

113TH CONGRESS
2D SESSION

H. R. 20

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

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

FEBRUARY 5, 2014

Mr. SARBANES (for himself, Ms. PELOSI, Mr. BARBER, Mrs. BEATTY, Mr. BERA of California, Mr. BISHOP of New York, Mr. BLUMENAUER, Ms. BONAMICI, Mr. BRADY of Pennsylvania, Mr. BRALEY of Iowa, Mr. CARNEY, Mr. CARTWRIGHT, Mr. CASTRO of Texas, Mr. CICILLINE, Ms. CLARKE of New York, Mr. CLAY, Mr. CLEAVER, Mr. CLYBURN, Mr. COHEN, Mr. CONYERS, Mr. COOPER, Mr. COURTNEY, Mr. CROWLEY, Mr. CUMMINGS, Mrs. DAVIS of California, Mr. DEFazio, Mr. DELANEY, Ms. DELAURO, Ms. DELBENE, Mr. DEUTCH, Mr. DINGELL, Mr. DOGGETT, Ms. EDWARDS, Mr. ELLISON, Mr. ENGEL, Ms. ESHOO, Ms. ESTY, Mr. FARR, Ms. FRANKEL of Florida, Ms. FUDGE, Ms. GABBARD, Mr. GARCIA, Mr. GRAYSON, Mr. GENE GREEN of Texas, Mr. AL GREEN of Texas, Mr. GRIJALVA, Mr. GUTIÉRREZ, Mr. HASTINGS of Florida, Mr. HIMES, Mr. HOLT, Mr. HONDA, Mr. HORSFORD, Mr. HOYER, Mr. HUFFMAN, Mr. ISRAEL, Ms. JACKSON LEE, Mr. JEFFRIES, Mr. JOHNSON of Georgia, Ms. EDDIE BERNICE JOHNSON of Texas, Mr. JONES, Ms. KAPTUR, Ms. KELLY of Illinois, Mr. KILMER, Mr. KIND, Mrs. KIRKPATRICK, Ms. KUSTER, Mr. LANGEVIN, Mr. LARSON of Connecticut, Ms. LEE of California, Mr. LEWIS, Mr. LOEBSACK, Ms. LOFGREN, Mr. LOWENTHAL, Mr. BEN RAY LUJÁN of New Mexico, Ms. MICHELLE LUJAN GRISHAM of New Mexico, Mr. MAFFEI, Mr. SEAN PATRICK MALONEY of New York, Mrs. CAROLYN B. MALONEY of New York, Ms. MATSUI, Ms. MCCOLLUM, Mr. MCDERMOTT, Mr. MCGOVERN, Ms. MENG, Mr. MICHAUD, Mr. GEORGE MILLER of California, Ms. MOORE, Mr. MORAN, Mr. MURPHY of Florida, Mr. NADLER, Mr. NOLAN, Ms. NORTON, Mr. O'Rourke, Mr. PALLONE, Mr. PASCRELL, Mr. PAYNE, Mr. PERLMUTTER, Mr. PETERS of California, Mr. PETERS of Michigan, Ms. PINGREE of Maine, Mr. POCAN, Mr. POLIS, Mr. QUIGLEY, Mr. RANGEL, Mr. RUSH, Ms. LINDA T. SÁNCHEZ of California, Ms. SCHAKOWSKY, Ms. SCHWARTZ, Mr. SCOTT of Virginia, Mr. SERRANO, Ms. SHEA-PORTER, Mr. SHERMAN, Mr. SIRES, Ms. SLAUGHTER, Mr. SMITH of Washington, Ms. SPEIER, Mr. SWALWELL of California, Mr. TAKANO, Mr. TIERNEY, Mr. TONKO, Mr. VAN HOLLEN, Mr. VARGAS, Ms. VELÁZQUEZ, Mr. WALZ, Ms. WASSERMAN SCHULTZ, Mr. WAXMAN, Mr. WELCH, Mr. YARMUTH, Ms.

BROWNLEY of California, and Ms. CASTOR of Florida) introduced the following bill; which was referred to the Committee on House Administration, and in addition to the Committees on Energy and Commerce and Ways and Means, for a period to be subsequently determined by the Speaker, in each case for consideration of such provisions as fall within the jurisdiction of the committee concerned

A BILL

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

1 *Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representa-*
 2 *tives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,*

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

4 (a) **SHORT TITLE.**—This Act may be cited as the
 5 “Government By the People Act of 2014”.

