#### 114TH CONGRESS 2D SESSION

# S. 3250

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 SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

July 14, 2016

Mr. UDALL introduced the following bill; which was read twice and referred to the Committee on Rules and Administration

## 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,
- 3 SECTION 1. SHORT TITLE; TABLE OF CONTENTS.
- 4 (a) Short Title.—This Act may be cited as the
- 5 "Empowering Citizens Act".

#### 1 (b) Table of Contents of

#### 2 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. Repeal of expenditure limitations.
- Sec. 104. Period of availability of matching payments.
- Sec. 105. Examination and audits of matchable contributions.
- Sec. 106. 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. Increase in limit on coordinated party expenditures.
- Sec. 115. Establishment of uniform date for release of payments.
- Sec. 116. Amounts in Presidential Election Campaign Fund.
- Sec. 117. 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.
- 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. Rules relating to joint fundraising committees.
- Sec. 503. Disclosure of bundled contributions to Presidential campaigns; increase in threshold for bundled contributions by lobbyists.
- Sec. 504. Repeal of special contribution limits for contributions to national parties for certain purposes.
- Sec. 505. 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
- amount of each contribution" and inserting "an
- amount equal to 600 percent of the amount of
- each matchable contribution (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 \$200)";
- 18 and

1	(B) by striking "authorized committees"
2	and all that follows through "\$250" and insert-
3	ing "authorized committees".
4	(2) MATCHABLE CONTRIBUTIONS.—Section
5	9034 of such Code is amended—
6	(A) by striking the last sentence of sub-
7	section (a); and
8	(B) by inserting after subsection (b) the
9	following new subsection:
10	"(c) Matchable Contribution Defined.—For
11	purposes of this section and section 9033(b)—
12	"(1) MATCHABLE CONTRIBUTION.—The term
13	'matchable contribution' means, with respect to the
14	nomination for election to the office of President of
15	the United States, a contribution by an individual to
16	a candidate or an authorized committee of a can-
17	didate with respect to which the candidate has cer-
18	tified in writing that—
19	"(A) the individual making such contribu-
20	tion has not made aggregate contributions (in-
21	cluding such matchable contribution) to such
22	candidate and the authorized committees of
23	such candidate in excess of \$1,000 for the elec-
24	tion;

1 "(B) such candidate and the authorized
2 committees of such candidate will not accept
3 contributions from such individual (including
4 such matchable contribution) aggregating more
5 than the amount described in subparagraph
6 (A); and
7 "(C) such contribution was not—
8 "(i) forwarded from the contributor

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

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

"(2) Contribution.—For purposes of this subsection, the term 'contribution' means a gift of money made by a written instrument which identifies the individual making the contribution by full name and mailing address, but does not include a subscription, loan, advance, or deposit of money, or anything of value or anything described in subparagraph (B), (C), or (D) of section 9032(4).".

1	(3) Conforming amendments.—
2	(A) Section 9032(4) of such Code is
3	amended by striking "section 9034(a)" and in-
4	serting "section 9034".
5	(B) Section 9033(b)(3) of such Code is
6	amended by striking "matching contributions"
7	and inserting "matchable contributions".
8	(b) Modification of Payment Limitation.—
9	(1) In General.—Section 9034(b) of such
10	Code is amended—
11	(A) by striking "Every" and inserting the
12	following:
13	"(1) In general.—Every",
14	(2) by striking "shall not exceed" and all that
15	follows and inserting "shall not exceed
16	\$300,000,000.", and
17	(3) by adding at the end the following new
18	paragraph:
19	"(3) Inflation adjustment.—
20	"(A) In GENERAL.—In the case of any ap-
21	plicable period beginning after 2019, the dollar
22	amount in paragraph (1) shall be increased by
23	an amount equal to—
24	"(i) such dollar amount, multiplied by

1	"(ii) the cost-of-living adjustment de-
2	termined under section $1(f)(3)$ for the cal-
3	endar year following the year which such
4	applicable period begins, determined by
5	substituting 'calendar year 2018' for 'cal-
6	endar year 1992' in subparagraph (B)
7	thereof.
8	"(B) Applicable Period.—For purposes
9	of this paragraph, the term 'applicable period'
10	means the 4-year period beginning with the
11	first day following the date of the general elec-
12	tion for the office of President and ending on
13	the date of the next such general election.
14	"(C) Rounding.—If any amount as ad-
15	justed under subparagraph (1) is not a multiple
16	of \$10,000, such amount shall be rounded to
17	the nearest multiple of \$10,000.".
18	SEC. 102. ELIGIBILITY REQUIREMENTS FOR MATCHING
19	PAYMENTS.
20	(a) Amount of Aggregate Contributions Per
21	STATE; DISREGARDING OF AMOUNTS CONTRIBUTED IN
22	Excess of \$200.—Section 9033(b)(3) of the Internal
23	Revenue Code of 1986 is amended—
24	(1) by striking "\$5,000" and inserting
25	"\$25,000"; and

1	(2) by striking "20 States" and inserting the
2	following: "20 States (disregarding any amount of
3	contributions from any such resident to the extent
4	that the total of the amounts contributed by such
5	resident for the election exceeds \$200)".
6	(b) Contribution Limit.—
7	(1) In General.—Paragraph (4) of section
8	9033(b) of such Code is amended to read as follows:
9	"(4) the candidate and the authorized commit-
10	tees of the candidate will not accept aggregate con-
11	tributions from any person with respect to the nomi-
12	nation for election to the office of President of the
13	United States in excess of \$1,000 for the election.".
14	(2) Conforming amendments.—
15	(A) Section 9033(b) of such Code is
16	amended by adding at the end the following
17	new flush sentence:
18	"For purposes of paragraph (4), the term 'contribution'
19	has the meaning given such term in section 301(8) of the
20	Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971.".
21	(B) Section 9032(4) of such Code, as
22	amended by section 101(a)(3)(A) is amended by
23	inserting "or 9033(b)" after "9034".

1	(c) Ban on Acceptance of Bundled Contribu-
2	TIONS.—Section 9033(b) of such Code, as amended by
3	subsection (b), is amended—
4	(1) by striking "and" at the end of paragraph
5	(3);
6	(2) by striking the period at the end of para-
7	graph (4) and inserting ", and"; and
8	(3) by adding at the end the following new
9	paragraph:
10	"(5) the candidate and the authorized com-
11	mittee of the candidate will not accept any bundled
12	contribution (as defined in section 304(i)(8) of the
13	Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971) forwarded
14	by or credited to a person described in section
15	304(i)(7) of such Act.".
16	(d) Participation in System for Payments for
17	GENERAL ELECTION.—Section 9033(b) of such Code, as
18	amended by subsection (c), is amended—
19	(1) by striking "and" at the end of paragraph
20	(4);
21	(2) by striking the period at the end of para-
22	graph (5) and inserting ", and"; and
23	(3) by adding at the end the following new
24	paragraph:

- 1 "(6) if the candidate is nominated by a political
- 2 party for election to the office of President, the can-
- didate will apply for and accept payments with re-
- 4 spect to the general election for such office in ac-
- 5 cordance with chapter 95.".

#### 6 SEC. 103. REPEAL OF EXPENDITURE LIMITATIONS.

- 7 (a) In General.—Subsection (a) of section 9035 of
- 8 the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 is amended to read
- 9 as follows:
- 10 "(a) Personal Expenditure Limitation.—No
- 11 candidate shall knowingly make expenditures from his per-
- 12 sonal funds, or the personal funds of his immediate family,
- 13 in connection with his campaign for nomination for elec-
- 14 tion to the office of President in excess of, in the aggre-
- 15 gate, \$50,000.".
- 16 (b) Conforming Amendment.—Paragraph (1) of
- 17 section 9033(b) of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 is
- 18 amended to read as follows:
- 19 "(1) the candidate will comply with the per-
- sonal expenditure limitation under section 9035,".
- 21 SEC. 104. PERIOD OF AVAILABILITY OF MATCHING PAY-
- 22 MENTS.
- 23 Section 9032(6) of the Internal Revenue Code of
- 24 1986 is amended by striking "the beginning of the cal-
- 25 endar year in which a general election for the office of

