## 114TH CONGRESS 1ST SESSION

# H. R. 424

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.

## IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

January 21, 2015

Mr. Price of North Carolina (for himself and Mr. Van Hollen) 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

# 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 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 contributions.
- 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 accounting compliance.

# 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 600 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 \$1,000 for the elec-     |
| 17 | tion;   |
| 18 | "(B) such candidate and the authorized                |
| 19 | committees of such candidate will not accept          |
| 20 | contributions from such individual (including         |
| 21 | such matchable contribution) aggregating more         |
| 22 | than the amount described in subparagraph             |
| 23 | (A); and  |
| 24 | "(C) such contribution was not—                       |

| 1  | "(i) forwarded from the contributor                  |
|----|--|
| 2  | from any person other than an individual             |
| 3  | or   |
| 4  | "(ii) received by the candidate or com-              |
| 5  | mittee from a contributor or contributors,           |
| 6  | but credited by the committee or candidate           |
| 7  | to another person who is not an individual           |
| 8  | through records, designations, or other              |
| 9  | means of recognizing (whether in writing             |
| 10 | or not in writing) that a certain amount of          |
| 11 | money has been raised by such person.                |
| 12 | "(2) Contribution.—For purposes of this              |
| 13 | subsection, the term 'contribution' means a gift of  |
| 14 | money made by a written instrument which identi-     |
| 15 | fies the individual making the contribution by full  |
| 16 | name and mailing address, but does not include a     |
| 17 | subscription, loan, advance, or deposit of money, or |
| 18 | anything of value or anything described in subpara-  |
| 19 | graph (B), (C), or (D) of section 9032(4).".         |
| 20 | (3) Conforming amendments.—                          |
| 21 | (A) Section 9032(4) of such Code is                  |
| 22 | amended by striking "section 9034(a)" and in-        |

serting "section 9034".

| 1  | (B) Section 9033(b)(3) of such Code is                    |
|----|---|
| 2  | amended by striking "matching contributions"              |
| 3  | and inserting "matchable contributions".                  |
| 4  | (b) Modification of Payment Limitation.—Sec-              |
| 5  | tion 9034(b) of such Code is amended by striking "shall   |
| 6  | not exceed" and all that follows and inserting "shall not |
| 7  | exceed \$300,000,000."                                    |
| 8  | SEC. 102. ELIGIBILITY REQUIREMENTS FOR MATCHING           |
| 9  | PAYMENTS.   |
| 10 | (a) Amount of Aggregate Contributions Per                 |
| 11 | STATE; DISREGARDING OF AMOUNTS CONTRIBUTED IN             |
| 12 | Excess of \$250.—Section 9033(b)(3) of the Internal       |
| 13 | Revenue Code of 1986 is amended—                          |
| 14 | (1) by striking "\$5,000" and inserting                   |
| 15 | "\$25,000"; and   |
| 16 | (2) by striking "20 States" and inserting the             |
| 17 | following: "20 States (disregarding any amount of         |
| 18 | contributions from any such resident to the extent        |
| 19 | that the total of the amounts contributed by such         |
| 20 | resident for the election exceeds \$250)".                |
| 21 | (b) Contribution Limit.—                                  |
| 22 | (1) In General.—Paragraph (4) of section                  |
| 23 | 9033(b) of such Code is amended to read as follows:       |
| 24 | "(4) the candidate and the authorized commit-             |
| 25 | tees of the candidate will not accept aggregate con-      |

| 1  | tributions from any person with respect to the nomi-     |
|----|--|
| 2  | nation for election to the office of President of the    |
| 3  | United States in excess of \$1,000 for the election.".   |
| 4  | (2) Conforming amendments.—                              |
| 5  | (A) Section 9033(b) of such Code is                      |
| 6  | amended by adding at the end the following               |
| 7  | new flush sentence:                                      |
| 8  | "For purposes of paragraph (4), the term 'contribution'  |
| 9  | has the meaning given such term in section 301(8) of the |
| 10 | Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971.".                 |
| 11 | (B) Section 9032(4) of such Code, as                     |
| 12 | amended by section 101(a)(3)(A) is amended by            |
| 13 | inserting "or 9033(b)" after "9034".                     |
| 14 | (c) Ban on Acceptance of Bundled Contribu-               |
| 15 | TIONS.—Section 9033(b) of such Code, as amended by       |
| 16 | subsection (b), is amended—                              |
| 17 | (1) by striking "and" at the end of paragraph            |
| 18 | (3);   |
| 19 | (2) by striking the period at the end of para-           |
| 20 | graph (4) and inserting ", and"; and                     |
| 21 | (3) by adding at the end the following new               |
| 22 | paragraph:   |
| 23 | "(5) the candidate and the authorized com-               |
| 24 | mittee of the candidate will not accept any bundled      |
| 25 | contribution (as defined in section 304(i)(8)) for-      |

| 1        | warded by or credited to a person described in sec-  |
|----------|--|
| 2        | tion 304(i)(7).".  |
| 3        | (d) Participation in System for Payments for   |
| 4        | GENERAL ELECTION.—Section 9033(b) of such Code, as   |
| 5        | amended by subsection (c), is amended—   |
| 6        | (1) by striking "and" at the end of paragraph  |
| 7        | (4);   |
| 8        | (2) by striking the period at the end of para-   |
| 9        | graph (5) and inserting ", and"; and   |
| 10       | (3) by adding at the end the following new   |
| 11       | paragraph:   |
| 12       | "(6) if the candidate is nominated by a political  |
| 13       | party for election to the office of President, the can-  |
| 14       | didate will apply for and accept payments with re-   |
| 15       | spect to the general election for such office in ac-   |
| 16       | cordance with chapter 95.".  |
| 17       | SEC. 103. INFLATION ADJUSTMENT FOR MATCHING CON-   |
| 18       | TRIBUTIONS.  |
| 19       |  |
|          | Section 9033 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986  |
| 20       | Section 9033 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 is amended by adding at the end the following new sub- |
| 20<br>21 |  |
|          | is amended by adding at the end the following new sub-   |
| 21       | is amended by adding at the end the following new subsection:  |

| 1  | amounts in section 9034(b) shall be increased by an       |
|----|---|
| 2  | amount equal to—  |
| 3  | "(A) such dollar amount, multiplied by                    |
| 4  | "(B) the cost-of-living adjustment deter-                 |
| 5  | mined under section $1(f)(3)$ for the calendar            |
| 6  | year following the year which such applicable             |
| 7  | period begins, determined by substituting 'cal-           |
| 8  | endar year 2015' for 'calendar year 1992' in              |
| 9  | subparagraph (B) thereof.                                 |
| 10 | "(2) Applicable Period.—For purposes of                   |
| 11 | this subsection, the term 'applicable period' means       |
| 12 | the 4-year period beginning with the first day fol-       |
| 13 | lowing the date of the last general election for the      |
| 14 | office of President and ending on the date of the         |
| 15 | next such general election.                               |
| 16 | "(3) ROUNDING.—If any amount as adjusted                  |
| 17 | under paragraph (1) is not a multiple of \$100, such      |
| 18 | amount shall be rounded to the nearest multiple of        |
| 19 | \$100.".  |
| 20 | SEC. 104. REPEAL OF EXPENDITURE LIMITATIONS.              |
| 21 | (a) In General.—Subsection (a) of section 9035 of         |
| 22 | the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 is amended to read      |
| 23 | as follows:   |
| 24 | "(a) Personal Expenditure Limitation.—No                  |
| 25 | candidate shall knowingly make expenditures from his per- |

- 1 sonal funds, or the personal funds of his immediate family,
- 2 in connection with his campaign for nomination for elec-
- 3 tion to the office of President in excess of, in the aggre-
- 4 gate, \$50,000.".
- 5 (b) Conforming Amendment.—Paragraph (1) of
- 6 section 9033(b) of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 is
- 7 amended to read as follows:
- 8 "(1) the candidate will comply with the per-
- 9 sonal expenditure limitation under section 9035,".
- 10 SEC. 105. PERIOD OF AVAILABILITY OF MATCHING PAY-
- 11 MENTS.
- 12 Section 9032(6) of the Internal Revenue Code of
- 13 1986 is amended by striking "the beginning of the cal-
- 14 endar year in which a general election for the office of
- 15 President of the United States will be held" and inserting
- 16 "the date that is 6 months prior to the date of the earliest
- 17 State primary election".
- 18 SEC. 106. EXAMINATION AND AUDITS OF MATCHABLE CON-
- 19 TRIBUTIONS.
- 20 Section 9038(a) of the Internal Revenue Code of
- 21 1986 is amended by inserting "and matchable contribu-
- 22 tions accepted by" after "qualified campaign expenses of".

| 1  | SEC. 107. MODIFICATION TO LIMITATION ON CONTRIBU-            |
|----|--|
| 2  | TIONS FOR PRESIDENTIAL PRIMARY CAN-                          |
| 3  | DIDATES.   |
| 4  | Section 315(a)(6) of the Federal Election Campaign           |
| 5  | Act of 1971 (52 U.S.C. 30116(a)(6)) is amended by strik-     |
| 6  | ing "calendar year" and inserting "four-year election        |
| 7  | cycle''.   |
| 8  | Subtitle B—General Elections                                 |
| 9  | SEC. 111. MODIFICATION OF ELIGIBILITY REQUIREMENTS           |
| 10 | FOR PUBLIC FINANCING.  |
| 11 | Subsection (a) of section 9003 of the Internal Rev-          |
| 12 | enue Code of 1986 is amended to read as follows:             |
| 13 | "(a) In General.—In order to be eligible to receive          |
| 14 | any payments under section 9006, the candidates of a po-     |
| 15 | litical party in a presidential election shall meet the fol- |
| 16 | lowing requirements:   |
| 17 | "(1) Participation in primary payment                        |
| 18 | SYSTEM.—The candidate for President received pay-            |
| 19 | ments under chapter 96 for the campaign for nomi-            |
| 20 | nation for election to be President.                         |
| 21 | "(2) AGREEMENTS WITH COMMISSION.—The                         |
| 22 | candidates, in writing—                                      |
| 23 | "(A) agree to obtain and furnish to the                      |
| 24 | Commission such evidence as it may request of                |
| 25 | the qualified campaign expenses of such can-                 |
| 26 | didates.   |

