

#### 115TH CONGRESS 1ST SESSION

# S. 65

To address financial conflicts of interest of the President and Vice President.

## IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

January 9, 2017

Ms. Warren (for herself, Mr. Cardin, Mrs. Feinstein, Mr. Coons, Mr. Durbin, Mr. Merkley, Mr. Leahy, Mrs. Murray, Mr. Wyden, Mr. Reed, Ms. Stabenow, Mr. Brown, Mr. Casey, Ms. Klobuchar, Mr. Whitehouse, Mr. Bennet, Mrs. Gillibrand, Mr. Franken, Mr. Blumenthal, Ms. Baldwin, Mr. Markey, Mr. Booker, Mr. Peters, and Ms. Duckworth) introduced the following bill; which was read twice and referred to the Committee on Homeland Security and Governmental Affairs

# A BILL

To address financial conflicts of interest of the President and Vice President.

- 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.
- 4 This Act may be cited as the "Presidential Conflicts
- 5 of Interest Act of 2017".

1	SEC. 2. DIVESTITURE OF PERSONAL FINANCIAL INTERESTS
2	OF THE PRESIDENT AND VICE PRESIDENT
3	THAT POSE A POTENTIAL CONFLICT OF IN-
4	TEREST.
5	(a) Definitions.—
6	(1) In general.—In this section—
7	(A) the term "conflict-free holding" means
8	a financial interest described in section
9	102(f)(8) of the Ethics in Government Act of
10	1978 (5 U.S.C. App.);
11	(B) the term "financial interest posing a
12	potential conflict of interest" means a financial
13	interest of the President, the Vice President,
14	the spouse of the President or Vice President,
15	or a minor child of the President or Vice Presi-
16	dent, as applicable, that—
17	(i) would constitute a financial inter-
18	est described in subsection (a) of section
19	208 of title 18, United States Code—
20	(I) if—
21	(aa) for purposes of such
22	section 208, the terms "officer"
23	and "employee" included the
24	President and the Vice President;
25	and

1	(bb) the President or Vice
2	President, as applicable, partici-
3	pated as described in subsection
4	(a) of such section 208 in rela-
5	tion to such financial interest;
6	and
7	(II) determined without regard to
8	any exception under subsection (b) of
9	such section 208; or
10	(ii) may constitute a present, emolu-
11	ment, office, or title, of any kind whatever,
12	from any king, prince, or foreign state (in-
13	cluding from an entity owned or controlled
14	by a foreign government), within the
15	meaning of article I, section 9 of the Con-
16	stitution of the United States;
17	(C) the term "qualified blind trust" has
18	the meaning given that term in section
19	102(f)(3) of the Ethics in Government Act of
20	1978 (5 U.S.C. App.), unless otherwise speci-
21	fied in this Act; and
22	(D) the term "tax return"—
23	(i) means any Federal income tax re-
24	turn and any amendment or supplement
25	thereto, including supporting schedules, at-

1	tachments, or lists which are supplemental
2	to, or part of, the return for the taxable
3	year; and
4	(ii) includes any information return
5	that reports information that does or may
6	affect the liability for tax for the taxable
7	year.
8	(2) Applicability of ethics in government
9	ACT OF 1978.—For purposes of the definition of
10	"qualified blind trust" in this section, the term "su-
11	pervising ethics officer" in section 102(f)(3) of the
12	Ethics in Government Act of 1978 (5 U.S.C. App.)
13	means the Director of the Office of Government
14	Ethics.
15	(b) Initial Financial Disclosure.—
16	(1) Submission of disclosure.—
17	(A) In general.—Not later than 30 days
18	after assuming the office of President or Vice
19	President, respectively, the President and Vice
20	President shall submit to Congress and the Di-
21	rector of the Office of Government Ethics a dis-
22	closure of financial interests.
23	(B) APPLICATION TO SITTING PRESIDENT
24	AND VICE PRESIDENT.—For any individual who
25	is serving as the President or Vice President on

