

116TH CONGRESS
1ST SESSION

S. _____

To amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 to reform the system of public financing for Presidential elections, and for other purposes.

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Mr. UDALL (for himself and Mr. VAN HOLLEN) introduced the following bill; which was read twice and referred to the Committee on

A BILL

To amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 to reform the system of public financing for Presidential elections, 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 “Empower Act of 2019”.

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—PRIMARY ELECTIONS

Sec. 1001. Increase in and modifications to matching payments.

2

- Sec. 1002. Eligibility requirements for matching payments.
- Sec. 1003. Repeal of expenditure limitations.
- Sec. 1004. Period of availability of matching payments.
- Sec. 1005. Examination and audits of matchable contributions.
- Sec. 1006. Modification to limitation on contributions for Presidential primary candidates.

TITLE II—GENERAL ELECTIONS

- Sec. 2001. Modification of eligibility requirements for public financing.
- Sec. 2002. Repeal of expenditure limitations and use of qualified campaign contributions.
- Sec. 2003. Matching payments and other modifications to payment amounts.
- Sec. 2004. Increase in limit on coordinated party expenditures.
- Sec. 2005. Establishment of uniform date for release of payments.
- Sec. 2006. Amounts in Presidential Election Campaign Fund.
- Sec. 2007. Use of general election payments for general election legal and accounting compliance.

TITLE III—OTHER CAMPAIGN FINANCE REFORMS

- Sec. 3001. Rules relating to joint fundraising committees.
- Sec. 3002. Repeal of special contribution limits for contributions to national parties for certain purposes.

TITLE IV—EFFECTIVE DATE

- Sec. 4001. Effective date.

1 **TITLE I—PRIMARY ELECTIONS**2 **SEC. 1001. INCREASE IN AND MODIFICATIONS TO MATCH-**
3 **ING PAYMENTS.**

4 (a) INCREASE AND MODIFICATION.—

5 (1) IN GENERAL.—The first sentence of section
6 9034(a) of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 is
7 amended—

8 (A) by striking “an amount equal to the
9 amount of each contribution” and inserting “an
10 amount equal to 600 percent of the amount of
11 each matchable contribution (disregarding any
12 amount of contributions from any person to the
13 extent that the total of the amounts contributed

1 by such person for the election exceeds \$200”);
2 and

3 (B) by striking “authorized committees”
4 and all that follows through “\$250” and insert-
5 ing “authorized committees”.

6 (2) MATCHABLE CONTRIBUTIONS.—Section
7 9034 of such Code is amended—

8 (A) by striking the last sentence of sub-
9 section (a); and

10 (B) by adding at the end the following new
11 subsection:

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

14 “(1) MATCHABLE CONTRIBUTION.—The term
15 ‘matchable contribution’ means, with respect to the
16 nomination for election to the office of President of
17 the United States, a contribution by an individual to
18 a candidate or an authorized committee of a can-
19 didate with respect to which the candidate has cer-
20 tified in writing that—

21 “(A) the individual making such contribu-
22 tion has not made aggregate contributions (in-
23 cluding such matchable contribution) to such
24 candidate and the authorized committees of

1 such candidate in excess of \$1,000 for the elec-
2 tion;

3 “(B) such candidate and the authorized
4 committees of such candidate will not accept
5 contributions from such individual (including
6 such matchable contribution) aggregating more
7 than the amount described in subparagraph
8 (A); and

9 “(C) such contribution was a direct con-
10 tribution.

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

19 “(3) DIRECT CONTRIBUTION.—

20 “(A) IN GENERAL.—For purposes of this
21 subsection, the term ‘direct contribution’
22 means, with respect to a candidate, a contribu-
23 tion which is made directly by an individual to
24 the candidate or an authorized committee of the
25 candidate and is not—

1 “(i) forwarded from the individual
2 making the contribution to the candidate
3 or committee by another person; or

4 “(ii) received by the candidate or com-
5 mittee with the knowledge that the con-
6 tribution was made at the request, sugges-
7 tion, or recommendation of another person.