| 1  | "(B) agree to keep and furnish to the             |
|----|---|
| 2  | Commission such records, books, and other in-     |
| 3  | formation as it may request, and                  |
| 4  | "(C) agree to an audit and examination by         |
| 5  | the Commission under section 9007 and to pay      |
| 6  | any amounts required to be paid under such        |
| 7  | section.  |
| 8  | "(3) Ban on Certain Contributions and             |
| 9  | SOLICITATIONS.—The candidates certify to the Com- |
| 10 | mission, under penalty of perjury, the following: |
| 11 | "(A) BUNDLED CONTRIBUTIONS.—Such                  |
| 12 | candidates and the authorized committees of       |
| 13 | such candidates will not accept any bundled       |
| 14 | contribution (as defined in section 304(i)(8))    |
| 15 | forwarded by or credited to a person described    |
| 16 | in section $304(i)(7)$ .                          |
| 17 | "(B) Solicitations for joint fund-                |
| 18 | RAISING COMMITTEES.—Such candidates and           |
| 19 | their authorized committees will not, after June  |
| 20 | 1 of the election year, solicit any funds for any |
| 21 | joint fundraising committee that includes any     |
| 22 | committee of a political party.                   |
| 23 | "(C) Solicitation for political par-              |
| 24 | TIES.—Such candidates and their authorized        |
| 25 | committees will not, after June 1 of the year in  |

| 1  | which the election is held, solicit any funds for        |
|----|--|
| 2  | any committee of a political party.                      |
| 3  | Such certification shall be made within such time        |
| 4  | prior to the day of the presidential election as the     |
| 5  | Commission shall prescribe by rules or regulations.".    |
| 6  | SEC. 112. REPEAL OF EXPENDITURE LIMITATIONS AND USE      |
| 7  | OF QUALIFIED CAMPAIGN CONTRIBUTIONS.                     |
| 8  | (a) Use of Qualified Campaign Contributions              |
| 9  | WITHOUT EXPENDITURE LIMITS; APPLICATION OF SAME          |
| 10 | REQUIREMENTS FOR MAJOR, MINOR, AND NEW PAR-              |
| 11 | TIES.—Section 9003 of the Internal Revenue Code of       |
| 12 | 1986 is amended by striking subsections (b) and (c) and  |
| 13 | inserting the following:                                 |
| 14 | "(b) Use of Qualified Campaign Contributions             |
| 15 | To Defray Expenses.—                                     |
| 16 | "(1) In general.—In order to be eligible to              |
| 17 | receive any payments under section 9006, the can-        |
| 18 | didates of a party in a presidential election shall cer- |
| 19 | tify to the Commission, under penalty of perjury,        |
| 20 | that—  |
| 21 | "(A) such candidates and their authorized                |
| 22 | committees have not and will not accept any              |
| 23 | contributions to defray qualified campaign ex-           |
| 24 | penses other than—                                       |

| 1  | "(i) qualified campaign contributions,                |
|----|---|
| 2  | and   |
| 3  | "(ii) contributions to the extent nec-                |
| 4  | essary to make up any deficiency payments             |
| 5  | received out of the fund on account of the            |
| 6  | application of section 9006(c), and                   |
| 7  | "(B) such candidates and their authorized             |
| 8  | committees have not and will not accept any           |
| 9  | contribution to defray expenses which would be        |
| 10 | qualified campaign expenses but for subpara-          |
| 11 | graph (C) of section 9002(11).                        |
| 12 | "(2) Timing of Certification.—The can-                |
| 13 | didate shall make the certification required under    |
| 14 | this subsection at the same time the candidate        |
| 15 | makes the certification required under subsection     |
| 16 | (a)(3).".   |
| 17 | (b) Definition of Qualified Campaign Con-             |
| 18 | TRIBUTION.—Section 9002 of such Code is amended by    |
| 19 | adding at the end the following new paragraph:        |
| 20 | "(13) Qualified campaign contribution.—               |
| 21 | The term 'qualified campaign contribution' means,     |
| 22 | with respect to any election for the office of Presi- |
| 23 | dent of the United States, a contribution from an in- |
| 24 | dividual to a candidate or an authorized committee    |
| 25 | of a candidate which—                                 |

| 1  | "(A) is made after June 1 of the year in      |
|----|---|
| 2  | which the election is held;                   |
| 3  | "(B) does not exceed \$1,000 for the elec-    |
| 4  | tion; and                                     |
| 5  | "(C) with respect to which the candidate      |
| 6  | has certified in writing that—                |
| 7  | "(i) the individual making such con-          |
| 8  | tribution has not made aggregate contribu-    |
| 9  | tions (including such qualified contribu-     |
| 10 | tion) to such candidate and the authorized    |
| 11 | committees of such candidate in excess of     |
| 12 | the amount described in subparagraph (B),     |
| 13 | and   |
| 14 | "(ii) such candidate and the author-          |
| 15 | ized committees of such candidate will not    |
| 16 | accept contributions from such individual     |
| 17 | (including such qualified contribution) ag-   |
| 18 | gregating more than the amount described      |
| 19 | in subparagraph (B) with respect to such      |
| 20 | election.".                                   |
| 21 | (c) Conforming Amendments.—                   |
| 22 | (1) Repeal of expenditure limits.—            |
| 23 | (A) In general.—Section 315 of the Fed-       |
| 24 | eral Election Campaign Act of 1971 (52 U.S.C. |
| 25 | 30116) is amended by striking subsection (b). |

| 1  | (B) Conforming amendments.—Section               |
|----|--|
| 2  | 315(c) of such Act (52 U.S.C. 30116(c)) is       |
| 3  | amended—   |
| 4  | (i) in paragraph (1)(B)(i), by striking          |
| 5  | ", (b)"; and                                     |
| 6  | (ii) in paragraph (2)(B)(i), by striking         |
| 7  | "subsections (b) and (d)" and inserting          |
| 8  | "subsection (d)".                                |
| 9  | (2) Repeal of repayment requirement.—            |
| 10 | (A) In general.—Section 9007(b) of the           |
| 11 | Internal Revenue Code of 1986 is amended by      |
| 12 | striking paragraph (2) and redesignating para-   |
| 13 | graphs (3), (4), and (5) as paragraphs (2), (3), |
| 14 | and (4), respectively.                           |
| 15 | (B) Conforming amendment.—Para-                  |
| 16 | graph (2) of section 9007(b) of such Code, as    |
| 17 | redesignated by subparagraph (A), is amend-      |
| 18 | $\operatorname{ed}$ —                            |
| 19 | (i) by striking "a major party" and              |
| 20 | inserting "a party";                             |
| 21 | (ii) by inserting "qualified contribu-           |
| 22 | tions and" after "contributions (other           |
| 23 | than"; and                                       |
| 24 | (iii) by striking "(other than qualified         |
| 25 | campaign expenses with respect to which          |

| 1 | payment      | is  | required | under | paragraph |
|---|--------------|-----|----------|-------|-----------|
| 2 | (2))".       |     |          |       |           |
| 3 | (3) Criminal | PEN | ALTIES.— |       |           |

# (3) Criminal Penalties.—

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- (A) Repeal of Penalty for excess ex-PENSES.—Section 9012 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 is amended by striking subsection (a).
- (B) Penalty for acceptance of dis-ALLOWED CONTRIBUTIONS; APPLICATION OF SAME PENALTY FOR CANDIDATES OF MAJOR, MINOR, AND NEW PARTIES.—Subsection (b) of section 9012 of such Code is amended to read as follows:

# "(b) Contributions.—

"(1) ACCEPTANCE OF DISALLOWED CONTRIBU-TIONS.—It shall be unlawful for an eligible candidate of a party in a presidential election or any of his authorized committees knowingly and willfully to accept any contribution to defray qualified campaign expenses, except to the extent necessary to make up any deficiency in payments received out of the fund on account of the application of section 9006(c), or to defray expenses which would be qualified campaign expenses but for subparagraph (C) of section 9002(11).

1 "(2) Penalty.—Any person who violates para-2 graph (1) shall be fined not more than \$5,000, or 3 imprisoned not more than one year, or both. In the case of a violation by an authorized committee, any 5 officer or member of such committee who knowingly 6 and willfully consents to such violation shall be fined not more than \$5,000, or imprisoned not more than 7 8 one year, or both.". SEC. 113. MATCHING PAYMENTS AND OTHER MODIFICA-10 TIONS TO PAYMENT AMOUNTS. 11 (a) IN GENERAL.— 12 (1) Amount of payments; application of 13 SAME AMOUNT FOR CANDIDATES OF MAJOR, MINOR, 14 AND NEW PARTIES.—Subsection (a) of section 9004 15 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 is amended to 16 read as follows: 17 "(a) In General.—Subject to the provisions of this

