Title I: Lock the Revolving Door and Increase Public Integrity

Strengthen Public Integrity by Eliminating Financial Conflicts. *Eliminate the appearance and the potential for financial conflicts of interest. Public officials must serve the public; not themselves.*

- Ban individual stock ownership or trading by Members of Congress, Cabinet Secretaries, senior
 congressional staff, federal judges, White House staff and other senior agency officials while in office.
 Prohibit all government officials from holding or trading stock where its value might be influenced by their
 agency, department, or actions.
- Require financial disclosures before Members of Congress take office.
- Ban serving on corporate boards by Members of Congress and senior congressional staff.
- Apply conflict of interest laws to the President and Vice President through the *Presidential Conflicts of Interest Act*, which would require the President and the Vice President to place conflicted assets, including businesses, into a blind trust to be sold off.
- Require senior government officials to divest from assets that could present conflicts, including companies and commercial real estate, but allow conflict-free federal investments and mutual funds.
- Require most executive branch employees to recuse from all issues that might financially benefit themselves or an immediate previous employer or client.

Close and Lock the Revolving Door between Industry and Government. Stop companies from buying influence in the government or profiting off of the public service of any official.

- Close the government-to-lobbying revolving door:
 - Lifetime ban on lobbying by Presidents, Vice Presidents, Members of Congress, federal judges, and Cabinet Secretaries; and,
 - o **Multi-year bans on all other federal employees from lobbying** their former agency or House of Congress after they leave government service, with longer bans for corporate lobbyists.
- Limit the ability of companies to buy influence through former government officials.
 - Require income disclosures from former senior officials after federal employment.
 - o **Restrict companies from immediately hiring or paying any senior government official** from an agency, department, or Congressional office recently lobbied by that company.
 - Restrict the world's largest companies, banks, and monopolies from immediately hiring or paying any
 former senior government official after they leave government service.
- Limit the ability of companies to buy influence through current government employees.
 - o **Prohibit current lobbyists from taking government jobs** for multiple years after lobbying.
 - o **Restrict corporate outlaws**, executives of law-breaking companies, from taking government jobs.
 - Restrict federal contractors from joining the agencies awarding their contract.
 - o Ban "Golden Parachutes" that provide corporate bonuses to executives for federal service.

Strengthen Anti-corruption and bribery laws. *Outlaw all forms of corruption by public officials, and demonstrate that no one—not even the President of the United States—is above the law.*

- Clarify that the Department of Justice can indict the President of the United States for criminal activity, including for obstruction of justice when the President abuses the powers of the office.
- Close bribery loopholes by expanding the definition of "official act" in bribery statutes to criminalize the sale of government access and clarify what qualifies as an unlawful benefit in exchange for a bribe.
- **Strengthen Inauguration Fund ethics rules** by banning corporations and lobbyists from donating to inaugural committees and place contribution limits on donations.
- Implement strict disclosure and regulations on so-called "political intelligence consulting," and prohibit former public officials from cashing in on insider political information.

Title II: End Lobbying as We Know It

Institute Radical Transparency of All Washington Lobbying. *Publicly expose all influence-peddling in Washington.*

- Strengthen and expand the federal definition of a "lobbyist" to include all individuals paid to influence government.
- Create a new "corporate lobbyist" definition to identify individuals paid to influence government on behalf of for-profit entities and their front-groups.
- Radically expand disclosure of lobbyist activities and influence campaigns by requiring all lobbyists to disclose any specific bills, policies, and government actions they attempt to influence; any meetings with public officials; and any documents they provide to those officials.

End Influence-Peddling by Foreign Actors. *Combat foreign influence in Washington by banning foreign lobbying.*

• End foreign lobbying by Americans by banning American lobbyists from accepting money from foreign governments, foreign individuals, and foreign companies to influence United States public policy.

Padlock the Revolving Door between Government and Lobbying.

- **Lifetime ban on lobbying** by Presidents, Vice Presidents, Members of Congress, federal judges, and Cabinet Secretaries.
- Multi-year bans on all other federal employees from lobbying their former office, department, House of
 Congress, or agency after they leave government service until the end of the Administration, but at least for 2
 years (and at least 6 years for corporate lobbyists).
- **Prohibit current lobbyists from taking government jobs** for <u>2 years</u> after lobbying; <u>6 years</u> for corporate lobbyists. Public, written waivers where such hiring is in the national interest are allowed for non-corporate lobbyists only.

End Legalized Lobbyist Bribery. Stop lobbyists from trading money for government favors.

- End lobbyist contingency fees that allow lobbyists to be paid for a guaranteed policy outcome.
- End lobbyist gifts to the executive and legislative branch officials they lobby.

