118TH CONGRESS 2D SESSION

H. R. 8572

To direct the Federal Election Commission to establish a program under which participating States shall provide individuals with vouchers which may be used to make contributions to candidates for election for the office of Representative in, or Delegate or Resident Commissioner to, the Congress, to amend the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 to establish a program to provide small dollar financing for candidates for election for the office of Representative in, or Delegate or Resident Commissioner to, the Congress, and for other purposes.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

May 24, 2024

Mr. Sarbanes (for himself, Mr. Neguse, Ms. Clarke of New York, and Ms. Pingree) introduced the following bill; which was referred to the Committee on House Administration, and in addition to the Committees on the Judiciary, and Ways and Means, for a period to be subsequently determined by the Speaker, in each case for consideration of such provisions as fall within the jurisdiction of the committee concerned

A BILL

To direct the Federal Election Commission to establish a program under which participating States shall provide individuals with vouchers which may be used to make contributions to candidates for election for the office of Representative in, or Delegate or Resident Commissioner to, the Congress, to amend the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 to establish a program to provide small dollar financing for candidates for election for the

office of Representative in, or Delegate or Resident Commissioner to, the Congress, and for other purposes.

- 1 Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representa-
- 2 tives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,
- 3 SECTION 1. SHORT TITLE; TABLE OF CONTENTS.
- 4 (a) Short Title.—This Act may be cited as the
- 5 "Government by the People Act".
- 6 (b) Table of Contents of Contents of
- 7 this Act is as follows:
 - Sec. 1. Short title; table of contents.

TITLE I—MY VOICE VOUCHER PILOT PROGRAM

- Sec. 101. Establishment of pilot program.
- Sec. 102. Voucher program described.
- Sec. 103. Reports.
- Sec. 104. Definitions.

TITLE II—SMALL DOLLAR FINANCING OF CONGRESSIONAL ELECTION CAMPAIGNS

Sec. 201. Benefits and eligibility requirements for candidates.

"TITLE V—SMALL DOLLAR FINANCING OF CONGRESSIONAL ELECTION CAMPAIGNS

"Subtitle A—Benefits

- "Sec. 501. Benefits for participating candidates.
- "Sec. 502. Procedures for making payments.
- "Sec. 503. Use of funds.
- "Sec. 504. Qualified small dollar contributions described.

"Subtitle B—Eligibility and Certification

- "Sec. 511. Eligibility.
- "Sec. 512. Qualifying requirements.
- "Sec. 513. Certification.
- "Subtitle C—Requirements for Candidates Certified as Participating Candidates
- "Sec. 521. Contribution and expenditure requirements.
- "Sec. 522. Administration of campaign.
- "Sec. 523. Preventing unnecessary spending of public funds.
- "Sec. 524. Remitting unspent funds after election.

"Subtitle D-Enhanced Match Support

- "Sec. 531. Enhanced support for general election.
- "Sec. 532. Eligibility.
- "Sec. 533. Amount.
- "Sec. 534. Waiver of authority to retain portion of unspent funds after election.

"Subtitle E—Administrative Provisions

- "Sec. 541. Freedom From Influence Fund.
- "Sec. 542. Reviews and reports by Government Accountability Office.
- "Sec. 543. Administration by Commission.
- "Sec. 544. Violations and penalties.
- "Sec. 545. Appeals process.
- "Sec. 546. Indexing of amounts.
- "Sec. 547. Election cycle defined.
- Sec. 202. Contributions and expenditures by multicandidate and political party committees on behalf of participating candidates.
- Sec. 203. Prohibiting use of contributions by participating candidates for purposes other than campaign for election.
- Sec. 204. Assessments against fines and penalties.
- Sec. 205. Study and report on small dollar financing program.
- Sec. 206. Effective date.

1 TITLE I—MY VOICE VOUCHER 2 PILOT PROGRAM

3 SEC. 101. ESTABLISHMENT OF PILOT PROGRAM.

- 4 (a) Establishment.—The Federal Election Com-
- 5 mission (hereafter in this part referred to as the "Commis-
- 6 sion") shall establish a pilot program under which the
- 7 Commission shall select 3 eligible States to operate a
- 8 voucher pilot program which is described in section 102
- 9 during the program operation period.
- 10 (b) Eligibility of States.—A State is eligible to
- 11 be selected to operate a voucher pilot program under this
- 12 part if, not later than 180 days after the beginning of the
- 13 program application period, the State submits to the Com-
- 14 mission an application containing—

1	(1) information and assurances that the State
2	will operate a voucher program which contains the
3	elements described in section 102(a);
4	(2) information and assurances that the State
5	will establish fraud prevention mechanisms described
6	in section 102(b);
7	(3) information and assurances that the State
8	will establish a commission to oversee and implement
9	the program as described in section 102(c);
10	(4) information and assurances that the State
11	will carry out a public information campaign as de-
12	scribed in section 102(d);
13	(5) information and assurances that the State
14	will submit reports as required under section 103;
15	and
16	(6) such other information and assurances as
17	the Commission may require.
18	(c) Selection of Participating States.—
19	(1) IN GENERAL.—Not later than 1 year after
20	the beginning of the program application period, the
21	Commission shall select the 3 States which will oper-
22	ate voucher pilot programs under this part.
23	(2) Criteria.—In selecting States for the oper-
24	ation of the voucher pilot programs under this part,
25	the Commission shall apply such criteria and metrics

- as the Commission considers appropriate to determine the ability of a State to operate the program successfully, and shall attempt to select States in a
- 4 variety of geographic regions and with a variety of
- 5 political party preferences.
- (3) NO SUPERMAJORITY REQUIRED FOR SELECTION.—The selection of States by the Commission under this subsection shall require the approval of only half of the Members of the Commission.
- 10 (d) Duties of States During Program Prepara-
- 11 TION PERIOD.—During the program preparation period,
- 12 each State selected to operate a voucher pilot program
- 13 under this part shall take such actions as may be nec-
- 14 essary to ensure that the State will be ready to operate
- 15 the program during the program operation period, and
- 16 shall complete such actions not later than 90 days before
- 17 the beginning of the program operation period.
- 18 (e) Termination.—Each voucher pilot program
- 19 under this part shall terminate as of the first day after
- 20 the program operation period.
- 21 (f) Reimbursement of Costs.—
- 22 (1) Reimbursement.—Upon receiving the re-
- port submitted by a State under section 103(a) with
- respect to an election cycle, the Commission shall
- transmit a payment to the State in an amount equal

- to the reasonable costs incurred by the State in operating the voucher pilot program under this part during the cycle.
 - (2) Source of funds.—Payments to States under the program shall be made using amounts in the Freedom From Influence Fund under section 541 of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 (as added by section 201), hereafter referred to as the "Fund".
 - (3) Mandatory reduction of payments in case of insufficient amounts in freedom from influence fund.—
 - (A) ADVANCE AUDITS BY COMMISSION.—
 Not later than 90 days before the first day of each program operation period, the Commission shall—
 - (i) audit the Fund to determine whether, after first making payments to participating candidates under title V of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 (as added by section 201), the amounts remaining in the Fund will be sufficient to make payments to States under this part in the amounts provided under this subsection; and

1	(ii) submit a report to Congress de-
2	scribing the results of the audit.
3	(B) REDUCTIONS IN AMOUNT OF PAY-
4	MENTS.—
5	(i) Automatic reduction on pro
6	RATA BASIS.—If, on the basis of the audit
7	described in subparagraph (A), the Com-
8	mission determines that the amount antici-
9	pated to be available in the Fund with re-
10	spect to an election cycle involved is not, or
11	may not be, sufficient to make payments to
12	States under this part in the full amount
13	provided under this subsection, the Com-
14	mission shall reduce each amount which
15	would otherwise be paid to a State under
16	this subsection by such pro rata amount as
17	may be necessary to ensure that the aggre-
18	gate amount of payments anticipated to be
19	made with respect to the cycle will not ex-
20	ceed the amount anticipated to be available
21	for such payments in the Fund with re-
22	spect to such cycle.
23	(ii) Restoration of reductions in
24	CASE OF AVAILABILITY OF SUFFICIENT
25	FUNDS DURING ELECTION CYCLE.—If

after reducing the amounts paid to States with respect to an election cycle under clause (i), the Commission determines that there are sufficient amounts in the Fund to restore the amount by which such payments were reduced (or any portion thereof), to the extent that such amounts are available, the Commission may make a payment on a pro rata basis to each such State with respect to the cycle in the amount by which such State's payments were reduced under clause (i) (or any portion thereof, as the case may be).

- (iii) No use of amounts from other sources.—In any case in which the Commission determines that there are insufficient moneys in the Fund to make payments to States under this part, moneys shall not be made available from any other source for the purpose of making such payments.
- (4) CAP ON AMOUNT OF PAYMENT.—The aggregate amount of payments made to any State with respect to any program operation period may not exceed \$10,000,000. If the State determines that the

maximum payment amount under this paragraph 1 2 with respect to the program operation period in-3 volved is not, or may not be, sufficient to cover the reasonable costs incurred by the State in operating 5 the program under this part for such period, the 6 State shall reduce the amount of the voucher pro-7 vided to each qualified individual by such pro rata 8 amount as may be necessary to ensure that the rea-9 sonable costs incurred by the State in operating the 10 program will not exceed the amount paid to the 11 State with respect to such period.