1	President of the United States will be held" and inserting
2	"the date that is 6 months prior to the date of the earliest
3	State primary election".
4	SEC. 105. EXAMINATION AND AUDITS OF MATCHABLE CON-
5	TRIBUTIONS.
6	Section 9038(a) of the Internal Revenue Code of
7	1986 is amended by inserting "and matchable contribu-
8	tions accepted by" after "qualified campaign expenses of".
9	SEC. 106. MODIFICATION TO LIMITATION ON CONTRIBU-
10	TIONS FOR PRESIDENTIAL PRIMARY CAN-
11	DIDATES.
12	Section 315(a)(6) of the Federal Election Campaign
13	Act of 1971 (52 U.S.C. 30116(a)(6)) is amended by strik-
14	ing "calendar year" and inserting "four-year election
15	cycle''.
16	Subtitle B—General Elections
17	SEC. 111. MODIFICATION OF ELIGIBILITY REQUIREMENTS
18	FOR PUBLIC FINANCING.
19	Subsection (a) of section 9003 of the Internal Rev-
20	enue Code of 1986 is amended to read as follows:
21	"(a) In General.—In order to be eligible to receive
22	any payments under section 9006, the candidates of a po-
23	litical party in a presidential election shall meet the fol-

24 lowing requirements:

1	"(1) Participation in primary payment
2	SYSTEM.—The candidate for President received pay-
3	ments under chapter 96 for the campaign for nomi-
4	nation for election to be President.
5	"(2) AGREEMENTS WITH COMMISSION.—The
6	candidates, in writing—
7	"(A) agree to obtain and furnish to the
8	Commission such evidence as it may request of
9	the qualified campaign expenses of such can-
10	didates,
11	"(B) agree to keep and furnish to the
12	Commission such records, books, and other in-
13	formation as it may request, and
14	"(C) agree to an audit and examination by
15	the Commission under section 9007 and to pay
16	any amounts required to be paid under such
17	section.
18	"(3) Ban on bundled contributions.—The
19	candidates certify to the Commission, under penalty
20	of perjury and within such time prior to the day of
21	the presidential election as the Commission shall
22	prescribe by rules or regulations, that the candidates
23	and the authorized committees of such candidates
24	will not accept any bundled contribution (as defined

in section 304(i)(8) of the Federal Election Cam-

25

1	paign Act of 1971) forwarded by or credited to a
2	person described in section 304(i)(7) of such Act.".
3	SEC. 112. REPEAL OF EXPENDITURE LIMITATIONS AND USE
4	OF QUALIFIED CAMPAIGN CONTRIBUTIONS.
5	(a) Use of Qualified Campaign Contributions
6	WITHOUT EXPENDITURE LIMITS; APPLICATION OF SAME
7	REQUIREMENTS FOR MAJOR, MINOR, AND NEW PAR-
8	TIES.—Section 9003 of the Internal Revenue Code of
9	1986 is amended by striking subsections (b) and (c) and
10	inserting the following:
11	"(b) Use of Qualified Campaign Contributions
12	To Defray Expenses.—
13	"(1) In general.—In order to be eligible to
14	receive any payments under section 9006, the can-
15	didates of a party in a presidential election shall cer-
16	tify to the Commission, under penalty of perjury,
17	that—
18	"(A) such candidates and their authorized
19	committees have not and will not accept any
20	contributions to defray qualified campaign ex-
21	penses other than—
22	"(i) qualified campaign contributions,
23	and
24	"(ii) contributions to the extent nec-
25	essary to make up any deficiency payments

1	received out of the fund on account of the
2	application of section 9006(c), and
3	"(B) such candidates and their authorized
4	committees have not and will not accept any
5	contribution to defray expenses which would be
6	qualified campaign expenses but for subpara-
7	graph (C) of section 9002(11).
8	"(2) Timing of Certification.—The can-
9	didate shall make the certification required under
10	this subsection at the same time the candidate
11	makes the certification required under subsection
12	(a)(3).".
13	(b) Definition of Qualified Campaign Con-
14	TRIBUTION.—Section 9002 of such Code is amended by
15	adding at the end the following new paragraph:
16	"(13) Qualified campaign contribution.—
17	The term 'qualified campaign contribution' means,
18	with respect to any election for the office of Presi-
19	dent of the United States, a contribution from an in-
20	dividual to a candidate or an authorized committee
21	of a candidate which—
22	"(A) is made after June 1 of the year in
23	which the election is held;
24	"(B) does not exceed \$1,000 for the elec-
25	tion; and

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

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

- 1 (A) REPEAL OF PENALTY FOR EXCESS EX-2 PENSES.—Section 9012 of the Internal Revenue 3 Code of 1986 is amended by striking subsection 4 (a).
  - (B) PENALTY FOR ACCEPTANCE OF DISALLOWED 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 CONTRIBUTIONS.—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).

"(2) Penalty.—Any person who violates paragraph (1) shall be fined not more than \$5,000, or imprisoned not more than one year, or both. In the

- 1 case of a violation by an authorized committee, any
- 2 officer or member of such committee who knowingly
- and willfully consents to such violation shall be fined
- 4 not more than \$5,000, or imprisoned not more than
- 5 one year, or both.".

#### 6 SEC. 113. MATCHING PAYMENTS AND OTHER MODIFICA-

- 7 TIONS TO PAYMENT AMOUNTS.
- 8 (a) In General.—
- 9 (1) Amount of payments; application of
- 10 SAME AMOUNT FOR CANDIDATES OF MAJOR, MINOR,
- 11 AND NEW PARTIES.—Subsection (a) of section 9004
- of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 is amended to
- read as follows:
- 14 "(a) IN GENERAL.—Subject to the provisions of this
- 15 chapter, the eligible candidates of a party in a presidential
- 16 election shall be entitled to equal payment under section
- 17 9006 in an amount equal to 600 percent of the amount
- 18 of each matchable contribution received by such candidate
- 19 or by the candidate's authorized committees (disregarding
- 20 any amount of contributions from any person to the extent
- 21 that the total of the amounts contributed by such person
- 22 for the election exceeds \$200), except that total amount
- 23 to which a candidate is entitled under this paragraph shall
- 24 not exceed \$300,000,000.".

1	(2) Repeal of separate limitations for
2	CANDIDATES OF MINOR AND NEW PARTIES; INFLA-
3	TION ADJUSTMENT.—Subsection (b) of section 9004
4	of such Code is amended to read as follows:
5	"(b) Inflation Adjustment.—
6	"(1) In general.—In the case of any applica-
7	ble period beginning after 2019, the \$300,000,000
8	dollar amount in subsection (a) shall be increased by
9	an amount equal to—
10	"(A) such dollar amount; multiplied by
11	"(B) the cost-of-living adjustment deter-
12	mined under section 1(f)(3) for the calendar
13	year following the year which such applicable
14	period begins, determined by substituting 'cal-
15	endar year 2018' for 'calendar year 1992' in
16	subparagraph (B) thereof.
17	"(2) Applicable Period.—For purposes of
18	this subsection, the term 'applicable period' means
19	the 4-year period beginning with the first day fol-
20	lowing the date of the general election for the office
21	of President and ending on the date of the next such
22	general election.
23	"(3) ROUNDING.—If any amount as adjusted
24	under paragraph (1) is not a multiple of \$10,000,

1	such amount shall be rounded to the nearest mul-
2	tiple of \$10,000.".
3	(3) Conforming amendment.—Section
4	9005(a) of such Code is amended by adding at the
5	end the following new sentence: "The Commission
6	shall make such additional certifications as may be
7	necessary to receive payments under section 9004.".
8	(b) Matchable Contribution.—Section 9002 of
9	such Code, as amended by section 112, is amended by add-
10	ing at the end the following new paragraph:
11	"(14) MATCHABLE CONTRIBUTION.—The term
12	'matchable contribution' means, with respect to the
13	election to the office of President of the United
14	States, a contribution by an individual to a can-
15	didate or an authorized committee of a candidate
16	with respect to which the candidate has certified in
17	writing that—
18	"(A) the individual making such contribu-
19	tion has not made aggregate contributions (in-
20	cluding such matchable contribution) to such
21	candidate and the authorized committees of
22	such candidate in excess of \$1,000 for the elec-
23	tion;
24	"(B) such candidate and the authorized
25	committees of such candidate will not accept

1	contributions from such individual (including
2	such matchable contribution) aggregating more
3	than the amount described in subparagraph (A)
4	with respect to such election; and
5	"(C) such contribution was not—
6	"(i) forwarded from the contributor
7	by any person other than an individual, or
8	"(ii) received by the candidate or com-
9	mittee from a contributor or contributors,
10	but credited by the committee or candidate
11	to another person who is not an individual
12	through records, designations, or other
13	means of recognizing (whether in writing
14	or not in writing) that a certain amount of
15	money has been raised by such person.".
16	SEC. 114. INCREASE IN LIMIT ON COORDINATED PARTY EX-
17	PENDITURES.
18	(a) In General.—Section 315(d)(2) of the Federal
19	Election Campaign Act of 1971 (52 U.S.C. 30116(d)(2))
20	is amended to read as follows:
21	"(2)(A) The national committee of a political party
22	may not make any expenditure in connection with the gen-
23	eral election campaign of any candidate for President of
24	the United States who is affiliated with such party which
25	exceeds \$100,000,000.