"(a) In General.—Subject to the provisions of this chapter, the eligible candidates of a party in a presidential election shall be entitled to equal payment under section 9006 in an amount equal to 600 percent of the amount of each matchable contribution received by such candidate or by the candidate's authorized committees (disregarding any amount of contributions from any person to the extent that the total of the amounts contributed by such person for the election exceeds \$250), except that total amount

| 1  | to which a candidate is entitled under this paragraph shall |
|----|---|
| 2  | not exceed \$300,000,000.".                                 |
| 3  | (2) Repeal of separate limitations for                      |
| 4  | CANDIDATES OF MINOR AND NEW PARTIES.—Section                |
| 5  | 9004 of such Code is amended by striking sub-               |
| 6  | section (b).  |
| 7  | (3) Conforming Amendment.—Section                           |
| 8  | 9005(a) of such Code is amended by adding at the            |
| 9  | end the following new sentence: "The Commission             |
| 10 | shall make such additional certifications as may be         |
| 11 | necessary to receive payments under section 9004.".         |
| 12 | (b) MATCHABLE CONTRIBUTION.—Section 9002 of                 |
| 13 | such Code, as amended by section 112, is amended by add-    |
| 14 | ing at the end the following new paragraph:                 |
| 15 | "(14) MATCHABLE CONTRIBUTION.—The term                      |
| 16 | 'matchable contribution' means, with respect to the         |
| 17 | election to the office of President of the United           |
| 18 | States, a contribution by an individual to a can-           |
| 19 | didate or an authorized committee of a candidate            |
| 20 | with respect to which the candidate has certified in        |
| 21 | writing that—   |
| 22 | "(A) the individual making such contribu-                   |
| 23 | tion has not made aggregate contributions (in-              |
| 24 | cluding such matchable contribution) to such                |
| 25 | candidate and the authorized committees of                  |

| 1  | such candidate in excess of \$1,000 for the elec-      |
|----|--|
| 2  | tion;  |
| 3  | "(B) such candidate and the authorized                 |
| 4  | committees of such candidate will not accept           |
| 5  | contributions from such individual (including          |
| 6  | such matchable contribution) aggregating more          |
| 7  | than the amount described in subparagraph (A)          |
| 8  | with respect to such election; and                     |
| 9  | "(C) such contribution was not—                        |
| 10 | "(i) forwarded from the contributor                    |
| 11 | from any person other than an individual,              |
| 12 | or   |
| 13 | "(ii) received by the candidate or com-                |
| 14 | mittee from a contributor or contributors,             |
| 15 | but credited by the committee or candidate             |
| 16 | to another person who is not an individual             |
| 17 | through records, designations, or other                |
| 18 | means of recognizing (whether in writing               |
| 19 | or not in writing) that a certain amount of            |
| 20 | money has been raised by such person.".                |
| 21 | SEC. 114. INFLATION ADJUSTMENT FOR PAYMENT             |
| 22 | AMOUNTS.   |
| 23 | Section 9004 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986      |
| 24 | is amended by adding at the end the following new sub- |
| 25 | section:   |

| 1  | "(f) Inflation Adjustments.—                         |
|----|--|
| 2  | "(1) In general.—In the case of any applica-         |
| 3  | ble period beginning after 2017, each of the dollar  |
| 4  | amounts in subsection (a)(1) shall be increased by   |
| 5  | an amount equal to—                                  |
| 6  | "(A) such dollar amount; multiplied by               |
| 7  | "(B) the cost-of-living adjustment deter-            |
| 8  | mined under section $1(f)(3)$ for the calendar       |
| 9  | year following the year which such applicable        |
| 10 | period begins, determined by substituting 'cal-      |
| 11 | endar year 2016' for 'calendar year 1992' in         |
| 12 | subparagraph (B) thereof.                            |
| 13 | "(2) Applicable period.—For purposes of              |
| 14 | this subsection, the term 'applicable period' means  |
| 15 | the 4-year period beginning with the first day fol-  |
| 16 | lowing the date of the last general election for the |
| 17 | office of President and ending on the date of the    |
| 18 | next such general election.                          |
| 19 | "(3) Rounding.—If any amount as adjusted             |
| 20 | under paragraph (1) is not a multiple of \$100, such |
| 21 | amount shall be rounded to the nearest multiple of   |

