition on use of soft money.

**TITLE II—PUBLIC FINANCING FOR CONGRESSIONAL ELECTION  
CAMPAIGNS**

Sec. 201. Benefits and eligibility requirements for Congressional candidates.

**“TITLE V—PUBLIC FINANCING OF CONGRESSIONAL ELECTION  
CAMPAIGNS**

**“Subtitle A—Benefits**

“Sec. 501. Benefits for participating candidates.  
“Sec. 502. Administration of payments.  
“Sec. 503. Qualified contribution defined.

“Subtitle B—Eligibility and Certification

- “Sec. 511. Eligibility.
- “Sec. 512. Qualified contribution requirements.
- “Sec. 513. Certification.

“Subtitle C—Requirements for Candidates Certified as Participating  
Candidates

- “Sec. 521. Restrictions on certain contributions and expenditures.
- “Sec. 522. Remitting unspent funds after election.

“Subtitle D—Administrative Provisions

- “Sec. 531. Administration by Commission.
  - “Sec. 532. Violations and penalties.
  - “Sec. 533. Election cycle defined.
- Sec. 202. Permitting unlimited coordinated expenditures by political party committees on behalf of participating candidates if expenditures are derived from small dollar contributions.
- Sec. 203. Prohibiting use of contributions by participating candidates for purposes other than campaign for election.

TITLE III—COORDINATED CAMPAIGN ACTIVITY

- Sec. 301. Clarification of treatment of coordinated expenditures as contributions to candidates.
- Sec. 302. Clarification of ban on fundraising for super PACs by Federal candidates and officeholders.

TITLE IV—USE OF PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION CAMPAIGN FUND  
FOR PUBLIC FINANCING OF FEDERAL ELECTIONS

- Sec. 401. Use of Presidential Election Campaign Fund for Congressional candidates.
- Sec. 402. Revisions to designation of income tax payments by individual taxpayers.
- Sec. 403. Donation to Presidential Election Campaign Fund.

TITLE V—OTHER CAMPAIGN FINANCE REFORMS

- Sec. 501. Regulations with respect to best efforts for identifying persons making contributions.
- Sec. 502. Prohibition on joint fundraising committees.
- Sec. 503. Disclosure of bundled contributions to Presidential campaigns.
- Sec. 504. Judicial review of actions related to campaign finance laws.

TITLE VI—SEVERABILITY; EFFECTIVE DATE

- Sec. 601. Severability.
- Sec. 602. Effective date.

1 **TITLE I—REFORM OF PRESI-**  
2 **DENTIAL ELECTION FINANC-**  
3 **ING**

4 **Subtitle A—Primary Elections**

5 **SEC. 101. INCREASE IN AND MODIFICATIONS TO MATCHING**  
6 **PAYMENTS.**

7 (a) INCREASE AND MODIFICATION.—

8 (1) IN GENERAL.—The first sentence of section  
9 9034(a) of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 is  
10 amended—

11 (A) by striking “an amount equal to the  
12 amount of each contribution” and inserting “an  
13 amount equal to 500 percent of the amount of  
14 each matchable contribution (disregarding any  
15 amount of contributions from any person to the  
16 extent that the total of the amounts contributed  
17 by such person for the election exceeds \$250)”;  
18 and

19 (B) by striking “authorized committees”  
20 and all that follows through “\$250” and insert-  
21 ing “authorized committees”.

22 (2) MATCHABLE CONTRIBUTIONS.—Section  
23 9034 of such Code is amended—

24 (A) by striking the last sentence of sub-  
25 section (a); and

1 (B) by inserting after subsection (b) the  
2 following new subsection:

3 “(c) MATCHABLE CONTRIBUTION DEFINED.—For  
4 purposes of this section and section 9033(b)—

5 “(1) MATCHABLE CONTRIBUTION.—The term  
6 ‘matchable contribution’ means, with respect to the  
7 nomination for election to the office of President of  
8 the United States, a contribution by an individual to  
9 a candidate or an authorized committee of a can-  
10 didate with respect to which the candidate has cer-  
11 tified in writing that—

12 “(A) the individual making such contribu-  
13 tion has not made aggregate contributions (in-  
14 cluding such matchable contribution) to such  
15 candidate and the authorized committees of  
16 such candidate in excess of 50% of the limit ap-  
17 plicable under paragraph (1)(A) or paragraph  
18 (2)(A) of section 315(a) of the Federal Election  
19 Campaign Act of 1971 to the amount of a con-  
20 tribution which may be made to a candidate  
21 who is not eligible to receive payments under  
22 section 9037 with respect to such nomination;

23 “(B) such candidate and the authorized  
24 committees of such candidate will not accept  
25 contributions from such individual (including

1 such matchable contribution) aggregating more  
2 than the amount described in subparagraph  
3 (A); and

4 “(C) such contribution was not—

5 “(i) forwarded from the contributor  
6 from any person other than an individual,  
7 or

8 “(ii) received by the candidate or com-  
9 mittee from a contributor or contributors,  
10 but credited by the committee or candidate  
11 to another person who is not an individual  
12 through records, designations, or other  
13 means of recognizing that a certain  
14 amount of money has been raised by such  
15 person.

16 “(2) CONTRIBUTION.—For purposes of this  
17 subsection, the term ‘contribution’ means a gift of  
18 money made by a written instrument which identi-  
19 fies the individual making the contribution by full  
20 name and mailing address, but does not include a  
21 subscription, loan, advance, or deposit of money, or  
22 anything of value or anything described in subpara-  
23 graph (B), (C), or (D) of section 9032(4).”.

24 (3) CONFORMING AMENDMENTS.—

1 (A) Section 9032(4) of such Code is  
 2 amended by striking “section 9034(a)” and in-  
 3 serting “section 9034”.

4 (B) Section 9033(b)(3) of such Code is  
 5 amended by striking “matching contributions”  
 6 and inserting “matchable contributions”.

7 (b) MODIFICATION OF PAYMENT LIMITATION.—Sec-  
 8 tion 9034(b) of such Code is amended by striking “shall  
 9 not exceed” and all that follows and inserting “shall not  
 10 exceed \$100,000,000.”

11 **SEC. 102. ELIGIBILITY REQUIREMENTS FOR MATCHING**  
 12 **PAYMENTS.**

13 (a) AMOUNT OF AGGREGATE CONTRIBUTIONS PER  
 14 STATE; DISREGARDING OF AMOUNTS CONTRIBUTED IN  
 15 EXCESS OF \$250.—Section 9033(b)(3) of the Internal  
 16 Revenue Code of 1986 is amended—

17 (1) by striking “\$5,000” and inserting  
 18 “\$25,000”; and

19 (2) by striking “20 States” and inserting the  
 20 following: “20 States (disregarding any amount of  
 21 contributions from any such resident to the extent  
 22 that the total of the amounts contributed by such  
 23 resident for the election exceeds \$250)”.

24 (b) CONTRIBUTION LIMIT.—

1           (1) IN GENERAL.—Paragraph (4) of section  
2       9033(b) of such Code is amended to read as follows:

3           “(4) the candidate and the authorized commit-  
4       tees of the candidate will not accept aggregate con-  
5       tributions from any person with respect to the nomi-  
6       nation for election to the office of President of the  
7       United States in excess of 50% of the limit applica-  
8       ble under paragraph (1)(A) or paragraph (2)(A) of  
9       section 315(a) of the Federal Election Campaign  
10      Act of 1971 to the amount of a contribution which  
11      may be made to a candidate who is not eligible to  
12      receive payments under section 9037 with respect to  
13      such nomination.”.

14           (2) CONFORMING AMENDMENTS.—

15           (A) Section 9033(b) of such Code is  
16       amended by adding at the end the following  
17       new flush sentence:

18      “For purposes of paragraph (4), the term ‘contribution’  
19      has the meaning given such term in section 301(8) of the  
20      Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971.”.

21           (B) Section 9032(4) of such Code, as  
22       amended by section 101(a)(3)(A) is amended by  
23       inserting “or 9033(b)” after “9034”.



1       (c) BAN ON ACCEPTANCE OF BUNDLED CONTRIBU-  
2 TIONS.—Section 9033(b) of such Code, as amended by  
3 subsection (b), is amended—

4           (1) by striking “and” at the end of paragraph  
5       (3);

6           (2) by striking the period at the end of para-  
7       graph (4) and inserting “, and”; and

8           (3) by adding at the end the following new  
9       paragraph:

10           “(5) the candidate and the authorized com-  
11       mittee of the candidate will not accept any bundled  
12       contribution (as defined in section 304(i)(8)) for-  
13       warded by or credited to a person described in sec-  
14       tion 304(i)(7).”.

15       (d) PARTICIPATION IN SYSTEM FOR PAYMENTS FOR  
16 GENERAL ELECTION.—Section 9033(b) of such Code, as  
17 amended by subsection (c), is amended—

18           (1) by striking “and” at the end of paragraph  
19       (4);

20           (2) by striking the period at the end of para-  
21       graph (5) and inserting “, and”; and

22           (3) by adding at the end the following new  
23       paragraph:

24           “(6) if the candidate is nominated by a political  
25       party for election to the office of President, the can-

1        didate will apply for and accept payments with re-  
 2        spect to the general election for such office in ac-  
 3        cordance with chapter 95.”.

4    **SEC. 103. INFLATION ADJUSTMENT FOR MATCHING CON-**  
 5                                    **TRIBUTIONS.**

6        Section 9033 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986  
 7        is amended by adding at the end the following new sub-  
 8        section:

9        “(d) INFLATION ADJUSTMENTS.—

10                “(1) IN GENERAL.—In the case of any applica-  
 11        ble period beginning after 2013, each of the dollar  
 12        amounts in section 9034(b) shall be increased by an  
 13        amount equal to—

14                        “(A) such dollar amount, multiplied by

15                        “(B) the cost-of-living adjustment deter-  
 16        mined under section 1(f)(3) for the calendar  
 17        year following the year which such applicable  
 18        period begins, determined by substituting ‘cal-  
 19        endar year 2013’ for ‘calendar year 1992’ in  
 20        subparagraph (B) thereof.

21                “(2) APPLICABLE PERIOD.—For purposes of  
 22        this subsection, the term ‘applicable period’ means  
 23        the 4-year period beginning with the first day fol-  
 24        lowing the date of the last general election for the

1 office of President and ending on the date of the  
2 next such general election.

3 “(3) ROUNDING.—If any amount as adjusted  
4 under paragraph (1) is not a multiple of \$100, such  
5 amount shall be rounded to the nearest multiple of  
6 \$100.”.

7 **SEC. 104. REPEAL OF EXPENDITURE LIMITATIONS.**

8 (a) IN GENERAL.—Subsection (a) of section 9035 of  
9 the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 is amended to read  
10 as follows:

11 “(a) PERSONAL EXPENDITURE LIMITATION.—No  
12 candidate shall knowingly make expenditures from his per-  
13 sonal funds, or the personal funds of his immediate family,  
14 in connection with his campaign for nomination for elec-  
15 tion to the office of President in excess of, in the aggre-  
16 gate, \$50,000.”.

17 (b) CONFORMING AMENDMENT.—Paragraph (1) of  
18 section 9033(b) of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 is  
19 amended to read as follows:

20 “(1) the candidate will comply with the per-  
21 sonal expenditure limitation under section 9035,”.