Strengthen Congressional Independence from Lobbyists. *End Washington's dependence on lobbyists for expertise and information.*

- **Make congressional service sustainable** by transitioning Congressional staff to competitive salaries that track other federal employees.
- Reinstate the nonpartisan Congressional Office of Technology Assessment to provide critical scientific and technological support to Members of Congress.
- Level the playing field between corporate lobbyists and government by taxing excessive lobbying beginning at \$500,000 in annual lobbying expenditures, and use the proceeds to help finance congressionally-mandated rulemaking, fund the National Public Advocate, and finance Congressional support agencies.

Title III: End Corporate Capture of Public Interest Rules

Boost Transparency. De-politicize the rulemaking process and increase transparency of industry efforts to influence federal agencies.

- Require individuals and corporations to disclose funding or editorial conflicts of interest in research submitted to agencies that is not publicly available in peer-reviewed publications.
- **Prevent sham research from undermining the public interest** by requiring that studies that present conflicts of interest to undergo independent peer review to be considered in the rulemaking process.
- Require agencies to justify withdrawn public interest rules via public, written explanations.

Close Loopholes Exploited by Powerful Corporations to Block Public Interest Actions. Eliminate loopholes that allow corporations to tilt the rules in their favor and against the public interest.

- **Restrict negotiated rulemaking** to stop industry from delaying or dominating the rulemaking process by ending the practice of inviting industry to negotiate rules they have to follow.
- **Restrict inter-agency review as a tool for corporate abuse** by banning informal review, establishing a maximum 45-day review period, and blocking closed-door industry lobbying at the White House's Office of Information and Regulatory Affairs.
- **Limit abusive injunctions from rogue judges** by ensuring that only Appeals Courts, not individual District Court judges, can temporarily block agencies from implementing final rules.
- **Prevent hostile agencies from sham delays of implementation and enforcement** by using the presence of litigation to postpone the implementation of final rules.

Empower the Public to Police Agencies for Corporate Capture. *Increase the ability of the public to make sure their interests are considered when agencies act.*

- Create a new Office of the Public Advocate empowered to assist the public in meaningfully engaging in the rulemaking process across the federal government.
- **Encourage enforcement** by allowing private lawsuits from members of the public to hold agencies accountable for failing to complete rules or enforce the law, and to hold corporations accountable for breaking the rules.

Inoculate Agencies Against Corporate Capture. Provide agencies with the tools and resources to implement strong rules that reflect the will of Congress and protect the public.

- Boost agency resources to level the playing field between corporate lobbyists and federal agencies by
 using the proceeds of the tax on excessive lobbying and the anti-corruption penalty fees to help finance
 Congressionally-mandated rulemaking and facilitate decisions by agencies that are buried in an avalanche of
 lobbyist activity.
- Reform judicial review to prevent corporations from gaming the courts by requiring courts to presumptively defer to agency interpretations of laws and prohibiting courts from considering sham studies and research excluded by agencies from the rulemaking process.
- Reverse the Congressional Review Act provision banning related rules that prevent agencies from
 implementing the will of Congress based on Congress' prior disapproval of a different, narrow rule on a
 similar topic.

Title IV: Improve Judicial Integrity and Defend Access to Justice for All Americans.

Strengthen Judicial Ethics Requirements. *Enhance the integrity of the judicial branch by strengthening rules that prevent conflicts of interest and establishing mechanisms to hold federal judges more accountable.*

- **Expand rules prohibiting judges from accepting gifts** or payments to attend private seminars from private individuals and corporations.
- **Require ethical behavior by the Supreme Court** by directing the Court to follow the Code of Conduct that binds all other federal judges.
- Allow people to file complaints against Supreme Court Justices, like all other federal judges.
- **Grant strong disciplinary authority** to Judicial Councils and their parent organization, the Judicial Conference, including the ability to strip taxpayer-funded pensions from judges for misconduct.
- Close the loophole that allows federal judges to step down from the bench to escape accountability and investigations for misconduct; keep investigations open until findings are public and any penalties for misconduct are issued; and extend Judicial Conference disciplinary authority to former and retired judges.
- Prohibit judges from deciding for themselves whether they should recuse from a case by empowering the Chief Judges to establish binding recusal processes for judges to follow and requiring courts to publish its reasons any time judges voluntarily recuse without a recusal motion.
- Require Supreme Court Justices to provide written explanations of recusal decisions when a litigant requests recusal, and require the Judicial Conference to issue non-binding, public advisory recusal opinions.
- Ensure that any judicial impeachment referrals trigger immediate consideration, under which the House Judiciary Committee will promptly vote on whether to proceed with an investigation or impeachment inquiry.