8 “(B) OTHER DEFINITIONS.—In subpara-
9 graph (A)—

10 “(i) the term ‘person’ does not include
11 an individual (other than an individual de-
12 scribed in section 304(i)(7) of the Federal
13 Election Campaign Act of 1971), a polit-
14 ical committee of a political party, or any
15 political committee which is not a separate
16 segregated fund described in section
17 316(b) of the Federal Election Campaign
18 Act of 1971 and which does not make con-
19 tributions or independent expenditures,
20 does not engage in lobbying activity under
21 the Lobbying Disclosure Act of 1995 (2
22 U.S.C. 1601 et seq.), and is not estab-
23 lished by, controlled by, or affiliated with
24 a registered lobbyist under such Act, an
25 agent of a registered lobbyist under such

1 Act, or an organization which retains or
2 employs a registered lobbyist under such
3 Act; and

4 “(ii) a contribution is not ‘made at
5 the request, suggestion, or recommendation
6 of another person’ solely on the grounds
7 that the contribution is made in response
8 to information provided to the individual
9 making the contribution by any person, so
10 long as the candidate or authorized com-
11 mittee does not know the identity of the
12 person who provided the information to
13 such individual.”.

14 (3) CONFORMING AMENDMENTS.—

15 (A) Section 9032(4) of such Code is
16 amended by striking “section 9034(a)” and in-
17 serting “section 9034”.

18 (B) Section 9033(b)(3) of such Code is
19 amended by striking “matching contributions”
20 and inserting “matchable contributions”.

21 (b) MODIFICATION OF PAYMENT LIMITATION.—Sec-
22 tion 9034(b) of such Code is amended—

23 (1) by striking “The total” and inserting the
24 following:

25 “(1) IN GENERAL.—The total”;

1 (2) by striking “shall not exceed” and all that
2 follows and inserting “shall not exceed
3 \$250,000,000.”; and

4 (3) by adding at the end the following new
5 paragraph:

6 “(2) INFLATION ADJUSTMENT.—

7 “(A) IN GENERAL.—In the case of any ap-
8 plicable period beginning after 2029, the dollar
9 amount in paragraph (1) shall be increased by
10 an amount equal to—

11 “(i) such dollar amount, multiplied by

12 “(ii) the cost-of-living adjustment de-
13 termined under section 1(f)(3) for the cal-
14 endar year following the year which such
15 applicable period begins, determined by
16 substituting ‘calendar year 2028’ for ‘cal-
17 endar year 1992’ in subparagraph (B)
18 thereof.

19 “(B) APPLICABLE PERIOD.—For purposes
20 of this paragraph, the term ‘applicable period’
21 means the 4-year period beginning with the
22 first day following the date of the general elec-
23 tion for the office of President and ending on
24 the date of the next such general election.

1 “(C) ROUNDING.—If any amount as ad-
2 justed under subparagraph (A) is not a multiple
3 of \$10,000, such amount shall be rounded to
4 the nearest multiple of \$10,000.”.

5 **SEC. 1002. ELIGIBILITY REQUIREMENTS FOR MATCHING**
6 **PAYMENTS.**

7 (a) AMOUNT OF AGGREGATE CONTRIBUTIONS PER
8 STATE; DISREGARDING OF AMOUNTS CONTRIBUTED IN
9 EXCESS OF \$200.—Section 9033(b)(3) of the Internal
10 Revenue Code of 1986 is amended—

11 (1) by striking “\$5,000” and inserting
12 “\$25,000”; and

13 (2) by striking “20 States” and inserting the
14 following: “20 States (disregarding any amount of
15 contributions from any such resident to the extent
16 that the total of the amounts contributed by such
17 resident for the election exceeds \$200)”.

18 (b) CONTRIBUTION LIMIT.—

19 (1) IN GENERAL.—Paragraph (4) of section
20 9033(b) of such Code is amended to read as follows:

21 “(4) the candidate and the authorized commit-
22 tees of the candidate will not accept aggregate con-
23 tributions from any person with respect to the nomi-
24 nation for election to the office of President of the
25 United States in excess of \$1,000 for the election.”.

1 (2) CONFORMING AMENDMENTS.—

2 (A) Section 9033(b) of such Code is
3 amended by adding at the end the following
4 new flush sentence:

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

8 (B) Section 9032(4) of such Code, as
9 amended by section 1001(a)(3)(A), is amended
10 by inserting “or 9033(b)” after “9034”.