22 **SEC. 105. PERIOD OF AVAILABILITY OF MATCHING PAY-**  
23 **MENTS.**

24 Section 9032(6) of the Internal Revenue Code of  
25 1986 is amended by striking “the beginning of the cal-

1 endar year in which a general election for the office of  
 2 President of the United States will be held” and inserting  
 3 “the date that is 6 months prior to the date of the earliest  
 4 State primary election”.

5 **SEC. 106. EXAMINATION AND AUDITS OF MATCHABLE CON-**  
 6 **TRIBUTIONS.**

7 Section 9038(a) of the Internal Revenue Code of  
 8 1986 is amended by inserting “and matchable contribu-  
 9 tions accepted by” after “qualified campaign expenses of”.

10 **SEC. 107. MODIFICATION TO LIMITATION ON CONTRIBU-**  
 11 **TIONS FOR PRESIDENTIAL PRIMARY CAN-**  
 12 **DIDATES.**

13 Section 315(a)(6) of the Federal Election Campaign  
 14 Act of 1971 (2 U.S.C. 441a(a)(6)) is amended by striking  
 15 “calendar year” and inserting “four-year election cycle”.

16 **Subtitle B—General Elections**

17 **SEC. 111. MODIFICATION OF ELIGIBILITY REQUIREMENTS**  
 18 **FOR PUBLIC FINANCING.**

19 Subsection (a) of section 9003 of the Internal Rev-  
 20 enue Code of 1986 is amended to read as follows:

21 “(a) IN GENERAL.—In order to be eligible to receive  
 22 any payments under section 9006, the candidates of a po-  
 23 litical party in a presidential election shall meet the fol-  
 24 lowing requirements:

1           “(1) PARTICIPATION IN PRIMARY PAYMENT  
2           SYSTEM.—The candidate for President received pay-  
3           ments under chapter 96 for the campaign for nomi-  
4           nation for election to be President.

5           “(2) AGREEMENTS WITH COMMISSION.—The  
6           candidates, in writing—

7                   “(A) agree to obtain and furnish to the  
8                   Commission such evidence as it may request of  
9                   the qualified campaign expenses of such can-  
10                  didates,

11                   “(B) agree to keep and furnish to the  
12                   Commission such records, books, and other in-  
13                   formation as it may request, and

14                   “(C) agree to an audit and examination by  
15                   the Commission under section 9007 and to pay  
16                   any amounts required to be paid under such  
17                   section.

18           “(3) BAN ON CERTAIN CONTRIBUTIONS AND  
19           SOLICITATIONS.—The candidates certify to the Com-  
20           mission, under penalty of perjury, the following:

21                   “(A) BUNDLED CONTRIBUTIONS.—Such  
22                   candidates and the authorized committees of  
23                   such candidates will not accept any bundled  
24                   contribution (as defined in section 304(i)(8))

1 forwarded by or credited to a person described  
2 in section 304(i)(7).

3 “(B) SOLICITATIONS FOR JOINT FUND-  
4 RAISING COMMITTEES.—Such candidates and  
5 their authorized committees will not, after June  
6 1 of the election year, solicit any funds for any  
7 joint fundraising committee that includes any  
8 committee of a political party.

9 “(C) SOLICITATION FOR POLITICAL PAR-  
10 TIES.—Such candidates and their authorized  
11 committees will not, after June 1 of the year in  
12 which the election is held, solicit any funds for  
13 any committee of a political party.

14 Such certification shall be made within such time  
15 prior to the day of the presidential election as the  
16 Commission shall prescribe by rules or regulations.”.

17 **SEC. 112. REPEAL OF EXPENDITURE LIMITATIONS AND USE**  
18 **OF QUALIFIED CAMPAIGN CONTRIBUTIONS.**

19 (a) USE OF QUALIFIED CAMPAIGN CONTRIBUTIONS  
20 WITHOUT EXPENDITURE LIMITS; APPLICATION OF SAME  
21 REQUIREMENTS FOR MAJOR, MINOR, AND NEW PAR-  
22 TIES.—Section 9003 of the Internal Revenue Code of  
23 1986 is amended by striking subsections (b) and (c) and  
24 inserting the following:

1       “(b) USE OF QUALIFIED CAMPAIGN CONTRIBUTIONS  
2 TO DEFRAY EXPENSES.—

3           “(1) IN GENERAL.—In order to be eligible to  
4 receive any payments under section 9006, the can-  
5 didates of a party in a presidential election shall cer-  
6 tify to the Commission, under penalty of perjury,  
7 that—

8           “(A) such candidates and their authorized  
9 committees have not and will not accept any  
10 contributions to defray qualified campaign ex-  
11 penses other than—

12           “(i) qualified campaign contributions,  
13 and

14           “(ii) contributions to the extent nec-  
15 essary to make up any deficiency payments  
16 received out of the fund on account of the  
17 application of section 9006(c), and

18           “(B) such candidates and their authorized  
19 committees have not and will not accept any  
20 contribution to defray expenses which would be  
21 qualified campaign expenses but for subpara-  
22 graph (C) of section 9002(11).

23           “(2) TIMING OF CERTIFICATION.—The can-  
24 didate shall make the certification required under  
25 this subsection at the same time the candidate

1 makes the certification required under subsection  
2 (a)(3).”.

3 (b) DEFINITION OF QUALIFIED CAMPAIGN CON-  
4 TRIBUTION.—Section 9002 of such Code is amended by  
5 adding at the end the following new paragraph:

6 “(13) QUALIFIED CAMPAIGN CONTRIBUTION.—  
7 The term ‘qualified campaign contribution’ means,  
8 with respect to any election for the office of Presi-  
9 dent of the United States, a contribution from an in-  
10 dividual to a candidate or an authorized committee  
11 of a candidate which—

12 “(A) is made after June 1 of the year in  
13 which the election is held;

14 “(B) does not exceed 50% of the limit ap-  
15 plicable under paragraph (1)(A) or paragraph  
16 (2)(A) of section 315(a) of the Federal Election  
17 Campaign Act of 1971 to the amount of a con-  
18 tribution which may be made to a candidate  
19 who is not eligible to receive payments under  
20 section 9006 with respect to such election; and

21 “(C) with respect to which the candidate  
22 has certified in writing that—

23 “(i) the individual making such con-  
24 tribution has not made aggregate contribu-  
25 tions (including such qualified contribu-



tion) to such candidate and the authorized committees of such candidate in excess of the amount described in subparagraph (B), and

“(ii) such candidate and the authorized committees of such candidate will not accept contributions from such individual (including such qualified contribution) aggregating more than the amount described in subparagraph (B) with respect to such election.”.

(c) CONFORMING AMENDMENTS.—

(1) REPEAL OF EXPENDITURE LIMITS.—

(A) IN GENERAL.—Section 315 of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 (2 U.S.C. 441a) is amended by striking subsection (b).

(B) CONFORMING AMENDMENTS.—Section 315(c) of such Act (2 U.S.C. 441a(c)) is amended—

(i) in paragraph (1)(B)(i), by striking “, (b)”;

(ii) in paragraph (2)(B)(i), by striking “subsections (b) and (d)” and inserting “subsection (d)”.

(2) REPEAL OF REPAYMENT REQUIREMENT.—

1 (A) IN GENERAL.—Section 9007(b) of  
2 such Code is amended by striking paragraph  
3 (2) and redesignating paragraphs (3), (4), and  
4 (5) as paragraphs (2), (3), and (4), respec-  
5 tively.

6 (B) CONFORMING AMENDMENT.—Para-  
7 graph (2) of section 9007(b) of such Code, as  
8 redesignated by subparagraph (A), is amend-  
9 ed—

10 (i) by striking “a major party” and  
11 inserting “a party”;

12 (ii) by inserting “qualified contribu-  
13 tions and” after “contributions (other  
14 than”; and

15 (iii) by striking “(other than qualified  
16 campaign expenses with respect to which  
17 payment is required under paragraph  
18 (2))”.

19 (3) CRIMINAL PENALTIES.—

20 (A) REPEAL OF PENALTY FOR EXCESS EX-  
21 PENSES.—Section 9012 of the Internal Revenue  
22 Code of 1986 is amended by striking subsection  
23 (a).

24 (B) PENALTY FOR ACCEPTANCE OF DIS-  
25 ALLOWED CONTRIBUTIONS; APPLICATION OF

1 SAME PENALTY FOR CANDIDATES OF MAJOR,  
2 MINOR, AND NEW PARTIES.—Subsection (b) of  
3 section 9012 of such Code is amended to read  
4 as follows:

5 “(b) CONTRIBUTIONS.—

6 “(1) ACCEPTANCE OF DISALLOWED CONTRIBU-  
7 TIONS.—It shall be unlawful for an eligible can-  
8 didate of a party in a presidential election or any of  
9 his authorized committees knowingly and willfully to  
10 accept any contribution to defray qualified campaign  
11 expenses, except to the extent necessary to make up  
12 any deficiency in payments received out of the fund  
13 on account of the application of section 9006(c), or  
14 to defray expenses which would be qualified cam-  
15 paign expenses but for subparagraph (C) of section  
16 9002(11).

17 “(2) PENALTY.—Any person who violates para-  
18 graph (1) shall be fined not more than \$5,000, or  
19 imprisoned not more than one year, or both. In the  
20 case of a violation by an authorized committee, any  
21 officer or member of such committee who knowingly  
22 and willfully consents to such violation shall be fined  
23 not more than \$5,000, or imprisoned not more than  
24 one year, or both.”.

1 **SEC. 113. MATCHING PAYMENTS AND OTHER MODIFICA-**  
2 **TIONS TO PAYMENT AMOUNTS.**

3 (a) IN GENERAL.—

4 (1) AMOUNT OF PAYMENTS; APPLICATION OF  
5 SAME AMOUNT FOR CANDIDATES OF MAJOR, MINOR,  
6 AND NEW PARTIES.—Subsection (a) of section 9004  
7 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 is amended to  
8 read as follows:

9 “(a) IN GENERAL.—Subject to the provisions of this  
10 chapter, the eligible candidates of a party in a presidential  
11 election shall be entitled to equal payment under section  
12 9006 in an amount equal to 500 percent of the amount  
13 of each matchable contribution received by such candidate  
14 on or after June 1 of the year of the presidential election,  
15 or by his authorized committees (disregarding any amount  
16 of contributions from any person to the extent that the  
17 total of the amounts contributed by such person for the  
18 election exceeds \$250), except that total amount to which  
19 a candidate is entitled under this paragraph shall not ex-  
20 ceed \$150,000,000.”.

21 (2) REPEAL OF SEPARATE LIMITATIONS FOR  
22 CANDIDATES OF MINOR AND NEW PARTIES.—Section  
23 9004 of such Code is amended by striking sub-  
24 section (b).

25 (3) CONFORMING AMENDMENT.—Section  
26 9005(a) of such Code is amended by adding at the

1       end the following new sentence: “The Commission  
2       shall make such additional certifications as may be  
3       necessary to receive payments under section 9004.”.