12 SEC. 102. VOUCHER PROGRAM DESCRIBED.

- (a) General Elements of Program.—
- (1) Elements described.—The elements of a voucher pilot program operated by a State under this part are as follows:
 - (A) The State shall provide each qualified individual upon the individual's request with a voucher worth \$25 to be known as a "My Voice Voucher" during the election cycle which will be assigned a routing number and which at the option of the individual will be provided in either paper or electronic form.
 - (B) Using the routing number assigned to the My Voice Voucher, the individual may sub-

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mit the My Voice Voucher in either electronic or paper form to qualified candidates for election for the office of Representative in, or Delegate or Resident Commissioner to, the Congress and allocate such portion of the value of the My Voice Voucher in increments of \$5 as the individual may select to any such candidate.

- (C) If the candidate transmits the My Voice Voucher to the Commission, the Commission shall pay the candidate the portion of the value of the My Voice Voucher that the individual allocated to the candidate, which shall be considered a contribution by the individual to the candidate for purposes of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971.
- (2) Designation of Qualified individual.—For purposes of paragraph (1)(A), a "qualified individual" with respect to a State means an individual—
 - (A) who is a resident of the State;
 - (B) who will be of voting age as of the date of the election for the candidate to whom the individual submits a My Voice Voucher; and

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- 1 (C) who is not prohibited under Federal 2 law from making contributions to candidates 3 for election for Federal office.
- 4 (3) Treatment as contribution to can-5 DIDATE.—For purposes of the Federal Election 6 Campaign Act of 1971, the submission of a My 7 Voice Voucher to a candidate by an individual shall 8 be treated as a contribution to the candidate by the 9 individual in the amount of the portion of the value 10 of the Voucher that the individual allocated to the 11 candidate.
- 12 (b) Fraud Prevention Mechanism.—In addition 13 to the elements described in subsection (a), a State oper-14 ating a voucher pilot program under this part shall permit 15 an individual to revoke a My Voice Voucher not later than 16 2 days after submitting the My Voice Voucher to a can-17 didate.
- 18 (c) Oversight Commission.—In addition to the ele19 ments described in subsection (a), a State operating a
 20 voucher pilot program under this part shall establish a
 21 commission or designate an existing entity to oversee and
 22 implement the program in the State, except that no such
 23 commission or entity may be comprised of elected officials.
- 24 (d) Public Information Campaign.—In addition 25 to the elements described in subsection (a), a State oper-

- 1 ating a voucher pilot program under this part shall carry
- 2 out a public information campaign to disseminate aware-
- 3 ness of the program among qualified individuals.
- 4 SEC. 103. REPORTS.
- 5 (a) Preliminary Report.—Not later than 6
- 6 months after the first election cycle of the program oper-
- 7 ation period, a State which operates a voucher pilot pro-
- 8 gram under this part shall submit a report to the Commis-
- 9 sion analyzing the operation and effectiveness of the pro-
- 10 gram during the cycle and including such other informa-
- 11 tion as the Commission may require.
- 12 (b) Final Report.—Not later than 6 months after
- 13 the end of the program operation period, the State shall
- 14 submit a final report to the Commission analyzing the op-
- 15 eration and effectiveness of the program and including
- 16 such other information as the Commission may require.
- 17 (c) Study and Report on Impact and Effec-
- 18 TIVENESS OF VOUCHER PROGRAMS.—
- 19 (1) Study.—The Federal Election Commission
- shall conduct a study on the efficacy of political
- voucher programs, including the program under this
- part and other similar programs, in expanding and
- 23 diversifying the pool of individuals who participate in
- 24 the electoral process, including those who participate
- as donors and those who participate as candidates.

1 (2) Report.—Not later than 1 year after the
2 date of the enactment of this Act, the Commission
3 shall publish and submit to Congress a report on the
4 study conducted under subsection (a), and shall in5 clude in the report such recommendations as the
6 Commission considers appropriate which would en7 able political voucher programs to be implemented
8 on a national scale.

9 SEC. 104. DEFINITIONS.

- 10 (a) ELECTION CYCLE.—In this part, the term "elec11 tion cycle" means the period beginning on the day after
 12 the date of the most recent regularly scheduled general
 13 election for Federal office and ending on the date of the
 14 next regularly scheduled general election for Federal of15 fice.
- 16 (b) DEFINITIONS RELATING TO PERIODS.—In this 17 part, the following definitions apply:
- 18 (1) Program application period.—The term
 19 "program application period" means the first elec20 tion cycle which begins after the date of the enact21 ment of this Act.
- 22 (2) PROGRAM PREPARATION PERIOD.—The 23 term "program preparation period" means the first 24 election cycle which begins after the program appli-25 cation period.

1	(3) Program operation period.—The term
2	"program operation period" means the first 2 elec-
3	tion cycles which begin after the program prepara-
4	tion period.
5	TITLE II—SMALL DOLLAR FI-
6	NANCING OF CONGRES-
7	SIONAL ELECTION CAM-
8	PAIGNS
9	SEC. 201. BENEFITS AND ELIGIBILITY REQUIREMENTS FOR
10	CANDIDATES.
11	The Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 (52
12	U.S.C. 30101 et seq.) is amended by adding at the end
13	the following:
14	"TITLE V—SMALL DOLLAR FI-
15	NANCING OF CONGRES-
16	SIONAL ELECTION CAM-
17	PAIGNS
18	"Subtitle A—Benefits
19	"SEC. 501. BENEFITS FOR PARTICIPATING CANDIDATES.
20	"(a) In General.—If a candidate for election to the
21	office of Representative in, or Delegate or Resident Com-
22	missioner to, the Congress is certified as a participating
23	candidate under this title with respect to an election for
24	such office, the candidate shall be entitled to payments
25	as provided under this title.

- 1 "(b) Amount of Payment.—The amount of a pay-
- 2 ment made under this title shall be equal to 600 percent
- 3 of the amount of qualified small dollar contributions re-
- 4 ceived by the candidate since the most recent payment
- 5 made to the candidate under this title during the election
- 6 cycle, without regard to whether or not the candidate re-
- 7 ceived any of the contributions before, during, or after the
- 8 Small Dollar Democracy qualifying period applicable to
- 9 the candidate under section 511(c).
- 10 "(c) Limit on Aggregate Amount of Pay-
- 11 MENTS.—The aggregate amount of payments made to a
- 12 participating candidate with respect to an election cycle
- 13 under this title may not exceed 50 percent of the average
- 14 of the 20 greatest amounts of disbursements made by the
- 15 authorized committees of any winning candidate for the
- 16 office of Representative in, or Delegate or Resident Com-
- 17 missioner to, the Congress during the most recent election
- 18 cycle, rounded to the nearest \$100,000.

19 "SEC. 502. PROCEDURES FOR MAKING PAYMENTS.

- 20 "(a) In General.—The Commission shall make a
- 21 payment under section 501 to a candidate who is certified
- 22 as a participating candidate upon receipt from the can-
- 23 didate of a request for a payment which includes—
- 24 "(1) a statement of the number and amount of
- 25 qualified small dollar contributions received by the

- candidate since the most recent payment made to the candidate under this title during the election eyele;
- 4 "(2) a statement of the amount of the payment 5 the candidate anticipates receiving with respect to 6 the request;
- 7 "(3) a statement of the total amount of pay-8 ments the candidate has received under this title as 9 of the date of the statement; and
- 10 "(4) such other information and assurances as 11 the Commission may require.
- 12 "(b) RESTRICTIONS ON SUBMISSION OF RE-13 QUESTS.—A candidate may not submit a request under 14 subsection (a) unless each of the following applies:
- "(1) The amount of the qualified small dollar contributions in the statement referred to in subsection (a)(1) is equal to or greater than \$5,000, unless the request is submitted during the 30-day period which ends on the date of a general election.
- 20 "(2) The candidate did not receive a payment 21 under this title during the 7-day period which ends 22 on the date the candidate submits the request.
- "(c) Time of Payment.—The Commission shall, in coordination with the Secretary of the Treasury, take such steps as may be necessary to ensure that the Secretary

- 1 is able to make payments under this section from the
- 2 Treasury not later than 2 business days after the receipt
- 3 of a request submitted under subsection (a).
- 4 "SEC. 503. USE OF FUNDS.
- 5 "(a) Use of Funds for Authorized Campaign
- 6 Expenditures.—A candidate shall use payments made
- 7 under this title, including payments provided with respect
- 8 to a previous election cycle which are withheld from remit-
- 9 tance to the Commission in accordance with section
- 10 524(a)(2), only for making direct payments for the receipt
- 11 of goods and services which constitute authorized expendi-
- 12 tures (as determined in accordance with title III) in con-
- 13 nection with the election cycle involved.
- 14 "(b) Prohibiting Use of Funds for Legal Ex-
- 15 Penses, Fines, or Penalties.—Notwithstanding title
- 16 III, a candidate may not use payments made under this
- 17 title for the payment of expenses incurred in connection
- 18 with any action, claim, or other matter before the Commis-
- 19 sion or before any court, hearing officer, arbitrator, or
- 20 other dispute resolution entity, or for the payment of any
- 21 fine or civil monetary penalty.
- 22 "SEC. 504. QUALIFIED SMALL DOLLAR CONTRIBUTIONS DE-
- 23 SCRIBED.
- 24 "(a) IN GENERAL.—In this title, the term 'qualified
- 25 small dollar contribution' means, with respect to a can-