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

Sec. 1. Short title; table of contents.

TITLE I—PARTICIPATION IN FUNDING OF ELECTIONS

Subtitle A—My Voice Tax Credit

Sec. 101. Refundable tax credit for congressional House campaign contribu-
 tions.

Subtitle B—My Voice Voucher Pilot Program

Sec. 111. Establishment of pilot program.

Sec. 112. Voucher program described.

Sec. 113. Reports.

Sec. 114. Election cycle defined.

TITLE II—SMALL DOLLAR FINANCING OF CONGRESSIONAL
 ELECTION CAMPAIGNS

Sec. 201. Benefits and eligibility requirements for candidates.

“TITLE V—SMALL DOLLAR FINANCING OF CONGRESSIONAL
ELECTION CAMPAIGNS

“Subtitle A—Benefits

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

“Subtitle B—Eligibility and Certification

- “Sec. 511. Eligibility.
- “Sec. 512. Qualifying requirements.
- “Sec. 513. Certification.

“Subtitle C—Requirements for Candidates Certified as Participating
Candidates

- “Sec. 521. Contribution and expenditure requirements.
- “Sec. 522. Administration of campaign.
- “Sec. 523. Preventing unnecessary spending of public funds.
- “Sec. 524. Remitting unspent funds after election.

“Subtitle D—Enhanced Match Support

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

“Subtitle E—Administrative Provisions

- “Sec. 541. Freedom From Influence Fund.
 - “Sec. 542. Government by the People Oversight Commission.
 - “Sec. 543. Administration by Commission.
 - “Sec. 544. Violations and penalties.
 - “Sec. 545. Appeals process.
 - “Sec. 546. Indexing of amounts.
 - “Sec. 547. Election cycle defined.
- Sec. 202. Contributions and expenditures by multicandidate and political party political committees on behalf of participating candidates.
- Sec. 203. Prohibiting use of contributions by participating candidates for purposes other than campaign for election.

TITLE III—OTHER ADMINISTRATIVE REFORMS

- Sec. 301. Expanding requirement to disclose bundlers who are registered lobbyists to all bundlers.
- Sec. 302. Petition for certiorari.
- Sec. 303. Filing by all candidates with Commission.
- Sec. 304. Electronic filing of FEC reports.
- Sec. 305. Effective date.

TITLE IV—EXPANDING CANDIDATE ACCESS TO ADVERTISING

- Sec. 401. Broadcasts by candidates.

TITLE V—CONTRIBUTIONS TO FREEDOM FROM INFLUENCE
FUND

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

TITLE VI—MISCELLANEOUS PROVISIONS

Sec. 601. Severability.

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

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

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

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

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

18 “(b) LIMITATIONS.—

19 “(1) DOLLAR LIMITATION.—The amount of
20 qualified My Voice Federal congressional House
21 campaign contributions taken into account under
22 subsection (a) for the taxable year shall not exceed

1 \$50 (twice such amount in the case of a joint re-
2 turn).

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

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

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

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

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

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

1 of title I of the Government By the People Act
2 of 2014. In the case of a joint return with re-
3 spect to which this paragraph applies to one of
4 the spouses, such return shall not be treated as
5 a joint return for purposes of determining the
6 dollar limitation under paragraph (1).

7 “(B) ELECTION CYCLE DEFINED.—In sub-
8 paragraph (A), the term ‘election cycle’ has the
9 meaning given such term in section 114 of the
10 Government By the People Act of 2014.

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

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

22 “(1) IN GENERAL.—The term ‘Federal congres-
23 sional House candidate’ means any candidate for
24 election to the office of Representative in, or Dele-
25 gate or Resident Commissioner to, the Congress.

1 “(2) TREATMENT OF AUTHORIZED COMMIT-
2 TEES.—Any contribution made to an authorized
3 committee of a Federal congressional House can-
4 didate shall be treated as made to such candidate.

5 “(e) INFLATION ADJUSTMENT.—

6 “(1) IN GENERAL.—In the case of a taxable
7 year beginning after 2015, the \$50 amount under
8 subsection (b)(1) shall be increased by an amount
9 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 in which the taxable year begins, deter-
14 mined by substituting ‘calendar year 2014’ for
15 ‘calendar year 1992’ in subparagraph (B)
16 thereof.