4       (b) MATCHABLE CONTRIBUTION.—Section 9002 of  
5       such Code, as amended by section 112, is amended by add-  
6       ing at the end the following new paragraph:

7               “(14) MATCHABLE CONTRIBUTION.—The term  
8       ‘matchable contribution’ means, with respect to the  
9       election to the office of President of the United  
10       States, a contribution by an individual to a can-  
11       didate or an authorized committee of a candidate  
12       with respect to which the candidate has certified in  
13       writing that—

14               “(A) the individual making such contribu-  
15       tion has not made aggregate contributions (in-  
16       cluding such matchable contribution) to such  
17       candidate and the authorized committees of  
18       such candidate in excess of 50% of the limit ap-  
19       plicable under paragraph (1)(A) or paragraph  
20       (2)(A) of section 315(a) of the Federal Election  
21       Campaign Act of 1971 to the amount of a con-  
22       tribution which may be made to a candidate  
23       who is not eligible to receive payments under  
24       section 9006 with respect to such election;

“(B) such candidate and the authorized committees of such candidate will not accept contributions from such individual (including such matchable contribution) aggregating more than the amount described in subparagraph (A) with respect to such election; and

“(C) such contribution was not—

“(i) forwarded from the contributor from any person other than an individual, or

“(ii) received by the candidate or committee from a contributor or contributors, but credited by the committee or candidate to another person who is not an individual through records, designations, or other means of recognizing that a certain amount of money has been raised by such person.”.

**SEC. 114. INFLATION ADJUSTMENT FOR PAYMENT AMOUNTS.**

Section 9004 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 is amended by adding at the end the following new subsection:

“(f) INFLATION ADJUSTMENTS.—

1           “(1) IN GENERAL.—In the case of any applica-  
2           ble period beginning after 2017, each of the dollar  
3           amounts in subsection (a)(1) shall be increased by  
4           an amount equal to—

5                   “(A) such dollar amount; multiplied by

6                   “(B) the cost-of-living adjustment deter-  
7                   mined under section 1(f)(3) for the calendar  
8                   year following the year which such applicable  
9                   period begins, determined by substituting ‘cal-  
10                  endar year 2016’ for ‘calendar year 1992’ in  
11                  subparagraph (B) thereof.

12           “(2) APPLICABLE PERIOD.—For purposes of  
13           this subsection, the term ‘applicable period’ means  
14           the 4-year period beginning with the first day fol-  
15           lowing the date of the last general election for the  
16           office of President and ending on the date of the  
17           next such general election.

18           “(3) ROUNDING.—If any amount as adjusted  
19           under paragraph (1) is not a multiple of \$100, such  
20           amount shall be rounded to the nearest multiple of  
21           \$100.”.

1 **SEC. 115. INCREASE IN LIMIT ON COORDINATED PARTY EX-**  
2 **PENDITURES.**

3 (a) IN GENERAL.—Section 315(d)(2) of the Federal  
4 Election Campaign Act of 1971 (2 U.S.C. 441a(d)(2)) is  
5 amended to read as follows:

6 “(2)(A) The national committee of a political party  
7 may not make any expenditure in connection with the gen-  
8 eral election campaign of any candidate for President of  
9 the United States who is affiliated with such party which  
10 exceeds \$50,000,000.

11 “(B) For purposes of this paragraph—

12 “(i) any expenditure made by or on behalf of a  
13 national committee of a political party and in con-  
14 nection with a presidential election shall be consid-  
15 ered to be made in connection with the general elec-  
16 tion campaign of a candidate for President of the  
17 United States who is affiliated with such party; and

18 “(ii) any communication made by or on behalf  
19 of such party shall be considered to be made in con-  
20 nection with the general election campaign of a can-  
21 didate for President of the United States who is af-  
22 filiated with such party if any portion of the commu-  
23 nication is in connection with such election.

24 “(C) Any expenditure under this paragraph shall be  
25 in addition to any expenditure by a national committee  
26 of a political party serving as the principal campaign com-



1 mittee of a candidate for the office of President of the  
2 United States.”.

3 (b) CONFORMING AMENDMENTS RELATING TO TIM-  
4 ING OF COST-OF-LIVING ADJUSTMENT.—

5 (1) IN GENERAL.—Section 315(c)(1) of such  
6 Act (2 U.S.C. 441a(c)(1)), as amended by section  
7 112(d)(1)(B), is amended—

8 (A) in subparagraph (B), by striking “(d)”  
9 and inserting “(d)(3)”; and

10 (B) by inserting at the end the following  
11 new subparagraph:

12 “(D) In any calendar year after 2017—

13 “(i) the dollar amount in subsection (d)(2) shall  
14 be increased by the percent difference determined  
15 under subparagraph (A);

16 “(ii) the amount so increased shall remain in  
17 effect for the calendar year; and

18 “(iii) if the amount after adjustment under  
19 clause (i) is not a multiple of \$100, such amount  
20 shall be rounded to the nearest multiple of \$100.”.

21 (2) BASE YEAR.—Section 315(c)(2)(B) of such  
22 Act (2 U.S.C. 441a(c)(2)(B)), as amended by sec-  
23 tion 112(d)(1)(B), is amended—

24 (A) in clause (i)—

1 (i) by striking “(d)” and inserting  
 2 “(d)(3)”; and  
 3 (ii) by striking “and” at the end;  
 4 (B) in clause (ii), by striking the period at  
 5 the end and inserting “; and”; and  
 6 (C) by adding at the end the following new  
 7 clause:  
 8 “(iii) for purposes of subsection (d)(2), cal-  
 9 endar year 2016.”.

10 **SEC. 116. ESTABLISHMENT OF UNIFORM DATE FOR RE-**  
 11 **LEASE OF PAYMENTS.**

12 (a) DATE FOR PAYMENTS.—

13 (1) IN GENERAL.—Section 9006(b) of the In-  
 14 ternal Revenue Code of 1986 is amended to read as  
 15 follows:

16 “(b) PAYMENTS FROM THE FUND.—If the Secretary  
 17 of the Treasury receives a certification from the Commis-  
 18 sion under section 9005 for payment to the eligible can-  
 19 didates of a political party, the Secretary shall pay to such  
 20 candidates out of the fund the amount certified by the  
 21 Commission on the later of—

22 “(1) the last Friday occurring before the first  
 23 Monday in September; or

1           “(2) 24 hours after receiving the certifications  
2           for the eligible candidates of all major political par-  
3           ties.

4   Amounts paid to any such candidates shall be under the  
5   control of such candidates.”.

6           (2) CONFORMING AMENDMENT.—The first sen-  
7           tence of section 9006(c) of such Code is amended by  
8           striking “the time of a certification by the Commis-  
9           sion under section 9005 for payment” and inserting  
10          “the time of making a payment under subsection  
11          (b)”.

12          (b) TIME FOR CERTIFICATION.—Section 9005(a) of  
13   the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 is amended by striking  
14   “10 days” and inserting “24 hours”.

15   **SEC. 117. AMOUNTS IN PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION CAM-**  
16                           **PAIGN FUND.**

17          (a) DETERMINATION OF AMOUNTS IN FUND.—Sec-  
18   tion 9006(c) of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 is  
19   amended by adding at the end the following new sentence:  
20   “In making a determination of whether there are insuffi-  
21   cient moneys in the fund for purposes of the previous sen-  
22   tence, the Secretary shall take into account in determining  
23   the balance of the fund for a presidential election year the  
24   Secretary’s best estimate of the amount of moneys which  
25   will be deposited into the fund during the year, except that

1 the amount of the estimate may not exceed the average  
 2 of the annual amounts deposited in the fund during the  
 3 previous 3 years.”.

4 (b) SPECIAL RULE FOR FIRST CAMPAIGN CYCLE  
 5 UNDER THIS ACT.—

6 (1) IN GENERAL.—Section 9006 of the Internal  
 7 Revenue Code of 1986 is amended by adding at the  
 8 end the following new subsection:

9 “(d) SPECIAL AUTHORITY TO BORROW.—

10 “(1) IN GENERAL.—Notwithstanding subsection  
 11 (c), there are authorized to be appropriated to the  
 12 fund, as repayable advances, such sums as are nec-  
 13 essary to carry out the purposes of the fund during  
 14 the period ending on the first presidential election  
 15 occurring after the date of the enactment of this  
 16 subsection.

17 “(2) REPAYMENT OF ADVANCES.—

18 “(A) IN GENERAL.—Advances made to the  
 19 fund shall be repaid, and interest on such ad-  
 20 vances shall be paid, to the general fund of the  
 21 Treasury when the Secretary determines that  
 22 moneys are available for such purposes in the  
 23 fund.

24 “(B) RATE OF INTEREST.—Interest on ad-  
 25 vances made to the fund shall be at a rate de-

1           terminated by the Secretary of the Treasury (as  
 2           of the close of the calendar month preceding the  
 3           month in which the advance is made) to be  
 4           equal to the current average market yield on  
 5           outstanding marketable obligations of the  
 6           United States with remaining periods to matu-  
 7           rity comparable to the anticipated period during  
 8           which the advance will be outstanding and shall  
 9           be compounded annually.”.

10           (2) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendment made  
 11           by this subsection shall take effect January 1, 2014.

12   **SEC. 118. USE OF GENERAL ELECTION PAYMENTS FOR GEN-**  
 13                   **ERAL ELECTION LEGAL AND ACCOUNTING**  
 14                   **COMPLIANCE.**

15           Section 9002(11) of the Internal Revenue Code of  
 16   1986 is amended by adding at the end the following new  
 17   sentence: “For purposes of subparagraph (A), an expense  
 18   incurred by a candidate or authorized committee for gen-  
 19   eral election legal and accounting compliance purposes  
 20   shall be considered to be an expense to further the election  
 21   of such candidate.”.

22   **Subtitle C—Political Conventions**

23   **SEC. 121. REPEAL OF PUBLIC FINANCING OF PARTY CON-**  
 24                   **VENTIONS.**

25           (a) REPEAL.—

1           (1) IN GENERAL.—Chapter 95 of the Internal  
2 Revenue Code of 1986 is amended by striking sec-  
3 tion 9008.

4           (2) CLERICAL AMENDMENT.—The table of sec-  
5 tions of chapter 95 of such Code is amended by  
6 striking the item relating to section 9008.

7           (b) CONFORMING AMENDMENTS.—

8           (1) AVAILABILITY OF PAYMENTS TO CAN-  
9 DIDATES.—Section 9006(c) of such Code is amended  
10 by striking “section 9008(b)(3)”.

11           (2) REPORTS BY FEDERAL ELECTION COMMIS-  
12 SION.—Section 9009 of such Code is amended—

13                   (A) by adding “and” at the end of para-  
14 graph (2);

15                   (B) by striking the semicolon at the end of  
16 paragraph (3) and inserting a period; and

17                   (C) by striking paragraphs (4), (5), and  
18 (6).

19           (3) PENALTIES.—Section 9012 of such Code,  
20 as amended by section 112(d)(4), is amended—

21                   (A) by striking subsection (a) and redesign-  
22 ating subsections (b) through (g) as sub-  
23 sections (a) through (f), respectively;

24                   (B) in subsection (b), as redesignated by  
25 subparagraph (A), by striking paragraph (2)

1 and redesignating paragraph (3) as paragraph  
2 (2);

3 (C) in subsection (d)(1), as redesignated  
4 by subparagraph (A), by striking the second  
5 sentence; and

6 (D) in subsection (d)(3), as redesignated  
7 by subparagraph (A), by striking “, or in con-  
8 nection with any expense incurred by the na-  
9 tional committee of a major party or minor  
10 party with respect to a presidential nominating  
11 convention”.