1	"(B) For purposes of this paragraph—
2	"(i) any expenditure made by or on behalf of a
3	national committee of a political party and in con-
4	nection with a presidential election shall be consid-
5	ered to be made in connection with the general elec-
6	tion campaign of a candidate for President of the
7	United States who is affiliated with such party; and
8	"(ii) any communication made by or on behalf
9	of such party shall be considered to be made in con-
10	nection with the general election campaign of a can-
11	didate for President of the United States who is af-
12	filiated with such party if any portion of the commu-
13	nication is in connection with such election.
14	"(C) Any expenditure under this paragraph shall be
15	in addition to any expenditure by a national committee
16	of a political party serving as the principal campaign com-
17	mittee of a candidate for the office of President of the
18	United States.".
19	(b) Conforming Amendments Relating to Tim-
20	ING OF COST-OF-LIVING ADJUSTMENT.—
21	(1) In General.—Section 315(c)(1) of such
22	Act (52 U.S.C. 30116(c)(1)), as amended by section
23	112(d)(1)(B), is amended—
24	(A) in subparagraph (B), by striking "(d)"
25	and inserting " $(d)(3)$ ": and

1	(B) by inserting at the end the following
2	new subparagraph:
3	"(D) In any calendar year after 2017—
4	"(i) the dollar amount in subsection (d)(2) shall
5	be increased by the percent difference determined
6	under subparagraph (A);
7	"(ii) the amount so increased shall remain in
8	effect for the calendar year; and
9	"(iii) if the amount after adjustment under
10	clause (i) is not a multiple of \$100, such amount
11	shall be rounded to the nearest multiple of \$100.".
12	(2) Base year.—Section 315(c)(2)(B) of such
13	Act (52 U.S.C. 30116(e)(2)(B)), as amended by sec-
14	tion $112(d)(1)(B)$ , is amended—
15	(A) in clause (i)—
16	(i) by striking "(d)" and inserting
17	" $(d)(3)$ "; and
18	(ii) by striking "and" at the end;
19	(B) in clause (ii), by striking the period at
20	the end and inserting "; and"; and
21	(C) by adding at the end the following new
22	clause:
23	"(iii) for purposes of subsection (d)(2), cal-
24	endar year 2016.".

1	SEC. 115. ESTABLISHMENT OF UNIFORM DATE FOR RE-
2	LEASE OF PAYMENTS.
3	(a) Date for Payments.—
4	(1) In general.—Section 9006(b) of the In-
5	ternal Revenue Code of 1986 is amended to read as
6	follows:
7	"(b) Payments From the Fund.—If the Secretary
8	of the Treasury receives a certification from the Commis-
9	sion under section 9005 for payment to the eligible can-
10	didates of a political party, the Secretary shall pay to such
11	candidates out of the fund the amount certified by the
12	Commission on the later of—
13	"(1) the last Friday occurring before the first
14	Monday in September; or
15	"(2) 24 hours after receiving the certifications
16	for the eligible candidates of all major political par-
17	ties.
18	Amounts paid to any such candidates shall be under the
19	control of such candidates.".
20	(2) Conforming amendment.—The first sen-
21	tence of section 9006(c) of such Code is amended by
22	striking "the time of a certification by the Commis-
23	sion under section 9005 for payment" and inserting
24	"the time of making a payment under subsection
25	(b)".

1	(b) Time for Certification.—Section 9005(a) of
2	the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 is amended by striking
3	"10 days" and inserting "24 hours".
4	SEC. 116. AMOUNTS IN PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION CAM-
5	PAIGN FUND.
6	(a) Determination of Amounts in Fund.—Sec-
7	tion 9006(c) of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 is
8	amended by adding at the end the following new sentences
9	"In making a determination of whether there are insuffi-
10	cient moneys in the fund for purposes of the previous sen-
11	tence, the Secretary shall take into account in determining
12	the balance of the fund for a Presidential election year
13	the Secretary's best estimate of the amount of moneys
14	which will be deposited into the fund during the year, ex-
15	cept that the amount of the estimate may not exceed the
16	average of the annual amounts deposited in the fund dur-
17	ing the previous 3 years.".
18	(b) Special Rule for First Campaign Cycle
19	UNDER THIS ACT.—
20	(1) In general.—Section 9006 of the Internal
21	Revenue Code of 1986 is amended by adding at the
22	end the following new subsection:
23	"(d) Special Authority To Borrow.—
24	"(1) In general.—Notwithstanding subsection
25	(c), there are authorized to be appropriated to the

fund, as repayable advances, such sums as are necessary to carry out the purposes of the fund during the period ending on the first presidential election occurring after the date of the enactment of this subsection.

#### "(2) Repayment of advances.—

"(A) IN GENERAL.—Advances made to the fund shall be repaid, and interest on such advances shall be paid, to the general fund of the Treasury when the Secretary determines that moneys are available for such purposes in the fund.

- "(B) RATE OF INTEREST.—Interest on advances made to the fund shall be at a rate determined by the Secretary of the Treasury (as of the close of the calendar month preceding the month in which the advance is made) to be equal to the current average market yield on outstanding marketable obligations of the United States with remaining periods to maturity comparable to the anticipated period during which the advance will be outstanding and shall be compounded annually.".
- (2) Effective date.—The amendment made by this subsection shall take effect January 1, 2018.

1	SEC. 117. USE OF GENERAL ELECTION PAYMENTS FOR GEN-
2	ERAL ELECTION LEGAL AND ACCOUNTING
3	COMPLIANCE.
4	Section 9002(11) of the Internal Revenue Code of
5	1986 is amended by adding at the end the following new
6	sentence: "For purposes of subparagraph (A), an expense
7	incurred by a candidate or authorized committee for gen-
8	eral election legal and accounting compliance purposes
9	shall be considered to be an expense to further the election
10	of such candidate.".
11	TITLE II—PUBLIC FINANCING
12	FOR CONGRESSIONAL ELEC-
13	TION CAMPAIGNS
14	SEC. 201. BENEFITS AND ELIGIBILITY REQUIREMENTS FOR
15	CONGRESSIONAL CANDIDATES.
16	The Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 (52
17	U.S.C. 30101 et seq.) is amended by adding at the end
18	the following:
19	"TITLE V—PUBLIC FINANCING
20	OF CONGRESSIONAL ELEC-
21	TION CAMPAIGNS
22	"Subtitle A—Benefits
23	"SEC. 501. BENEFITS FOR PARTICIPATING CANDIDATES.
24	"(a) In General.—If a candidate for election to the
25	office of Senator or Representative in, or Delegate or Resi-
26	dent Commissioner to, the Congress is a participating can-

1	didate under this title with respect to an election for such
2	office, the candidate shall be entitled to payments under
3	this title, to be used only for authorized expenditures in
4	connection with the election.
5	"(b) Amount of Payment.—
6	"(1) MATCH OF QUALIFIED CONTRIBUTIONS.—
7	Subject to paragraph (2), the amount of a payment
8	made to a participating candidate under this title
9	shall be equal to 600 percent of the amount of quali-
10	fied contributions received by the candidate since the
11	most recent payment made to the candidate under
12	this title with respect to the election, as set forth—
13	"(A) in the case of the first payment made
14	to the candidate with respect to the election, in
15	the report filed under section 511(a)(2); and
16	"(B) in the case of any subsequent pay-
17	ment made to the candidate with respect to the
18	election, in the report of qualified contributions
19	filed under subsection (c).
20	"(2) Limitation.—In determining the amount
21	of qualified contributions received by a candidate for
22	purposes of making a payment under this section,
23	there shall be disregarded any amount of contribu-
24	tions from any person to the extent that the total of

1	the amounts contributed by such person for the elec-
2	tion exceeds \$200.
3	"(c) Reports.—
4	"(1) In General.—Each participating can-
5	didate shall file reports of receipts of qualified con-
6	tributions at such times and in such manner as the
7	Commission may by regulations prescribe.
8	"(2) Contents of Reports.—Each report
9	under this subsection shall disclose each qualified
10	contribution received by the candidate since the most
11	recent report filed under this section, and shall state
12	the aggregate amount of all such qualified contribu-
13	tions received since the most recent report filed
14	under this section.
15	"(3) Frequency of Reports.—Reports under
16	this subsection shall be made no more frequently
17	than—
18	"(A) once every month until the date that
19	is 90 days before the date of the election;
20	"(B) once every week after the period de-
21	scribed in subparagraph (A) and until the date
22	that is 21 days before the election; and
23	"(C) once every day after the period de-
24	scribed in subparagraph (B).