\$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 (52 U.S.C. 30116(d)(2))     |
| 5  | is 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 \$100,000,000.                                    |
| 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-

```
mittee of a candidate for the office of President of the
 2
   United States.".
 3
        (b) Conforming Amendments Relating to Tim-
   ING OF COST-OF-LIVING ADJUSTMENT.—
 5
             (1) In General.—Section 315(c)(1) of such
 6
        Act (52 U.S.C. 30116(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
                 (B) by inserting at the end the following
10
             new subparagraph:
11
        "(D) In any calendar year after 2017—
12
13
             "(i) the dollar amount in subsection (d)(2) shall
14
        be increased by the percent difference determined
15
        under subparagraph (A);
             "(ii) the amount so increased shall remain in
16
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 (52 U.S.C. 30116(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
- 24 the Secretary's best estimate of the amount of moneys
- 25 which will be deposited into the fund during the year, ex-

| 1  | cept that the amount of the estimate may not exceed the  |
|----|--|
| 2  | average of the annual amounts deposited in the fund dur- |
| 3  | ing the 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 termined by the Secretary of the Treasury (as 2 of the close of the calendar month preceding the month in which the advance is made) to be 3 4 equal to the current average market yield on 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, 2016.

#### 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 1986 is amended by adding at the end the following new 16 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

of such candidate.".

| 1  | TITLE II—PUBLIC FINANCING                                    |
|----|--|
| 2  | FOR CONGRESSIONAL ELEC-                                      |
| 3  | TION CAMPAIGNS   |
| 4  | SEC. 201. BENEFITS AND ELIGIBILITY REQUIREMENTS FOR          |
| 5  | CONGRESSIONAL CANDIDATES.                                    |
| 6  | The Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 (52                |
| 7  | U.S.C. 30101 et seq.) is amended by adding at the end        |
| 8  | the following:   |
| 9  | "TITLE V—PUBLIC FINANCING                                    |
| 10 | OF CONGRESSIONAL ELEC-                                       |
| 11 | TION CAMPAIGNS   |
| 12 | "Subtitle A—Benefits   |
| 13 | "SEC. 501. BENEFITS FOR PARTICIPATING CANDIDATES.            |
| 14 | "(a) In General.—If a candidate for election to the          |
| 15 | office of Senator or Representative in, or Delegate or Resi- |
| 16 | dent Commissioner to, the Congress is a participating can-   |
| 17 | didate under this title with respect to an election for such |
| 18 | office, the candidate shall be entitled to payments under    |
| 19 | this title, to be used only for authorized expenditures in   |
| 20 | connection with the election.                                |
| 21 | "(b) Amount of Payment.—                                     |
| 22 | "(1) MATCH OF QUALIFIED CONTRIBUTIONS.—                      |
| 23 | Subject to paragraph (2), the amount of a payment            |
| 24 | made to a participating candidate under this title           |
| 25 | shall be equal to 600 percent of the amount of quali-        |

| 1  | fied contributions received by the candidate since the  |
|----|---|
| 2  | most recent payment made to the candidate under         |
| 3  | this title with respect to the election, as set forth—  |
| 4  | "(A) in the case of the first payment made              |
| 5  | to the candidate with respect to the election, in       |
| 6  | the report filed under section 511(a)(2); and           |
| 7  | "(B) in the case of any subsequent pay-                 |
| 8  | ment made to the candidate with respect to the          |
| 9  | election, in the report of qualified contributions      |
| 10 | filed under subsection (c).                             |
| 11 | "(2) Limitation.—In determining the amount              |
| 12 | of qualified contributions received by a candidate for  |
| 13 | purposes of making a payment under this section,        |
| 14 | there shall be disregarded any amount of contribu-      |
| 15 | tions from any person to the extent that the total of   |
| 16 | the amounts contributed by such person for the elec-    |
| 17 | tion exceeds \$250.                                     |
| 18 | "(c) Reports.—  |
| 19 | "(1) In general.—Each participating can-                |
| 20 | didate shall file reports of receipts of qualified con- |
| 21 | tributions at such times and in such manner as the      |
| 22 | Commission may by regulations prescribe.                |
| 23 | "(2) Contents of Reports.—Each report                   |
| 24 | under this subsection shall disclose each qualified     |

contribution received by the candidate since the most

| 1  | recent report filed under this section, and shall state   |
|----|---|
| 2  | the aggregate amount of all such qualified contribu-      |
| 3  | tions received since the most recent report filed         |
| 4  | under this section.                                       |
| 5  | "(3) Frequency of Reports.—Reports under                  |
| 6  | this subsection shall be made no more frequently          |
| 7  | than—   |
| 8  | "(A) once every month until the date that                 |
| 9  | is 90 days before the date of the election;               |
| 10 | "(B) once every week after the period de-                 |
| 11 | scribed in subparagraph (A) and until the date            |
| 12 | that is 21 days before the election; and                  |
| 13 | "(C) once every day after the period de-                  |
| 14 | scribed in subparagraph (B).                              |
| 15 | "(4) Limitation on regulations.—The                       |
| 16 | Commission may not prescribe any regulations with         |
| 17 | respect to reporting under this subsection with re-       |
| 18 | spect to any election after the date that is 180 days     |
| 19 | before the date of such election.                         |
| 20 | "(d) Limit on Aggregate Amount of Pay-                    |
| 21 | MENTS.—The aggregate amount of payments that may be       |
| 22 | made under this title to a participating candidate during |
| 23 | an election cycle may not exceed—                         |

- "(1) \$2,000,000, in the case of a candidate for 1 2 the office of Representative in, or Delegate or Resi-3 dent Commissioner to, the Congress; or "(2) \$10,000,000, in the case of a candidate for 4 5 the office of Senator. 6 "SEC. 502. ADMINISTRATION OF PAYMENTS. "(a) Timing.—The Commission shall make payments 7 8 under this title to a participating candidate— 9 "(1) in the case of the first payment made to 10 the candidate with respect to the election, not later 11 than 48 hours after the date on which such can-12 didate is certified as a participating candidate under 13 section 513; and 14 "(2) in the case of any subsequent payment 15 made to the candidate with respect to the election, 16 not later than 5 business days after the receipt of 17 a report made under section 501(c). 18 "(b) METHOD OF PAYMENT.—The Commission shall 19 distribute funds available to participating candidates under this title through the use of an electronic funds ex-20 21 change or a debit card. 22 "(c) APPEALS.—The Commission shall provide a
- 23 written explanation with respect to any denial of any pay-

| 1  | for review and reconsideration within 5 business days of    |
|----|---|
| 2  | such denial.  |
| 3  | "SEC. 503. QUALIFIED CONTRIBUTION DEFINED.                  |
| 4  | "In this title, the term 'qualified contribution' means,    |
| 5  | with respect to a candidate, a contribution that meets each |
| 6  | of the following requirements:                              |
| 7  | "(1) The contribution is in an amount that is               |
| 8  | not greater than the limit on the amount of a con-          |
| 9  | tribution that may be accepted by a participating           |
| 10 | candidate from an individual under section 521(a).          |
| 11 | "(2) The contribution is made by an individual              |
| 12 | who is not otherwise prohibited from making a con-          |
| 13 | tribution under this Act.                                   |
| 14 | "(3) The contribution is not—                               |
| 15 | "(A) forwarded from the contributor by                      |
| 16 | any person other than an individual; or                     |
| 17 | "(B) received by the candidate or an au-                    |
| 18 | thorized committee of the candidate from a con-             |
| 19 | tributor or contributors, but credited by the               |
| 20 | committee or candidate to another person who                |
| 21 | is not an individual through records, designa-              |
| 22 | tions, or other means of recognizing (whether in            |
| 23 | writing or not in writing) that a certain amount            |

of money has been raised by such person.

| 1  | "(4) The contribution meets the requirements                 |
|----|--|
| 2  | of section 512(b).   |
| 3  | "Subtitle B—Eligibility and                                  |
| 4  | Certification  |
| 5  | "SEC. 511. ELIGIBILITY.                                      |
| 6  | "(a) In General.—A candidate for the office of               |
| 7  | Senator or Representative in, or Delegate or Resident        |
| 8  | Commissioner to, the Congress is eligible to be certified    |
| 9  | as a participating candidate under this title with respect   |
| 10 | to an election if the candidate meets the following require- |
| 11 | ments:   |
| 12 | "(1) During the election cycle for the office in-            |
| 13 | volved, the candidate files with the Commission a            |
| 14 | statement of intent to seek certification as a partici-      |
| 15 | pating candidate.  |
| 16 | "(2) The candidate meets the qualified con-                  |
| 17 | tribution requirements of section 512 and submits to         |
| 18 | the Commission a report disclosing each qualified            |
| 19 | contribution received by the candidate and stating           |
| 20 | the aggregate amount of all such qualified contribu-         |
| 21 | tions received.  |
| 22 | "(3) Not later than the last day of the quali-               |
| 23 | fying period, the candidate files with the Commis-           |
| 24 | sion an affidavit signed by the candidate and the            |

| 1  | treasurer of the candidate's principal campaign com-         |
|----|--|
| 2  | mittee declaring that the candidate—                         |
| 3  | "(A) has complied and, if certified, will                    |
| 4  | comply with the contribution and expenditure                 |
| 5  | requirements of section 521;                                 |
| 6  | "(B) if certified, will run only as a partici-               |
| 7  | pating candidate for all elections for the office            |
| 8  | that such candidate is seeking during the elec-              |
| 9  | tion cycle; and  |
| 10 | "(C) has either qualified or will take steps                 |
| 11 | to qualify under State law to be on the ballot.              |
| 12 | "(b) General Election.—Notwithstanding sub-                  |
| 13 | section (a), a candidate shall not be eligible to receive a  |
| 14 | payment under this title for a general election or a general |
| 15 | runoff election unless the candidate's party nominated the   |
| 16 | candidate to be placed on the ballot for the general elec-   |
| 17 | tion or the candidate is otherwise qualified to be on the    |
| 18 | ballot under State law.                                      |
| 19 | "(c) Qualifying Period Defined.—The term                     |
| 20 | 'qualifying period' means, with respect to any candidate     |
| 21 | for the office of Senator or Representative in, or Delegate  |
| 22 | or Resident Commissioner to, the Congress, the 120-day       |
| 23 | period (during the election cycle for such office) which be- |
| 24 | gins on the date on which the candidate files a statement    |

| 1  | of intent under section 511(a)(1), except that such period |
|----|--|
| 2  | may not continue after the date that is 60 days before—    |
| 3  | "(1) the date of the primary election; or                  |
| 4  | "(2) in the case of a State that does not hold             |
| 5  | a primary election, the date prescribed by State law       |
| 6  | as the last day to qualify for a position on the gen-      |
| 7  | eral election ballot.                                      |
| 8  | "SEC. 512. QUALIFIED CONTRIBUTION REQUIREMENTS.            |
| 9  | "(a) Receipt of Qualified Contributions.—                  |
| 10 | "(1) In general.—A candidate meets the re-                 |
| 11 | quirements of this section if, during the qualifying       |
| 12 | period described in section 511(c), the candidate ob-      |