1	didate and the authorized committees of a candidate, a
2	contribution that meets the following requirements:
3	"(1) The contribution is in an amount that is—
4	"(A) not less than \$1; and
5	"(B) not more than \$200.
6	"(2)(A) The contribution is made directly by an
7	individual to the candidate or an authorized com-
8	mittee of the candidate and is not—
9	"(i) forwarded from the individual making
10	the contribution to the candidate or committee
11	by another person; or
12	"(ii) received by the candidate or com-
13	mittee with the knowledge that the contribution
14	was made at the request, suggestion, or rec-
15	ommendation of another person.
16	"(B) In this paragraph—
17	"(i) the term 'person' does not include an
18	individual (other than an individual described in
19	section 304(i)(7) of the Federal Election Cam-
20	paign Act of 1971), a political committee of a
21	political party, or any political committee which
22	is not a separate segregated fund described in
23	section 316(b) of the Federal Election Cam-
24	paign Act of 1971 and which does not make
25	contributions or independent expenditures, does

not engage in lobbying activity under the Lobbying Disclosure Act of 1995 (2 U.S.C. 1601 et seq.), and is not established by, controlled by, or affiliated with a registered lobbyist under such Act, an agent of a registered lobbyist under such Act, or an organization which retains or employs a registered lobbyist under such Act; and

"(ii) a contribution is not 'made at the request, suggestion, or recommendation of another person' solely on the grounds that the contribution is made in response to information provided to the individual making the contribution by any person, so long as the candidate or authorized committee does not know the identity of the person who provided the information to such individual.

"(3) The individual who makes the contribution does not make contributions to the candidate or the authorized committees of the candidate with respect to the election involved in an aggregate amount that exceeds the amount described in paragraph (1)(B), or any contribution to the candidate or the authorized committees of the candidate with respect to the

1	election involved that otherwise is not a qualified
2	small dollar contribution.
3	"(b) Treatment of My Voice Vouchers.—Any
4	payment received by a candidate and the authorized com-
5	mittees of a candidate which consists of a My Voice
6	Voucher under the Government By the People Act of 2021
7	shall be considered a qualified small dollar contribution
8	for purposes of this title, so long as the individual making
9	the payment meets the requirements of paragraphs (2)
10	and (3) of subsection (a).
11	"(c) Restriction on Subsequent Contribu-
12	TIONS.—
13	"(1) Prohibiting donor from making sub-
14	SEQUENT NONQUALIFIED CONTRIBUTIONS DURING
15	ELECTION CYCLE.—
16	"(A) In general.—An individual who
17	makes a qualified small dollar contribution to a
18	candidate or the authorized committees of a
19	candidate with respect to an election may not
20	make any subsequent contribution to such can-
21	didate or the authorized committees of such
22	candidate with respect to the election cycle
23	which is not a qualified small dollar contribu-
24	tion.

1 "(B) Exception for contributions to 2 CANDIDATES WHO VOLUNTARILY WITHDRAW 3 FROM PARTICIPATION DURING QUALIFYING PE-4 RIOD.—Subparagraph (A) does not apply with 5 respect to a contribution made to a candidate 6 who, during the Small Dollar Democracy quali-7 fying period described in section 511(c), sub-8 mits a statement to the Commission under sec-9 tion 513(c) to voluntarily withdraw from par-10 ticipating in the program under this title.

> "(2)TREATMENT OF SUBSEQUENT NON-CONTRIBUTIONS.—If, notwithstanding QUALIFIED the prohibition described in paragraph (1), an individual who makes a qualified small dollar contribution to a candidate or the authorized committees of a candidate with respect to an election makes a subsequent contribution to such candidate or the authorized committees of such candidate with respect to the election which is prohibited under paragraph (1) because it is not a qualified small dollar contribution, the candidate may take one of the following actions:

"(A) Not later than 2 weeks after receiving the contribution, the candidate may return the subsequent contribution to the individual. In

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the case of a subsequent contribution which is not a qualified small dollar contribution because the contribution fails to meet the requirements of paragraph (3) of subsection (a) (relating to the aggregate amount of contributions made to the candidate or the authorized committees of the candidate by the individual making the contribution), the candidate may return an amount equal to the difference between the amount of the subsequent contribution and the amount described in paragraph (1)(B) of subsection (a).

"(B) The candidate may retain the subsequent contribution, so long as not later than 2 weeks after receiving the subsequent contribution, the candidate remits to the Commission for deposit in the Freedom From Influence Fund under section 541 an amount equal to any payments received by the candidate under this title which are attributable to the qualified small dollar contribution made by the individual involved.

"(3) NO EFFECT ON ABILITY TO MAKE MUL-TIPLE CONTRIBUTIONS.—Nothing in this section may be construed to prohibit an individual from making multiple qualified small dollar contributions

1	to any candidate or any number of candidates, so
2	long as each contribution meets each of the require-
3	ments of paragraphs (1), (2), and (3) of subsection
4	(a).
5	"(d) Notification Requirements for Can-
6	DIDATES.—
7	"(1) Notification.—Each authorized com-
8	mittee of a candidate who seeks to be a participating
9	candidate under this title shall provide the following
10	information in any materials for the solicitation of
11	contributions, including any internet site through
12	which individuals may make contributions to the
13	committee:
14	"(A) A statement that if the candidate is
15	certified as a participating candidate under this
16	title, the candidate will receive matching pay-
17	ments in an amount which is based on the total
18	amount of qualified small dollar contributions
19	received.
20	"(B) A statement that a contribution
21	which meets the requirements set forth in sub-
22	section (a) shall be treated as a qualified small
23	dollar contribution under this title.
24	"(C) A statement that if a contribution is
25	treated as qualified small dollar contribution

1	under this title, the individual who makes the
2	contribution may not make any contribution to
3	the candidate or the authorized committees of
4	the candidate during the election cycle which is
5	not a qualified small dollar contribution.
6	"(2) Alternative methods of meeting re-
7	QUIREMENTS.—An authorized committee may meet
8	the requirements of paragraph (1)—
9	"(A) by including the information de-
10	scribed in paragraph (1) in the receipt provided
11	under section 512(b)(3) to a person making a
12	qualified small dollar contribution; or
13	"(B) by modifying the information it pro-
14	vides to persons making contributions which is
15	otherwise required under title III (including in-
16	formation it provides through the internet).
17	"Subtitle B—Eligibility and
18	Certification
19	"SEC. 511. ELIGIBILITY.
20	"(a) In General.—A candidate for the office of
21	Representative in, or Delegate or Resident Commissioner
22	to, the Congress is eligible to be certified as a participating
23	candidate under this title with respect to an election if
24	the candidate meets the following requirements:

1	"(1) The candidate files with the Commission a
2	statement of intent to seek certification as a partici-
3	pating candidate.
4	"(2) The candidate meets the qualifying re-
5	quirements of section 512.
6	"(3) The candidate files with the Commission a
7	statement certifying that the authorized committees
8	of the candidate meet the requirements of section
9	504(d).
10	"(4) Not later than the last day of the Small
11	Dollar Democracy qualifying period, the candidate
12	files with the Commission an affidavit signed by the
13	candidate and the treasurer of the candidate's prin-
14	cipal campaign committee declaring that the can-
15	didate—
16	"(A) has complied and, if certified, will
17	comply with the contribution and expenditure
18	requirements of section 521;
19	"(B) if certified, will run only as a partici-
20	pating candidate for all elections for the office
21	that such candidate is seeking during that elec-
22	tion cycle; and
23	"(C) has either qualified or will take steps
24	to qualify under State law to be on the ballot.

- 1 "(b) GENERAL ELECTION.—Notwithstanding sub-
- 2 section (a), a candidate shall not be eligible to be certified
- 3 as a participating candidate under this title for a general
- 4 election or a general runoff election unless the candidate's
- 5 party nominated the candidate to be placed on the ballot
- 6 for the general election or the candidate is otherwise quali-
- 7 fied to be on the ballot under State law.
- 8 "(c) Small Dollar Democracy Qualifying Pe-
- 9 RIOD DEFINED.—The term 'Small Dollar Democracy
- 10 qualifying period' means, with respect to any candidate
- 11 for an office, the 180-day period (during the election cycle
- 12 for such office) which begins on the date on which the
- 13 candidate files a statement of intent under section
- 14 511(a)(1), except that such period may not continue after
- 15 the date that is 30 days before the date of the general
- 16 election for the office.

17 "SEC. 512. QUALIFYING REQUIREMENTS.

- 18 "(a) Receipt of Qualified Small Dollar Con-
- 19 TRIBUTIONS.—A candidate for the office of Representative
- 20 in, or Delegate or Resident Commissioner to, the Congress
- 21 meets the requirement of this section if, during the Small
- 22 Dollar Democracy qualifying period described in section
- 23 511(c), each of the following occurs:
- 24 "(1) Not fewer than 1,000 individuals make a
- qualified small dollar contribution to the candidate.