Boost Transparency of Federal Courts. Enhance public insight into the judicial process by increasing information about the process and reducing barriers to accessing information.

- Increase disclosure of non-judicial activity by judges by posting judges' financial reports and speeches.
- Enhance public access to court activity by mandating that federal appellate courts livestream audio of their proceedings, making case information easily-accessible to the public free of charge, and requiring federal courts to share case assignment data in bulk.
- **Prohibit courts from sealing records involving major public health and safety issues**, with rare exceptions, so that corporations cannot conceal these dangerous conditions from the public.

Defend Access to Justice for All Americans. Eliminate barriers that restrict access to justice to all but the wealthiest individuals and companies.

- Reduce barriers preventing Americans from having their day in court by restoring pleading standards that make it easier for individuals and businesses that have been harmed to make their case before a judge.
- Ban forced arbitration clauses and mandatory class action waivers.
- Ban companies from using secret settlements by making unenforceable any provision in a contract or settlement agreement between a corporation and any person that conceals the details of a claim relating to an employment, consumer, antitrust, or civil rights dispute against a current or former employee.

Encourage diversify on the Federal Bench and Improve the Culture of the Judiciary. *Strengthen the integrity of the judicial branch by increasing the focus on personal and professional diversity of the federal bench.*

- **Enhance judicial diversity** by providing annual reports on the racial, ethnic, gender and professional diversity of the federal bench.
- Prevent judicial misconduct against employees and law clerks by supporting strong climate surveys for court employees about the work environment in the federal judiciary.

Title V: Strengthen Enforcement of Ethics Rules

Strengthen Executive Branch Enforcement. Create a single, new, and independent agency dedicated to enforcing federal ethics and anti-corruption laws. Stronger ethics and public integrity laws require stronger enforcement.

- Establish the new, independent U.S. Office of Public Integrity, which will
 - o Strengthen federal ethics enforcement with new investigative and disciplinary powers.
 - Investigate potential violations by any individual or entity, including individuals and companies with new subpoena authority.
 - Enforce the nation's ethics laws by ordering corrective action, levying civil and administrative penalties, and referring egregious violations to the Justice Department for criminal enforcement.
 - Receive and investigate ethics complaints from members of the public.
 - o **Absorb the U.S. Office of Government Ethics** as a new Government Ethics Division tasked with providing confidential advice to federal employees seeking ethics guidance.
 - Consolidate anti-corruption and public integrity oversight over federal officials, including oversight
 of all agency Inspectors General, all ethics matters for White House staff and agency heads, and all
 waivers and recusals by senior government officials.
 - o **Remain independent and protected from partisan politics** through a single Director operating under strict selection, appointment, and removal criteria.
 - Provide easy online access to key government ethics and transparency documents, including
 financial disclosures; lobbyist registrations; lobbyist disclosures of meetings and materials; and all ethics
 records, recusals, and waivers.
 - Maintain a new government-wide Office of the Public Advocate, which would advocate for the public interest in executive branch rulemaking.
 - o **Enforce federal open records and FOIA requirements** by maintaining the central FOIA website and working with the National Archives to require agencies to comply with FOIA.

Strengthen Legislative Branch Enforcement. *Expand an independent and empowered ethics office insulated from congressional politics.*

- Expand and empower the U.S. Office of Congressional Ethics, which will—
 - Enforce the nation's ethics laws in the Congress and the entire Legislative Branch, including the U.S. Senate.
 - Conduct investigations of potential violations of ethics laws and rules by Members of Congress and staff with new subpoena power.
 - o **Refer criminal and civil violations** to the Justice Department, the Office of Public Integrity, or other relevant state or federal law enforcement.
 - o **Recommend disciplinary and corrective action** to the House and Senate Ethics Committees.

Title VI: Boost Transparency in Government and Fix Federal Open Records Laws

Public Official and Candidate Tax Disclosure. *Disclose basic tax return information for candidates for federal elected office and current elected officials.*

- Require the IRS to release tax returns for Presidential and Vice-Presidential candidates from the previous 8 years and during each year in federal elected office.
- Require the IRS to release tax returns for Congressional candidates from the previous 2 years and during each year in federal elected office.
- Require the IRS to release tax returns and other financial information of businesses owned by senior federal officials and candidates for federal office.
- Require the IRS to release tax filings for nonprofit organizations run by candidates for federal office.

Disclose the Cash behind Washington Advocacy and Lobbying. Prevent special interests from using secret donations from corporations and billionaires to influence public policy without disclosure.