1	"(4) Limitation on regulations.—The
2	Commission may not prescribe any regulations with
3	respect to reporting under this subsection with re-
4	spect to any election after the date that is 180 days
5	before the date of such election.
6	"(d) Limit on Aggregate Amount of Pay-
7	MENTS.—The aggregate amount of payments that may be
8	made under this title to a participating candidate during
9	an election cycle may not exceed—
10	"(1) \$2,000,000, in the case of a candidate for
11	the office of Representative in, or Delegate or Resi-
12	dent Commissioner to, the Congress; or
13	"(2) \$10,000,000, in the case of a candidate for
14	the office of Senator.
15	"(e) Inflation Adjustment.—In each odd-num-
16	bered calendar year after 2018—
17	"(1) each of the dollar amounts under sub-
18	sections (b)(2), (d)(1), and (d)(2) shall be increased
19	by the percent difference determined under section
20	315(c)(1)(A) (determined by substituting 'calendar
21	year 2017' for 'the base period');
22	"(2) each amount so increased shall remain in
23	effect for the election cycle beginning on the first
24	day following the year in which the amount is in-
25	greased, and

1	"(3) if any amount after adjustment under
2	paragraph (1) is—
3	"(A) in the case of an amount under sub-
4	section (b)(2), not a multiple of \$10, such
5	amount shall be rounded to the nearest multiple
6	of \$10, and
7	"(B) in the case of an amount under sub-
8	section (d), not a multiple of \$1,000, such
9	amount shall be rounded to the nearest multiple
10	of \$1,000.
11	"SEC. 502. ADMINISTRATION OF PAYMENTS.
12	"(a) Timing.—The Commission shall make payments
13	under this title to a participating candidate—
14	"(1) in the case of the first payment made to
15	the candidate with respect to the election, not later
16	than 48 hours after the date on which such can-
17	didate is certified as a participating candidate under
18	section 513; and
19	"(2) in the case of any subsequent payment
20	made to the candidate with respect to the election,
21	not later than 5 business days after the receipt of
22	a report made under section 501(c).
23	"(b) Method of Payment.—The Commission shall
24	distribute funds available to participating candidates

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

1	is not an individual through records, designa-
2	tions, or other means of recognizing (whether in
3	writing or not in writing) that a certain amount
4	of money has been raised by such person.
5	"(4) The contribution meets the requirements
6	of section 512(b).
7	"Subtitle B—Eligibility and
8	Certification
9	"SEC. 511. ELIGIBILITY.
10	"(a) In General.—A candidate for the office of
11	Senator or Representative in, or Delegate or Resident
12	Commissioner to, the Congress is eligible to be certified
13	as a participating candidate under this title with respect
14	to an election if the candidate meets the following require-
15	ments:
16	"(1) During the election cycle for the office in-
17	volved, the candidate files with the Commission a
18	statement of intent to seek certification as a partici-
19	pating candidate.
20	"(2) The candidate meets the qualified con-
21	tribution requirements of section 512 and submits to
22	the Commission a report disclosing each qualified
23	contribution received by the candidate and stating
24	the aggregate amount of all such qualified contribu-

tions received.

25

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

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

1	the State involved as of the date of the
2	election; and
3	"(B) a total dollar amount of qualified
4	contributions equal to or greater than—
5	"(i) in the case of a candidate for
6	election the office of Representative in, or
7	Delegate or Resident Commissioner to, the
8	Congress, \$40,000, disregarding any
9	amount of contributions from any person
10	to the extent that the total of the amounts
11	contributed by such person for the election
12	exceeds \$200, or
13	"(ii) in the case of a candidate for the
14	office of Senator, the product of \$40,000
15	and the number of Congressional districts
16	in the State involved as of the date of the
17	election, disregarding any amount of con-
18	tributions from any person to the extent
19	that the total of the amounts contributed
20	by such person for the election exceeds
21	\$200.
22	"(2) Exclusion of contributions from
23	OUT-OF-STATE RESIDENTS.—In determining the
24	number of qualified contributions obtained by a can-
25	didate under paragraph (1)(A) and the dollar

- 1 amount of qualified contributions obtained by a can-
- 2 didate under paragraph (1)(B), there shall be ex-
- 3 cluded any contributions made by an individual who
- 4 does not have a primary residence in the State in
- 5 which such candidate is seeking election.
- 6 "(b) Requirements Relating to Receipt of
- 7 QUALIFIED CONTRIBUTION.—Each qualified contribu-
- 8 tion—
- 9 "(1) may be made by means of a personal
- 10 check, money order, debit card, credit card, or elec-
- 11 tronic payment account;
- 12 "(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
- 16 "(3) shall be acknowledged by a receipt that is
- sent to the contributor with a copy kept by the can-
- 18 didate for the Commission and a copy kept by the
- 19 candidate for the election authorities in the State
- with respect to which the candidate is seeking elec-
- 21 tion.
- 22 "(c) Prohibiting Payment on Commission Basis
- 23 OF INDIVIDUALS COLLECTING QUALIFIED CONTRIBU-
- 24 TIONS.—No person may be paid a commission on a per

1	qualified contribution basis for collecting qualified con-
2	tributions.
3	"SEC. 513. CERTIFICATION.
4	"(a) Deadline and Notification.—
5	"(1) IN GENERAL.—Not later than 10 days
6	after a candidate files an affidavit under section
7	511(a)(3), 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 Commissioner shall be deemed to have
21	certified the candidate as a participating candidate
22	with respect to all subsequent elections of the elec-
23	tion cycle.
24	"(b) Revocation of Certification.—

- "(1) IN GENERAL.—The Commission may revoke a certification under subsection (a) if—
  "(A) a candidate fails to qualify to appear
  - "(A) a candidate fails to qualify to appear on the ballot at any time after the date of certification (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.
- 24 "(c) Participating Candidate Defined.—In this 25 title, a 'participating candidate' means a candidate for the

1	office of Senator or Representative in, or Delegate or Resi-
2	dent Commissioner to, the Congress who is certified under
3	this section as eligible to receive benefits under this title.
4	"Subtitle C—Requirements for Can-
5	didates Certified as Partici-
6	pating Candidates
7	"SEC. 521. RESTRICTIONS ON CERTAIN CONTRIBUTIONS
8	AND EXPENDITURES.
9	"(a) Reduction in Otherwise Applicable Con-
10	TRIBUTION LIMITS.—
11	"(1) In general.—In the case of a candidate
12	who is certified as a participating candidate under
13	this title with respect to an election, each limit appli-
14	cable under paragraph $(1)(A)$ and paragraph $(2)(A)$
15	of section 315(a) to the amount of a contribution
16	which may be made to the candidate and any au-
17	thorized committee of the candidate with respect to
18	the election shall be equal to \$1,000 for the election.
19	"(2) Inflation adjustment.—In each odd-
20	numbered calendar year after 2018—
21	"(A) the \$1,000 amount under paragraph
22	(1) shall be increased by the percent difference
23	determined under section $315(c)(1)(A)$ (deter-
24	mined by substituting 'calendar year 2017' for
25	'the base period');

1 "(B) the amount so increased shall remain 2 in effect for the election cycle beginning on the 3 first day following the year in which the amount 4 is increased; and "(C) if any amount after adjustment under 6 subparagraph (A) not a multiple of \$100, such 7 amount shall be rounded to the nearest multiple 8 of \$100. 9 "(b) Prohibiting Acceptance of Contributions 10 BUNDLED BY REGISTERED LOBBYISTS.—A candidate who is certified as a participating candidate under this 12 title with respect to an election, and any authorized committee of such a candidate, may not accept any contribution with respect to the election which is a bundled con-14 15 tribution (as defined in section 304(i)(8)) forwarded by or credited to a person described in section 304(i)(7). 16 17 "(c) Limit on Expenditures From Personal Funds.—A candidate who is certified as a participating 18 19 candidate under this title may not make expenditures from personal funds (as defined in section 304(a)(6)(B)) in an 20 21 aggregate amount exceeding \$50,000 with respect to any 22 election in the election cycle involved. 23 "(d) Prohibiting Solicitation of Funds for Po-LITICAL PARTY COMMITTEES.—A candidate who is cer-

tified as a participating candidate under this title may not

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- 1 solicit funds for any political committee of a political
- 2 party, except that the candidate may solicit funds for a
- 3 separate account of the committee which is established
- 4 under section 315(d)(5).