12 (4) AVAILABILITY OF PAYMENTS FROM PRESI-  
13 DENTIAL PRIMARY MATCHING ACCOUNT.—The sec-  
14 ond sentence of section 9037(a) of such Code is  
15 amended by striking “and for payments under sec-  
16 tion 9008(b)(3)”.

17 **SEC. 122. CONTRIBUTIONS FOR POLITICAL CONVENTIONS.**

18 (a) SEPARATE CONTRIBUTION LIMITATION.—

19 (1) INDIVIDUALS.—

20 (A) IN GENERAL.—Section 315(a)(1) of  
21 the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 (2  
22 U.S.C. 441a(a)(1)) is amended—

23 (i) by striking “or” at the end of sub-  
24 paragraph (C);

1 (ii) by striking the period at the end  
 2 of subparagraph (D) and inserting “; or”;  
 3 and

4 (iii) by adding at the end the fol-  
 5 lowing new subparagraph:

6 “(E) to the national nominating convention  
 7 account of political committees established and  
 8 maintained by a national political party, in any  
 9 4-year period ending on the last day of the cal-  
 10 endar year beginning on the day after a general  
 11 election for the office of President which, in the  
 12 aggregate, exceed the dollar amount in effect  
 13 under subparagraph (B);”.

14 (B) CONFORMING AMENDMENT.—Section  
 15 315(a)(1)(B) of such Act (2 U.S.C.  
 16 441a(a)(1)(B)) is amended by inserting “(other  
 17 than to the national nominating convention ac-  
 18 counts of such political committees which are  
 19 described in subparagraph (E))” after “national  
 20 political party”.

21 (2) AGGREGATE CONTRIBUTION LIMITATION.—  
 22 Section 315(a)(3) of such Act (2 U.S.C. 441a(a)(3))  
 23 is amended by adding at the end the following new  
 24 flush sentence:



1 “The dollar amount in subparagraph (B) shall be in-  
 2 creased by the amount of contributions (not in excess of  
 3 the dollar amount in effect under subparagraph (E)) made  
 4 to the national nominating convention account of a polit-  
 5 ical committee established and maintained by a national  
 6 political party during the period described in the preceding  
 7 sentence.”.

8 (b) NATIONAL NOMINATING CONVENTION AC-  
 9 COUNT.—Section 315(a) of such Act (2 U.S.C. 441a(a))  
 10 is amended by adding at the end the following new para-  
 11 graph:

12 “(9) For purposes of this subsection, the national  
 13 nomination convention account of any political committees  
 14 established and maintained by a national political party  
 15 is a separate account the funds of which may only be used  
 16 to defray the costs of the national nominating convention  
 17 of such party.”.

18 **SEC. 123. PROHIBITION ON USE OF SOFT MONEY.**

19 Section 323 of the Federal Election Campaign Act  
 20 of 1971 (2 U.S.C. 441i) is amended by adding at the end  
 21 the following new subsection:

22 “(g) NATIONAL CONVENTIONS.—Any person de-  
 23 scribed in subsection (a) or (e) shall not solicit, receive,  
 24 direct, transfer, or spend any funds in connection with a  
 25 presidential nominating convention of any political party,

1 including funds from or for a host committee, civic com-  
2 mittee, municipality, or any other person or entity spend-  
3 ing funds in connection with such a convention, unless  
4 such funds—

5 “(1) are not in excess of the amounts permitted  
6 with respect to contributions to the political com-  
7 mittee established and maintained by a national po-  
8 litical party committee under section 315; and

9 “(2) are not from sources prohibited by this Act  
10 from making contributions in connection with an  
11 election for Federal office.”.

12 **TITLE II—PUBLIC FINANCING**  
13 **FOR CONGRESSIONAL ELEC-**  
14 **TION CAMPAIGNS**

15 **SEC. 201. BENEFITS AND ELIGIBILITY REQUIREMENTS FOR**  
16 **CONGRESSIONAL CANDIDATES.**

17 The Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 (2  
18 U.S.C. 431 et seq.) is amended by adding at the end the  
19 following:

1 **“TITLE V—PUBLIC FINANCING**  
2 **OF CONGRESSIONAL ELEC-**  
3 **TION CAMPAIGNS**

4 **“Subtitle A—Benefits**

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

6 “(a) IN GENERAL.—If a candidate for election to the  
7 office of Senator or Representative in, or Delegate or Resi-  
8 dent Commissioner to, the Congress is a participating can-  
9 didate under this title with respect to an election for such  
10 office, the candidate shall be entitled to payments under  
11 this title, to be used only for authorized expenditures in  
12 connection with the election.

13 “(b) AMOUNT OF PAYMENT.—

14 “(1) MATCH OF QUALIFIED CONTRIBUTIONS.—  
15 Subject to paragraph (2), the amount of a payment  
16 made to a participating candidate under this title  
17 shall be equal to 500 percent of the amount of quali-  
18 fied contributions received by the candidate since the  
19 most recent payment made to the candidate under  
20 this title with respect to the election, as set forth—

21 “(A) in the case of the first payment made  
22 to the candidate with respect to the election, in  
23 the report filed under section 511(a)(2); and

24 “(B) in the case of any subsequent pay-  
25 ment made to the candidate with respect to the

1 election, in the report of qualified contributions  
2 filed under subsection (c).

3 “(2) LIMITATION.—In determining the amount  
4 of qualified contributions received by a candidate for  
5 purposes of making a payment under this section,  
6 there shall be disregarded any amount of contribu-  
7 tions from any person to the extent that the total of  
8 the amounts contributed by such person for the elec-  
9 tion exceeds \$250.

10 “(c) REPORTS.—

11 “(1) IN GENERAL.—Each participating can-  
12 didate shall file reports of receipts of qualified con-  
13 tributions at such times and in such manner as the  
14 Commission may by regulations prescribe.

15 “(2) CONTENTS OF REPORTS.—Each report  
16 under this subsection shall disclose each qualified  
17 contribution received by the candidate since the most  
18 recent report filed under this section, and shall state  
19 the aggregate amount of all such qualified contribu-  
20 tions received since the most recent report filed  
21 under this section.

22 “(3) FREQUENCY OF REPORTS.—Reports under  
23 this subsection shall be made no more frequently  
24 than—

1           “(A) once every month until the date that  
2           is 90 days before the date of the election;

3           “(B) once every week after the period de-  
4           scribed in subparagraph (A) and until the date  
5           that is 21 days before the election; and

6           “(C) once every day after the period de-  
7           scribed in subparagraph (B).

8           “(4) LIMITATION ON REGULATIONS.—The  
9           Commission may not prescribe any regulations with  
10          respect to reporting under this subsection with re-  
11          spect to any election after the date that is 180 days  
12          before the date of such election.

13          “(d) LIMIT ON AGGREGATE AMOUNT OF PAY-  
14          MENTS.—The aggregate amount of payments that may be  
15          made under this title to a participating candidate during  
16          an election cycle may not exceed—

17               “(1) \$2,000,000, in the case of a candidate for  
18               the office of Representative in, or Delegate or Resi-  
19               dent Commissioner to, the Congress; or

20               “(2) \$10,000,000, in the case of a candidate for  
21               the office of Senator.

22          **“SEC. 502. ADMINISTRATION OF PAYMENTS.**

23               “(a) TIMING.—The Commission shall make payments  
24          under this title to a participating candidate—

1           “(1) in the case of the first payment made to  
2           the candidate with respect to the election, not later  
3           than 48 hours after the date on which such can-  
4           didate is certified as a participating candidate under  
5           section 513; and

6           “(2) in the case of any subsequent payment  
7           made to the candidate with respect to the election,  
8           not later than 5 business days after the receipt of  
9           a report made under section 501(c).

10          “(b) METHOD OF PAYMENT.—The Commission shall  
11          distribute funds available to participating candidates  
12          under this title through the use of an electronic funds ex-  
13          change or a debit card.

14          “(c) APPEALS.—The Commission shall provide a  
15          written explanation with respect to any denial of any pay-  
16          ment under this title and shall provide for the opportunity  
17          for review and reconsideration within 5 business days of  
18          such denial.

19          **“SEC. 503. QUALIFIED CONTRIBUTION DEFINED.**

20          “‘In this title, the term ‘qualified contribution’ means,  
21          with respect to a candidate, a contribution that meets each  
22          of the following requirements:

23                  “(1) The contribution is in an amount that is  
24                  not greater than the limit on the amount of a con-

1       tribution that may be accepted by a participating  
2       candidate from an individual under section 521(a).

3           “(2) The contribution is made by an individual  
4       who is not otherwise prohibited from making a con-  
5       tribution under this Act.

6           “(3) The contribution is not—

7               “(A) forwarded from the contributor by  
8       any person other than an individual; or

9               “(B) received by the candidate or an au-  
10      thorized committee of the candidate from a con-  
11      tributor or contributors, but credited by the  
12      committee or candidate to another person who  
13      is not an individual through records, designa-  
14      tions, or other means of recognizing that a cer-  
15      tain amount of money has been raised by such  
16      person.

17          “(4) The contribution meets the requirements  
18      of section 512(b).

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

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

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

1 to an election if the candidate meets the following require-  
2 ments:

3 “(1) During the election cycle for the office in-  
4 volved, the candidate files with the Commission a  
5 statement of intent to seek certification as a partici-  
6 pating candidate.

7 “(2) The candidate meets the qualified con-  
8 tribution requirements of section 512 and submits to  
9 the Commission a report disclosing each qualified  
10 contribution received by the candidate and stating  
11 the aggregate amount of all such qualified contribu-  
12 tions received.

13 “(3) Not later than the last day of the quali-  
14 fying period, the candidate files with the Commis-  
15 sion an affidavit signed by the candidate and the  
16 treasurer of the candidate’s principal campaign com-  
17 mittee declaring that the candidate—

18 “(A) has complied and, if certified, will  
19 comply with the contribution and expenditure  
20 requirements of section 521;

21 “(B) if certified, will run only as a partici-  
22 pating candidate for all elections for the office  
23 that such candidate is seeking during the elec-  
24 tion cycle; and



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

3           “(b) GENERAL ELECTION.—Notwithstanding sub-  
4 section (a), a candidate shall not be eligible to receive a  
5 payment under this title for a general election or a general  
6 runoff election unless the candidate’s party nominated the  
7 candidate to be placed on the ballot for the general elec-  
8 tion or the candidate is otherwise qualified to be on the  
9 ballot under State law.

10          “(c) QUALIFYING PERIOD DEFINED.—The term  
11 ‘qualifying period’ means, with respect to any candidate  
12 for the office of Senator or Representative in, or Delegate  
13 or Resident Commissioner to, the Congress, the 120-day  
14 period (during the election cycle for such office) which be-  
15 gins on the date on which the candidate files a statement  
16 of intent under section 511(a)(1), except that such period  
17 may not continue after the date that is 60 days before—

18                   “(1) the date of the primary election; or

19                   “(2) in the case of a State that does not hold  
20 a primary election, the date prescribed by State law  
21 as the last day to qualify for a position on the gen-  
22 eral election ballot.