- 27 1 "(2) The candidate obtains a total dollar 2 amount of qualified small dollar contributions which 3 is equal to or greater than \$50,000. "(b) REQUIREMENTS RELATING TO RECEIPT OF 4 CONTRIBUTION.—Each QUALIFIED SMALL Dollar qualified small dollar contribution— 6 "(1) may be made by means of a personal 7 8 check, money order, debit card, credit card, elec-9 tronic payment account, or any other method 10 deemed appropriate by the Commission; 11 "(2) shall be accompanied by a signed state-12 ment (or, in the case of a contribution made online 13 or through other electronic means, an electronic equivalent) containing the contributor's name and 14
- "(3) shall be acknowledged by a receipt that is 16 17 sent to the contributor with a copy (in paper or elec-18 tronic form) kept by the candidate for the Commis-19 sion.
- 20 "(c) Verification of Contributions.—The Com-21 mission shall establish procedures for the auditing and 22 verification of the contributions received and expenditures 23 made by participating candidates under this title, includ-
- ing procedures for random audits, to ensure that such con-

address; and

1	tributions and expenditures meet the requirements of this
2	title.
3	"SEC. 513. CERTIFICATION.
4	"(a) Deadline and Notification.—
5	"(1) In general.—Not later than 5 business
6	days after a candidate files an affidavit under sec-
7	tion 511(a)(4), the Commission shall—
8	"(A) determine whether or not the can-
9	didate meets the requirements for certification
10	as a participating candidate;
11	"(B) if the Commission determines that
12	the candidate meets such requirements, certify
13	the candidate as a participating candidate; and
14	"(C) notify the candidate of the Commis-
15	sion's determination.
16	"(2) Deemed Certification for all elec-
17	TIONS IN ELECTION CYCLE.—If the Commission cer-
18	tifies a candidate as a participating candidate with
19	respect to the first election of the election cycle in-
20	volved, the Commission shall be deemed to have cer-
21	tified the candidate as a participating candidate with
22	respect to all subsequent elections of the election
23	cycle.
24	"(b) Revocation of Certification.—

1	"(1) In General.—The Commission shall re-
2	voke a certification under subsection (a) if—
3	"(A) a candidate fails to qualify to appear
4	on the ballot at any time after the date of cer-
5	tification (other than a candidate certified as a
6	participating candidate with respect to a pri-
7	mary election who fails to qualify to appear on
8	the ballot for a subsequent election in that elec-
9	tion cycle);
10	"(B) a candidate ceases to be a candidate
11	for the office involved, as determined on the
12	basis of an official announcement by an author-
13	ized committee of the candidate or on the basis
14	of a reasonable determination by the Commis-
15	sion; or
16	"(C) a candidate otherwise fails to comply
17	with the requirements of this title, including
18	any regulatory requirements prescribed by the
19	Commission.
20	"(2) Existence of Criminal Sanction.—The
21	Commission shall revoke a certification under sub-
22	section (a) if a penalty is assessed against the can-
23	didate under section 309(d) with respect to the elec-
24	tion.

1	"(3) Effect of Revocation.—If a can-
2	didate's certification is revoked under this sub-
3	section—
4	"(A) the candidate may not receive pay-
5	ments under this title during the remainder of
6	the election cycle involved; and
7	"(B) in the case of a candidate whose cer-
8	tification is revoked pursuant to subparagraph
9	(A) or subparagraph (C) of paragraph (1)—
10	"(i) the candidate shall repay to the
11	Freedom From Influence Fund established
12	under section 541 an amount equal to the
13	payments received under this title with re-
14	spect to the election cycle involved plus in-
15	terest (at a rate determined by the Com-
16	mission on the basis of an appropriate an-
17	nual percentage rate for the month in-
18	volved) on any such amount received; and
19	"(ii) the candidate may not be cer-
20	tified as a participating candidate under
21	this title with respect to the next election
22	cycle.
23	"(4) Prohibiting participation in future
24	ELECTIONS FOR CANDIDATES WITH MULTIPLE REV-
25	OCATIONS.—If the Commission revokes the certifi-

- 1 cation of an individual as a participating candidate
- 2 under this title pursuant to subparagraph (A) or
- 3 subparagraph (C) of paragraph (1) a total of 3
- 4 times, the individual may not be certified as a par-
- 5 ticipating candidate under this title with respect to
- 6 any subsequent election.
- 7 "(c) Voluntary Withdrawal From Partici-
- 8 PATING DURING QUALIFYING PERIOD.—At any time dur-
- 9 ing the Small Dollar Democracy qualifying period de-
- 10 scribed in section 511(c), a candidate may withdraw from
- 11 participation in the program under this title by submitting
- 12 to the Commission a statement of withdrawal (without re-
- 13 gard to whether or not the Commission has certified the
- 14 candidate as a participating candidate under this title as
- 15 of the time the candidate submits such statement), so long
- 16 as the candidate has not submitted a request for payment
- 17 under section 502.
- 18 "(d) Participating Candidate Defined.—In this
- 19 title, a 'participating candidate' means a candidate for the
- 20 office of Representative in, or Delegate or Resident Com-
- 21 missioner to, the Congress who is certified under this sec-
- 22 tion 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. CONTRIBUTION AND EXPENDITURE REQUIRE-
5	MENTS.
6	"(a) Permitted Sources of Contributions and
7	EXPENDITURES.—Except as provided in subsection (c), a
8	participating candidate with respect to an election shall,
9	with respect to all elections occurring during the election
10	cycle for the office involved, accept no contributions from
11	any source and make no expenditures from any amounts,
12	other than the following:
13	"(1) Qualified small dollar contributions.
14	"(2) Payments under this title.
15	"(3) Contributions from political committees es-
16	tablished and maintained by a national or State po-
17	litical party, subject to the applicable limitations of
18	section 315.
19	"(4) Subject to subsection (b), personal funds
20	of the candidate or of any immediate family member
21	of the candidate (other than funds received through
22	qualified small dollar contributions).
23	"(5) Contributions from individuals who are
24	otherwise permitted to make contributions under
25	this Act, subject to the applicable limitations of sec-

tion 315, except that the aggregate amount of con-
tributions a participating candidate may accept from
any individual with respect to any election during
the election cycle may not exceed \$1,000.
"(6) Contributions from multicandidate political
committees, subject to the applicable limitations of
section 315.
"(b) Special Rules for Personal Funds.—
"(1) LIMIT ON AMOUNT.—A candidate who is
certified as a participating candidate may use per-
sonal funds (including personal funds of any imme-
diate family member of the candidate) so long as—
"(A) the aggregate amount used with re-
spect to the election cycle (including any period
of the cycle occurring prior to the candidate's
certification as a participating candidate) does
not exceed \$50,000; and
"(B) the funds are used only for making
direct payments for the receipt of goods and
services which constitute authorized expendi-
tures in connection with the election cycle in-
volved.
"(2) Immediate family member defined.—
In this subsection, the term 'immediate family mem-

ber' means, with respect to a candidate—

1	"(A) the candidate's spouse;
2	"(B) a child, stepchild, parent, grand-
3	parent, brother, half-brother, sister, or half-sis-
4	ter of the candidate or the candidate's spouse;
5	and
6	"(C) the spouse of any person described in
7	subparagraph (B).
8	"(c) Exceptions.—
9	"(1) Exception for contributions re-
10	CEIVED PRIOR TO FILING OF STATEMENT OF IN-
11	TENT.—A candidate who has accepted contributions
12	that are not described in subsection (a) is not in vio-
13	lation of subsection (a), but only if all such contribu-
14	tions are—
15	"(A) returned to the contributor;
16	"(B) submitted to the Commission for de-
17	posit in the Freedom From Influence Fund es-
18	tablished under section 541; or
19	"(C) spent in accordance with paragraph
20	(2).
21	"(2) Exception for expenditures made
22	PRIOR TO FILING OF STATEMENT OF INTENT.—If a
23	candidate has made expenditures prior to the date
24	the candidate files a statement of intent under sec-
25	tion 511(a)(1) that the candidate is prohibited from

1 making under subsection (a) or subsection (b), the 2 candidate is not in violation of such subsection if the aggregate amount of the prohibited expenditures is 3 less than the amount referred to in section 5 512(a)(2) (relating to the total dollar amount of 6 qualified small dollar contributions which the can-7 didate is required to obtain) which is applicable to 8 the candidate.

- "(3) EXCEPTION FOR CAMPAIGN SURPLUSES
 FROM A PREVIOUS ELECTION.—Notwithstanding
 paragraph (1), unexpended contributions received by
 the candidate or an authorized committee of the
 candidate with respect to a previous election may be
 retained, but only if the candidate places the funds
 in escrow and refrains from raising additional funds
 for or spending funds from that account during the
 election cycle in which a candidate is a participating
 candidate.
- "(4) EXCEPTION FOR CONTRIBUTIONS RE-CEIVED BEFORE THE EFFECTIVE DATE OF THIS TITLE.—Contributions received and expenditures made by the candidate or an authorized committee of the candidate prior to the effective date of this title shall not constitute a violation of subsection (a) or (b). Unexpended contributions shall be treated

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- 1 the same as campaign surpluses under paragraph
- 2 (3), and expenditures made shall count against the
- 3 limit in paragraph (2).
- 4 "(d) Special Rule for Coordinated Party Ex-
- 5 PENDITURES.—For purposes of this section, a payment
- 6 made by a political party in coordination with a partici-
- 7 pating candidate shall not be treated as a contribution to
- 8 or as an expenditure made by the participating candidate.
- 9 "(e) Prohibition on Joint Fundraising Commit-
- 10 TEES.—
- 11 "(1) Prohibition.—An authorized committee
- of a candidate who is certified as a participating
- candidate under this title with respect to an election
- may not establish a joint fundraising committee with
- a political committee other than another authorized
- 16 committee of the candidate.
- 17 "(2) Status of existing committees for
- PRIOR ELECTIONS.—If a candidate established a
- joint fundraising committee described in paragraph
- 20 (1) with respect to a prior election for which the
- candidate was not certified as a participating can-
- didate under this title and the candidate does not
- terminate the committee, the candidate shall not be
- considered to be in violation of paragraph (1) so
- long as that joint fundraising committee does not re-

ceive any contributions or make any disbursements during the election cycle for which the candidate is certified as a participating candidate under this title.