| 13 | tains—   |
| 14 | "(A) a single qualified contribution from a                |
| 15 | number of individuals equal to or greater                  |
| 16 | than—  |
| 17 | "(i) in the case of a candidate for                        |
| 18 | election the office of Representative in, or               |
| 19 | Delegate or Resident Commissioner to, the                  |
| 20 | Congress, 400, or  |
| 21 | "(ii) in the case of a candidate for the                   |
| 22 | office of Senator, the product of 400 and                  |
| 23 | the number of Congressional districts in                   |
| 24 | the State involved as of the date of the                   |
| 25 | election: and  |

| 1  | "(B) a total dollar amount of qualified              |
|----|--|
| 2  | contributions equal to or greater than—              |
| 3  | "(i) in the case of a candidate for                  |
| 4  | election the office of Representative in, or         |
| 5  | Delegate or Resident Commissioner to, the            |
| 6  | Congress, \$40,000, disregarding any                 |
| 7  | amount of contributions from any person              |
| 8  | to the extent that the total of the amounts          |
| 9  | contributed by such person for the election          |
| 10 | exceeds \$250, or                                    |
| 11 | "(ii) in the case of a candidate for the             |
| 12 | office of Senator, the product of \$40,000           |
| 13 | and the number of Congressional districts            |
| 14 | in the State involved as of the date of the          |
| 15 | election, disregarding any amount of con-            |
| 16 | tributions from any person to the extent             |
| 17 | that the total of the amounts contributed            |
| 18 | by such person for the election exceeds              |
| 19 | \$250.   |
| 20 | "(2) Exclusion of contributions from                 |
| 21 | OUT-OF-STATE RESIDENTS.—In determining the           |
| 22 | number of qualified contributions obtained by a can- |
| 23 | didate under paragraph (1)(A) and the dollar         |
| 24 | amount of qualified contributions obtained by a can- |
| 25 | didate under paragraph (1)(B), there shall be ex-    |

- 1 cluded any contributions made by an individual who
- does not have a primary residence in the State in
- which such candidate is seeking election.
- 4 "(b) Requirements Relating to Receipt of
- 5 QUALIFIED CONTRIBUTION.—Each qualified contribu-
- 6 tion—
- 7 "(1) may be made by means of a personal
- 8 check, money order, debit card, credit card, or elec-
- 9 tronic payment account;
- 10 "(2) shall be accompanied by a signed state-
- ment containing the contributor's name and the con-
- tributor's address in the State in which the primary
- residence of the contributor is located; and
- 14 "(3) shall be acknowledged by a receipt that is
- sent to the contributor with a copy kept by the can-
- 16 didate for the Commission and a copy kept by the
- candidate for the election authorities in the State
- 18 with respect to which the candidate is seeking elec-
- 19 tion.
- 20 "(c) Prohibiting Payment on Commission Basis
- 21 of Individuals Collecting Qualified Contribu-
- 22 Tions.—No person may be paid a commission on a per
- 23 qualified contribution basis for collecting qualified con-
- 24 tributions.

## 1 "SEC. 513. CERTIFICATION.

| 2  | "(a) Deadline and Notification.—                        |
|----|---|
| 3  | "(1) In general.—Not later than 10 days                 |
| 4  | after a candidate files an affidavit under section      |
| 5  | 511(a)(3), the Commission shall—                        |
| 6  | "(A) determine whether or not the can-                  |
| 7  | didate meets the requirements for certification         |
| 8  | as a participating candidate;                           |
| 9  | "(B) if the Commission determines that                  |
| 10 | the candidate meets such requirements, certify          |
| 11 | the candidate as a participating candidate; and         |
| 12 | "(C) notify the candidate of the Commis-                |
| 13 | sion's determination.                                   |
| 14 | "(2) Deemed Certification for all elec-                 |
| 15 | TIONS IN ELECTION CYCLE.—If the Commission cer-         |
| 16 | tifies a candidate as a participating candidate with    |
| 17 | respect to the first election of the election cycle in- |
| 18 | volved, the Commissioner shall be deemed to have        |
| 19 | certified the candidate as a participating candidate    |
| 20 | with respect to all subsequent elections of the elec-   |
| 21 | tion cycle.   |
| 22 | "(b) Revocation of Certification.—                      |
| 23 | "(1) In General.—The Commission may re-                 |
| 24 | voke a certification under subsection (a) if—           |
| 25 | "(A) a candidate fails to qualify to appear             |
| 26 | on the ballot at any time after the date of cer-        |

tification (other than a candidate certified as a participating candidate with respect to a primary election who fails to qualify to appear on the ballot for a subsequent election in that election cycle); or

"(B) a candidate otherwise fails to comply with the requirements of this title, including any regulatory requirements prescribed by the Commission.

"(2) Repayment of Benefits.—If certification is revoked under paragraph (1), the candidate shall repay to the Empowering Citizens Payment Account of the Presidential Election Campaign Fund (established under section 9051 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986) an amount equal to the value of benefits received under this title with respect to the election cycle involved plus interest (at a rate determined by the Commission) on any such amount received.

"(c) Participating Candidate Defined.—In this title, a 'participating candidate' means a candidate for the office of Senator or Representative in, or Delegate or Resident Commissioner to, the Congress who is certified under 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) Reduction in Otherwise Applicable Con-
- 7 TRIBUTION LIMITS.—In the case of a candidate who is
- 8 certified as a participating candidate under this title with
- 9 respect to an election, the limit applicable under para-
- 10 graph (1)(A) or paragraph (2)(A) of section 315(a) to the
- 11 amount of a contribution which may be made to the can-
- 12 didate and any authorized committee of the candidate with
- 13 respect to the election shall be equal to \$1,000 for the
- 14 election.
- 15 "(b) Prohibiting Acceptance of Contributions
- 16 Bundled by Registered Lobbyists.—A candidate
- 17 who is certified as a participating candidate under this
- 18 title with respect to an election, and any authorized com-
- 19 mittee of such a candidate, may not accept any contribu-
- 20 tion with respect to the election which is a bundled con-
- 21 tribution (as defined in section 304(i)(8)) forwarded by
- 22 or credited to a person described in section 304(i)(7).
- 23 "(c) Limit on Expenditures From Personal
- 24 Funds.—A candidate who is certified as a participating
- 25 candidate under this title may not make expenditures from

- 1 personal funds (as defined in section 304(a)(6)(B)) in an
- 2 aggregate amount exceeding \$50,000 with respect to any
- 3 election in the election cycle involved.
- 4 "(d) Prohibiting Solicitation of Funds for Po-
- 5 LITICAL PARTY COMMITTEES.—A candidate who is cer-
- 6 tified as a participating candidate under this title may not
- 7 solicit funds for any political committee of a political
- 8 party, except that the candidate may solicit funds for a
- 9 separate account of the committee which is established
- 10 under section 315(d)(5).

#### 11 "SEC. 522. REMITTING UNSPENT FUNDS AFTER ELECTION.

- 12 "(a) IN GENERAL.—Not later than the date that is
- 13 60 days after the last election for which a candidate cer-
- 14 tified as a participating candidate qualifies to be on the
- 15 ballot during the election cycle involved, such participating
- 16 candidate shall remit to the Commission for deposit in the
- 17 Empowering Citizens Payment Account of the Presi-
- 18 dential Election Campaign Fund (established under sec-
- 19 tion 9051 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986) an
- 20 amount equal to the lesser of—
- 21 "(1) the amount of money in the candidate's
- campaign account; or
- 23 "(2) the amount of the payments received by
- the candidate under this title.

| 1  | "(b) Exception for Expenditures Incurred                     |
|----|--|
| 2  | BUT NOT PAID AS OF DATE OF REMITTANCE.—                      |
| 3  | "(1) In general.—Subject to subsection (a), a                |
| 4  | candidate may withhold from the amount required to           |
| 5  | be remitted under paragraph (1) of such subsection           |
| 6  | the amount of any authorized expenditures which              |
| 7  | were incurred in connection with the candidate's             |
| 8  | campaign but which remain unpaid as of the dead-             |
| 9  | line applicable to the candidate under such sub-             |
| 10 | section, except that any amount withheld pursuant            |
| 11 | to this paragraph shall be remitted to the Commis-           |
| 12 | sion not later than 120 days after the date of the           |
| 13 | election to which such subsection applies.                   |
| 14 | "(2) Documentation required.—A can-                          |
| 15 | didate may withhold an amount of an expenditure              |
| 16 | pursuant to paragraph (1) only if the candidate sub-         |
| 17 | mits documentation of the expenditure and the                |
| 18 | amount to the Commission not later than the dead-            |
| 19 | line applicable to the candidate under subsection (a).       |
| 20 | "Subtitle D—Administrative                                   |
| 21 | Provisions   |
| 22 | "SEC. 531. ADMINISTRATION BY COMMISSION.                     |
| 23 | "The Commission shall prescribe regulations to carry         |
| 24 | out the purposes of this title, including regulations to es- |
| 25 | tablish procedures for—                                      |

- 1 "(1) verifying the amount of qualified contribu-2 tions with respect to a candidate;
- 3 "(2) effectively and efficiently monitoring and 4 enforcing the limits on the raising of qualified con-5 tributions;
- 6 "(3) effectively and efficiently monitoring and 7 enforcing the limits on the use of personal funds by 8 participating candidates; and
- 9 "(4) monitoring the use of payments under this 10 title through audits of not fewer than ½ of all par-11 ticipating candidates or other mechanisms.

#### 12 "SEC. 532. VIOLATIONS AND PENALTIES.

- "(a) CIVIL PENALTY FOR VIOLATION OF CONTRIBU14 TION AND EXPENDITURE REQUIREMENTS.—If a can15 didate who has been certified as a participating candidate
  16 accepts a contribution or makes an expenditure that is
  17 prohibited under section 521, the Commission shall assess
- 18 a civil penalty against the candidate in an amount that
- 19 is not more than 3 times the amount of the contribution
- 20 or expenditure. Any amounts collected under this sub-
- 21 section shall be deposited into the Empowering Citizens
- 22 Payment Account of the Presidential Election Campaign
- 23 Fund (established under section 9051 of the Internal Rev-
- 24 enue Code of 1986).

| 1  | "(b) Repayment for Improper Use of Empow-             |
|----|---|
| 2  | ERING CITIZENS PAYMENT ACCOUNT.—                      |
| 3  | "(1) In General.—If the Commission deter-             |
| 4  | mines that any benefit made available to a partici-   |
| 5  | pating candidate was not used as provided for in      |
| 6  | this title or that a participating candidate has vio- |
| 7  | lated any of the dates for remission of funds con-    |
| 8  | tained in this title, the Commission shall so notify  |
| 9  | the candidate and the candidate shall pay to the      |
| 10 | Empowering Citizens Payment Account of the Presi-     |
| 11 | dential Election Campaign Fund an amount equal        |
| 12 | to—   |
| 13 | "(A) the amount of benefits so used or not            |
| 14 | remitted, as appropriate; and                         |
| 15 | "(B) interest on any such amounts (at a               |
| 16 | rate determined by the Commission).                   |
| 17 | "(2) OTHER ACTION NOT PRECLUDED.—Any                  |
| 18 | action by the Commission in accordance with this      |
| 19 | subsection shall not preclude enforcement pro-        |
| 20 | ceedings by the Commission in accordance with sec-    |
| 21 | tion 309(a), including a referral by the Commission   |
| 22 | to the Attorney General in the case of an apparent    |
| 23 | knowing and willful violation of this title.          |

#### 1 "SEC. 533. ELECTION CYCLE DEFINED.

- 2 "In this title, the term 'election cycle' means, with
- 3 respect to an election for the office of Senator or Rep-
- 4 resentative in, or Delegate or Resident Commissioner to,
- 5 the Congress, the period beginning on the day after the
- 6 date of the most recent general election for that office (or,