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

21 (b) CONFORMING AMENDMENTS.—

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

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

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

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

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

21 (e) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendments made by
22 this section shall apply to taxable years beginning after
23 the date of the enactment of this Act.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

6 (c) TIMING OF PROGRAM.—

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

18 (a) GENERAL ELEMENTS OF PROGRAM.—

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

1 **SEC. 113. REPORTS.**

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

14 **“Subtitle A—Benefits**

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

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

22 “(b) AMOUNT OF PAYMENT.—

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

22 **“SEC. 503. USE OF FUNDS.**

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

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

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

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

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

15 “(A) not less than \$1; and

16 “(B) not more than \$150.

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

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

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

6 “(b) TREATMENT OF MY VOICE TAX CREDITS AND
7 MY VOICE VOUCHERS.—Any payment received by a can-
8 didate and the authorized committees of a candidate which
9 is treated as a qualified My Voice Federal congressional
10 House campaign contribution under section 36C of the In-
11 ternal Revenue Code of 1986 or which consists of a My
12 Voice Voucher under subtitle B of title I of the Govern-
13 ment By the People Act of 2014 shall be considered a
14 qualified small dollar contribution for purposes of this
15 title, so long as the individual making the payment meets
16 the requirements of paragraphs (2) and (3) of subsection
17 (a).

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

21 **“SEC. 511. ELIGIBILITY.**

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

7 **“SEC. 513. CERTIFICATION.**

8 “(a) DEADLINE AND NOTIFICATION.—

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

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

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

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

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

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

3 “(b) REVOCATION OF CERTIFICATION.—

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

8 “(A) Qualified small dollar contributions.

9 “(B) Payments under this title.

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

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

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

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

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

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

14 “(A) Qualified small dollar contributions.

15 “(B) Payments under this title.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

11 “(A) the candidate’s spouse;

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

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

18 “(c) EXCEPTIONS.—

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

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

3 “(A) returned to the contributor;

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

17 “(f) PROHIBITION ON LEADERSHIP PACS.—

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

14 “(a) REMITTANCE REQUIRED.—

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

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

1 immediately remit to the Commission the amount
2 withheld.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

6 **“SEC. 532. ELIGIBILITY.**

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

16 **“SEC. 533. AMOUNT.**

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

5 “(D) any other section of this Act.

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

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

13 “(d) USE OF FUND.—

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

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

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

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

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

3 “(b) STRUCTURE AND MEMBERSHIP.—

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

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

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

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

17 “(2) QUALIFICATIONS.—

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

1 “(c) DUTIES AND POWERS.—

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

24 “(d) MEETINGS AND HEARINGS.—

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

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

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

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

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

1 “(f) ADMINISTRATION.—

2 “(1) COMPENSATION OF MEMBERS.—

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

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

15 “(2) PERSONNEL.—

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

7 “(1) to establish procedures for—

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

7 **“SEC. 545. APPEALS PROCESS.**

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

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

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

18 “(a) INDEXING.—In any calendar year after 2015,
19 section 315(c)(1)(B) shall apply to each amount described
20 in subsection (b) in the same manner as such section ap-
21 plies to the limitations established under subsections
22 (a)(1)(A), (a)(1)(B), (a)(3), and (h) of such section, ex-
23 cept that for purposes of applying such section to the
24 amounts described in subsection (b), the ‘base period’
25 shall be 2014.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

1 tion for that office (or, if the general election resulted in
 2 a runoff election, the date of the runoff election) and end-
 3 ing on the date of the next general election for that office
 4 (or, if the general election resulted in a runoff election,
 5 the date of the runoff election).”.

6 **SEC. 202. CONTRIBUTIONS AND EXPENDITURES BY MULTI-**
 7 **CANDIDATE AND POLITICAL PARTY POLITI-**
 8 **ICAL COMMITTEES ON BEHALF OF PARTICI-**
 9 **PATING CANDIDATES.**

10 (a) AUTHORIZING CONTRIBUTIONS ONLY FROM SEP-
 11 ARATE ACCOUNTS CONSISTING OF QUALIFIED SMALL
 12 DOLLAR CONTRIBUTIONS.—Section 315(a) of the Federal
 13 Election Campaign Act of 1971 (2 U.S.C. 441a(a)) is
 14 amended by adding at the end the following new para-
 15 graph:

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

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

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

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

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

10 (b) PERMITTING UNLIMITED COORDINATED EX-
11 PENDITURES FROM SMALL DOLLAR SOURCES BY POLIT-
12 ICAL PARTIES.—Section 315(d) of such Act (2 U.S.C.
13 441a(d)) is amended—

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

1 **TITLE III—OTHER**
2 **ADMINISTRATIVE REFORMS**

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

6 (a) **EXPANDING BUNDLER DISCLOSURE REQUIRE-**
7 **MENTS TO ALL BUNDLERS.**—Section 304(i)(1) of the
8 Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 (2 U.S.C.
9 434(i)(1)) is amended by striking “reasonably known by
10 the committee to be a person described in paragraph (7)”.