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

- 6 "(a) IN GENERAL.—Not later than the date that is
- 7 60 days after the last election for which a candidate cer-
- 8 tified as a participating candidate qualifies to be on the
- 9 ballot during the election cycle involved, such participating
- 10 candidate shall remit to the Commission for deposit in the
- 11 Empowering Citizens Payment Account of the Presi-
- 12 dential Election Campaign Fund (established under sec-
- 13 tion 9051 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986) an
- 14 amount equal to the lesser of—
- 15 "(1) the amount of money in the candidate's
- 16 campaign account; or
- 17 "(2) the amount of the payments received by
- the candidate under this title.
- 19 "(b) Exception for Expenditures Incurred
- 20 BUT NOT PAID AS OF DATE OF REMITTANCE.—
- 21 "(1) IN GENERAL.—Subject to subsection (a), a
- candidate may withhold from the amount required to
- be remitted under paragraph (1) of such subsection
- 24 the amount of any authorized expenditures which
- were incurred in connection with the candidate's

1	campaign but which remain unpaid as of the dead-
2	line applicable to the candidate under such sub-
3	section, except that any amount withheld pursuant
4	to this paragraph shall be remitted to the Commis-
5	sion not later than 120 days after the date of the
6	election to which such subsection applies.
7	"(2) Documentation required.—A can-
8	didate may withhold an amount of an expenditure
9	pursuant to paragraph (1) only if the candidate sub-
10	mits documentation of the expenditure and the
11	amount to the Commission not later than the dead-
12	line applicable to the candidate under subsection (a)
13	"Subtitle D—Administrative
14	Provisions
15	"SEC. 531. ADMINISTRATION BY COMMISSION.
16	"The Commission shall prescribe regulations to carry
17	out the purposes of this title, including regulations to es-
18	tablish procedures for—
19	"(1) verifying the amount of qualified contribu-
20	tions with respect to a candidate;
21	"(2) effectively and efficiently monitoring and
22	enforcing the limits on the raising of qualified con-

tributions;

1	"(3) effectively and efficiently monitoring and
2	enforcing the limits on the use of personal funds by
3	participating candidates; and
4	"(4) monitoring the use of payments under this
5	title through audits of not fewer than ½ of all par-
6	ticipating candidates or other mechanisms.
7	"SEC. 532. VIOLATIONS AND PENALTIES.
8	"(a) Civil Penalty for Violation of Contribu-
9	TION AND EXPENDITURE REQUIREMENTS.—If a can-
10	didate who has been certified as a participating candidate
11	accepts a contribution or makes an expenditure that is
12	prohibited under section 521, the Commission shall assess
13	a civil penalty against the candidate in an amount that
14	is not more than 3 times the amount of the contribution
15	or expenditure. Any amounts collected under this sub-
16	section shall be deposited into the Empowering Citizens
17	Payment Account of the Presidential Election Campaign
18	Fund (established under section 9051 of the Internal Rev-
19	enue Code of 1986).
20	"(b) Repayment for Improper Use of Empow-
21	ERING CITIZENS PAYMENT ACCOUNT.—
22	"(1) In general.—If the Commission deter-
23	mines that any benefit made available to a partici-
24	pating candidate was not used as provided for in

this title or that a participating candidate has vio-

- 1 lated any of the dates for remission of funds con-
- tained in this title, the Commission shall so notify
- 3 the candidate and the candidate shall pay to the
- 4 Empowering Citizens Payment Account of the Presi-
- 5 dential Election Campaign Fund an amount equal
- 6 to—
- 7 "(A) the amount of benefits so used or not
- 8 remitted, as appropriate; and
- 9 "(B) interest on any such amounts (at a
- rate determined by the Commission).
- 11 "(2) OTHER ACTION NOT PRECLUDED.—Any
- action by the Commission in accordance with this
- subsection shall not preclude enforcement pro-
- ceedings by the Commission in accordance with sec-
- tion 309(a), including a referral by the Commission
- to the Attorney General in the case of an apparent
- knowing and willful violation of this title.

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

- "In this title, the term 'election cycle' means, with
- 20 respect to an election for the office of Senator or Rep-
- 21 resentative in, or Delegate or Resident Commissioner to,
- 22 the Congress, the period beginning on the day after the
- 23 date of the most recent general election for that office (or,
- 24 if the general election resulted in a runoff election, the
- 25 date of the runoff election) and ending on the date of the

- 1 next general election for that office (or, if the general elec-
- 2 tion resulted in a runoff election, the date of the runoff
- 3 election).".
- 4 SEC. 202. PERMITTING UNLIMITED COORDINATED EXPEND-
- 5 ITURES BY POLITICAL PARTY COMMITTEES
- 6 ON BEHALF OF PARTICIPATING CANDIDATES
- 7 IF EXPENDITURES ARE DERIVED FROM
- 8 SMALL DOLLAR CONTRIBUTIONS.
- 9 Section 315(d) of the Federal Election Campaign Act
- 10 of 1971 (52 U.S.C. 30116(d)), as amended by section
- 11 101(b) of Division N of the Consolidated and Further
- 12 Continuing Appropriations Act, 2015 (Public Law 113–
- 13 235; 128 Stat. 2773), is amended by adding at the end
- 14 the following new paragraph:
- 15 "(6) In determining the amount of expenditures
- 16 made by a committee under paragraph (3) in connection
- 17 with the campaign of a candidate who is certified as a
- 18 participating candidate under title V, there shall be ex-
- 19 cluded any expenditures which are derived from a separate
- 20 account established by the committee for which the only
- 21 sources of funds are contributions made during the elec-
- 22 tion cycle in an amount which does not exceed \$1,000 per
- 23 contributor.".

1	SEC. 203. PROHIBITING USE OF CONTRIBUTIONS BY PAR-
2	TICIPATING CANDIDATES FOR PURPOSES
3	OTHER THAN CAMPAIGN FOR ELECTION.
4	Section 313 of the Federal Election Campaign Act
5	of 1971 (52 U.S.C. 30114) is amended by adding at the
6	end the following new subsection:
7	"(d) Restrictions on Permitted Uses of Funds
8	BY CANDIDATES RECEIVING MATCHING PUBLIC
9	Funds.—Notwithstanding paragraph (2), (3), or (4) of
10	subsection (a), if a candidate for election for the office
11	of Senator or Representative in, or Delegate or Resident
12	Commissioner to, the Congress is certified as a partici-
13	pating candidate under title V with respect to the election,
14	any contribution which the candidate is permitted to ac-
15	cept under such title may be used only for authorized ex-
16	penditures in connection with the candidate's campaign
17	for such office.".
18	TITLE III—COORDINATED
19	<b>CAMPAIGN ACTIVITY</b>
20	SEC. 301. CLARIFICATION OF TREATMENT OF COORDI-
21	NATED EXPENDITURES AS CONTRIBUTIONS
22	TO CANDIDATES.
23	(a) Treatment as Contribution to Can-
24	DIDATE.—Section 301(8)(A) of the Federal Election Cam-
25	paign Act of 1971 (52 U.S.C. 30101(8)(A)) is amended—
26	(1) by striking "or" at the end of clause (i);