23 **“SEC. 512. QUALIFIED CONTRIBUTION REQUIREMENTS.**

24          “(a) RECEIPT OF QUALIFIED CONTRIBUTIONS.—

1           “(1) IN GENERAL.—A candidate meets the re-  
2           quirements of this section if, during the qualifying  
3           period described in section 511(c), the candidate ob-  
4           tains—

5                   “(A) a single qualified contribution from a  
6           number of individuals equal to or greater  
7           than—

8                           “(i) in the case of a candidate for  
9                           election the office of Representative in, or  
10                          Delegate or Resident Commissioner to, the  
11                          Congress, 400, or

12                           “(ii) in the case of a candidate for the  
13                          office of Senator, the product of 400 and  
14                          the number of Congressional districts in  
15                          the State involved as of the date of the  
16                          election; and

17                   “(B) a total dollar amount of qualified  
18           contributions equal to or greater than—

19                           “(i) in the case of a candidate for  
20                           election the office of Representative in, or  
21                          Delegate or Resident Commissioner to, the  
22                          Congress, \$40,000, disregarding any  
23                          amount of contributions from any person  
24                          to the extent that the total of the amounts

1 contributed by such person for the election  
2 exceeds \$250, or

3 “(ii) in the case of a candidate for the  
4 office of Senator, the product of \$40,000  
5 and the number of Congressional districts  
6 in the State involved as of the date of the  
7 election, disregarding any amount of con-  
8 tributions from any person to the extent  
9 that the total of the amounts contributed  
10 by such person for the election exceeds  
11 \$250.

12 “(2) EXCLUSION OF CONTRIBUTIONS FROM  
13 OUT-OF-STATE RESIDENTS.—In determining the  
14 number of qualified contributions obtained by a can-  
15 didate under paragraph (1)(A) and the dollar  
16 amount of qualified contributions obtained by a can-  
17 didate under paragraph (1)(B), there shall be ex-  
18 cluded any contributions made by an individual who  
19 does not have a primary residence in the State in  
20 which such candidate is seeking election.

21 “(b) REQUIREMENTS RELATING TO RECEIPT OF  
22 QUALIFIED CONTRIBUTION.—Each qualified contribu-  
23 tion—

1 “(1) may be made by means of a personal  
 2 check, money order, debit card, credit card, or elec-  
 3 tronic payment account;

4 “(2) shall be accompanied by a signed state-  
 5 ment containing the contributor’s name and the con-  
 6 tributor’s address in the State in which the primary  
 7 residence of the contributor is located; and

8 “(3) shall be acknowledged by a receipt that is  
 9 sent to the contributor with a copy kept by the can-  
 10 didate for the Commission and a copy kept by the  
 11 candidate for the election authorities in the State  
 12 with respect to which the candidate is seeking elec-  
 13 tion.

14 “(c) PROHIBITING PAYMENT ON COMMISSION BASIS  
 15 OF INDIVIDUALS COLLECTING QUALIFIED CONTRIBU-  
 16 TIONS.—No person may be paid a commission on a per  
 17 qualified contribution basis for collecting qualified con-  
 18 tributions.

19 **“SEC. 513. CERTIFICATION.**

20 “(a) DEADLINE AND NOTIFICATION.—

21 “(1) IN GENERAL.—Not later than 10 days  
 22 after a candidate files an affidavit under section  
 23 511(a)(3), the Commission shall—

1           “(A) determine whether or not the can-  
2           didate meets the requirements for certification  
3           as a participating candidate;

4           “(B) if the Commission determines that  
5           the candidate meets such requirements, certify  
6           the candidate as a participating candidate; and

7           “(C) notify the candidate of the Commis-  
8           sion’s determination.

9           “(2) DEEMED CERTIFICATION FOR ALL ELEC-  
10          TIONS IN ELECTION CYCLE.—If the Commission cer-  
11          tifies a candidate as a participating candidate with  
12          respect to the first election of the election cycle in-  
13          volved, the Commissioner shall be deemed to have  
14          certified the candidate as a participating candidate  
15          with respect to all subsequent elections of the elec-  
16          tion cycle.

17          “(b) REVOCATION OF CERTIFICATION.—

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

20                 “(A) a candidate fails to qualify to appear  
21                 on the ballot at any time after the date of cer-  
22                 tification (other than a candidate certified as a  
23                 participating candidate with respect to a pri-  
24                 mary election who fails to qualify to appear on

1 the ballot for a subsequent election in that elec-  
2 tion cycle); or

3 “(B) a candidate otherwise fails to comply  
4 with the requirements of this title, including  
5 any regulatory requirements prescribed by the  
6 Commission.

7 “(2) REPAYMENT OF BENEFITS.—If certifi-  
8 cation is revoked under paragraph (1), the candidate  
9 shall repay to the Empowering Citizens Payment Ac-  
10 count of the Presidential Election Campaign Fund  
11 (established under section 9051 of the Internal Rev-  
12 enue Code of 1986) an amount equal to the value  
13 of benefits received under this title with respect to  
14 the election cycle involved plus interest (at a rate de-  
15 termined by the Commission) on any such amount  
16 received.

17 “(c) PARTICIPATING CANDIDATE DEFINED.—In this  
18 title, a ‘participating candidate’ means a candidate for the  
19 office of Senator or Representative in, or Delegate or Resi-  
20 dent Commissioner to, the Congress who is certified under  
21 this section as eligible to receive benefits under this title.

1 **“Subtitle C—Requirements for Can-**  
2 **didates Certified as Partici-**  
3 **pating Candidates**

4 **“SEC. 521. RESTRICTIONS ON CERTAIN CONTRIBUTIONS**  
5 **AND EXPENDITURES.**

6 “(a) 50 PERCENT REDUCTION IN OTHERWISE AP-  
7 PPLICABLE CONTRIBUTION LIMITS.—In the case of a can-  
8 didate who is certified as a participating candidate under  
9 this title with respect to an election, the limit applicable  
10 under paragraph (1)(A) or paragraph (2)(A) of section  
11 315(a) to the amount of a contribution which may be  
12 made to the candidate and any authorized committee of  
13 the candidate with respect to the election shall be equal  
14 to 50% of the amount applicable under such paragraph  
15 to a contribution made to a candidate with respect to the  
16 election who is not certified as a participating candidate  
17 under this title.

18 “(b) PROHIBITING ACCEPTANCE OF CONTRIBUTIONS  
19 BUNDLED BY REGISTERED LOBBYISTS.—A candidate  
20 who is certified as a participating candidate under this  
21 title with respect to an election, and any authorized com-  
22 mittee of such a candidate, may not accept any contribu-  
23 tion with respect to the election which is a bundled con-  
24 tribution (as defined in section 304(i)(8)) forwarded by  
25 or credited to a person described in section 304(i)(7).

1       “(c) LIMIT ON EXPENDITURES FROM PERSONAL  
 2 FUNDS.—A candidate who is certified as a participating  
 3 candidate under this title may not make expenditures from  
 4 personal funds (as defined in section 304(a)(6)(B)) in an  
 5 aggregate amount exceeding \$50,000 with respect to any  
 6 election in the election cycle involved.

7       “(d) PROHIBITING SOLICITATION OF FUNDS FOR PO-  
 8 LITICAL PARTY COMMITTEES.—A candidate who is cer-  
 9 tified as a participating candidate under this title may not  
 10 solicit funds for any political committee of a political  
 11 party, except that the candidate may solicit funds for a  
 12 separate account of the committee which is established  
 13 under section 315(d)(5).

14 **“SEC. 522. REMITTING UNSPENT FUNDS AFTER ELECTION.**

15       “(a) IN GENERAL.—Not later than the date that is  
 16 60 days after the last election for which a candidate cer-  
 17 tified as a participating candidate qualifies to be on the  
 18 ballot during the election cycle involved, such participating  
 19 candidate shall remit to the Commission for deposit in the  
 20 Empowering Citizens Payment Account of the Presi-  
 21 dential Election Campaign Fund (established under sec-  
 22 tion 9051 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986) an  
 23 amount equal to the lesser of—

24               “(1) the amount of money in the candidate’s  
 25 campaign account; or



1           “(2) the amount of the payments received by  
2           the candidate under this title.

3           “(b) EXCEPTION FOR EXPENDITURES INCURRED  
4 BUT NOT PAID AS OF DATE OF REMITTANCE.—

5           “(1) IN GENERAL.—Subject to subsection (a), a  
6           candidate may withhold from the amount required to  
7           be remitted under paragraph (1) of such subsection  
8           the amount of any authorized expenditures which  
9           were incurred in connection with the candidate’s  
10          campaign but which remain unpaid as of the dead-  
11          line applicable to the candidate under such sub-  
12          section, except that any amount withheld pursuant  
13          to this paragraph shall be remitted to the Commis-  
14          sion not later than 120 days after the date of the  
15          election to which such subsection applies.

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

1           **“Subtitle D—Administrative**  
2                           **Provisions**

3   **“SEC. 531. ADMINISTRATION BY COMMISSION.**

4           “The Commission shall prescribe regulations to carry  
5 out the purposes of this title, including regulations to es-  
6 tablish procedures for—

7                   “(1) verifying the amount of qualified contribu-  
8 tions with respect to a candidate;

9                   “(2) effectively and efficiently monitoring and  
10 enforcing the limits on the raising of qualified con-  
11 tributions;

12                   “(3) effectively and efficiently monitoring and  
13 enforcing the limits on the use of personal funds by  
14 participating candidates; and

15                   “(4) monitoring the use of payments under this  
16 title through audits of not fewer than  $\frac{1}{3}$  of all par-  
17 ticipating candidates or other mechanisms.

18   **“SEC. 532. VIOLATIONS AND PENALTIES.**

19           “(a) CIVIL PENALTY FOR VIOLATION OF CONTRIBU-  
20 TION AND EXPENDITURE REQUIREMENTS.—If a can-  
21 didate who has been certified as a participating candidate  
22 accepts a contribution or makes an expenditure that is  
23 prohibited under section 521, the Commission shall assess  
24 a civil penalty against the candidate in an amount that  
25 is not more than 3 times the amount of the contribution

1 or expenditure. Any amounts collected under this sub-  
2 section shall be deposited into the Empowering Citizens  
3 Payment Account of the Presidential Election Campaign  
4 Fund (established under section 9051 of the Internal Rev-  
5 enue Code of 1986).

6 “(b) REPAYMENT FOR IMPROPER USE OF EMPOW-  
7 ERING CITIZENS PAYMENT ACCOUNT.—

8 “(1) IN GENERAL.—If the Commission deter-  
9 mines that any benefit made available to a partici-  
10 pating candidate was not used as provided for in  
11 this title or that a participating candidate has vio-  
12 lated any of the dates for remission of funds con-  
13 tained in this title, the Commission shall so notify  
14 the candidate and the candidate shall pay to the  
15 Empowering Citizens Payment Account of the Presi-  
16 dential Election Campaign Fund an amount equal  
17 to—

18 “(A) the amount of benefits so used or not  
19 remitted, as appropriate; and

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

22 “(2) OTHER ACTION NOT PRECLUDED.—Any  
23 action by the Commission in accordance with this  
24 subsection shall not preclude enforcement pro-  
25 ceedings by the Commission in accordance with sec-

1       tion 309(a), including a referral by the Commission  
 2       to the Attorney General in the case of an apparent  
 3       knowing and willful violation of this title.