"(f) Prohibition on Leadership PACs.—

- "(1) Prohibition.—A candidate who is certified as a participating candidate under this title with respect to an election may not associate with, establish, finance, maintain, or control a leadership PAC.
- "(2) Status of Existing Leadership PACs.—If a candidate established, financed, maintained, or controlled a leadership PAC prior to being certified as a participating candidate under this title and the candidate does not terminate the leadership PAC, the candidate shall not be considered to be in violation of paragraph (1) so long as the leadership PAC does not receive any contributions or make any disbursements during the election cycle for which the candidate is certified as a participating candidate under this title.
- "(3) LEADERSHIP PAC DEFINED.—In this subsection, the term 'leadership PAC' has the meaning given such term in section 304(i)(8)(B).

1 "SEC. 522. ADMINISTRATION OF CAMPAIGN.

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2	"(a) Separate Accounting for Various Per-
3	MITTED CONTRIBUTIONS.—Each authorized committee of
4	a candidate certified as a participating candidate under
5	this title—
6	"(1) shall provide for separate accounting of
7	each type of contribution described in section 521(a)
8	which is received by the committee; and
9	"(2) shall provide for separate accounting for
10	the payments received under this title.
11	"(b) Enhanced Disclosure of Information on
12	Donors.—
13	"(1) Mandatory identification of individ-
14	UALS MAKING QUALIFIED SMALL DOLLAR CON-
15	TRIBUTIONS.—Each authorized committee of a par-
16	ticipating candidate under this title shall, in accord-
17	ance with section 304(b)(3)(A), include in the re-
18	ports the committee submits under section 304 the
19	identification of each person who makes a qualified
20	small dollar contribution to the committee.
21	"(2) Mandatory disclosure through
22	INTERNET.—Each authorized committee of a partici-
23	pating candidate under this title shall ensure that all
24	information reported to the Commission under this
25	Act with respect to contributions and expenditures

of the committee is available to the public on the

- 1 internet (whether through a site established for pur-
- 2 poses of this subsection, a hyperlink on another pub-
- 3 lie site of the committee, or a hyperlink on a report
- 4 filed electronically with the Commission) in a search-
- 5 able, sortable, and downloadable manner.

6 "SEC. 523. PREVENTING UNNECESSARY SPENDING OF PUB-

- 7 LIC FUNDS.
- 8 "(a) Mandatory Spending of Available Pri-
- 9 VATE FUNDS.—An authorized committee of a candidate
- 10 certified as a participating candidate under this title may
- 11 not make any expenditure of any payments received under
- 12 this title in any amount unless the committee has made
- 13 an expenditure in an equivalent amount of funds received
- 14 by the committee which are described in paragraphs (1),
- 15 (3), (4), (5), and (6) of section 521(a).
- 16 "(b) Limitation.—Subsection (a) applies to an au-
- 17 thorized committee only to the extent that the funds re-
- 18 ferred to in such subsection are available to the committee
- 19 at the time the committee makes an expenditure of a pay-
- 20 ment received under this title.

21 "SEC. 524. REMITTING UNSPENT FUNDS AFTER ELECTION.

- 22 "(a) Remittance Required.—Not later than the
- 23 date that is 180 days after the last election for which a
- 24 candidate certified as a participating candidate qualifies
- 25 to be on the ballot during the election cycle involved, such

- 1 participating candidate shall remit to the Commission for
- 2 deposit in the Freedom From Influence Fund established
- 3 under section 541 an amount equal to the balance of the
- 4 payments received under this title by the authorized com-
- 5 mittees of the candidate which remain unexpended as of
- 6 such date.
- 7 "(b) Permitting Candidates Participating in
- 8 NEXT ELECTION CYCLE TO RETAIN PORTION OF
- 9 Unspent Funds.—Notwithstanding subsection (a), a
- 10 participating candidate may withhold not more than
- 11 \$100,000 from the amount required to be remitted under
- 12 subsection (a) if the candidate files a signed affidavit with
- 13 the Commission that the candidate will seek certification
- 14 as a participating candidate with respect to the next elec-
- 15 tion cycle, except that the candidate may not use any por-
- 16 tion of the amount withheld until the candidate is certified
- 17 as a participating candidate with respect to that next elec-
- 18 tion cycle. If the candidate fails to seek certification as
- 19 a participating candidate prior to the last day of the Small
- 20 Dollar Democracy qualifying period for the next election
- 21 cycle (as described in section 511), or if the Commission
- 22 notifies the candidate of the Commission's determination
- 23 does not meet the requirements for certification as a par-
- 24 ticipating candidate with respect to such cycle, the can-

1	didate shall immediately remit to the Commission the
2	amount withheld.
3	"Subtitle D—Enhanced Match
4	Support
5	"SEC. 531. ENHANCED SUPPORT FOR GENERAL ELECTION.
6	"(a) Availability of Enhanced Support.—In
7	addition to the payments made under subtitle A, the Com-
8	mission shall make an additional payment to an eligible
9	candidate under this subtitle.
10	"(b) Use of Funds.—A candidate shall use the ad-
11	ditional payment under this subtitle only for authorized
12	expenditures in connection with the election involved.
13	"SEC. 532. ELIGIBILITY.
14	"(a) In General.—A candidate is eligible to receive
15	an additional payment under this subtitle if the candidate
16	meets each of the following requirements:
17	"(1) The candidate is on the ballot for the gen-
18	eral election for the office the candidate seeks.
19	"(2) The candidate is certified as a partici-
20	pating candidate under this title with respect to the
21	election.
22	"(3) During the enhanced support qualifying
23	period, the candidate receives qualified small dollar
24	contributions in a total amount of not less than
25	\$50,000.

1	"(4) During the enhanced support qualifying
2	period, the candidate submits to the Commission a
3	request for the payment which includes—
4	"(A) a statement of the number and
5	amount of qualified small dollar contributions
6	received by the candidate during the enhanced
7	support qualifying period;
8	"(B) a statement of the amount of the
9	payment the candidate anticipates receiving
10	with respect to the request; and
11	"(C) such other information and assur-
12	ances as the Commission may require.
13	"(5) After submitting a request for the addi-
14	tional payment under paragraph (4), the candidate
15	does not submit any other application for an addi-
16	tional payment under this subtitle.
17	"(b) Enhanced Support Qualifying Period De-
18	SCRIBED.—In this subtitle, the term 'enhanced support
19	qualifying period' means, with respect to a general elec-
20	tion, the period which begins 60 days before the date of
21	the election and ends 14 days before the date of the elec-
22	tion.
23	"SEC. 533. AMOUNT.
24	"(a) In General.—Subject to subsection (b), the
25	amount of the additional payment made to an eligible can-

- 1 didate under this subtitle shall be an amount equal to 50
- 2 percent of—
- 3 "(1) the amount of the payment made to the
- 4 candidate under section 501(b) with respect to the
- 5 qualified small dollar contributions which are re-
- 6 ceived by the candidate during the enhanced support
- 7 qualifying period (as included in the request sub-
- 8 mitted by the candidate under section 532(a)(4); or
- 9 "(2) in the case of a candidate who is not eligi-
- ble to receive a payment under section 501(b) with
- 11 respect to such qualified small dollar contributions
- because the candidate has reached the limit on the
- aggregate amount of payments under subtitle A for
- the election cycle under section 501(c), the amount
- of the payment which would have been made to the
- 16 candidate under section 501(b) with respect to such
- 17 qualified small dollar contributions if the candidate
- had not reached such limit.
- 19 "(b) Limit.—The amount of the additional payment
- 20 determined under subsection (a) with respect to a can-
- 21 didate may not exceed \$500,000.
- 22 "(c) No Effect on Aggregate Limit.—The
- 23 amount of the additional payment made to a candidate
- 24 under this subtitle shall not be included in determining
- 25 the aggregate amount of payments made to a participating