1	(2) by striking the period at the end of clause
2	(ii) and inserting "; or"; and
3	(3) by adding at the end the following new
4	clause:
5	"(iii) any payment made by any person
6	(other than a candidate, an authorized com-
7	mittee of a candidate, or a political committee
8	of a political party) for a coordinated expendi-
9	ture (as such term is defined in section 324)
10	which is not otherwise treated as a contribution
11	under clause (i) or clause (ii).".
12	(b) Definitions.—Section 324 of such Act (52
13	U.S.C. 30126) is amended to read as follows:
13 14	U.S.C. 30126) is amended to read as follows:  "SEC. 324. PAYMENTS FOR COORDINATED EXPENDITURES.
14	
14 15	"SEC. 324. PAYMENTS FOR COORDINATED EXPENDITURES.
14 15 16	"SEC. 324. PAYMENTS FOR COORDINATED EXPENDITURES.  "(a) COORDINATED EXPENDITURES.—
14 15 16 17	"SEC. 324. PAYMENTS FOR COORDINATED EXPENDITURES.  "(a) COORDINATED EXPENDITURES.—  "(1) IN GENERAL.—For purposes of section
14 15 16 17	"(a) Coordinated Expenditures.  "(1) In General.—For purposes of section 301(8)(A)(iii), the term 'coordinated expenditure'
114 115 116 117 118	"SEC. 324. PAYMENTS FOR COORDINATED EXPENDITURES.  "(a) COORDINATED EXPENDITURES.—  "(1) IN GENERAL.—For purposes of section 301(8)(A)(iii), the term 'coordinated expenditure' means—
14 15 16 17 18 19 20	"SEC. 324. PAYMENTS FOR COORDINATED EXPENDITURES.  "(a) COORDINATED EXPENDITURES.—  "(1) IN GENERAL.—For purposes of section 301(8)(A)(iii), the term 'coordinated expenditure' means—  "(A) any expenditure, or any payment for
	"SEC. 324. PAYMENTS FOR COORDINATED EXPENDITURES.  "(a) COORDINATED EXPENDITURES.—  "(1) IN GENERAL.—For purposes of section 301(8)(A)(iii), the term 'coordinated expenditure' means—  "(A) any expenditure, or any payment for a covered communication described in sub-
14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21	"SEC. 324. PAYMENTS FOR COORDINATED EXPENDITURES.  "(a) COORDINATED EXPENDITURES.—  "(1) IN GENERAL.—For purposes of section 301(8)(A)(iii), the term 'coordinated expenditure' means—  "(A) any expenditure, or any payment for a covered communication described in subsection (d), which is made in cooperation, con-

1	a political party, or agents of the candidate or
2	committee, as defined in subsection (b); or
3	"(B) any payment for any communication
4	which republishes, disseminates, or distributes
5	in whole or in part, any video or broadcast or
6	any written, graphic, or other form of campaign
7	material prepared by the candidate or com-
8	mittee or by agents of the candidate or com-
9	mittee (including any excerpt or use of any
10	video from any such broadcast or written
11	graphic, or other form of campaign material).
12	"(2) Exception for payments for certain
13	COMMUNICATIONS.—A payment for a communication
14	(including a covered communication described in
15	subsection (d)) shall not be treated as a coordinated
16	expenditure under this subsection if—
17	"(A) the communication appears in a news
18	story, commentary, or editorial distributed
19	through the facilities of any broadcasting sta-
20	tion, newspaper, magazine, or other periodical
21	publication, unless such facilities are owned or
22	controlled by any political party, political com-
23	mittee, or candidate; or
24	"(B) the communication constitutes a can-
25	didate 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.—

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"(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 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

1 of this section, a payment shall not be considered to 2 be made by a person in cooperation, consultation, or 3 concert with, or at the request or suggestion of, a 4 candidate or committee, solely on the grounds that 5 the person or the person's agent engaged in discus-6 sions with the candidate or committee, or with any 7 agent of the candidate or committee, regarding that 8 person's position on a legislative or policy matter 9 (including urging the candidate or committee to 10 adopt that person's position), so long as there is no communication between the person and the can-12 didate or committee, or any agent of the candidate or committee, regarding the candidate's or commit-13 14 tee's campaign advertising, message, strategy, pol-15 icy, polling, allocation of resources, fundraising, or 16 other campaign activities.

- "(3) NO EFFECT ON PARTY COORDINATION STANDARD.—Nothing in this section shall be construed to affect the determination of coordination between a candidate and a political committee of a political party for purposes of section 315(d).
- "(4) No safe harbor for use of fire-WALL.—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

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or committee, in accordance with this section withtout 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.

- 7 "(c) Payments by Coordinated Spenders for 8 Covered Communications.—
- 9 "(1) Payments made in cooperation, con-10 SULTATION, OR CONCERT WITH CANDIDATES.—For 11 purposes of subsection (a)(1)(A), if the person who 12 makes a payment for a covered communication, as 13 defined in subsection (d), is a coordinated spender 14 under paragraph (2) with respect to the candidate 15 as described in subsection (d)(1), the payment for 16 the covered communication is made in cooperation, 17 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:
- 24 "(A) During the 4-year period ending on 25 the date on which the person makes the pay-

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ment, 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 runoff election) and ending on the date of the

next general election for that office (or, if the general election resulted in a runoff election, the date of the runoff election).

"(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 ac-

tivities, 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.

# "(d) COVERED COMMUNICATION DEFINED.—

"(1) IN GENERAL.—For purposes of this section, the term 'covered communication' means, with respect to a candidate or an authorized committee of a candidate, a public communication (as defined in section 301(22)) which—

"(A) expressly advocates the election of the candidate or the defeat of an opponent of the candidate (or contains the functional equivalent of express advocacy);

1	"(B) promotes or supports the candidate,
2	or attacks or opposes an opponent of the can-
3	didate (regardless of whether the communica-
4	tion expressly advocates the election or defeat
5	of a candidate or contains the functional equiv-
6	alent of express advocacy); or
7	"(C) refers to the candidate or an oppo-
8	nent of the candidate but is not described in
9	subparagraph (A) or subparagraph (B), but
10	only if the communication is disseminated dur-
11	ing the applicable election period.
12	"(2) Applicable election period.—In para-
13	graph (1)(C), the 'applicable election period' with re-
14	spect to a communication means—
15	"(A) in the case of a communication which
16	refers to a candidate in a general, special, or
17	runoff election, the 120-day period which ends
18	on the date of the election; or
19	"(B) in the case of a communication which
20	refers to a candidate in a primary or preference
21	election, or convention or caucus of a political
22	party that has authority to nominate a can-
23	didate, the 60-day period which ends on the
24	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 90-day period which begins on the date of the enactment of this Act—
  - (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

1	communications which reflect the amendments
2	made by this Act.
3	(2) Effective date.—The amendments made
4	by this section shall apply with respect to payments
5	made on or after the expiration of the 120-day pe-
6	riod which begins on the date of the enactment of
7	this Act, without regard to whether or not the Fed-
8	eral Election Commission has promulgated regula-
9	tions in accordance with paragraph (1)(B) as of the
10	expiration of such period.
11	SEC. 302. CLARIFICATION OF BAN ON FUNDRAISING FOR
12	SUPER PACS BY FEDERAL CANDIDATES AND
13	OFFICEHOLDERS.
14	(a) In General.—Section 323(e)(1) of the Federal
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15 16	Election Campaign Act of 1971 (52 U.S.C. 30125(e)(1))
15 16 17	Election Campaign Act of 1971 (52 U.S.C. 30125(e)(1)) is amended—
15 16 17 18	Election Campaign Act of 1971 (52 U.S.C. 30125(e)(1)) is amended—  (1) by striking "or" at the end of subparagraph
15 16 17 18 19	Election Campaign Act of 1971 (52 U.S.C. 30125(e)(1)) is amended—  (1) by striking "or" at the end of subparagraph (A);
15 16 17 18 19 20	Election Campaign Act of 1971 (52 U.S.C. 30125(e)(1)) is amended—  (1) by striking "or" at the end of subparagraph (A);  (2) by striking the period at the end of sub-
15 16 17 18 19 20 21	Election Campaign Act of 1971 (52 U.S.C. 30125(e)(1)) is amended—  (1) by striking "or" at the end of subparagraph (A);  (2) by striking the period at the end of subparagraph (B) and inserting "; or"; and
15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22	Election Campaign Act of 1971 (52 U.S.C. 30125(e)(1)) is amended—  (1) by striking "or" at the end of subparagraph (A);  (2) by striking the period at the end of subparagraph (B) and inserting "; or"; and  (3) by adding at the end the following new sub-
14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24	Election Campaign Act of 1971 (52 U.S.C. 30125(e)(1)) is amended—  (1) by striking "or" at the end of subparagraph (A);  (2) by striking the period at the end of subparagraph (B) and inserting "; or"; and  (3) by adding at the end the following new subparagraph:

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

- 12 (b) DEFINITION OF SOLICITATION.—Section 323(e)
  13 of such Act (53 U.S.C. 30125(e)) is amended by adding
  14 at the end the following new paragraph:
- "(5) SOLICITATION.—For purposes of paragraph (1), a solicitation includes attending, speaking, or being a featured guest at any fundraising event of a political committee or a political organization (as defined by section 527(e)(1) of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986).".
- 21 (c) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendments made by 22 this section shall apply with respect to elections occurring 23 after January 1, 2018.