- **Require nonprofit organizations to list donors** who bankrolled the production of any specific rulemaking comment, congressional testimony, or lobbying material, and to reveal whether the donors reviewed or edited the document.
- Require individuals and corporations to disclose funding or editorial conflicts of interest in research submitted to agencies that is not publicly available in peer-reviewed publications.
- **Prevent sham research from undermining the public interest** by requiring that studies that present conflicts of interest to independent peer review to be considered in the rulemaking process.

Improve the Freedom of Information Act (FOIA). Close the loopholes in our open records laws that allow federal officials to hide industry influence.

- Codify the default presumption of disclosure and affirmatively disclose records of public interest, including meeting agendas; government contracts; salaries; staff diversity; and reports to Congress.
- Require all agencies to use a central FOIA website that is searchable and has downloadable open records databases with all open FOIA requests and all records disclosed through FOIA.
- **Strengthen FOIA enforcement** by limiting FOIA exemptions and loopholes, and by giving the National Archives the authority to overrule agency FOIA decisions and to compel disclosure.
- Extend FOIA to private-sector federal contractors, including private federal prisons and immigration detention centers, and require large federal contractors to disclose political spending.

Make Congress More Transparent. End the corporate lobbyists' leg up in the legislative process. The public deserves to know what Congress is up to and how lobbyists influence legislation.

- Require all congressional committees to immediately post online more information, including hearings
 and markup schedules, bill or amendments text, testimonies, documents entered into the hearing record,
 hearing transcripts, written witness answers, and hearing audio and video recordings.
- Require Members of Congress to post a link to their searchable voting record on their official websites.
- Require lobbyists to disclose when they lobby a specific congressional office; specific topics of visit; the official action being requested; and *all* documents provided to the office during the visit.

[NEW] Title VII: Reform the Country's Campaign Finance Laws to Get Big Money out of Politics

End the corrupt system of money for influence. Prevent quid pro quo corruption, restrict corporate and billionaire contributions to candidates, and shut down avenues for money to corruptly influence elected officials.

- Ban federal candidates from taking corporate PAC contributions by prohibiting corporate PACs from contributing to federal candidates for office.
- Ban companies that are appreciably owned or controlled by a foreign entity from spending in American elections.
- Ban the consideration of campaign donations in the selection of ambassadors.
- Close the loopholes for single candidate super PACs, and make it illegal for a person with political, personal, professional, or family relationship to a candidate to run or work with the candidate's Super PAC.
- End legalized bribery by banning lobbyists from donating, bundling, & fundraising for candidates.
- Ban corporations and federal contractors from fundraising for any candidate for federal office.
- Clarify that the definition of "in-kind contributions" applies to intangible benefits, information, and in-kind financial contributions like hush money payments made for campaign purposes.
- Ban contributions to Members of Congress from corporations or corporate officials under the
 jurisdiction of their congressional committees.

Expand disclosure of fundraising and spending. Disrupt the system of dark money for influence that allows the wealthy, well-connected, and foreign actors to tilt the political process in their favor.

- Require disclosure of major donors, bundlers, and finance events in presidential campaigns:
 - o **Disclose all major contributors**, including finance committees and bundling achievements;
 - o **Disclose members of host committees**, as well as fundraiser invitations, dates, and locations.
- Address online political advertising by including internet ads in rules regulating electioneering communications; requiring large platforms to keep information about political ad buys; and requiring large platforms to make reasonable efforts to prevent illegal ad buys by foreign nationals.
- Require super PACs and other dark money groups to provide more information about the sources of their money, such that the public can trace the ultimate sources, rather than shell entities.
- Require organizations that make election-related expenditures to disclose large donors.
- Repeal restriction on disclosure of political spending by government contractors.

Put power back in the hands of the people. Empower ordinary people through a small-dollar public financing system that gives candidates an incentive to spend more time courting working people, rather than just big donors. And reform the Federal Election Commission, so that it can actually enforce election laws.

- Establish a public financing system for candidates and parties that gives a 6-1 match for small dollar contributions under \$200, and fund this system with penalties from corporate malfeasance and tax crimes.
- **Lower contribution limits to individuals and political parties** to \$1,000 for individual campaign contributions and to \$10,000 for contributions to political parties from the current limits.
- Establish public financing for the national conventions of major political parties.
- Enhance Federal Elections Committee (FEC) enforcement by expanding FEC power to impose fines, increasing resources for staff to conduct investigations, and reinstating its random audit authority.
- Give Americans the ability to go to federal court to enforce elections law if the FEC fails to pursue an enforcement action.
- **Restrict testing the waters** by prohibiting candidates from raising undisclosed funds for their campaign before they declare their candidacy.