4       **“SEC. 533. ELECTION CYCLE DEFINED.**

5       “‘In this title, the term ‘election cycle’ means, with  
 6       respect to an election for the office of Senator or Rep-  
 7       resentative in, or Delegate or Resident Commissioner to,  
 8       the Congress, the period beginning on the day after the  
 9       date of the most recent general election for that office (or,  
 10      if the general election resulted in a runoff election, the  
 11      date of the runoff election) and ending on the date of the  
 12      next general election for that office (or, if the general elec-  
 13      tion resulted in a runoff election, the date of the runoff  
 14      election).’”.

15      **SEC. 202. PERMITTING UNLIMITED COORDINATED EXPEND-**  
 16                                   **ITURES BY POLITICAL PARTY COMMITTEES**  
 17                                   **ON BEHALF OF PARTICIPATING CANDIDATES**  
 18                                   **IF EXPENDITURES ARE DERIVED FROM**  
 19                                   **SMALL DOLLAR CONTRIBUTIONS.**

20      Section 315(d) of the Federal Election Campaign Act  
 21      of 1971 (2 U.S.C. 441a(d)) is amended by adding at the  
 22      end the following new paragraph:

23      “(5) In determining the amount of expenditures  
 24      made by a committee under paragraph (3) in connection  
 25      with the campaign of a candidate who is certified as a

1 participating candidate under title V, there shall be ex-  
 2 cluded any expenditures which are derived from a separate  
 3 account established by the committee for which the only  
 4 sources of funds are contributions made during the elec-  
 5 tion cycle in an amount which does not exceed 50% of  
 6 the amount applicable under subsection (a)(1)(A) to a  
 7 contribution made during the cycle to a candidate who is  
 8 not certified as a participating candidate under title V.”.

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

12 Section 313 of the Federal Election Campaign Act  
 13 of 1971 (2 U.S.C. 439a) is amended by adding at the end  
 14 the following new subsection:

15 “(d) RESTRICTIONS ON PERMITTED USES OF FUNDS  
 16 BY CANDIDATES RECEIVING MATCHING PUBLIC  
 17 FUNDS.—Notwithstanding paragraphs (2), (3), or (4) of  
 18 subsection (a), if a candidate for election for the office  
 19 of Senator or Representative in, or Delegate or Resident  
 20 Commissioner to, the Congress is certified as a partici-  
 21 pating candidate under title V with respect to the election,  
 22 any contribution which the candidate is permitted to ac-  
 23 cept under such title may be used only for authorized ex-  
 24 penditures in connection with the candidate’s campaign  
 25 for such office.”.

**TITLE III—COORDINATED  
CAMPAIGN ACTIVITY**

**SEC. 301. CLARIFICATION OF TREATMENT OF COORDI-  
NATED EXPENDITURES AS CONTRIBUTIONS  
TO CANDIDATES.**

(a) TREATMENT AS CONTRIBUTION TO CANDIDATE.—Section 301(8)(A) of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 (2 U.S.C. 431(8)(A)) is amended—

(1) by striking “or” at the end of clause (i);

(2) by striking the period at the end of clause

(ii) and inserting “; or”; and

(3) by adding at the end the following new clause:

“(iii) any payment made by any person (other than a candidate, an authorized committee of a candidate, or a political committee of a political party) for a coordinated expenditure (as such term is defined in section 324) which is not otherwise treated as a contribution under clause (i) or clause (ii).”.

(b) DEFINITIONS.—Section 324 of such Act (2 U.S.C. 441k) is amended to read as follows:

**“SEC. 324. PAYMENTS FOR COORDINATED EXPENDITURES.**

“(a) COORDINATED EXPENDITURES.—

1           “(1) IN GENERAL.—For purposes of section  
2       301(8)(A)(iii), the term ‘coordinated expenditure’  
3       means—

4           “(A) any expenditure, including a payment  
5       for a covered communication described in sub-  
6       section (c), which is made in cooperation, con-  
7       sultation, or concert with, or at the request or  
8       suggestion of, a candidate, an authorized com-  
9       mittee of a candidate, a political committee of  
10      a political party, or agents of the candidate or  
11      committee, as provided in subsection (b); or

12          “(B) any payment for any communication  
13      which republishes, disseminates, or distributes,  
14      in whole or in part, any broadcast or any writ-  
15      ten, graphic, or other form of campaign mate-  
16      rial prepared by the candidate or committee or  
17      by agents of the candidate or committee.

18          “(2) EXCEPTION FOR PAYMENTS FOR CERTAIN  
19      COMMUNICATIONS.—A payment for a communication  
20      (including a covered communication described in  
21      subsection (c)) shall not be treated as a coordinated  
22      expenditure under this subsection if—

23          “(A) the communication appears in a news  
24      story, commentary, or editorial distributed  
25      through the facilities of any broadcasting sta-

tion, newspaper, magazine, or other periodical publication, unless such facilities are owned or controlled by any political party, political committee, or candidate; or

“(B) the communication constitutes a candidate debate or forum conducted pursuant to regulations adopted by the Commission pursuant to section 304(f)(3)(B)(iii), or which solely promotes such a debate or forum and is made by or on behalf of the person sponsoring the debate or forum.

“(b) COORDINATION DESCRIBED.—

“(1) IN GENERAL.—For purposes of this section, a payment is made ‘in cooperation, consultation, or concert with, or at the request or suggestion of,’ a candidate, an authorized committee of a candidate, a political committee of a political party, or agents of the candidate or committee, if the payment is not made entirely independently of the candidate, committee, or agents, including a payment which is made pursuant to any general or particular understanding, or more than incidental communication with, the candidate, committee, or agents about the payment.



1           “(2) NO FINDING OF COORDINATION BASED  
2           SOLELY ON SHARING OF INFORMATION REGARDING  
3           LEGISLATIVE OR POLICY POSITION.—For purposes  
4           of this section, a payment shall not be considered to  
5           be made by a person in cooperation, consultation, or  
6           concert with, or at the request or suggestion of, a  
7           candidate or committee, solely on the grounds that  
8           the person or the person’s agent engaged in discus-  
9           sions with the candidate or committee, or with  
10          agents of the candidate or committee, regarding that  
11          person’s position on a legislative or policy matter  
12          (including urging the candidate or committee to  
13          adopt that person’s position), so long as there is no  
14          discussion between the person and the candidate or  
15          committee, or agents of the candidate or committee,  
16          regarding the candidate’s or committee’s campaign  
17          advertising, message, strategy, policy, polling, alloca-  
18          tion of resources, fundraising, or campaign oper-  
19          ations.

20          “(3) NO EFFECT ON PARTY COORDINATION  
21          STANDARD.—Nothing in this section shall be con-  
22          strued to affect the determination of coordination  
23          between a candidate and a political committee of a  
24          political party for purposes of section 315(d).

1           “(4) NO SAFE HARBOR FOR USE OF FIRE-  
2       WALL.—A person shall be determined to have made  
3       a payment in cooperation, consultation, or concert  
4       with, or at the request or suggestion of, a candidate  
5       or committee, in accordance with this section with-  
6       out regard to whether or not the person established  
7       and used a firewall or similar procedures to restrict  
8       the sharing of information between individuals pro-  
9       viding services for or on behalf of the person and the  
10      candidate or committee or agents of the candidate or  
11      committee.

12       “(c) SPECIAL RULE FOR PAYMENTS BY COORDI-  
13      NATED SPENDERS FOR COVERED COMMUNICATIONS.—

14           “(1) PAYMENTS DEEMED TO BE MADE IN CO-  
15      OPERATION, CONSULTATION, OR CONCERT WITH,  
16      CANDIDATES.—For purposes of this section, if the  
17      person who makes a payment for a covered commu-  
18      nication is a coordinated spender with respect to the  
19      candidate involved, the person shall be deemed to  
20      have made the payment in cooperation, consultation,  
21      or concert with the candidate.

22           “(2) COORDINATED SPENDER DEFINED.—For  
23      purposes of this subsection, the term ‘coordinated  
24      spender’ means, with respect to a candidate or an  
25      authorized committee of a candidate, a person (other

1 than a political committee of a political party) for  
2 which any of the following applies:

3 “(A) The person is directly or indirectly  
4 formed or established by or at the request or  
5 suggestion of, or with the encouragement of,  
6 the candidate or committee or agents of the  
7 candidate or committee, including with the ex-  
8 press or tacit approval of the candidate or com-  
9 mittee or agents of the candidate or committee.

10 “(B) The candidate or committee or agents  
11 of the candidate or committee solicit funds or  
12 engage in other fundraising activity on the per-  
13 son’s behalf during the election cycle involved,  
14 including by providing the person with names of  
15 potential donors or other lists to be used by the  
16 person in engaging in fundraising activity, re-  
17 gardless of whether the person pays fair market  
18 value for the names or lists provided.

19 “(C) The person is established, directed, or  
20 managed by any person who, during the elec-  
21 tion cycle involved or during the 4-year period  
22 ending on the first day of the election cycle in-  
23 volved, has been employed or retained as a po-  
24 litical, media, or fundraising adviser or consult-  
25 ant for the candidate or committee or for any

1 other entity directly or indirectly controlled by  
2 the candidate or committee, or has held a for-  
3 mal position with a title for the candidate or  
4 committee.

5 “(D) During the election cycle involved,  
6 the person has had more than incidental com-  
7 munications with the candidate or committee or  
8 agents of the candidate or committee about the  
9 candidate’s campaign needs or activities, or  
10 about the person’s possible or actual campaign  
11 activities with respect to the candidate or com-  
12 mittee.

13 “(E) The person has retained the profes-  
14 sional services of any person who, during the  
15 same election cycle, has provided or is providing  
16 professional services relating to the campaign to  
17 the candidate or committee. For purposes of  
18 this subparagraph, the term ‘professional serv-  
19 ices’ includes any services in support of the can-  
20 didate’s or committee’s campaign activities, in-  
21 cluding advertising, message, strategy, policy,  
22 polling, allocation of resources, fundraising, and  
23 campaign operations, but does not include ac-  
24 counting or legal services.

1           “(F) The person is established, directed, or  
2           managed by a member of the immediate family  
3           of the candidate, or (in the case of a person  
4           that is a political committee) has received a  
5           contribution from a member of the immediate  
6           family of the candidate. For purposes of this  
7           subparagraph, the term ‘immediate family’ has  
8           the meaning given such term in section 9004(e)  
9           of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986.

10       “(d) COVERED COMMUNICATION DEFINED.—

11           “(1) IN GENERAL.—For purposes of this sec-  
12           tion, the term ‘covered communication’ means, with  
13           respect to a candidate or an authorized committee of  
14           a candidate, a public communication (as defined in  
15           section 301(22)) which—

16           “(A) promotes or supports the candidate,  
17           or attacks or opposes an opponent of the can-  
18           didate (regardless of whether the communica-  
19           tion expressly advocates the election or defeat  
20           of a candidate or contains the functional equiv-  
21           alent of express advocacy); or

22           “(B) refers to the candidate or an oppo-  
23           nent of the candidate but is not described in  
24           subparagraph (A), but only if the communica-

1           tion is disseminated during the applicable elec-  
2           tion period.