1	candidate with respect to an election cycle under section
2	501(e).
3	"SEC. 534. WAIVER OF AUTHORITY TO RETAIN PORTION OF
4	UNSPENT FUNDS AFTER ELECTION.
5	"Notwithstanding section 524(a)(2), a candidate who
6	receives an additional payment under this subtitle with re-
7	spect to an election is not permitted to withhold any por-
8	tion from the amount of unspent funds the candidate is
9	required to remit to the Commission under section
10	524(a)(1).
11	"Subtitle E—Administrative
12	Provisions
13	"SEC. 541. FREEDOM FROM INFLUENCE FUND.
14	"(a) Establishment.—There is established in the
15	Treasury a fund to be known as the 'Freedom From Influ-
16	ence Fund'.
17	"(b) Amounts Held by Fund.—The Fund shall
18	consist of the following amounts:
19	"(1) Assessments against fines, settle-
20	MENTS, AND PENALTIES.—Amounts transferred
21	under section 3015 of title 18, United States Code,
22	section 9706 of title 31, United States Code, and
23	section 6761 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986.
24	"(2) Deposites.—Amounts deposited into the
25	Fund under—

1	"(A) section $521(c)(1)(B)$ (relating to ex-
2	ceptions to contribution requirements);
3	"(B) section 523 (relating to remittance of
4	unused payments from the Fund); and
5	"(C) section 544 (relating to violations).
6	"(c) Use of Fund To Make Payments to Par-
7	TICIPATING CANDIDATES.—
8	"(1) Payments to participating can-
9	DIDATES.—Amounts in the Fund shall be available
10	without further appropriation or fiscal year limita-
11	tion to make payments to participating candidates
12	as provided in this title.
13	"(2) Mandatory reduction of payments in
14	CASE OF INSUFFICIENT AMOUNTS IN FUND.—
15	"(A) Advance audits by commission.—
16	Not later than 90 days before the first day of
17	each election cycle (beginning with the first
18	election cycle that begins after the date of the
19	enactment of this title), the Commission shall—
20	"(i) audit the Fund to determine
21	whether the amounts in the Fund will be
22	sufficient to make payments to partici-
23	pating candidates in the amounts provided
24	in this title during such election cycle; and

1	"(ii) submit a report to Congress de-
2	scribing the results of the audit.
3	"(B) REDUCTIONS IN AMOUNT OF PAY-
4	MENTS.—
5	"(i) AUTOMATIC REDUCTION ON PRO
6	RATA BASIS.—If, on the basis of the audit
7	described in subparagraph (A), the Com-
8	mission determines that the amount antici-
9	pated to be available in the Fund with re-
10	spect to the election cycle involved is not
11	or may not be, sufficient to satisfy the full
12	entitlements of participating candidates to
13	payments under this title for such election
14	cycle, the Commission shall reduce each
15	amount which would otherwise be paid to
16	a participating candidate under this title
17	by such pro rata amount as may be nec-
18	essary to ensure that the aggregate
19	amount of payments anticipated to be
20	made with respect to the election cycle will
21	not exceed the amount anticipated to be
22	available for such payments in the Fund
23	with respect to such election cycle.
24	"(ii) Restoration of reductions
25	IN CASE OF AVAILABILITY OF SUFFICIENT

1 FUNDS DURING ELECTION CYCLE.—If, 2 after reducing the amounts paid to participating candidates with respect to an elec-3 tion cycle under clause (i), the Commission determines that sufficient there are 6 amounts in the Fund to restore the 7 amount by which such payments were re-8 duced (or any portion thereof), to the ex-9 tent that such amounts are available, the 10 Commission may make a payment on a pro-11 rata basis to each such participating can-12 didate with respect to the election cycle in 13 the amount by which such candidate's pay-14 ments were reduced under clause (i) (or 15 any portion thereof, as the case may be). 16 "(iii) No use of amounts from 17 OTHER SOURCES.—In any case in which 18 the Commission determines that there are 19 insufficient moneys in the Fund to make 20 payments to participating candidates under this title, moneys shall not be made avail-21 22 able from any other source for the purpose 23 of making such payments. 24 "(d) Use of Fund To Make Other Payments.— In addition to the use described in subsection (d), amounts

1	in the Fund shall be available without further appropria-
2	tion or fiscal year limitation—
3	"(1) to make payments to States under the My
4	Voice Voucher Program under the Government By
5	the People Act of 2021, subject to reductions under
6	section 5101(f)(3) of such Act;
7	"(2) to make payments to candidates under
8	chapter 95 of subtitle H of the Internal Revenue
9	Code of 1986, subject to reductions under section
10	9013(b) of such Code; and
11	"(3) to make payments to candidates under
12	chapter 96 of subtitle H of the Internal Revenue
13	Code of 1986, subject to reductions under section
14	9043(b) of such Code.
15	"(e) No Taxpayer Funds Permitted.—No tax-
16	payer funds may be deposited into the Fund.
17	"(f) Effective Date.—This section shall take ef-
18	fect on the date of the enactment of this title.
19	"SEC. 542. REVIEWS AND REPORTS BY GOVERNMENT AC-
20	COUNTABILITY OFFICE.
21	"(a) Review of Small Dollar Financing.—
22	"(1) IN GENERAL.—After each regularly sched-
23	uled general election for Federal office, the Comp-
24	troller General of the United States shall conduct a

1	comprehensive review of the Small Dollar financing
2	program under this title, including—
3	"(A) the maximum and minimum dollar
4	amounts of qualified small dollar contributions
5	under section 504;
6	"(B) the number and value of qualified
7	small dollar contributions a candidate is re-
8	quired to obtain under section 512(a) to be eli-
9	gible for certification as a participating can-
10	didate;
11	"(C) the maximum amount of payments a
12	candidate may receive under this title;
13	"(D) the overall satisfaction of partici-
14	pating candidates and the American public with
15	the program;
16	"(E) the extent to which the program in-
17	creased opportunities for participation by can-
18	didates of diverse racial, gender, and socio-eco-
19	nomic backgrounds; and
20	"(F) such other matters relating to financ-
21	ing of campaigns as the Comptroller General
22	determines are appropriate.
23	"(2) Criteria for review.—In conducting
24	the review under subparagraph (A), the Comptroller
25	General shall consider the following:

"(A) QUALIFIED SMALL DOLLAR CONTRIBUTIONS.—Whether the number and dollar amounts of qualified small dollar contributions required strikes an appropriate balance regarding the importance of voter involvement, the need to assure adequate incentives for participating, and fiscal responsibility, taking into consideration the number of primary and general election participating candidates, the electoral performance of those candidates, program cost, and any other information the Comptroller General determines is appropriate.

"(B) Review of payment levels.—
Whether the totality of the amount of funds allowed to be raised by participating candidates (including through qualified small dollar contributions) and payments under this title are sufficient for voters in each State to learn about the candidates to cast an informed vote, taking into account the historic amount of spending by winning candidates, media costs, primary election dates, and any other information the Comptroller General determines is appropriate.

"(3) RECOMMENDATIONS FOR ADJUSTMENT OF AMOUNTS.—Based on the review conducted under

1	subparagraph (A), the Comptroller General may rec-
2	ommend to Congress adjustments of the following
3	amounts:
4	"(A) The number and value of qualified
5	small dollar contributions a candidate is re-
6	quired to obtain under section 512(a) to be eli-
7	gible for certification as a participating can-
8	didate.
9	"(B) The maximum amount of payments a
10	candidate may receive under this title.
11	"(b) Reports.—Not later than each June 1 which
12	follows a regularly scheduled general election for Federal
13	office for which payments were made under this title, the
14	Comptroller General shall submit to the Committee on
15	House Administration of the House of Representatives a
16	report—
17	"(1) containing an analysis of the review con-
18	ducted under subsection (a), including a detailed
19	statement of Comptroller General's findings, conclu-
20	sions, and recommendations based on such review,
21	including any recommendations for adjustments of
22	amounts described in subsection (a)(3); and
23	"(2) documenting, evaluating, and making rec-
24	ommendations relating to the administrative imple-

1 mentation and enforcement of the provisions of this 2 title. 3 "(c) AUTHORIZATION OF APPROPRIATIONS.—There are authorized to be appropriated such sums as are nec-5 essary to carry out the purposes of this section. 6 "SEC. 543. ADMINISTRATION BY COMMISSION. 7 "The Commission shall prescribe regulations to carry 8 out the purposes of this title, including regulations to establish procedures for— "(1) verifying the amount of qualified small dol-10 11 lar contributions with respect to a candidate; "(2) effectively and efficiently monitoring and 12 13 enforcing the limits on the raising of qualified small 14 dollar contributions; 15 "(3) effectively and efficiently monitoring and 16 enforcing the limits on the use of personal funds by 17 participating candidates; and 18 "(4) monitoring the use of allocations from the 19 Freedom From Influence Fund established under 20 section 541 and matching contributions under this 21 title through audits of not fewer than ½10 (or, in the 22 case of the first 3 election cycles during which the 23 program under this title is in effect, not fewer than 24 1/3) of all participating candidates or other mecha-

nisms.

1 "SEC. 544. VIOLATIONS AND PENALTIES.

2	"(a) Civil Penalty for Violation of Contribu-
3	TION AND EXPENDITURE REQUIREMENTS.—If a can-
4	didate who has been certified as a participating candidate
5	accepts a contribution or makes an expenditure that is
6	prohibited under section 521, the Commission may assess
7	a civil penalty against the candidate in an amount that
8	is not more than 3 times the amount of the contribution
9	or expenditure. Any amounts collected under this sub-
10	section shall be deposited into the Freedom From Influ-
11	ence Fund established under section 541.
12	"(b) Repayment for Improper Use of Freedom
13	From Influence Fund.—
14	"(1) In general.—If the Commission deter-
15	mines that any payment made to a participating
16	candidate was not used as provided for in this title
17	or that a participating candidate has violated any of
18	the dates for remission of funds contained in this
19	title, the Commission shall so notify the candidate
20	and the candidate shall pay to the Fund an amount
21	equal to—
22	"(A) the amount of payments so used or
23	not remitted, as appropriate; and
24	"(B) interest on any such amounts (at a
25	rate determined by the Commission).