11 (c) PARTICIPATION IN SYSTEM FOR PAYMENTS FOR
12 GENERAL ELECTION.—Section 9033(b) of such Code is
13 amended—

14 (1) by striking “and” at the end of paragraph
15 (3);

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

18 (3) by inserting after paragraph (4) the fol-
19 lowing new paragraph:

20 “(5) if the candidate is nominated by a political
21 party for election to the office of President, the can-
22 didate will apply for and accept payments with re-
23 spect to the general election for such office in ac-
24 cordance with chapter 95.”.

1 (d) PROHIBITION ON JOINT FUNDRAISING COMMIT-
2 TEES.—Section 9033(b) of such Code, as amended by sub-
3 section (c), is amended—

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

6 (2) by striking the period at the end of para-
7 graph (5) and inserting “; and”; and

8 (3) by inserting after paragraph (5) adding at
9 the end the following new paragraph:

10 “(6) the candidate will not establish a joint
11 fundraising committee with a political committee
12 other than another authorized committee of the can-
13 didate, except that candidate established a joint
14 fundraising committee with respect to a prior elec-
15 tion for which the candidate was not eligible to re-
16 ceive payments under section 9037 and the can-
17 didate does not terminate the committee, the can-
18 didate shall not be considered to be in violation of
19 this paragraph so long as that joint fundraising
20 committee does not receive any contributions or
21 make any disbursements during the election cycle for
22 which the candidate is eligible to receive payments
23 under such section.”.

1 **SEC. 1003. REPEAL OF EXPENDITURE LIMITATIONS.**

2 (a) IN GENERAL.—Subsection (a) of section 9035 of
3 the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 is amended to read
4 as follows:

5 “(a) PERSONAL EXPENDITURE LIMITATION.—No
6 candidate shall knowingly make expenditures from his per-
7 sonal funds, or the personal funds of his immediate family,
8 in connection with his campaign for nomination for elec-
9 tion to the office of President in excess of, in the aggre-
10 gate, \$50,000.”.

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

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

16 **SEC. 1004. PERIOD OF AVAILABILITY OF MATCHING PAY-**
17 **MENTS.**

18 Section 9032(6) of the Internal Revenue Code of
19 1986 is amended by striking “the beginning of the cal-
20 endar year in which a general election for the office of
21 President of the United States will be held” and inserting
22 “the date that is 6 months prior to the date of the earliest
23 State primary election”.

1 **SEC. 1005. EXAMINATION AND AUDITS OF MATCHABLE CON-**
2 **TRIBUTIONS.**

3 Section 9038(a) of the Internal Revenue Code of
4 1986 is amended by inserting “and matchable contribu-
5 tions accepted by” after “qualified campaign expenses of”.

6 **SEC. 1006. MODIFICATION TO LIMITATION ON CONTRIBU-**
7 **TIONS FOR PRESIDENTIAL PRIMARY CAN-**
8 **DIDATES.**

9 Section 315(a)(6) of the Federal Election Campaign
10 Act of 1971 (52 U.S.C. 30116(a)(6)) is amended by strik-
11 ing “calendar year” and inserting “four-year election
12 cycle”.

13 **TITLE II—GENERAL ELECTIONS**

14 **SEC. 2001. MODIFICATION OF ELIGIBILITY REQUIREMENTS**
15 **FOR PUBLIC FINANCING.**

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

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

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

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

3 “(A) agree to obtain and furnish to the
4 Commission such evidence as it may request of
5 the qualified campaign expenses of such can-
6 didates,

7 “(B) agree to keep and furnish to the
8 Commission such records, books, and other in-
9 formation as it may request, and

10 “(C) agree to an audit and examination by
11 the Commission under section 9007 and to pay
12 any amounts required to be paid under such
13 section.

14 “(3) PROHIBITION ON JOINT FUNDRAISING
15 COMMITTEES.—

16 “(A) PROHIBITION.—The candidates cer-
17 tifies in writing that the candidates will not es-
18 tablish a joint fundraising committee with a po-
19 litical committee other than another authorized
20 committee of the candidate.