3           “(2) APPLICABLE ELECTION PERIOD.—In para-  
4           graph (1)(B), the ‘applicable election period’ with re-  
5           spect to a communication means—

6                   “(A) in the case of a communication which  
7                   refers to a candidate for the office of President  
8                   or Vice President, the period which begins on  
9                   the date that is 120 days before the date of the  
10                  first primary election, preference election, or  
11                  nominating convention for nomination for the  
12                  office of President which is held in any State  
13                  and ends with the date of the general election  
14                  for such office; or

15                  “(B) in the case of a communication which  
16                  refers to a candidate for any other office, which  
17                  begins on the date that is 90 days before the  
18                  primary or preference election, or convention or  
19                  caucus of a political party that has authority to  
20                  nominate a candidate, for the office sought by  
21                  the candidate and ends on the date of the gen-  
22                  eral election for such office.

23           “(3) SPECIAL RULES FOR COMMUNICATIONS IN-  
24           VOLVING CONGRESSIONAL CANDIDATES.—For pur-  
25           poses of this subsection, a public communication

1       shall not be considered to be a covered communica-  
2       tion with respect to a candidate for election for an  
3       office other than the office of President or Vice  
4       President unless it is publicly disseminated or dis-  
5       tributed in the jurisdiction of the office the can-  
6       didate is seeking.

7       “(e) ELECTION CYCLE DEFINED.—In this section,  
8       the term ‘election cycle’ means, with respect to an election  
9       for Federal office, the period beginning on the day after  
10      the date of the most recent general election for that office  
11      (or, if the general election resulted in a runoff election,  
12      the date of the runoff election) and ending on the date  
13      of the next general election for that office (or, if the gen-  
14      eral election resulted in a runoff election, the date of the  
15      runoff election).”.

16      (c) EFFECTIVE DATE.—

17           (1) REPEAL OF EXISTING REGULATIONS ON CO-  
18      ORDINATION.—Effective upon the expiration of the  
19      90-day period which begins on the date of the enact-  
20      ment of this Act—

21           (A) the regulations on coordinated commu-  
22      nications adopted by the Federal Election Com-  
23      mission which are in effect on the date of the  
24      enactment of this Act (as set forth in 11 CFR

1           Part 109, Subpart C, under the heading “Co-  
2           ordination”) are repealed; and

3                   (B) the Federal Election Commission shall  
4           promulgate new regulations on coordinated  
5           communications which reflect the amendments  
6           made by this Act.

7           (2) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendments made  
8           by this section shall apply with respect to payments  
9           made on or after the expiration of the 120-day pe-  
10          riod which begins on the date of the enactment of  
11          this Act, without regard to whether or not the Fed-  
12          eral Election Commission has promulgated regula-  
13          tions in accordance with paragraph (1)(B) as of the  
14          expiration of such period.

15 **SEC. 302. CLARIFICATION OF BAN ON FUNDRAISING FOR**  
16 **SUPER PACS BY FEDERAL CANDIDATES AND**  
17 **OFFICEHOLDERS.**

18          Section 323(e)(1) of the Federal Election Campaign  
19 Act of 1971 (2 U.S.C. 441i(e)(1)) is amended—

20                   (1) by striking “or” at the end of subparagraph  
21           (A);

22                   (2) by striking the period at the end of sub-  
23           paragraph (B) and inserting “; or”; and

24                   (3) by adding at the end the following new sub-  
25           paragraph:



1           “(C) solicit, receive, direct, or transfer  
2           funds to or on behalf of any political committee  
3           which accepts donations or contributions that  
4           do not comply with the limitations, prohibitions,  
5           and reporting requirements of this Act (or to or  
6           on behalf of any account of a political com-  
7           mittee which is established for the purpose of  
8           accepting such donations or contributions), or  
9           to or on behalf of any political organization  
10          under section 527 of the Internal Revenue Code  
11          of 1986 which accepts such donations or con-  
12          tributions (other than a committee of a State or  
13          local political party or a candidate for election  
14          for State or local office).”.

15 **TITLE IV—USE OF PRESI-**  
16 **DENTIAL ELECTION CAM-**  
17 **PAIGN FUND FOR PUBLIC FI-**  
18 **NANCING OF FEDERAL ELEC-**  
19 **TIONS**

20 **SEC. 401. USE OF PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION CAMPAIGN**  
21 **FUND FOR CONGRESSIONAL CANDIDATES.**

22          Subtitle H of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 is  
23          amended by adding at the end the following new chapter:

1     **“CHAPTER 97—EMPOWERING CITIZENS**  
2                     **PAYMENT ACCOUNT**

“Sec. 9051. Payments to Congressional candidates.

3     **“SEC. 9051. PAYMENTS TO CONGRESSIONAL CANDIDATES.**

4             “(a) ESTABLISHMENT OF ACCOUNT.—The Secretary  
5 shall maintain in the Presidential Election Campaign  
6 Fund established by section 9006(a), in addition to any  
7 account which he maintains under such section, a separate  
8 account to be known as the Empowering Citizens Payment  
9 Account. The Secretary shall deposit into such Account  
10 the amount available after the Secretary determines that  
11 amounts for payments under section 9006(c) and for pay-  
12 ments under section 9037(b) are available for such pay-  
13 ments.

14           “(b) USE OF FUND FOR PAYMENTS TO CONGRES-  
15 SIONAL CANDIDATES PARTICIPATING IN PUBLIC FINANC-  
16 ING PROGRAM.—The Secretary shall transfer amounts in  
17 the Fund to the Federal Election Commission, at such  
18 times and in such amounts as the Federal Election Com-  
19 mission may certify, for payments to candidates for elec-  
20 tion to the office of Senator or Representative in, or Dele-  
21 gate or Resident Commissioner to, the Congress who are  
22 participating candidates under title V of the Federal Elec-  
23 tion Campaign Act of 1971.”.

1 **SEC. 402. REVISIONS TO DESIGNATION OF INCOME TAX**  
2 **PAYMENTS BY INDIVIDUAL TAXPAYERS.**

3 (a) INCREASE IN AMOUNT DESIGNATED.—Section  
4 6096(a) of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 is amend-  
5 ed—

6 (1) in the first sentence, by striking “\$3” each  
7 place it appears and inserting “\$20”; and

8 (2) in the second sentence—

9 (A) by striking “\$6” and inserting “\$40”;  
10 and

11 (B) by striking “\$3” and inserting “\$20”.

12 (b) INDEXING.—Section 6096 of such Code is amend-  
13 ed by adding at the end the following new subsection:

14 “(d) INDEXING OF AMOUNT DESIGNATED.—

15 “(1) IN GENERAL.—With respect to each tax-  
16 able year after 2013, each amount referred to in  
17 subsection (a) shall be increased by the percent dif-  
18 ference described in paragraph (2), except that if  
19 any such amount after such an increase is not a  
20 multiple of \$1, such amount shall be rounded to the  
21 nearest multiple of \$1.

22 “(2) PERCENT DIFFERENCE DESCRIBED.—The  
23 percent difference described in this paragraph with  
24 respect to a taxable year is the percent difference  
25 determined under section 315(c)(1)(A) of the Fed-  
26 eral Election Campaign Act of 1971 with respect to

1 the calendar year during which the taxable year be-  
 2 gins, except that the base year involved shall be  
 3 2012.”.

4 (c) ENSURING TAX PREPARATION SOFTWARE DOES  
 5 NOT PROVIDE AUTOMATIC RESPONSE TO DESIGNATION  
 6 QUESTION.—Section 6096 of such Code, as amended by  
 7 subsection (b), is amended by adding at the end the fol-  
 8 lowing new subsection:

9 “(e) ENSURING TAX PREPARATION SOFTWARE DOES  
 10 NOT PROVIDE AUTOMATIC RESPONSE TO DESIGNATION  
 11 QUESTION.—The Secretary shall promulgate regulations  
 12 to ensure that electronic software used in the preparation  
 13 or filing of individual income tax returns does not auto-  
 14 matically accept or decline a designation of a payment  
 15 under this section.”.

16 (d) PUBLIC INFORMATION PROGRAM ON DESIGNA-  
 17 TION.—Section 6096 of such Code, as amended by sub-  
 18 sections (b) and (c), is amended by adding at the end the  
 19 following new subsection:

20 “(f) PUBLIC INFORMATION PROGRAM.—

21 “(1) IN GENERAL.—The Federal Election Com-  
 22 mission shall conduct a program to inform and edu-  
 23 cate the public regarding the purposes of the Presi-  
 24 dential Election Campaign Fund, the procedures for  
 25 the designation of payments under this section, and

1 the effect of such a designation on the income tax  
2 liability of taxpayers.

3 “(2) USE OF FUNDS FOR PROGRAM.—Amounts  
4 in the Presidential Election Campaign Fund shall be  
5 made available to the Federal Election Commission  
6 to carry out the program under this subsection.”.

7 (e) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendments made by  
8 this section shall take effect January 1, 2014.

9 **SEC. 403. DONATION TO PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION CAM-**  
10 **PAIGN FUND.**

11 (a) GENERAL RULE.—Every taxpayer who makes a  
12 return of the tax imposed by subtitle A of the Internal  
13 Revenue Code of 1986 for any taxable year ending after  
14 December 31, 2012, may donate an amount (not less than  
15 \$1), in addition to any designation of income tax liability  
16 under section 6096 of such Code for such taxable year,  
17 which shall be deposited in the general fund of the Treas-  
18 ury.

19 (b) MANNER AND TIME OF DESIGNATION.—Any do-  
20 nation under subsection (a) for any taxable year—

21 (1) shall be made at the time of filing the re-  
22 turn of the tax imposed by subtitle A of such Code  
23 for such taxable year and in such manner as the  
24 Secretary may by regulation prescribe, except that—

1 (A) the designation for such donation shall  
2 be either on the first page of the return or on  
3 the page bearing the taxpayer's signature, and

4 (B) the designation shall be by a box  
5 added to the return, and the text beside the box  
6 shall provide:

7 "By checking here, I signify that in  
8 addition to my tax liability (if any), I  
9 would like to donate the included payment  
10 to be used exclusively as a contribution to  
11 the Presidential Election Campaign  
12 Fund.", and

13 (2) shall be accompanied by a payment of the  
14 amount so designated.

15 (c) TREATMENT OF AMOUNTS DONATED.—For pur-  
16 poses of this title, the amount donated by any taxpayer  
17 under subsection (a) shall be treated as a contribution  
18 made by such taxpayer to the United States on the last  
19 date prescribed for filing the return of tax imposed by sub-  
20 title A of such Code (determined without regard to exten-  
21 sions) or, if later, the date the return is filed.

22 (d) TRANSFERS TO PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION CAM-  
23 PAIGN FUND.—The Secretary shall, from time to time,  
24 transfer to the Presidential Election Campaign Fund es-

1 tablished under section 9006(a) of such Code amounts  
2 equal to the amounts donated under this section.

3 **TITLE V—OTHER CAMPAIGN**  
4 **FINANCE REFORMS**

5 **SEC. 501. REGULATIONS WITH RESPECT TO BEST EFFORTS**  
6 **FOR IDENTIFYING PERSONS MAKING CON-**  
7 **TRIBUTIONS.**

8 Not later than 6 months after the date of enactment  
9 of this Act, the Federal Election Commission shall pro-  
10 mulgate regulations with respect to what constitutes best  
11 efforts under section 302(i) of the Federal Election Cam-  
12 paign Act of 1971 (2 U.S.C. 432(i)) for determining the  
13 identification of persons making contributions to political  
14 committees, including the identifications of persons mak-  
15 ing contributions over the Internet or by credit card. Such  
16 regulations shall include a requirement that in the case  
17 of contributions made by a credit card, the political com-  
18 mittee shall ensure that the name on the credit card used  
19 to make the contribution matches the name of the person  
20 making the contribution.