1	TITLE IV—USE OF PRESI-
2	DENTIAL ELECTION CAM-
3	PAIGN FUND FOR PUBLIC FI-
4	NANCING OF FEDERAL ELEC-
5	TIONS
6	SEC. 401. USE OF PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION CAMPAIGN
7	FUND FOR CONGRESSIONAL CANDIDATES.
8	Subtitle H of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 is
9	amended by adding at the end the following new chapter:
10	"CHAPTER 97—EMPOWERING CITIZENS
11	PAYMENT ACCOUNT
	"Sec. 9051. Payments to Congressional candidates.
12	"SEC. 9051. PAYMENTS TO CONGRESSIONAL CANDIDATES.
13	"(a) Establishment of Account.—The Secretary
14	shall maintain in the Presidential Election Campaign
15	Fund established by section 9006(a), in addition to any
16	account which he maintains under such section, a separate
17	account to be known as the Empowering Citizens Payment
18	Account (hereinafter in this section referred to as the 'Ac-
19	count').
20	"(b) Amounts Transferred to Account.—
21	"(1) In General.—The Secretary shall deposit
22	into the Account the excess of—

1	"(A) the balance of the Federal Election
2	Campaign Fund (determined without regard to
3	the Account), over
4	"(B) the amount determined by the Sec-
5	retary to be required for payments under sec-
6	tion 9006(c) and for payments under section
7	9037(b).
8	"(2) Supplemental transfers.—There are
9	hereby appropriated to the Account an amount equal
10	to the excess (if any) of—
11	"(A) the amount required to provide pay-
12	ments to candidates for election to the office of
13	Senator or Representative in, or Delegate or
14	Resident Commissioner to, the Congress who
15	are participating candidates under title V of the
16	Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, over
17	"(B) the amounts transferred to such Ac-
18	count under paragraph (1).
19	"(c) Use of Account for Payments to Congres-
20	SIONAL CANDIDATES PARTICIPATING IN PUBLIC FINANC-
21	ING PROGRAM.—The Secretary shall transfer amounts in
22	the Account to the Federal Election Commission, at such
23	times and in such amounts as the Federal Election Com-
24	mission may certify, for payments to candidates for elec-
25	tion to the office of Senator or Representative in, or Dele-

1	gate or Resident Commissioner to, the Congress who are
2	participating candidates under title V of the Federal Elec-
3	tion Campaign Act of 1971.".
4	SEC. 402. REVISIONS TO DESIGNATION OF INCOME TAX
5	PAYMENTS BY INDIVIDUAL TAXPAYERS.
6	(a) Increase in Amount Designated.—Section
7	6096(a) of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 is amend-
8	ed—
9	(1) in the first sentence, by striking "\$3" each
10	place it appears and inserting "\$20"; and
11	(2) in the second sentence—
12	(A) by striking "\$6" and inserting "\$40";
13	and
14	(B) by striking "\$3" and inserting "\$20".
15	(b) Indexing.—Section 6096 of such Code is amend-
16	ed by adding at the end the following new subsection:
17	"(d) Indexing of Amount Designated.—
18	"(1) In general.—With respect to each tax-
19	able year after 2017, each amount referred to in
20	subsection (a) shall be increased by the percent dif-
21	ference described in paragraph (2), except that if
22	any such amount after such an increase is not a
23	multiple of \$1, such amount shall be rounded to the
24	nearest multiple of \$1.

- 1 "(2) Percent difference described.—The
- 2 percent difference described in this paragraph with
- 3 respect to a taxable year is the percent difference
- 4 determined under section 315(c)(1)(A) of the Fed-
- 5 eral Election Campaign Act of 1971 with respect to
- 6 the calendar year during which the taxable year be-
- 7 gins, except that the base year involved shall be
- 8 2016.".
- 9 (c) Ensuring Tax Preparation Software Does
- 10 Not Provide Automatic Response to Designation
- 11 QUESTION.—Section 6096 of such Code, as amended by
- 12 subsection (b), is amended by adding at the end the fol-
- 13 lowing new subsection:
- 14 "(e) Ensuring Tax Preparation Software Does
- 15 Not Provide Automatic Response to Designation
- 16 QUESTION.—The Secretary shall promulgate regulations
- 17 to ensure that electronic software used in the preparation
- 18 or filing of individual income tax returns does not auto-
- 19 matically accept or decline a designation of a payment
- 20 under this section.".
- 21 (d) Public Information Program on Designa-
- 22 TION.—Section 6096 of such Code, as amended by sub-
- 23 sections (b) and (c), is amended by adding at the end the
- 24 following new subsection:
- 25 "(f) Public Information Program.—

- "(1) IN GENERAL.—The Federal Election Commission shall conduct a program to inform and educate the public regarding the purposes of the Presidential Election Campaign Fund, the procedures for the designation of payments under this section, and the effect of such a designation on the income tax liability of taxpayers.
- 8 "(2) USE OF FUNDS FOR PROGRAM.—Amounts
  9 in the Presidential Election Campaign Fund shall be
  10 made available to the Federal Election Commission
  11 to carry out the program under this subsection.".
- 12 (e) Effective Date.—The amendments made by 13 this section shall take effect January 1, 2017.
- 14 SEC. 403. DONATION TO PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION CAM-15 PAIGN FUND.
- 16 (a) GENERAL RULE.—Every taxpayer who makes a 17 return of the tax imposed by subtitle A of the Internal
- 18 Revenue Code of 1986 for any taxable year ending after
- 19 December 31, 2016, may donate an amount (not less than
- 20 \$1), in addition to any designation of income tax liability
- 21 under section 6096 of such Code for such taxable year,
- 22 which shall be deposited in the general fund of the Treas-
- 23 ury.
- 24 (b) Manner and Time of Designation.—Any do-
- 25 nation under subsection (a) for any taxable year—

1	(1) shall be made at the time of filing the re-
2	turn of the tax imposed by subtitle A of such Code
3	for such taxable year and in such manner as the
4	Secretary may by regulation prescribe, except that—
5	(A) the designation for such donation shall
6	be either on the first page of the return or on
7	the page bearing the taxpayer's signature, and
8	(B) the designation shall be by a box
9	added to the return, and the text beside the box
10	shall provide:
11	"By checking here, I signify that in
12	addition to my tax liability (if any), I
13	would like to donate the included payment
14	to be used exclusively as a contribution to
15	the Presidential Election Campaign
16	Fund.", and
17	(2) shall be accompanied by a payment of the
18	amount so designated.
19	(c) Transfers to Presidential Election Cam-
20	PAIGN FUND.—The Secretary shall, from time to time,
21	transfer to the Presidential Election Campaign Fund es-
22	tablished under section 9006(a) of such Code amounts
23	equal to the amounts donated under this section.

# TITLE V—OTHER CAMPAIGN 1 FINANCE REFORMS 2 SEC. 501. REGULATIONS WITH RESPECT TO BEST EFFORTS 4 FOR IDENTIFYING PERSONS MAKING CON-5 TRIBUTIONS. 6 Not later than 6 months after the date of enactment 7 of this Act, the Federal Election Commission shall promulgate regulations with respect to what constitutes best efforts under section 302(i) of the Federal Election Cam-10 paign Act of 1971 (52 U.S.C. 30102(i)) for determining 11 the identification of persons making contributions to polit-12 ical committees, including the identifications of persons 13 making contributions over the Internet or by credit card. Such regulations shall include a requirement that in the 15 case of contributions made by a credit card, the political 16 committee shall ensure that the name on the credit card used to make the contribution matches the name of the 18 person making the contribution. SEC. 502. RULES RELATING TO JOINT FUNDRAISING COM-20 MITTEES. 21 (a) Prohibition on Joint Fundraising Commit-22 TEES FOR CANDIDATES.— 23 (1) In General.—Section 302(e) of the Fed-24 eral Election Campaign Act of 1971 (52 U.S.C.