21 “(B) STATUS OF EXISTING COMMITTEES
22 FOR PRIOR ELECTIONS.—If a candidate estab-
23 lished a joint fundraising committee described
24 in subparagraph (A) with respect to a prior
25 election for which the candidate was not eligible

1 to receive payments under section 9006 and the
2 candidate does not terminate the committee,
3 the candidate shall not be considered to be in
4 violation of subparagraph (A) so long as that
5 joint fundraising committee does not receive
6 any contributions or make any disbursements
7 with respect to the election for which the can-
8 didate is eligible to receive payments under sec-
9 tion 9006.”.

10 **SEC. 2002. REPEAL OF EXPENDITURE LIMITATIONS AND**
11 **USE OF QUALIFIED CAMPAIGN CONTRIBU-**
12 **TIONS.**

13 (a) USE OF QUALIFIED CAMPAIGN CONTRIBUTIONS
14 WITHOUT EXPENDITURE LIMITS; APPLICATION OF SAME
15 REQUIREMENTS FOR MAJOR, MINOR, AND NEW PAR-
16 TIES.—Section 9003 of the Internal Revenue Code of
17 1986 is amended by striking subsections (b) and (c) and
18 inserting the following:

19 “(b) USE OF QUALIFIED CAMPAIGN CONTRIBUTIONS
20 TO DEFRAY EXPENSES.—

21 “(1) IN GENERAL.—In order to be eligible to
22 receive any payments under section 9006, the can-
23 didates of a party in a Presidential election shall
24 certify to the Commission, under penalty of perjury,
25 that—

1 “(A) such candidates and their authorized
2 committees have not and will not accept any
3 contributions to defray qualified campaign ex-
4 penses other than—

5 “(i) qualified campaign contributions,
6 and

7 “(ii) contributions to the extent nec-
8 essary to make up any deficiency payments
9 received out of the fund on account of the
10 application of section 9006(c), and

11 “(B) such candidates and their authorized
12 committees have not and will not accept any
13 contribution to defray expenses which would be
14 qualified campaign expenses but for subpara-
15 graph (C) of section 9002(11).

16 “(2) TIMING OF CERTIFICATION.—The can-
17 didate shall make the certification required under
18 this subsection at the same time the candidate
19 makes the certification required under subsection
20 (a)(3).”.

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

24 “(13) QUALIFIED CAMPAIGN CONTRIBUTION.—
25 The term ‘qualified campaign contribution’ means,

1 with respect to any election for the office of Presi-
2 dent of the United States, a contribution from an in-
3 dividual to a candidate or an authorized committee
4 of a candidate which—

5 “(A) does not exceed \$1,000 for the elec-
6 tion; and

7 “(B) with respect to which the candidate
8 has certified in writing that—

9 “(i) the individual making such con-
10 tribution has not made aggregate contribu-
11 tions (including such qualified contribu-
12 tion) to such candidate and the authorized
13 committees of such candidate in excess of
14 the amount described in subparagraph (A),
15 and

16 “(ii) such candidate and the author-
17 ized committees of such candidate will not
18 accept contributions from such individual
19 (including such qualified contribution) ag-
20 gregating more than the amount described
21 in subparagraph (A) with respect to such
22 election.”.

23 (c) CONFORMING AMENDMENTS.—

24 (1) REPEAL OF EXPENDITURE LIMITS.—

1 (A) IN GENERAL.—Section 315 of the Fed-
2 eral Election Campaign Act of 1971 (52 U.S.C.
3 30116) is amended by striking subsection (b).

4 (B) CONFORMING AMENDMENTS.—Section
5 315(c) of such Act (52 U.S.C. 30116(c)) is
6 amended—

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

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

12 (2) REPEAL OF REPAYMENT REQUIREMENT.—

13 (A) IN GENERAL.—Section 9007(b) of the
14 Internal Revenue Code of 1986 is amended by
15 striking paragraph (2) and redesignating para-
16 graphs (3), (4), and (5) as paragraphs (2), (3),
17 and (4), respectively.

18 (B) CONFORMING AMENDMENT.—Para-
19 graph (2) of section 9007(b) of such Code, as
20 redesignated by subparagraph (A), is amend-
21 ed—

22 (i) by striking “a major party” and
23 inserting “a party”;

1 (ii) by inserting “qualified contribu-
2 tions and” after “contributions (other
3 than”; and

4 (iii) by striking “(other than qualified
5 campaign expenses with respect to which
6 payment is required under paragraph
7 (2))”.