21 **SEC. 502. PROHIBITION ON JOINT FUNDRAISING COMMIT-**  
22 **TEES.**

23 (a) IN GENERAL.—Section 302(e) of the Federal  
24 Election Campaign Act of 1971 (2 U.S.C. 432(e)) is

1 amended by adding at the end the following new para-  
 2 graph:

3 “(6) No authorized committee of a candidate may es-  
 4 tablish a joint fundraising committee with a political com-  
 5 mittee other than an authorized committee of a can-  
 6 didate.”.

7 (b) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendments made by  
 8 this section shall take effect on January 1, 2014.

9 **SEC. 503. DISCLOSURE OF BUNDLED CONTRIBUTIONS TO**  
 10 **PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGNS.**

11 (a) IN GENERAL.—Paragraphs (1) through (3) of  
 12 section 304(i) of the Federal Election Campaign Act of  
 13 1971 (2 U.S.C. 434(i)) are amended to read as follows:

14 “(1) IN GENERAL.—

15 “(A) DISCLOSURE OF BUNDLED CON-  
 16 TRIBUTIONS BY LOBBYISTS.—Each committee  
 17 described in paragraph (6) shall include in the  
 18 first report required to be filed under this sec-  
 19 tion after each covered period (as defined in  
 20 paragraph (2)) a separate schedule setting forth  
 21 the name, address, and employer of each person  
 22 reasonably known by the committee to be a per-  
 23 son described in paragraph (7) who provided 2  
 24 or more bundled contributions to the committee  
 25 in an aggregate amount greater than the appli-



1 cable threshold (as defined in paragraph (3))  
2 during the covered period, and the aggregate  
3 amount of the bundled contributions provided  
4 by each such person during the covered period.

5 “(B) DISCLOSURE OF BUNDLED CON-  
6 TRIBUTIONS TO PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGNS.—

7 Each committee which is an authorized com-  
8 mittee of a candidate for the office of President  
9 or for nomination to such office shall include in  
10 the first report required to be filed under this  
11 section after each covered period (as defined in  
12 paragraph (2)) a separate schedule setting forth  
13 the name, address, and employer of each person  
14 who provided 2 or more bundled contributions  
15 to the committee in an aggregate amount great-  
16 er than the applicable threshold (as defined in  
17 paragraph (3)) during the election cycle, and  
18 the aggregate amount of the bundled contribu-  
19 tions provided by each such person during the  
20 covered period and such election cycle. Such  
21 schedule shall include a separate listing of the  
22 name, address, and employer of each person in-  
23 cluded on such schedule who is reasonably  
24 known by the committee to be a person de-  
25 scribed in paragraph (7), together with the ag-

1           gregate amount of bundled contributions pro-  
2           vided by such person during such period and  
3           such cycle.

4           “(2) COVERED PERIOD.—In this subsection, a  
5           ‘covered period’ means—

6                   “(A) with respect to a committee which is  
7                   an authorized committee of a candidate for the  
8                   office of President or for nomination to such of-  
9                   fice—

10                           “(i) the 4-year election cycle ending  
11                           with the date of the election for the office  
12                           of the President; and

13                           “(ii) any reporting period applicable  
14                           to the committee under this section during  
15                           which any person provided 2 or more bun-  
16                           dled contributions to the committee; and

17                   “(B) with respect to any other com-  
18                   mittee—

19                           “(i) the period beginning January 1  
20                           and ending June 30 of each year;

21                           “(ii) the period beginning July 1 and  
22                           ending December 31 of each year; and

23                           “(iii) any reporting period applicable  
24                           to the committee under this section during  
25                           which any person described in paragraph

1           (7) provided 2 or more bundled contribu-  
2           tions to the committee in an aggregate  
3           amount greater than the applicable thresh-  
4           old.

5           “(3) APPLICABLE THRESHOLD.—

6           “(A) IN GENERAL.—In this subsection, the  
7           ‘applicable threshold’ is—

8           “(i) \$50,000 in the case of a com-  
9           mittee which is an authorized committee of  
10          a candidate for the office of President or  
11          for nomination to such office; and

12          “(ii) \$15,000 in the case of any other  
13          committee.

14          In determining whether the amount of bundled  
15          contributions provided to a committee by a per-  
16          son exceeds the applicable threshold, there shall  
17          be excluded any contribution made to the com-  
18          mittee by the person or the person’s spouse.

19          “(B) INDEXING.—In any calendar year  
20          after 2017, section 315(c)(1)(B) shall apply to  
21          each amount applicable under subparagraph  
22          (A) in the same manner as such section applies  
23          to the limitations established under subsections  
24          (a)(1)(A), (a)(1)(B), (a)(3), and (h) of such  
25          section, except that for purposes of applying

1 such section to the amount applicable under  
2 subparagraph (A), the ‘base period’ shall be  
3 2016.

4 “(C) AGGREGATION OF CONTRIBUTIONS  
5 FROM COSPONSORS OF FUNDRAISING EVENT.—

6 For purposes of determining the amount of  
7 bundled contributions provided by a person to a  
8 committee which were received by the person at  
9 a fundraising event sponsored by the person, or  
10 in response to an invitation to attend a fund-  
11 raising event sponsored by the person, each per-  
12 son who is a sponsor of the event shall be con-  
13 sidered to have provided to the committee the  
14 aggregate amount of all bundled contributions  
15 which were provided to the committee by all  
16 sponsors of the event.”.

17 (b) CONFORMING AMENDMENTS.—Section 304(i) of  
18 such Act (2 U.S.C. 434(i)) is amended—

19 (1) in paragraph (5), by striking “described in  
20 paragraph (7)” each place it appears in subpara-  
21 graphs (C) and (D);

22 (2) in paragraph (6), by inserting “(other than  
23 a candidate for the office of President or for nomi-  
24 nation to such office)” after “candidate”; and

25 (3) in paragraph (8)(A)—

1 (A) by striking “, with respect to a com-  
 2 mittee described in paragraph (6) and a person  
 3 described in paragraph (7),” and inserting “,  
 4 with respect to a committee described in para-  
 5 graph (6) or an authorized committee of a can-  
 6 didate for the office of President or for nomina-  
 7 tion to such office,”;

8 (B) by striking “by the person” in clause  
 9 (i) thereof and inserting “by any person”; and

10 (C) by striking “the person” each place it  
 11 appears in clause (ii) and inserting “such per-  
 12 son”.

13 (c) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendments made by  
 14 this section shall apply with respect to reports filed under  
 15 section 304 of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971  
 16 after January 1, 2014.

17 **SEC. 504. JUDICIAL REVIEW OF ACTIONS RELATED TO CAM-**  
 18 **PAIGN FINANCE LAWS.**

19 (a) IN GENERAL.—Title IV of the Federal Election  
 20 Campaign Act of 1971 (2 U.S.C. 451 et seq.) is amended  
 21 by inserting after section 406 the following new section:

22 **“SEC. 407. JUDICIAL REVIEW.**

23 “(a) IN GENERAL.—If any action is brought for de-  
 24 claratory or injunctive relief to challenge the constitu-  
 25 tionality of any provision of this Act or of chapter 95 or

1 96 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986, or is brought  
2 to with respect to any action of the Commission under  
3 chapter 95 or 96 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986,  
4 the following rules shall apply:

5 “(1) The action shall be filed in the United  
6 States District Court for the District of Columbia  
7 and an appeal from the decision of the district court  
8 may be taken to the Court of Appeals for the Dis-  
9 trict of Columbia Circuit.

10 “(2) In the case of an action relating to declar-  
11 atory or injunctive relief to challenge the constitu-  
12 tionality of a provision—

13 “(A) a copy of the complaint shall be deliv-  
14 ered promptly to the Clerk of the House of  
15 Representatives and the Secretary of the Sen-  
16 ate; and

17 “(B) it shall be the duty of the United  
18 States District Court for the District of Colum-  
19 bia, the Court of Appeals for the District of Co-  
20 lumbia, and the Supreme Court of the United  
21 States to advance on the docket and to expedite  
22 to the greatest possible extent the disposition of  
23 the action and appeal.

24 “(b) INTERVENTION BY MEMBERS OF CONGRESS.—  
25 In any action in which the constitutionality of any provi-

1 sion of this Act or chapter 95 or 96 of the Internal Rev-  
2 enue Code of 1986 is raised, any member of the House  
3 of Representatives (including a Delegate or Resident Com-  
4 missioner to the Congress) or Senate shall have the right  
5 to intervene either in support of or opposition to the posi-  
6 tion of a party to the case regarding the constitutionality  
7 of the provision. To avoid duplication of efforts and reduce  
8 the burdens placed on the parties to the action, the court  
9 in any such action may make such orders as it considers  
10 necessary, including orders to require interveners taking  
11 similar positions to file joint papers or to be represented  
12 by a single attorney at oral argument.

13 “(c) CHALLENGE BY MEMBERS OF CONGRESS.—Any  
14 Member of Congress may bring an action, subject to the  
15 special rules described in subsection (a), for declaratory  
16 or injunctive relief to challenge the constitutionality of any  
17 provision of this Act or chapter 95 or 96 of the Internal  
18 Revenue Code of 1986.”.

19 (b) CONFORMING AMENDMENTS.—

20 (1) IN GENERAL.—

21 (A) Section 310 of the Federal Election  
22 Campaign Act of 1971 (2 U.S.C. 437h) is re-  
23 pealed.

24 (B) Section 9011 of the Internal Revenue  
25 Code of 1986 is amended to read as follows:

1 **“SEC. 9011. JUDICIAL REVIEW.**

2 “For provisions relating to judicial review of certifi-  
3 cations, determinations, and actions by the Commission  
4 under this chapter, see section 407 of the Federal Election  
5 Campaign Act of 1971.”.

6 (C) Section 9041 of the Internal Revenue  
7 Code of 1986 is amended to read as follows:

8 **“SEC. 9041. JUDICIAL REVIEW.**

9 “For provisions relating to judicial review of actions  
10 by the Commission under this chapter, see section 407 of  
11 the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971.”.

12 (D) Section 403 of the Bipartisan Cam-  
13 paign Finance Reform Act of 2002 (2 U.S.C.  
14 437h note) is repealed.

15 (c) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendments made by  
16 this section shall apply to actions brought on or after Jan-  
17 uary 1, 2014.

18 **TITLE VI—SEVERABILITY;**  
19 **EFFECTIVE DATE**

20 **SEC. 601. SEVERABILITY.**

21 If any provision of this Act or amendment made by  
22 this Act, or the application of a provision or amendment  
23 to any person or circumstance, is held to be unconstitu-  
24 tional, the remainder of this Act and amendments made  
25 by this Act, and the application of the provisions and



1 amendment to any person or circumstance, shall not be  
2 affected by the holding.

3 **SEC. 602. EFFECTIVE DATE.**

4 Except as otherwise provided in this Act, the amend-  
5 ments made by this Act shall apply with respect to elec-  
6 tions occurring after January 1, 2014.

○