- 1 30102(e)) is amended by adding at the end the fol-
- 2 lowing new paragraph:
- 3 "(6) No authorized committee of a candidate may es-
- 4 tablish, participate in, or have any involvement with any
- 5 joint fundraising committee.".
- 6 (2) Conforming amendment.—Section
- 302(e)(3)(A) of such Act (52 U.S.C. 30102(e)(3)) is
- 8 amended—
- 9 (A) by striking "except that" and all that
- follows through "the candidate" and inserting
- "except that the candidate",
- 12 (B) by striking "; and" and inserting a pe-
- riod, and
- 14 (C) by striking clause (ii).
- 15 (b) Limitation on Joint Fundraising Commit-
- 16 TEES FOR PARTY COMMITTEES.—Section 302 of the Fed-
- 17 eral Election Campaign Act of 1971 (52 U.S.C. 30102)
- 18 is amended by adding at the end the following new sub-
- 19 section:
- 20 "(j) Participation of Party Committees in
- 21 Joint Fundraising Committees.—No committee of a
- 22 political party may establish, participate in, or have any
- 23 involvement with any joint fundraising committee other
- 24 than a joint fundraising committee that consists of the

- 1 national committee of a political party and one other com-
- 2 mittee of the political party.".
- 3 (c) Effective Date.—The amendments made by
- 4 this section shall take effect on January 1, 2018.
- 5 SEC. 503. DISCLOSURE OF BUNDLED CONTRIBUTIONS TO
- 6 PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGNS; INCREASE IN
- 7 THRESHOLD FOR BUNDLED CONTRIBUTIONS
- 8 BY LOBBYISTS.
- 9 (a) IN GENERAL.—Paragraphs (1) through (3) of
- 10 section 304(i) of the Federal Election Campaign Act of
- 11 1971 (52 U.S.C. 30104(i)) are amended to read as fol-
- 12 lows:
- 13 "(1) IN GENERAL.—
- 14 "(A) DISCLOSURE OF BUNDLED CON-
- 15 TRIBUTIONS BY LOBBYISTS.—Each committee
- described in paragraph (6) shall include in the
- first report required to be filed under this sec-
- tion after each covered period (as defined in
- paragraph (2)) a separate schedule setting forth
- 20 the name, address, and employer of each person
- 21 reasonably known by the committee to be a per-
- son described in paragraph (7) who provided
- 23 two or more bundled contributions to the com-
- 24 mittee in an aggregate amount greater than the
- applicable threshold (as defined in paragraph

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(3)) during the covered period, and the aggregate amount of the bundled contributions provided by each such person during the covered period.

DISCLOSURE OF BUNDLED CON-TRIBUTIONS 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 two or more bundled contributions to the committee in an aggregate amount greater than the applicable threshold (as defined in paragraph (3)) during the election cycle, and the aggregate amount of the bundled contributions provided by each such person during the covered period and such election cycle. Such schedule shall include a separate listing of the name, address, and employer of each person included on such schedule who is reasonably known by the committee to be a person described in paragraph (7), together with the ag-

1	gregate amount of bundled contributions pro-
2	vided by such person during such period and
3	such cycle.
4	"(2) Covered Period.—In this subsection, a
5	'covered period' means—
6	"(A) with respect to a committee which is
7	an authorized committee of a candidate for the
8	office of President or for nomination to such of-
9	fice—
10	"(i) the 4-year election cycle ending
11	with the date of the election for the office
12	of the President; and
13	"(ii) any reporting period applicable
14	to the committee under this section during
15	which any person provided two or more
16	bundled contributions to the committee;
17	and
18	"(B) with respect to any other com-
19	mittee—
20	"(i) the period beginning January 1
21	and ending June 30 of each year;
22	"(ii) the period beginning July 1 and
23	ending December 31 of each year; and
24	"(iii) any reporting period applicable
25	to the committee under this section during

1	which any person described in paragraph
2	(7) provided two or more bundled contribu-
3	tions to the committee in an aggregate
4	amount greater than the applicable thresh-
5	old.
6	"(3) Applicable threshold.—
7	"(A) IN GENERAL.—In this subsection, the
8	'applicable threshold' is—
9	"(i) \$50,000 in the case of a com-
10	mittee which is an authorized committee of
11	a candidate for the office of President or
12	for nomination to such office; and
13	"(ii) \$25,000 in the case of any other
14	committee.
15	In determining whether the amount of bundled
16	contributions provided to a committee by a per-
17	son exceeds the applicable threshold, there shall
18	be excluded any contribution made to the com-
19	mittee by the person or the person's spouse.
20	"(B) Indexing.—In any calendar year
21	after 2017, section 315(c)(1)(B) shall apply to
22	each amount applicable under subparagraph
23	(A) in the same manner as such section applies
24	to the limitations established under subsections
25	(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 aggregate amount of all bundled contributions which were provided to the committee by all sponsors of the event."
- 18 (b) Conforming Amendments.—Section 304(i) of 19 such Act (52 U.S.C. 30104(i)) is amended—
- 20 (1) in paragraph (5), by striking "described in 21 paragraph (7)" each place it appears in subpara-22 graphs (C) and (D);
- 23 (2) in paragraph (6), by inserting "(other than 24 a candidate for the office of President or for nomi-25 nation to such office)" after "candidate"; and

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1	(3) in paragraph (8)(A)—
2	(A) by striking ", with respect to a com-
3	mittee described in paragraph (6) and a person
4	described in paragraph (7)," and inserting ",
5	with respect to a committee described in para-
6	graph (6) or an authorized committee of a can-
7	didate for the office of President or for nomina-
8	tion to such office,";
9	(B) by striking "by the person" in clause
10	(i) thereof and inserting "by any person"; and
11	(C) by striking "the person" each place it
12	appears in clause (ii) and inserting "such per-
13	son''.
14	(c) Effective Date.—The amendments made by
15	this section shall apply with respect to reports filed under
16	section 304 of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971
17	after January 1, 2018.
18	SEC. 504. REPEAL OF SPECIAL CONTRIBUTION LIMITS FOR
19	CONTRIBUTIONS TO NATIONAL PARTIES FOR
20	CERTAIN PURPOSES.
21	(a) In General.—Section 315(a) of the Federal
22	Election Campaign Act of 1971 (52 U.S.C. 30116(a)) is
23	amended—
24	(1) in paragraph (1)(B), by striking ", or, in
25	the case of contributions made to any of the ac-

- 1 counts described in paragraph (9), exceed 300 per-
- 2 cent of the amount otherwise applicable under this
- 3 subparagraph with respect to such calendar year",
- 4 (2) in paragraph (2)(B), by striking ", or, in
- 5 the case of contributions made to any of the ac-
- 6 counts described in paragraph (9), exceed 300 per-
- 7 cent of the amount otherwise applicable under this
- 8 subparagraph with respect to such calendar year",
- 9 and
- 10 (3) by striking paragraph (9).
- 11 (b) Conforming Amendment.—Section 315(d) of
- 12 such Act (52 U.S.C. 30116(d)), as amended by section
- 13 202, is amended by striking paragraph (5).
- (c) Effective Date.—The amendments made by
- 15 this section shall apply to contributions made after the
- 16 date of the enactment of this Act.
- 17 (d) Return of Previously Contributed
- 18 Amounts.—Not later than 90 days after the date of the
- 19 enactment of this Act, each political committee established
- 20 and maintained by a political party shall distribute all
- 21 amounts in accounts described in section 315(a)(9) of the
- 22 Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 (52 U.S.C.
- 23 30116(a)(9)) to individuals who made contributions to
- 24 such accounts. The amount distributed to any contributor
- 25 form any account shall bear the same ratio to the amount

- 1 of contributions made by such contributor to such account
- 2 as the balance of such account on the date of the enact-
- 3 ment of this Act bears to the total amount of contributions
- 4 made to such account.
- 5 SEC. 505. 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.
- "(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
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, 2018.

# 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, 2018.