1	the date of enactment of this Act, the disclosure
2	of financial interests shall be submitted to Con-
3	gress and the Director of the Office of Govern-
4	ment Ethics not later than 30 days after the
5	date of enactment of this Act.
6	(2) Contents.—
7	(A) President.—The disclosure of finan-
8	cial interests submitted under paragraph (1) by
9	the President shall—
10	(i) describe in detail each financial in-
11	terest of the President, the spouse of the
12	President, or a minor child of the Presi-
13	dent;
14	(ii) at a minimum, include the infor-
15	mation relating to each such financial in-
16	terest that is required for reports under
17	section 102 of the Ethics in Government
18	Act of 1978 (5 U.S.C. App.); and
19	(iii) include the tax returns filed by or
20	on behalf of the President for—
21	(I) the 3 most recent taxable
22	years; and
23	(II) each taxable year for which
24	an audit of the return by the Internal

1	Revenue Service is pending on the
2	date the report is filed.
3	(B) VICE PRESIDENT.—The disclosure of
4	financial interests submitted under paragraph
5	(1) by the Vice President shall—
6	(i) describe in detail each financial in-
7	terest of the Vice President, the spouse of
8	the Vice President, or a minor child of the
9	Vice President;
10	(ii) at a minimum, include the infor-
11	mation relating to each such financial in-
12	terest that is required for reports under
13	section 102 of the Ethics in Government
14	Act of 1978 (5 U.S.C. App.); and
15	(iii) include the tax returns filed by or
16	on behalf of the Vice President for—
17	(I) the 3 most recent taxable
18	years; and
19	(II) each taxable year for which
20	an audit of the return by the Internal
21	Revenue Service is pending on the
22	date the report is filed.
23	(c) Divestiture of Financial Interests Posing
24	a Potential Conflict of Interest.—

1	(1) In General.—The President, the Vice
2	President, the spouse of the President or Vice President
3	dent, and any minor child of the President or Vice
4	President shall divest of any financial interest posing
5	a potential conflict of interest by transferring such
6	interest to a qualified blind trust.
7	(2) Trustee duties.—Within a reasonable pe-
8	riod of time after the date a financial interest is
9	transferred to a qualified blind trust under para-
10	graph (1), the trustee of the qualified blind trust
11	shall—
12	(A) sell the financial interest; and
13	(B) use the proceeds of the sale of the fi-
14	nancial interest to purchase conflict-free hold-
15	ings.
16	(d) Review by Office of Government Ethics.—
17	(1) In general.—The Director of the Office of
18	Government Ethics shall submit to Congress, the
19	President, and the Vice President an annual report
20	regarding the financial interests of the President
21	the Vice President, the spouse of the President or
22	Vice President, and any minor child of the President
23	or Vice President.
24	(2) Contents.—Each report submitted under

paragraph (1) shall—

- 1 (A) indicate whether any financial interest
  2 of the President, the Vice President, the spouse
  3 of the President or Vice President, or a minor
  4 child of the President or Vice President is a fi5 nancial interest posing a potential conflict of in6 terest;
  - (B) evaluate whether any previously held financial interest of the President, the Vice President, the spouse of the President or Vice President, or a minor child of the President or Vice President that was a financial interest posing a potential conflict of interest was divested in accordance with subsection (c); and
  - (C) redact such information as the Director of the Office of Government Ethics determines necessary for preventing identity theft, such as social security numbers or taxpayer identification numbers.