8 (3) CRIMINAL PENALTIES.—

9 (A) REPEAL OF PENALTY FOR EXCESS EX-
10 PENSES.—Section 9012 of the Internal Revenue
11 Code of 1986 is amended by striking subsection
12 (a).

13 (B) PENALTY FOR ACCEPTANCE OF DIS-
14 ALLOWED CONTRIBUTIONS; APPLICATION OF
15 SAME PENALTY FOR CANDIDATES OF MAJOR,
16 MINOR, AND NEW PARTIES.—Subsection (b) of
17 section 9012 of such Code is amended to read
18 as follows:

19 “(b) CONTRIBUTIONS.—

20 “(1) ACCEPTANCE OF DISALLOWED CONTRIBU-
21 TIONS.—It shall be unlawful for an eligible can-
22 didate of a party in a Presidential election or any of
23 his authorized committees knowingly and willfully to
24 accept—

1 “(A) any contribution other than a quali-
2 fied campaign contribution to defray qualified
3 campaign expenses, except to the extent nec-
4 essary to make up any deficiency in payments
5 received out of the fund on account of the ap-
6 plication of section 9006(c); or

7 “(B) any contribution to defray expenses
8 which would be qualified campaign expenses but
9 for subparagraph (C) of section 9002(11).

10 “(2) PENALTY.—Any person who violates para-
11 graph (1) shall be fined not more than \$5,000, or
12 imprisoned not more than one year, or both. In the
13 case of a violation by an authorized committee, any
14 officer or member of such committee who knowingly
15 and willfully consents to such violation shall be fined
16 not more than \$5,000, or imprisoned not more than
17 one year, or both.”.

18 **SEC. 2003. MATCHING PAYMENTS AND OTHER MODIFICA-**
19 **TIONS TO PAYMENT AMOUNTS.**

20 (a) IN GENERAL.—

21 (1) AMOUNT OF PAYMENTS; APPLICATION OF
22 SAME AMOUNT FOR CANDIDATES OF MAJOR, MINOR,
23 AND NEW PARTIES.—Subsection (a) of section 9004
24 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 is amended to
25 read as follows:

1 “(a) IN GENERAL.—Subject to the provisions of this
2 chapter, the eligible candidates of a party in a Presidential
3 election shall be entitled to equal payment under section
4 9006 in an amount equal to 600 percent of the amount
5 of each matchable contribution received by such candidate
6 or by the candidate’s authorized committees (disregarding
7 any amount of contributions from any person to the extent
8 that the total of the amounts contributed by such person
9 for the election exceeds \$200), except that total amount
10 to which a candidate is entitled under this paragraph shall
11 not exceed \$250,000,000.”.

12 (2) REPEAL OF SEPARATE LIMITATIONS FOR
13 CANDIDATES OF MINOR AND NEW PARTIES; INFLA-
14 TION ADJUSTMENT.—Subsection (b) of section 9004
15 of such Code is amended to read as follows:

16 “(b) INFLATION ADJUSTMENT.—

17 “(1) IN GENERAL.—In the case of any applica-
18 ble period beginning after 2029, the \$250,000,000
19 dollar amount in subsection (a) shall be increased by
20 an amount equal to—

21 “(A) such dollar amount; multiplied by

22 “(B) the cost-of-living adjustment deter-
23 mined under section 1(f)(3) for the calendar
24 year following the year which such applicable
25 period begins, determined by substituting ‘cal-

1 endar year 2028’ for ‘calendar year 1992’ in
2 subparagraph (B) thereof.

3 “(2) APPLICABLE PERIOD.—For purposes of
4 this subsection, the term ‘applicable period’ means
5 the 4-year period beginning with the first day fol-
6 lowing the date of the general election for the office
7 of President and ending on the date of the next such
8 general election.

9 “(3) ROUNDING.—If any amount as adjusted
10 under paragraph (1) is not a multiple of \$10,000,
11 such amount shall be rounded to the nearest mul-
12 tiple of \$10,000.”.

13 (3) CONFORMING AMENDMENT.—Section
14 9005(a) of such Code is amended by adding at the
15 end the following new sentence: “The Commission
16 shall make such additional certifications as may be
17 necessary to receive payments under section 9004.”.