- 7 if the general election resulted in a runoff election, the
- 8 date of the runoff election) and ending on the date of the
- 9 next general election for that office (or, if the general elec-
- 10 tion resulted in a runoff election, the date of the runoff
- 11 election).".
- 12 SEC. 202. PERMITTING UNLIMITED COORDINATED EXPEND-
- 13 ITURES BY POLITICAL PARTY COMMITTEES
- 14 ON BEHALF OF PARTICIPATING CANDIDATES
- 15 IF EXPENDITURES ARE DERIVED FROM
- 16 SMALL DOLLAR CONTRIBUTIONS.
- 17 Section 315(d) of the Federal Election Campaign Act
- 18 of 1971 (52 U.S.C. 30116(d)), as amended by section
- 19 101(b) of Division N of the Consolidated and Further
- 20 Continuing Appropriations Act, 2015 (Public Law 113–
- 21 235; 128 Stat. 2773), is amended by adding at the end
- 22 the following new paragraph:
- 23 "(6) 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
- 26 participating candidate under title V, there shall be ex-

- 1 cluded any expenditures which are derived from a separate
- 2 account established by the committee for which the only
- 3 sources of funds are contributions made during the elec-
- 4 tion cycle in an amount which does not exceed \$1,000 per
- 5 contributor.".
- 6 SEC. 203. PROHIBITING USE OF CONTRIBUTIONS BY PAR-
- 7 TICIPATING CANDIDATES FOR PURPOSES
- 8 OTHER THAN CAMPAIGN FOR ELECTION.
- 9 Section 313 of the Federal Election Campaign Act
- 10 of 1971 (52 U.S.C. 30114) is amended by adding at the
- 11 end the following new subsection:
- 12 "(d) Restrictions on Permitted Uses of Funds
- 13 BY CANDIDATES RECEIVING MATCHING PUBLIC
- 14 Funds.—Notwithstanding paragraphs (2), (3), or (4) of
- 15 subsection (a), if a candidate for election for the office
- 16 of Senator or Representative in, or Delegate or Resident
- 17 Commissioner to, the Congress is certified as a partici-
- 18 pating candidate under title V with respect to the election,
- 19 any contribution which the candidate is permitted to ac-
- 20 cept under such title may be used only for authorized ex-
- 21 penditures in connection with the candidate's campaign
- 22 for such office.".

### TITLE III—COORDINATED 1 **CAMPAIGN ACTIVITY** 2 3 SEC. 301. CLARIFICATION OF TREATMENT OF COORDI-4 NATED EXPENDITURES AS CONTRIBUTIONS 5 TO CANDIDATES. 6 (a) TREATMENT AS CONTRIBUTION Can-TO 7 DIDATE.—Section 301(8)(A) of the Federal Election Cam-8 paign Act of 1971 (52 U.S.C. 30101(8)(A)) is amended— 9 (1) by striking "or" at the end of clause (i); 10 (2) by striking the period at the end of clause 11 (ii) and inserting "; or"; and 12 (3) by adding at the end the following new 13 clause: 14 "(iii) any payment made by any person 15 (other than a candidate, an authorized com-16 mittee of a candidate, or a political committee 17 of a political party) for a coordinated expendi-18 ture (as such term is defined in section 324) 19 which is not otherwise treated as a contribution 20 under clause (i) or clause (ii).". 21 (b) Definitions.—Section 324 of such Act (52) 22 U.S.C. 30126) is amended to read as follows: 23 "SEC. 324. PAYMENTS FOR COORDINATED EXPENDITURES. 24 "(a) Coordinated Expenditures.—

| 1 | "(1) In General.—For purposes of section           |
|---|--|
| 2 | 301(8)(A)(iii), the term 'coordinated expenditure' |
| 3 | means—   |

"(A) any expenditure, or any payment for a covered communication described in subsection (d), which 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, as defined in subsection (b); or

"(B) any payment for any communication which republishes, disseminates, or distributes, in whole or in part, any video or broadcast or any written, graphic, or other form of campaign material prepared by the candidate or committee or by agents of the candidate or committee (including any excerpt or use of any video from any such broadcast or written, graphic, or other form of campaign material).

"(2) EXCEPTION FOR PAYMENTS FOR CERTAIN COMMUNICATIONS.—A payment for a communication (including a covered communication described in subsection (d) shall not be treated as a coordinated expenditure under this subsection if—

"(A) the communication appears in a news story, commentary, or editorial distributed through the facilities of any broadcasting station, 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, or any communication for which the payment is made, is not made entirely independently of the candidate, committee, or agents. For purposes of the previous sentence, a payment or communication not

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made entirely independently of the candidate or committee includes any payment or communication made pursuant to any general or particular understanding with, or pursuant to any communication with, the candidate, committee, or agents about the payment or communication.

"(2) NO FINDING OF COORDINATION BASED SOLELY ON SHARING OF INFORMATION REGARDING LEGISLATIVE OR POLICY POSITION.—For purposes of this section, a payment shall not be considered to be made by a person in cooperation, consultation, or concert with, or at the request or suggestion of, a candidate or committee, solely on the grounds that the person or the person's agent engaged in discussions with the candidate or committee, or with any agent of the candidate or committee, regarding that person's position on a legislative or policy matter (including urging the candidate or committee to adopt that person's position), so long as there is no communication between the person and the candidate or committee, or any agent of the candidate or committee, regarding the candidate's or committee's campaign advertising, message, strategy, policy, polling, allocation of resources, fundraising, or other campaign activities.

1 "(3) NO EFFECT ON PARTY COORDINATION
2 STANDARD.—Nothing in this section shall be con3 strued to affect the determination of coordination
4 between a candidate and a political committee of a
5 political party for purposes of section 315(d).

"(4) No safe harbor for use of firewall.—A person shall be determined to have made a payment in cooperation, consultation, or concert with, or at the request or suggestion of, a candidate or committee, in accordance with this section without regard to whether or not the person established and used a firewall or similar procedures to restrict the sharing of information between individuals who are employed by or who are serving as agents for the person making the payment.

16 "(c) Payments by Coordinated Spenders for17 Covered Communications.—

"(1) PAYMENTS MADE IN COOPERATION, CONSULTATION, OR CONCERT WITH CANDIDATES.—For purposes of subsection (a)(1)(A), if the person who makes a payment for a covered communication, as defined in subsection (d), is a coordinated spender under paragraph (2) with respect to the candidate as described in subsection (d)(1), the payment for

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the covered communication is made in cooperation, consultation, or concert with the candidate.

"(2) COORDINATED SPENDER DEFINED.—For purposes of this subsection, the term 'coordinated spender' means, with respect to a candidate or an authorized committee of a candidate, a person (other than a political committee of a political party) for which any of the following applies:

"(A) During the 4-year period ending on the date on which the person makes the payment, the person was directly or indirectly formed or established by or at the request or suggestion of, or with the encouragement of, the candidate (including an individual who later becomes a candidate) or committee or agents of the candidate or committee, including with the approval of the candidate or committee or agents of the candidate or committee.

"(B) The candidate or committee or any agent of the candidate or committee solicits funds, appears at a fundraising event, or engages in other fundraising activity on the person's behalf during the election cycle involved, including by providing the person with names of potential donors or other lists to be used by the

person in engaging in fundraising activity, regardless of whether the person pays fair market value for the names or lists provided. For purposes of this subparagraph, the term 'election cycle' means, with respect to an election for Federal office, the period beginning on the day after the date of the most recent general election for that office (or, if the general election resulted in a runoff election, the date of the next general election for that office (or, if the general election resulted in a runoff election, the date of the general election resulted in a runoff election, the date of the general election resulted in a runoff election,

"(C) The person is established, directed, or managed by the candidate or committee or by any person who, during the 4-year period ending on the date on which the person makes the payment, has been employed or retained as a political, campaign media, or fundraising adviser or consultant for the candidate or committee or for any other entity directly or indirectly controlled by the candidate or committee, or has held a formal position with the candidate or committee.

"(D) The person has retained the professional services of any person who, during the 2-year period ending on the date on which the person makes the payment, has provided or is providing professional services relating to the campaign to the candidate or committee, without regard to whether the person providing the professional services used a firewall. For purposes of this subparagraph, the term 'professional services' includes any services in support of the candidate's or committee's campaign activities, including advertising, message, strategy, policy, polling, allocation of resources, fundraising, and campaign operations, but does not include accounting or legal services.

"(E) The person is established, directed, or managed by a member of the immediate family of the candidate, or the person or any officer or agent of the person has had more than incidental discussions about the candidate's campaign with a member of the immediate family of the candidate. For purposes of this subparagraph, the term 'immediate family' has the meaning given such term in section 9004(e) of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986.

| 1  | "(d) Covered Communication Defined.—                    |
|----|---|
| 2  | "(1) In general.—For purposes of this sec-              |
| 3  | tion, the term 'covered communication' means, with      |
| 4  | respect to a candidate or an authorized committee of    |
| 5  | a candidate, a public communication (as defined in      |
| 6  | section 301(22)) which—                                 |
| 7  | "(A) expressly advocates the election of the            |
| 8  | candidate or the defeat of an opponent of the           |
| 9  | candidate (or contains the functional equivalent        |
| 10 | of express advocacy);                                   |
| 11 | "(B) promotes or supports the candidate.                |
| 12 | or attacks or opposes an opponent of the can-           |
| 13 | didate (regardless of whether the communica-            |
| 14 | tion expressly advocates the election or defeat         |
| 15 | of a candidate or contains the functional equiv-        |
| 16 | alent of express advocacy); or                          |
| 17 | "(C) refers to the candidate or an oppo-                |
| 18 | nent of the candidate but is not described in           |
| 19 | subparagraph (A) or subparagraph (B), but               |
| 20 | only if the communication is disseminated dur-          |
| 21 | ing the applicable election period.                     |
| 22 | "(2) Applicable election period.—In para-               |
| 23 | graph (1)(C), the 'applicable election period' with re- |
| 24 | spect to a communication means—                         |

"(A) in the case of a communication which refers to a candidate in a general, special, or runoff election, the 120-day period which ends on the date of the election; or

"(B) in the case of a communication which refers to a candidate in a primary or preference election, or convention or caucus of a political party that has authority to nominate a candidate, the 60-day period which ends on the date of the election or convention or caucus.

"(3) Special rules for communications involving congressional candidates.—For purposes of this subsection, a public communication shall not be considered to be a covered communication with respect to a candidate for election for an office other than the office of President or Vice President unless it is publicly disseminated or distributed in the jurisdiction of the office the candidate is seeking.

### "(e) Penalty.—

"(1) Determination of amount.—Any person who knowingly and willfully commits a violation of this Act by making a contribution which consists of a payment for a coordinated expenditure shall be fined an amount equal to the greater of—

"(A) in the case of a person who makes a contribution which consists of a payment for a coordinated expenditure in an amount exceeding the applicable contribution limit under this Act, 300 percent of the amount by which the amount of the payment made by the person exceeds such applicable contribution limit; or