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

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

15 (2) in paragraph (3)(A), by striking “a person
16 described in paragraph (7)” and inserting “any per-
17 son”;

18 (3) in paragraph (5)—

19 (A) by striking subparagraph (B) and re-
20 designating subparagraphs (C) and (D) as sub-
21 paragraphs (B) and (C),

22 (B) in subparagraph (B) (as so redesign-
23 dated), by striking “described in paragraph
24 (7)”, and

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

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

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

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

10 Section 307(a)(6) of the Federal Election Campaign
11 Act of 1971 (2 U.S.C. 437d(a)(6)) is amended by insert-
12 ing “(including a proceeding before the Supreme Court on
13 certiorari)” after “appeal”.

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

15 Section 302(g) of the Federal Election Campaign Act
16 of 1971 (2 U.S.C. 432(g)) is amended to read as follows:

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

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

21 Section 304(a)(11) of the Federal Election Campaign
22 Act of 1971 (2 U.S.C. 434(a)(11)) is amended—

23 (1) in subparagraph (A), by striking “under
24 this Act—” and all that follows and inserting
25 “under this Act shall be required to maintain and

1 file such designation, statement, or report in elec-
2 tronic form accessible by computers.”;

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

6 (3) by striking subparagraph (D).

7 **SEC. 305. EFFECTIVE DATE.**

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

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

12 **SEC. 401. BROADCASTS BY CANDIDATES.**

13 (a) **LOWEST UNIT CHARGE.**—Section 315(b)(1)(A)
14 of the Communications Act of 1934 (47 U.S.C.
15 315(b)(1)(A)) is amended by inserting “for preemptible
16 use thereof” after “station”.

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

19 (1) by redesignating subsection (c) as sub-
20 section (g) and transferring such subsection, as re-
21 designated, to the end;

22 (2) by redesignating subsection (d) as sub-
23 section (f) and transferring such subsection, as re-
24 section (f) and transferring such subsection, as re-
25

1 designated, so that it appears after subsection (e);
2 and

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

5 “(c) PREEMPTION.—

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

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

22 “(d) AUDITS.—During the 45-day period preceding
23 the date of a primary or primary runoff election and dur-
24 ing the 60-day period preceding the date of a general elec-
25 tion or special election, the Commission shall conduct such

1 audits as it considers necessary to ensure that the licensee
2 of each broadcasting station is allocating use of the station
3 in accordance with this section and in a manner that does
4 not warrant revocation of the station license under section
5 312(a)(7).”.

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

10 (1) in subsection (a)(7)—

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

13 (B) by striking “or repeated”;

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

15 **TITLE V—CONTRIBUTIONS TO**
 16 **FREEDOM FROM INFLUENCE**
 17 **FUND**

18 **SEC. 501. VOLUNTARY CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE FREEDOM**
 19 **FROM INFLUENCE FUND.**

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

23 **“PART IX—CONTRIBUTIONS TO FREEDOM FROM**
 24 **INFLUENCE FUND**

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

1 **“SEC. 6098. CONTRIBUTIONS TO FREEDOM FROM INFLU-**
2 **ENCE FUND.**

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

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

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

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

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

20 “(2) MANNER OF DESIGNATION.—Such des-
21 ignation shall be made in such manner as the Sec-
22 retary prescribes by regulations except that, if such
23 designation is made at the time of filing the return
24 of the tax imposed by chapter 1 for such taxable
25 year, such designation shall be made either on the

1 first page of the return or on the page bearing the
2 taxpayer's signature.

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

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

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

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

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

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

23 (c) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendments made by
24 this section shall apply to taxable years beginning after
25 the date of the enactment of this Act.

1 **TITLE VI—MISCELLANEOUS**
2 **PROVISIONS**

3 **SEC. 601. SEVERABILITY.**

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

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