18 (b) MATCHABLE CONTRIBUTION.—Section 9002 of
19 such Code, as amended by section 2002(b), is amended
20 by adding at the end the following new paragraph:

21 “(14) MATCHABLE CONTRIBUTION.—The term
22 ‘matchable contribution’ means, with respect to the
23 election to the office of President of the United
24 States, a contribution by an individual to a can-
25 didate or an authorized committee of a candidate

1 with respect to which the candidate has certified in
2 writing that—

3 “(A) the individual making such contribu-
4 tion has not made aggregate contributions (in-
5 cluding such matchable contribution) to such
6 candidate and the authorized committees of
7 such candidate in excess of \$1,000 for the elec-
8 tion;

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

15 “(C) such contribution was a direct con-
16 tribution (as defined in section 9034(c)(3)).”.

17 **SEC. 2004. INCREASE IN LIMIT ON COORDINATED PARTY**
18 **EXPENDITURES.**

19 (a) IN GENERAL.—Section 315(d)(2) of the Federal
20 Election Campaign Act of 1971 (52 U.S.C. 30116(d)(2))
21 is amended to read as follows:

22 “(2)(A) The national committee of a political party
23 may not make any expenditure in connection with the gen-
24 eral election campaign of any candidate for President of

1 the United States who is affiliated with such party which
2 exceeds \$100,000,000.

3 “(B) For purposes of this paragraph—

4 “(i) any expenditure made by or on behalf of a
5 national committee of a political party and in con-
6 nection with a Presidential election shall be consid-
7 ered to be made in connection with the general elec-
8 tion campaign of a candidate for President of the
9 United States who is affiliated with such party; and

10 “(ii) any communication made by or on behalf
11 of such party shall be considered to be made in con-
12 nection with the general election campaign of a can-
13 didate for President of the United States who is af-
14 filiated with such party if any portion of the commu-
15 nication is in connection with such election.

16 “(C) Any expenditure under this paragraph shall be
17 in addition to any expenditure by a national committee
18 of a political party serving as the principal campaign com-
19 mittee of a candidate for the office of President of the
20 United States.”.

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

23 (1) IN GENERAL.—Section 315(c)(1) of such
24 Act (52 U.S.C. 30116(c)(1)) is amended—

1 (A) in subparagraph (B), by striking “(d)”
2 and inserting “(d)(2)”; and

3 (B) by adding at the end the following new
4 subparagraph:

5 “(D) In any calendar year after 2028—

6 “(i) the dollar amount in subsection (d)(2) shall
7 be increased by the percent difference determined
8 under subparagraph (A);

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

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

14 (2) BASE YEAR.—Section 315(c)(2)(B) of such
15 Act (52 U.S.C. 30116(c)(2)(B)) is amended—

16 (A) in clause (i)—

17 (i) by striking “(d)” and inserting
18 “(d)(3)”; and

19 (ii) by striking “and” at the end;

20 (B) in clause (ii), by striking the period at
21 the end and inserting “; and”; and

22 (C) by adding at the end the following new
23 clause:

24 “(iii) for purposes of subsection (d)(2), cal-
25 endar year 2027.”.

1 **SEC. 2005. 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. 2006. AMOUNTS IN PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION CAM-**
5 **PAIGN FUND.**

6 Section 9006(c) of the Internal Revenue Code of
7 1986 is amended by adding at the end the following new
8 sentence: “In making a determination of whether there are
9 insufficient moneys in the fund for purposes of the pre-
10 vious sentence, the Secretary shall take into account in
11 determining the balance of the fund for a Presidential
12 election year the Secretary’s best estimate of the amount
13 of moneys which will be deposited into the fund during
14 the year, except that the amount of the estimate may not
15 exceed the average of the annual amounts deposited in the
16 fund during the previous 3 years.”.

17 **SEC. 2007. USE OF GENERAL ELECTION PAYMENTS FOR**
18 **GENERAL ELECTION LEGAL AND ACCOUNT-**
19 **ING COMPLIANCE.**

20 Section 9002(11) of the Internal Revenue Code of
21 1986 is amended by adding at the end the following new
22 sentence: “For purposes of subparagraph (A), an expense
23 incurred by a candidate or authorized committee for gen-
24 eral election legal and accounting compliance purposes

1 shall be considered to be an expense to further the election
2 of such candidate.”.