"(B) in the case of a person who is prohibited under this Act from making a contribution in any amount, 300 percent of the amount of the payment made by the person for the coordinated expenditure.

"(2) Joint and several liability.—Any director, manager or officer of a person who is subject to a penalty under paragraph (1) shall be jointly and severally liable for any amount of such penalty that is not paid by the person prior to the expiration of the 1-year period which begins on the date the Commission imposes the penalty or the 1-year period which begins on the date of the final judgment following any judicial review of the Commission's action, whichever is later."

### (c) Effective Date.—

(1) Repeal of existing regulations on co-Ordination.—Effective upon the expiration of the

| 1 | 90-day period which begins on the date of the enact- |
|---|--|
| 2 | ment of this Act—                                    |
| 3 | (A) the regulations on coordinated commu-            |

- (A) the regulations on coordinated communications adopted by the Federal Election Commission which are in effect on the date of the enactment of this Act (as set forth in 11 C.F.R. part 109, subpart C, under the heading "Coordination") are repealed; and
- (B) the Federal Election Commission shall promulgate new regulations on coordinated communications which reflect the amendments made by this Act.
- (2) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendments made by this section shall apply with respect to payments made on or after the expiration of the 120-day period which begins on the date of the enactment of this Act, without regard to whether or not the Federal Election Commission has promulgated regulations in accordance with paragraph (1)(B) as of the expiration of such period.

| 1  | SEC. 302. CLARIFICATION OF BAN ON FUNDRAISING FOR     |
|----|---|
| 2  | SUPER PACS BY FEDERAL CANDIDATES AND                  |
| 3  | OFFICEHOLDERS.  |
| 4  | (a) In General.—Section 323(e)(1) of the Federal      |
| 5  | Election Campaign Act of 1971 (52 U.S.C. 30125(e)(1)) |
| 6  | is amended—   |
| 7  | (1) by striking "or" at the end of subparagraph       |
| 8  | (A);  |
| 9  | (2) by striking the period at the end of sub-         |
| 10 | paragraph (B) and inserting "; or"; and               |
| 11 | (3) by adding at the end the following new sub-       |
| 12 | paragraph:  |
| 13 | "(C) solicit, receive, direct, or transfer            |
| 14 | funds to or on behalf of any political committee      |
| 15 | which accepts donations or contributions that         |
| 16 | do not comply with the limitations, prohibitions,     |
| 17 | and reporting requirements of this Act (or to or      |
| 18 | on behalf of any account of a political com-          |
| 19 | mittee which is established for the purpose of        |
| 20 | accepting such donations or contributions), or        |
| 21 | to or on behalf of any political organization         |
| 22 | under section 527 of the Internal Revenue Code        |
| 23 | of 1986 which accepts such donations or con-          |
| 24 | tributions (other than a committee of a State or      |
| 25 | local political party or a candidate for election     |
| 26 | for State or local office).".                         |

- 1 (b) Effective Date.—The amendment made by
- 2 subsection (a) shall apply with respect to elections occur-
- 3 ring after January 1, 2016.
- 4 TITLE IV—USE OF PRESI-
- 5 **DENTIAL ELECTION CAM-**
- 6 PAIGN FUND FOR PUBLIC FI-
- 7 NANCING OF FEDERAL ELEC-
- 8 TIONS
- 9 SEC. 401. USE OF PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION CAMPAIGN
- 10 FUND FOR CONGRESSIONAL CANDIDATES.
- 11 Subtitle H of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 is
- 12 amended by adding at the end the following new chapter:
- 13 "CHAPTER 97—EMPOWERING CITIZENS
- 14 **PAYMENT ACCOUNT**

"Sec. 9051. Payments to Congressional candidates.

- 15 "SEC. 9051. PAYMENTS TO CONGRESSIONAL CANDIDATES.
- 16 "(a) Establishment of Account.—The Secretary
- 17 shall maintain in the Presidential Election Campaign
- 18 Fund established by section 9006(a), in addition to any
- 19 account which he maintains under such section, a separate
- 20 account to be known as the Empowering Citizens Payment
- 21 Account. The Secretary shall deposit into such Account
- 22 the amount available after the Secretary determines that
- 23 amounts for payments under section 9006(c) and for pay-

| 1  | ments under section 9037(b) are available for such pay-  |
|--|--|
| 2  | ments.   |
| 3  | "(b) Use of Fund for Payments to Congres-  |
| 4  | SIONAL CANDIDATES PARTICIPATING IN PUBLIC FINANC-  |
| 5  | ING PROGRAM.—The Secretary shall transfer amounts in   |
| 6  | the Fund to the Federal Election Commission, at such   |
| 7  | times and in such amounts as the Federal Election Com-   |
| 8  | mission may certify, for payments to candidates for elec-  |
| 9  | tion to the office of Senator or Representative in, or Dele-   |
| 10   | gate or Resident Commissioner to, the Congress who are   |
| 11   | participating candidates under title V of the Federal Elec-  |
| 12   | tion Campaign Act of 1971.".   |
| 12   | CEC 400 DEVICIONO DO DECICNATION OF INCOME TAY   |
| 13   | SEC. 402. REVISIONS TO DESIGNATION OF INCOME TAX   |
| 13   | PAYMENTS BY INDIVIDUAL TAXPAYERS.  |
|  |  |
| 14   | PAYMENTS BY INDIVIDUAL TAXPAYERS.  |
| 14<br>15                                     | PAYMENTS BY INDIVIDUAL TAXPAYERS.  (a) Increase in Amount Designated.—Section  |
| 14<br>15<br>16<br>17                         | PAYMENTS BY INDIVIDUAL TAXPAYERS.  (a) Increase in Amount Designated.—Section 6096(a) of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 is amend-   |
| 14<br>15<br>16                               | PAYMENTS BY INDIVIDUAL TAXPAYERS.  (a) Increase in Amount Designated.—Section 6096(a) of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 is amended—   |
| 14<br>15<br>16<br>17                         | PAYMENTS BY INDIVIDUAL TAXPAYERS.  (a) Increase in Amount Designated.—Section 6096(a) of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 is amended—  (1) in the first sentence, by striking "\$3" each  |
| 14<br>15<br>16<br>17<br>18                   | PAYMENTS BY INDIVIDUAL TAXPAYERS.  (a) Increase in Amount Designated.—Section 6096(a) of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 is amended—  (1) in the first sentence, by striking "\$3" each place it appears and inserting "\$20"; and   |
| 14<br>15<br>16<br>17<br>18<br>19<br>20       | PAYMENTS BY INDIVIDUAL TAXPAYERS.  (a) Increase in Amount Designated.—Section 6096(a) of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 is amended—  (1) in the first sentence, by striking "\$3" each place it appears and inserting "\$20"; and  (2) in the second sentence—  |
| 14<br>15<br>16<br>17<br>18<br>19<br>20       | PAYMENTS BY INDIVIDUAL TAXPAYERS.  (a) Increase in Amount Designated.—Section 6096(a) of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 is amended—  (1) in the first sentence, by striking "\$3" each place it appears and inserting "\$20"; and  (2) in the second sentence—  (A) by striking "\$6" and inserting "\$40";     |
| 14<br>15<br>16<br>17<br>18<br>19<br>20<br>21 | PAYMENTS BY INDIVIDUAL TAXPAYERS.  (a) Increase in Amount Designated.—Section 6096(a) of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 is amended—  (1) in the first sentence, by striking "\$3" each place it appears and inserting "\$20"; and  (2) in the second sentence—  (A) by striking "\$6" and inserting "\$40"; and |

- 1 "(d) Indexing of Amount Designated.—
- 2 "(1) In General.—With respect to each tax-
- 3 able year after 2015, each amount referred to in
- 4 subsection (a) shall be increased by the percent dif-
- 5 ference described in paragraph (2), except that if
- 6 any such amount after such an increase is not a
- 7 multiple of \$1, such amount shall be rounded to the
- 8 nearest multiple of \$1.
- 9 "(2) PERCENT DIFFERENCE DESCRIBED.—The
- 10 percent difference described in this paragraph with
- 11 respect to a taxable year is the percent difference
- determined under section 315(c)(1)(A) of the Fed-
- eral Election Campaign Act of 1971 with respect to
- the calendar year during which the taxable year be-
- gins, except that the base year involved shall be
- 16 2014.".
- 17 (c) Ensuring Tax Preparation Software Does
- 18 Not Provide Automatic Response to Designation
- 19 QUESTION.—Section 6096 of such Code, as amended by
- 20 subsection (b), is amended by adding at the end the fol-
- 21 lowing new subsection:
- 22 "(e) Ensuring Tax Preparation Software Does
- 23 Not Provide Automatic Response to Designation
- 24 QUESTION.—The Secretary shall promulgate regulations
- 25 to ensure that electronic software used in the preparation

- 1 or filing of individual income tax returns does not auto-
- 2 matically accept or decline a designation of a payment
- 3 under this section.".
- 4 (d) Public Information Program on Designa-
- 5 Tion.—Section 6096 of such Code, as amended by sub-
- 6 sections (b) and (c), is amended by adding at the end the
- 7 following new subsection:
- 8 "(f) Public Information Program.—
- 9 "(1) IN GENERAL.—The Federal Election Com-
- mission shall conduct a program to inform and edu-
- cate the public regarding the purposes of the Presi-
- dential Election Campaign Fund, the procedures for
- the designation of payments under this section, and
- the effect of such a designation on the income tax
- 15 liability of taxpayers.
- 16 "(2) Use of funds for program.—Amounts
- in the Presidential Election Campaign Fund shall be
- made available to the Federal Election Commission
- to carry out the program under this subsection.".
- 20 (e) Effective Date.—The amendments made by
- 21 this section shall take effect January 1, 2015.
- 22 SEC. 403. DONATION TO PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION CAM-
- PAIGN FUND.
- 24 (a) General Rule.—Every taxpayer who makes a
- 25 return of the tax imposed by subtitle A of the Internal

| 1  | Revenue Code of 1986 for any taxable year ending after       |
|----|--|
| 2  | December 31, 2014, may donate an amount (not less than       |
| 3  | \$1), in addition to any designation of income tax liability |
| 4  | under section 6096 of such Code for such taxable year        |
| 5  | which shall be deposited in the general fund of the Treas-   |
| 6  | ury.   |
| 7  | (b) Manner and Time of Designation.—Any do-                  |
| 8  | nation under subsection (a) for any taxable year—            |
| 9  | (1) shall be made at the time of filing the re-              |
| 10 | turn of the tax imposed by subtitle A of such Code           |
| 11 | for such taxable year and in such manner as the              |
| 12 | Secretary may by regulation prescribe, except that—          |
| 13 | (A) the designation for such donation shall                  |
| 14 | be either on the first page of the return or or              |
| 15 | the page bearing the taxpayer's signature, and               |
| 16 | (B) the designation shall be by a box                        |
| 17 | added to the return, and the text beside the box             |
| 18 | shall provide:   |
| 19 | "By checking here, I signify that in                         |
| 20 | addition to my tax liability (if any), l                     |
| 21 | would like to donate the included payment                    |
| 22 | to be used exclusively as a contribution to                  |
| 23 | the Presidential Election Campaign                           |
| 24 | Fund.". and  |

| 1  | (2) shall be accompanied by a payment of the                 |
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| 2  | amount so designated.  |
| 3  | (c) Treatment of Amounts Donated.—For pur-                   |
| 4  | poses of this title, the amount donated by any taxpayer      |
| 5  | under subsection (a) shall be treated as a contribution      |
| 6  | made by such taxpayer to the United States on the last       |
| 7  | date prescribed for filing the return of tax imposed by sub- |
| 8  | title A of such Code (determined without regard to exten-    |
| 9  | sions) or, if later, the date the return is filed.           |
| 10 | (d) Transfers to Presidential Election Cam-                  |
| 11 | PAIGN FUND.—The Secretary shall, from time to time,          |
| 12 | transfer to the Presidential Election Campaign Fund es-      |
| 13 | tablished under section 9006(a) of such Code amounts         |
| 14 | equal to the amounts donated under this section.             |
| 15 | TITLE V—OTHER CAMPAIGN                                       |
| 16 | FINANCE REFORMS  |
| 17 | SEC. 501. REGULATIONS WITH RESPECT TO BEST EFFORTS           |
| 18 | FOR IDENTIFYING PERSONS MAKING CON-                          |
| 19 | TRIBUTIONS.  |
| 20 | Not later than 6 months after the date of enactment          |
| 21 | of this Act, the Federal Election Commission shall pro-      |