1 "(2) OTHER ACTION NOT PRECLUDED.—Any 2 action by the Commission in accordance with this 3 subsection shall not preclude enforcement pro-4 ceedings by the Commission in accordance with sec-5 tion 309(a), including a referral by the Commission 6 to the Attorney General in the case of an apparent 7 knowing and willful violation of this title.

8 "(c) Prohibiting Certain Candidates From
9 Qualifying as Participating Candidates.—

"(1) CANDIDATES WITH MULTIPLE CIVIL PENALTIES.—If the Commission assesses 3 or more civil
penalties under subsection (a) against a candidate
(with respect to either a single election or multiple
elections), the Commission may refuse to certify the
candidate as a participating candidate under this
title with respect to any subsequent election, except
that if each of the penalties were assessed as the result of a knowing and willful violation of any provision of this Act, the candidate is not eligible to be
certified as a participating candidate under this title
with respect to any subsequent election.

"(2) CANDIDATES SUBJECT TO CRIMINAL PEN-ALTY.—A candidate is not eligible to be certified as a participating candidate under this title with respect to an election if a penalty has been assessed

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- against the candidate under section 309(d) with re-
- 2 spect to any previous election.
- 3 "(d) Imposition of Criminal Penalties.—For
- 4 criminal penalties for the failure of a participating can-
- 5 didate to comply with the requirements of this title, see
- 6 section 309(d).

7 "SEC. 545. APPEALS PROCESS.

- 8 "(a) Review of Actions.—Any action by the Com-
- 9 mission in carrying out this title shall be subject to review
- 10 by the United States Court of Appeals for the District
- 11 of Columbia upon petition filed in the Court not later than
- 12 30 days after the Commission takes the action for which
- 13 the review is sought.
- 14 "(b) Procedures.—The provisions of chapter 7 of
- 15 title 5, United States Code, apply to judicial review under
- 16 this section.

17 "SEC. 546. INDEXING OF AMOUNTS.

- 18 "(a) Indexing.—In any calendar year after 2026,
- 19 section 315(c)(1)(B) shall apply to each amount described
- 20 in subsection (b) in the same manner as such section ap-
- 21 plies to the limitations established under subsections
- 22 (a)(1)(A), (a)(1)(B), (a)(3), and (b) of such section, ex-
- 23 cept that for purposes of applying such section to the
- 24 amounts described in subsection (b), the 'base period'
- 25 shall be 2026.

"(b) Amounts Described.—The amounts described 1 in this subsection are as follows: 3 "(1) The amount referred to in section 4 502(b)(1) (relating to the minimum amount of quali-5 fied small dollar contributions included in a request 6 for payment). 7 "(2) The amounts referred to in section 8 504(a)(1) (relating to the amount of a qualified 9 small dollar contribution). 10 "(3) The amount referred to in section 11 512(a)(2) (relating to the total dollar amount of 12 qualified small dollar contributions). The amount referred to in section 13 14 521(a)(5) (relating to the aggregate amount of con-15 tributions a participating candidate may accept from 16 any individual with respect to an election). 17 The amount referred to in section 18 521(b)(1)(A) (relating to the amount of personal 19 funds that may be used by a candidate who is cer-20 tified as a participating candidate). 21 "(6) The amounts referred to in section 22 524(a)(2) (relating to the amount of unspent funds 23 a candidate may retain for use in the next election

cycle).

"(7) 1 The referred to in section amount 2 532(a)(3) (relating to the total dollar amount of qualified small dollar contributions for a candidate 3 seeking an additional payment under subtitle D). "(8) The amount referred to in section 533(b) 6 (relating to the limit on the amount of an additional 7 payment made to a candidate under subtitle D). 8 "SEC. 547. ELECTION CYCLE DEFINED. 9 "In this title, the term 'election cycle' means, with 10 respect to an election for an office, the period beginning on the day after the date of the most recent general elec-11 12 tion for that office (or, if the general election resulted in a runoff election, the date of the runoff election) and ending on the date of the next general election for that office 14 15 (or, if the general election resulted in a runoff election, the date of the runoff election).". 16 SEC. 202. CONTRIBUTIONS AND EXPENDITURES BY MULTI-18 CANDIDATE AND POLITICAL PARTY COMMIT-19 TEES ON BEHALF OF PARTICIPATING CAN-20 DIDATES. 21 (a) AUTHORIZING CONTRIBUTIONS ONLY FROM SEP-ARATE ACCOUNTS CONSISTING OF QUALIFIED SMALL Dollar Contributions.—Section 315(a) of the Federal 23

Election Campaign Act of 1971 (52 U.S.C. 30116(a)) is

- 1 amended by adding at the end the following new para-
- 2 graph:
- 3 "(10) In the case of a multicandidate political com-
- 4 mittee or any political committee of a political party, the
- 5 committee may make a contribution to a candidate who
- 6 is a participating candidate under title V with respect to
- 7 an election only if the contribution is paid from a separate,
- 8 segregated account of the committee which consists solely
- 9 of contributions which meet the following requirements:
- 10 "(A) Each such contribution is in an amount
- 11 which meets the requirements for the amount of a
- 12 qualified small dollar contribution under section
- 504(a)(1) with respect to the election involved.
- 14 "(B) Each such contribution is made by an in-
- dividual who is not otherwise prohibited from mak-
- ing a contribution under this Act.
- 17 "(C) The individual who makes the contribution
- does not make contributions to the committee during
- the year in an aggregate amount that exceeds the
- limit described in section 504(a)(1).".
- 21 (b) Permitting Unlimited Coordinated Ex-
- 22 PENDITURES FROM SMALL DOLLAR SOURCES BY POLIT-
- 23 ICAL PARTIES.—Section 315(d) of such Act (52 U.S.C.
- 24 30116(d)) is amended—

1	(1) in paragraph (3), by striking "The national
2	committee" and inserting "Except as provided in
3	paragraph (6), the national committee"; and
4	(2) by adding at the end the following new
5	paragraph:
6	"(6) The limits described in paragraph (3) do not
7	apply in the case of expenditures in connection with the
8	general election campaign of a candidate for the office of
9	Representative in, or Delegate or Resident Commissioner
10	to, the Congress who is a participating candidate under
11	title V with respect to the election, but only if—
12	"(A) the expenditures are paid from a separate,
13	segregated account of the committee which is de-
14	scribed in subsection (a)(10); and
15	"(B) the expenditures are the sole source of
16	funding provided by the committee to the can-
17	didate.".
18	SEC. 203. PROHIBITING USE OF CONTRIBUTIONS BY PAR-
19	TICIPATING CANDIDATES FOR PURPOSES
20	OTHER THAN CAMPAIGN FOR ELECTION.
21	Section 313 of the Federal Election Campaign Act
22	of 1971 (52 U.S.C. 30114) is amended by adding at the
23	end the following new subsection:
24	"(d) Restrictions on Permitted Uses of Funds
25	BY CANDIDATES RECEIVING SMALL DOLLAR FINANC-

- 1 ING.—Notwithstanding paragraph (2), (3), or (4) of sub-
- 2 section (a), if a candidate for election for the office of Rep-
- 3 resentative in, or Delegate or Resident Commissioner to,
- 4 the Congress is certified as a participating candidate
- 5 under title V with respect to the election, any contribution
- 6 which the candidate is permitted to accept under such title
- 7 may be used only for authorized expenditures in connec-
- 8 tion with the candidate's campaign for such office, subject
- 9 to section 503(b).".
- 10 SEC. 204. ASSESSMENTS AGAINST FINES AND PENALTIES.
- 11 (a) Assessments Relating to Criminal Of-
- 12 FENSES.—
- 13 (1) IN GENERAL.—Chapter 201 of title 18,
- 14 United States Code, is amended by adding at the
- end the following new section:
- 16 "§ 3015. Special assessments for Freedom From Influ-
- 17 ence Fund
- 18 "(a) Assessments.—
- 19 "(1) Convictions of Crimes.—In addition to
- any assessment imposed under this chapter, the
- 21 court shall assess on any organizational defendant or
- any defendant who is a corporate officer or person
- with equivalent authority in any other organization
- 24 who is convicted of a criminal offense under Federal
- law an amount equal to 4.75 percent of any fine im-