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

5 **SEC. 3001. RULES RELATING TO JOINT FUNDRAISING COM-**
6 **MITTEES.**

7 (a) PROHIBITION ON JOINT FUNDRAISING COMMIT-
8 TEES FOR CANDIDATES.—

9 (1) IN GENERAL.—Section 302(e) of the Fed-
10 eral Election Campaign Act of 1971 (52 U.S.C.
11 30102(e)) is amended by adding at the end the fol-
12 lowing new paragraph:

13 “(6) No authorized committee of a candidate may es-
14 tablish, participate in, or have any involvement with any
15 joint fundraising committee.”.

16 (2) CONFORMING AMENDMENT.—Section
17 302(e)(3)(A) of such Act (52 U.S.C. 30102(e)(3)) is
18 amended—

19 (A) by striking “except that” and all that
20 follows through “the candidate” and inserting
21 “except that the candidate”,

22 (B) by striking “; and” and inserting a pe-
23 riod, and

24 (C) by striking clause (ii).

1 (b) LIMITATION ON JOINT FUNDRAISING COMMIT-
2 TEES FOR PARTY COMMITTEES.—Section 302 of the Fed-
3 eral Election Campaign Act of 1971 (52 U.S.C. 30102)
4 is amended by adding at the end the following new sub-
5 section:

6 “(j) PARTICIPATION OF PARTY COMMITTEES IN
7 JOINT FUNDRAISING COMMITTEES.—No committee of a
8 political party may establish, participate in, or have any
9 involvement with any joint fundraising committee other
10 than a joint fundraising committee that consists of the
11 national committee of a political party and one other com-
12 mittee of the political party.”.

13 (c) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendments made by
14 this section shall take effect on January 1, 2020.

15 **SEC. 3002. REPEAL OF SPECIAL CONTRIBUTION LIMITS FOR**
16 **CONTRIBUTIONS TO NATIONAL PARTIES FOR**
17 **CERTAIN PURPOSES.**

18 (a) IN GENERAL.—Section 315(a) of the Federal
19 Election Campaign Act of 1971 (52 U.S.C. 30116(a)) is
20 amended—

21 (1) in paragraph (1)(B), by striking “, or, in
22 the case of contributions made to any of the ac-
23 counts described in paragraph (9), exceed 300 per-
24 cent of the amount otherwise applicable under this
25 subparagraph with respect to such calendar year”,

1 (2) in paragraph (2)(B), by striking “, or, in
2 the case of contributions made to any of the ac-
3 counts described in paragraph (9), exceed 300 per-
4 cent of the amount otherwise applicable under this
5 subparagraph with respect to such calendar year”,
6 and

7 (3) by striking paragraph (9).

8 (b) CONFORMING AMENDMENT.—Section 315(d) of
9 such Act (52 U.S.C. 30116(d)) is amended by striking
10 paragraph (5).

11 (c) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendments made by
12 this section shall apply to contributions made after the
13 date of the enactment of this Act.

14 (d) RETURN OF PREVIOUSLY CONTRIBUTED
15 AMOUNTS.—Not later than 90 days after the date of the
16 enactment of this Act, each political committee established
17 and maintained by a political party shall distribute all
18 amounts in accounts described in section 315(a)(9) of the
19 Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 (52 U.S.C.
20 30116(a)(9)) to individuals who made contributions to
21 such accounts. The amount distributed to any contributor
22 from any account shall bear the same ratio to the amount
23 of contributions made by such contributor to such account
24 as the balance of such account on the date of the enact-

1 ment of this Act bears to the total amount of contributions
2 made to such account.

3 **TITLE IV—EFFECTIVE DATE**

4 **SEC. 4001. EFFECTIVE DATE.**

5 (a) IN GENERAL.—Except as otherwise provided, this
6 Act and the amendments made by this Act shall apply
7 with respect to the Presidential election held in 2024 and
8 each succeeding Presidential election, without regard to
9 whether or not the Federal Election Commission has pro-
10 mulgated the final regulations necessary to carry out this
11 Act and the amendments made by this Act by the deadline
12 set forth in subsection (b).

13 (b) DEADLINE FOR REGULATIONS.—Not later than
14 June 30, 2022, the Federal Election Commission shall
15 promulgate such regulations as may be necessary to carry
16 out this Act and the amendments made by this Act.