| 22 | mulgate regulations with respect to what constitutes best    |
| 23 | efforts under section 302(i) of the Federal Election Cam-    |
| 24 | paign Act of 1971 (52 U.S.C. 30102(i)) for determining       |
| 25 | the identification of persons making contributions to polit- |

- 1 ical committees, including the identifications of persons
- 2 making contributions over the Internet or by credit card.
- 3 Such regulations shall include a requirement that in the
- 4 case of contributions made by a credit card, the political
- 5 committee shall ensure that the name on the credit card
- 6 used to make the contribution matches the name of the
- 7 person making the contribution.
- 8 SEC. 502. PROHIBITION ON JOINT FUNDRAISING COMMIT-
- 9 TEES.
- 10 (a) In General.—Section 302(e) of the Federal
- 11 Election Campaign Act of 1971 (52 U.S.C. 30102(e)) is
- 12 amended by adding at the end the following new para-
- 13 graph:
- 14 "(6) No authorized committee of a candidate may es-
- 15 tablish, participate in, or have any involvement with any
- 16 joint fundraising committee.".
- 17 (b) Effective Date.—The amendments made by
- 18 this section shall take effect on January 1, 2016.
- 19 SEC. 503. DISCLOSURE OF BUNDLED CONTRIBUTIONS TO
- 20 PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGNS.
- 21 (a) In General.—Paragraphs (1) through (3) of
- 22 section 304(i) of the Federal Election Campaign Act of
- 23 1971 (52 U.S.C. 30104(i)) are amended to read as fol-
- 24 lows:
- 25 "(1) IN GENERAL.—

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"(A) DISCLOSURE OF BUNDLED CON-TRIBUTIONS BY LOBBYISTS.—Each committee described in paragraph (6) shall include in the first report required to be filed under this section after each covered period (as defined in paragraph (2)) a separate schedule setting forth the name, address, and employer of each person reasonably known by the committee to be a person described in paragraph (7) who provided 2 or more bundled contributions to the committee in an aggregate amount greater than the applicable threshold (as defined in paragraph (3)) during the covered period, and the aggregate amount of the bundled contributions provided by each such person during the covered period.

"(B) DISCLOSURE OF BUNDLED CONTRIBUTIONS TO PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGNS.—
Each committee which is an authorized committee of a candidate for the office of President or for nomination to such office shall include in the first report required to be filed under this section after each covered period (as defined in paragraph (2)) a separate schedule setting forth the name, address, and employer of each person who provided 2 or more bundled contributions

| 1  | to the committee in an aggregate amount great-    |
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| 2  | er than the applicable threshold (as defined in   |
| 3  | paragraph (3)) during the election cycle, and     |
| 4  | the aggregate amount of the bundled contribu-     |
| 5  | tions provided by each such person during the     |
| 6  | covered period and such election cycle. Such      |
| 7  | schedule shall include a separate listing of the  |
| 8  | name, address, and employer of each person in-    |
| 9  | cluded on such schedule who is reasonably         |
| 10 | known by the committee to be a person de-         |
| 11 | scribed in paragraph (7), together with the ag-   |
| 12 | gregate amount of bundled contributions pro-      |
| 13 | vided by such person during such period and       |
| 14 | such cycle.                                       |
| 15 | "(2) COVERED PERIOD.—In this subsection, a        |
| 16 | 'covered period' means—                           |
| 17 | "(A) with respect to a committee which is         |
| 18 | an authorized committee of a candidate for the    |
| 19 | office of President or for nomination to such of- |
| 20 | fice—   |
| 21 | "(i) the 4-year election cycle ending             |
| 22 | with the date of the election for the office      |
| 23 | of the President; and                             |
| 24 | "(ii) any reporting period applicable             |
| 25 | to the committee under this section during        |

| 1  | which any person provided 2 or more bun-   |
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| 2  | dled contributions to the committee; and   |
| 3  | "(B) with respect to any other com-        |
| 4  | mittee—                                    |
| 5  | "(i) the period beginning January 1        |
| 6  | and ending June 30 of each year;           |
| 7  | "(ii) the period beginning July 1 and      |
| 8  | ending December 31 of each year; and       |
| 9  | "(iii) any reporting period applicable     |
| 10 | to the committee under this section during |
| 11 | which any person described in paragraph    |
| 12 | (7) provided 2 or more bundled contribu-   |
| 13 | tions to the committee in an aggregate     |
| 14 | amount greater than the applicable thresh- |
| 15 | old.                                       |
| 16 | "(3) Applicable threshold.—                |
| 17 | "(A) IN GENERAL.—In this subsection, the   |
| 18 | 'applicable threshold' is—                 |
| 19 | "(i) \$50,000 in the case of a com-        |
| 20 | mittee which is an authorized committee of |
| 21 | a candidate for the office of President or |
| 22 | for nomination to such office; and         |
| 23 | "(ii) \$15,000 in the case of any other    |
| 24 | committee.                                 |

In determining whether the amount of bundled contributions provided to a committee by a person exceeds the applicable threshold, there shall be excluded any contribution made to the committee by the person or the person's spouse.

"(B) INDEXING.—In any calendar year after 2017, section 315(c)(1)(B) shall apply to each amount applicable under subparagraph (A) in the same manner as such section applies to the limitations established under subsections (a)(1)(A), (a)(1)(B), (a)(3), and (h) of such section, except that for purposes of applying such section to the amount applicable under subparagraph (A), the 'base period' shall be 2016.

"(C) AGGREGATION OF CONTRIBUTIONS
FROM COSPONSORS OF FUNDRAISING EVENT.—
For purposes of determining the amount of
bundled contributions provided by a person to a
committee which were received by the person at
a fundraising event sponsored by the person, or
in response to an invitation to attend a fundraising event sponsored by the person, each person who is a sponsor of the event shall be considered to have provided to the committee the

| 1  | aggregate amount of all bundled contributions        |
|----|--|
| 2  | which were provided to the committee by all          |
| 3  | sponsors of the event.".                             |
| 4  | (b) Conforming Amendments.—Section 304(i) of         |
| 5  | such Act (52 U.S.C. 30104(i)) is amended—            |
| 6  | (1) in paragraph (5), by striking "described in      |
| 7  | paragraph (7)" each place it appears in subpara-     |
| 8  | graphs (C) and (D);                                  |
| 9  | (2) in paragraph (6), by inserting "(other than      |
| 10 | a candidate for the office of President or for nomi- |
| 11 | nation to such office)" after "candidate"; and       |
| 12 | (3) in paragraph (8)(A)—                             |
| 13 | (A) by striking ", with respect to a com-            |
| 14 | mittee described in paragraph (6) and a person       |
| 15 | described in paragraph (7)," and inserting ",        |
| 16 | with respect to a committee described in para-       |
| 17 | graph (6) or an authorized committee of a can-       |
| 18 | didate for the office of President or for nomina-    |
| 19 | tion to such office,";                               |
| 20 | (B) by striking "by the person" in clause            |
| 21 | (i) thereof and inserting "by any person"; and       |
| 22 | (C) by striking "the person" each place it           |
| 23 | appears in clause (ii) and inserting "such per-      |
| 24 | son".  |

- 1 (c) Effective Date.—The amendments made by
- 2 this section shall apply with respect to reports filed under
- 3 section 304 of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971
- 4 after January 1, 2016.
- 5 SEC. 504. JUDICIAL REVIEW OF ACTIONS RELATED TO CAM-
- 6 PAIGN FINANCE LAWS.
- 7 (a) IN GENERAL.—Title IV of the Federal Election
- 8 Campaign Act of 1971 (52 U.S.C. 30141 et seq.) is
- 9 amended by inserting after section 406 the following new
- 10 section:
- 11 "SEC. 407. JUDICIAL REVIEW.
- 12 "(a) IN GENERAL.—If any action is brought for de-
- 13 claratory or injunctive relief to challenge the constitu-
- 14 tionality of any provision of this Act or of chapter 95 or
- 15 96 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986, or is brought
- 16 to with respect to any action of the Commission under
- 17 chapter 95 or 96 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986,
- 18 the following rules shall apply:
- "(1) The action shall be filed in the United
- 20 States District Court for the District of Columbia
- and an appeal from the decision of the district court
- 22 may be taken to the Court of Appeals for the Dis-
- 23 trict of Columbia Circuit.

1 "(2) In the case of an action relating to declar-2 atory or injunctive relief to challenge the constitu-3 tionality of a provision—

"(A) a copy of the complaint shall be delivered promptly to the Clerk of the House of Representatives and the Secretary of the Senate; and

"(B) it shall be the duty of the United States District Court for the District of Columbia, the Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia, and the Supreme Court of the United States to advance on the docket and to expedite to the greatest possible extent the disposition of the action and appeal.

15 "(b) Intervention by Members of Congress.— In any action in which the constitutionality of any provi-16 17 sion of this Act or chapter 95 or 96 of the Internal Rev-18 enue Code of 1986 is raised, any member of the House 19 of Representatives (including a Delegate or Resident Com-20 missioner to the Congress) or Senate shall have the right 21 to intervene either in support of or opposition to the position of a party to the case regarding the constitutionality 23 of the provision. To avoid duplication of efforts and reduce the burdens placed on the parties to the action, the court in any such action may make such orders as it considers

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| 1  | necessary, including orders to require interveners taking      |
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| 2  | similar positions to file joint papers or to be represented    |
| 3  | by a single attorney at oral argument.                         |
| 4  | "(c) Challenge by Members of Congress.—Any                     |
| 5  | Member of Congress may bring an action, subject to the         |
| 6  | special rules described in subsection (a), for declaratory     |
| 7  | or injunctive relief to challenge the constitutionality of any |
| 8  | provision of this Act or chapter 95 or 96 of the Internal      |
| 9  | Revenue Code of 1986.".  |
| 10 | (b) Conforming Amendments.—                                    |
| 11 | (1) In General.—   |
| 12 | (A) Section 310 of the Federal Election                        |
| 13 | Campaign Act of 1971 (52 U.S.C. 30110) is re-                  |
| 14 | pealed.  |
| 15 | (B) Section 9011 of the Internal Revenue                       |
| 16 | Code of 1986 is amended to read as follows:                    |
| 17 | "SEC. 9011. JUDICIAL REVIEW.                                   |
| 18 | "For provisions relating to judicial review of certifi-        |
| 19 | cations, determinations, and actions by the Commission         |
| 20 | under this chapter, see section 407 of the Federal Election    |
| 21 | Campaign Act of 1971.".  |
| 22 | (C) Section 9041 of the Internal Revenue                       |
| 23 | Code of 1986 is amended to read as follows:                    |

#### 1 "SEC. 9041. JUDICIAL REVIEW.

- 2 "For provisions relating to judicial review of actions
- 3 by the Commission under this chapter, see section 407 of
- 4 the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971.".
- 5 (D) Section 403 of the Bipartisan Cam-
- 6 paign Finance Reform Act of 2002 (52 U.S.C.
- 7 30110 note) is repealed.
- 8 (c) Effective Date.—The amendments made by
- 9 this section shall apply to actions brought on or after Jan-
- 10 uary 1, 2016.

# 11 **TITLE VI—SEVERABILITY**;

### 12 **EFFECTIVE DATE**

- 13 SEC. 601. SEVERABILITY.
- 14 If any provision of this Act or amendment made by
- 15 this Act, or the application of a provision or amendment
- 16 to any person or circumstance, is held to be unconstitu-
- 17 tional, the remainder of this Act and amendments made
- 18 by this Act, and the application of the provisions and
- 19 amendment to any person or circumstance, shall not be
- 20 affected by the holding.
- 21 SEC. 602. EFFECTIVE DATE.
- Except as otherwise provided in this Act, the amend-
- 23 ments made by this Act shall apply with respect to elec-
- 24 tions occurring after January 1, 2016.