- posed on that defendant in the sentence imposed for that conviction.
- 3 "(2) Settlements.—The court shall assess on
- 4 any organizational defendant or defendant who is a
- 5 corporate officer or person with equivalent authority
- 6 in any other organization who has entered into a
- 7 settlement agreement or consent decree with the
- 8 United States in satisfaction of any allegation that
- 9 the defendant committed a criminal offense under
- Federal law an amount equal to 4.75 percent of the
- amount of the settlement.
- 12 "(b) Manner of Collection.—An amount as-
- 13 sessed under subsection (a) shall be collected in the man-
- 14 ner in which fines are collected in criminal cases.
- 15 "(c) Transfers.—In a manner consistent with sec-
- 16 tion 3302(b) of title 31, there shall be transferred from
- 17 the General Fund of the Treasury to the Freedom From
- 18 Influence Fund under section 541 of the Federal Election
- 19 Campaign Act of 1971 an amount equal to the amount
- 20 of the assessments collected under this section.".
- 21 (2) CLERICAL AMENDMENT.—The table of sec-
- tions of chapter 201 of title 18, United States Code,
- is amended by adding at the end the following:
 - "3015. Special assessments for Freedom From Influence Fund.".
- 24 (b) Assessments Relating to Civil Pen-
- 25 ALTIES.—

1	(1) In General.—Chapter 97 of title 31
2	United States Code, is amended by adding at the
3	end the following new section:
4	"§ 9706. Special assessments for Freedom From Influ-
5	ence Fund
6	"(a) Assessments.—
7	"(1) Civil Penalties.—Any entity of the Fed-
8	eral Government which is authorized under any law
9	rule, or regulation to impose a civil penalty shall as-
10	sess on each person, other than a natural person
11	who is not a corporate officer or person with equiva-
12	lent authority in any other organization, on whom
13	such a penalty is imposed an amount equal to 4.75
14	percent of the amount of the penalty.
15	"(2) Administrative penalties.—Any entity
16	of the Federal Government which is authorized
17	under any law, rule, or regulation to impose an ad-
18	ministrative penalty shall assess on each person
19	other than a natural person who is not a corporate
20	officer or person with equivalent authority in any
21	other organization, on whom such a penalty is im-
22	posed an amount equal to 4.75 percent of the
23	amount of the penalty.

"(3) Settlements.—Any entity of the Federal Government which is authorized under any law, rule,

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1 or regulation to enter into a settlement agreement or 2 consent decree with any person, other than a natural 3 person who is not a corporate officer or person with equivalent authority in any other organization, in 5 satisfaction of any allegation of an action or omis-6 sion by the person which would be subject to a civil 7 penalty or administrative penalty shall assess on 8 such person an amount equal to 4.75 percent of the 9 amount of the settlement.

- 10 "(b) Manner of Collection.—An amount as-11 sessed under subsection (a) shall be collected—
 - "(1) in the case of an amount assessed under paragraph (1) of such subsection, in the manner in which civil penalties are collected by the entity of the Federal Government involved;
 - "(2) in the case of an amount assessed under paragraph (2) of such subsection, in the manner in which administrative penalties are collected by the entity of the Federal Government involved; and
 - "(3) in the case of an amount assessed under paragraph (3) of such subsection, in the manner in which amounts are collected pursuant to settlement agreements or consent decrees entered into by the entity of the Federal Government involved.

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- 1 "(c) Transfers.—In a manner consistent with sec-
- 2 tion 3302(b) of this title, there shall be transferred from
- 3 the General Fund of the Treasury to the Freedom From
- 4 Influence Fund under section 541 of the Federal Election
- 5 Campaign Act of 1971 an amount equal to the amount
- 6 of the assessments collected under this section.
- 7 "(d) Exception for Penalties and Settle-
- 8 MENTS UNDER AUTHORITY OF THE INTERNAL REVENUE
- 9 Code of 1986.—
- 10 "(1) IN GENERAL.—No assessment shall be
- 11 made under subsection (a) with respect to any civil
- or administrative penalty imposed, or any settlement
- agreement or consent decree entered into, under the
- authority of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986.
- 15 "(2) Cross reference.—For application of
- special assessments for the Freedom From Influence
- 17 Fund with respect to certain penalties under the In-
- ternal Revenue Code of 1986, see section 6761 of
- the Internal Revenue Code of 1986.".
- 20 (2) CLERICAL AMENDMENT.—The table of sec-
- 21 tions of chapter 97 of title 31, United States Code,
- is amended by adding at the end the following:
 - "9706. Special assessments for Freedom From Influence Fund.".
- 23 (c) Assessments Relating to Certain Pen-
- 24 ALTIES UNDER THE INTERNAL REVENUE CODE OF
- 25 1986.—

1	(1) In General.—Chapter 68 of the Internal
2	Revenue Code of 1986 is amended by adding at the
3	end the following new subchapter:
4	"Subchapter D—Special Assessments for
5	Freedom From Influence Fund
6	"SEC. 6761. SPECIAL ASSESSMENTS FOR FREEDOM FROM
7	INFLUENCE FUND.
8	"(a) In General.—Each person required to pay a
9	covered penalty shall pay an additional amount equal to
10	4.75 percent of the amount of such penalty.
11	"(b) Covered Penalty.—For purposes of this sec-
12	tion, the term 'covered penalty' means any addition to tax,
13	additional amount, penalty, or other liability provided
14	under subchapter A or B.
15	"(c) Exception for Certain Individuals.—
16	"(1) In general.—In the case of a taxpayer
17	who is an individual, subsection (a) shall not apply
18	to any covered penalty if such taxpayer is an exempt
19	taxpayer for the taxable year for which such covered
20	penalty is assessed.
21	"(2) Exempt taxpayer.—For purposes of this
22	subsection, a taxpayer is an exempt taxpayer for any
23	taxable year if the taxable income of such taxpayer
24	for such taxable year does not exceed the dollar
25	amount at which begins the highest rate bracket in

- 1 effect under section 1 with respect to such taxpayer
- 2 for such taxable year.
- 3 "(d) Application of Certain Rules.—Except as
- 4 provided in subsection (e), the additional amount deter-
- 5 mined under subsection (a) shall be treated for purposes
- 6 of this title in the same manner as the covered penalty
- 7 to which such additional amount relates.
- 8 "(e) Transfer to Freedom From Influence
- 9 Fund.—The Secretary shall deposit any additional
- 10 amount under subsection (a) in the General Fund of the
- 11 Treasury and shall transfer from such General Fund to
- 12 the Freedom From Influence Fund established under sec-
- 13 tion 541 of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971
- 14 an amount equal to the amounts so deposited (and, not-
- 15 withstanding subsection (d), such additional amount shall
- 16 not be the basis for any deposit, transfer, credit, appro-
- 17 priation, or any other payment, to any other trust fund
- 18 or account). Rules similar to the rules of section 9601
- 19 shall apply for purposes of this subsection.".
- 20 (2) CLERICAL AMENDMENT.—The table of sub-
- 21 chapters for chapter 68 of such Code is amended by
- adding at the end the following new item:

"SUBCHAPTER D—SPECIAL ASSESSMENTS FOR FREEDOM FROM INFLUENCE FUND".

23 (d) Effective Dates.—

1	(1) In general.—Except as provided in para-
2	graph (2), the amendments made by this section
3	shall apply with respect to convictions, agreements,
4	and penalties which occur on or after the date of the
5	enactment of this Act.
6	(2) Assessments relating to certain pen-
7	ALTIES UNDER THE INTERNAL REVENUE CODE OF
8	1986.—The amendments made by subsection (c)
9	shall apply to covered penalties assessed after the
10	date of the enactment of this Act.
11	SEC. 205. STUDY AND REPORT ON SMALL DOLLAR FINANC-
12	ING PROGRAM.
13	(a) Study and Report.—Not later than 2 years
1 1	
14	after the completion of the first election cycle in which
	the program established under title V of the Federal Elec-
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15	the program established under title V of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, as added by section 201, is
15 16	the program established under title V of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, as added by section 201, is
15 16 17	the program established under title V of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, as added by section 201, is in effect, the Federal Election Commission shall—
15 16 17 18	the program established under title V of the Federal Elec- tion Campaign Act of 1971, as added by section 201, is in effect, the Federal Election Commission shall— (1) assess—
15 16 17 18 19	the program established under title V of the Federal Elec- tion Campaign Act of 1971, as added by section 201, is in effect, the Federal Election Commission shall— (1) assess— (A) the amount of payment referred to in
15 16 17 18 19 20	the program established under title V of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, as added by section 201, is in effect, the Federal Election Commission shall— (1) assess— (A) the amount of payment referred to in section 501 of such Act; and

- 1 (2) submit to Congress a report that discusses
- 2 whether such amounts are sufficient to meet the
- goals of the program.
- 4 (b) UPDATE.—The Commission shall update and re-
- 5 vise the study and report required by subsection (a) on
- 6 a biennial basis.
- 7 (c) TERMINATION.—The requirements of this section
- 8 shall terminate 10 years after the date on which the first
- 9 study and report required by subsection (a) is submitted
- 10 to Congress.

11 SEC. 206. EFFECTIVE DATE.

- 12 (a) In General.—Except as may otherwise be pro-
- 13 vided in this title and in the amendments made by this
- 14 title, this title and the amendments made by this title shall
- 15 apply with respect to elections occurring during 2030 or
- 16 any succeeding year, without regard to whether or not the
- 17 Federal Election Commission has promulgated the final
- 18 regulations necessary to carry out this title and the
- 19 amendments made by this title by the deadline set forth
- 20 in subsection (b).
- 21 (b) Deadline for Regulations.—Not later than
- 22 June 30, 2028, the Federal Election Commission shall
- 23 promulgate such regulations as may be necessary to carry
- 24 out this title and the amendments made by this title.