#### (e) Enforcement.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—The Attorney General, the attorney general of any State, or any person aggrieved by any violation of subsection (c) may seek declaratory or injunctive relief in a court of competent jurisdiction if—

1	(A) the Director of the Office of Govern-
2	ment Ethics is unable to issue a report indi-
3	cating whether the President or the Vice Presi-
4	dent is in substantial compliance with sub-
5	section (e); or
6	(B) there is probable cause to believe that
7	the President or the Vice President has not
8	complied with subsection (c).
9	(2) Fair Market Value.—In granting injunc-
10	tive relief to the plaintiff, the court shall ensure that
11	any divestment procedure shall ensure the fair mar-
12	ket return for any asset that is liquidated.
13	SEC. 3. RECUSAL OF APPOINTEES.
14	Section 208 of title 18, United States Code, is
15	amended by adding at the end the following:
16	"(e)(1) Any officer or employee appointed by the
17	President shall recuse himself or herself from any par-
18	ticular matter involving specific parties in which a party
19	to that matter is—
20	"(A) the President who appointed the officer or
	` '
21	employee, which shall include any entity in which the
<ul><li>21</li><li>22</li></ul>	
	employee, which shall include any entity in which the

- 1 ty in which the spouse of the President has a sub-2 stantial interest. 3 "(2)(A) Subject to subparagraph (B), if an officer or employee is recused under paragraph (1), a career appointee in the agency of the officer or employee shall per-6 form the functions and duties of the officer or employee 7 with respect to the matter. "(B)(i) In this subparagraph, the term 'Commission' 8 means a board, commission, or other agency for which the authority of the agency is vested in more than 1 member. 10 11 "(ii) If the recusal of a member of a Commission 12 from a matter under paragraph (1) would result in there not being a statutorily required quorum of members of the Commission available to participate in the matter, not-14 15 withstanding such statute or any other provision of law, the members of the Commission not recused under para-16 17 graph (1) may— 18 "(I) consider the matter without regard to the 19 quorum requirement under such statute;
- 20 "(II) delegate the authorities and responsibil-21 ities of the Commission with respect to the matter 22 to a subcommittee of the Commission; or
- "(III) designate an officer or employee of the Commission who was not appointed by the President who appointed the member of the Commission

- 1 recused from the matter to exercise the authorities
- 2 and duties of the recused member with respect to
- 3 the matter.
- 4 "(3) Any officer or employee who negligently violates
- 5 paragraph (1) shall be subject to the penalties set forth
- 6 in section 216.
- 7 "(4) For purposes of this section, the term 'particular
- 8 matter' shall have the meaning given the term in section
- 9 207(i).".
- 10 SEC. 4. CONTRACTS BY THE PRESIDENT OR VICE PRESI-
- DENT.
- 12 (a) AMENDMENT.—Section 431 of title 18, United
- 13 States Code, is amended—
- (1) in the section heading, by inserting "**the**
- 15 **President, Vice President, or a**" after
- 16 "Contracts by"; and
- 17 (2) in the first undesignated paragraph, by in-
- serting "the President or Vice President," after
- 19 "Whoever, being".
- 20 (b) Table of Sections Amendment.—The table of
- 21 sections for chapter 23 of title 18, United States Code,
- 22 is amended by striking the item relating to section 431
- 23 and inserting the following:
  - "431. Contracts by the President, Vice President, or a Member of Congress.".

1	SEC. 5. PRESIDENTIAL TAX TRANSPARENCY.
2	(a) In General.—Title I of the Ethics in Govern-
3	ment Act of 1978 (5 U.S.C. App.) is amended—
4	(1) by inserting after section 102 the following:
5	"SEC. 102A. DISCLOSURE OF TAX RETURNS.
6	"(a) Definitions.—In this section—
7	"(1) the term 'covered candidate' means an in-
8	dividual—
9	"(A) required to file a report under section
10	101(e); and
11	"(B) who is nominated by a major party
12	as a candidate for the office of President; and
13	"(2) the term 'covered individual' means—
14	"(A) a President required to file a report
15	under subsection (a) or (d) of section 101; and
16	"(B) an individual who occupies the office
17	of the President required to file a report under
18	section 101(e);
19	"(3) the term 'major party' has the meaning
20	given the term in section 9002 of the Internal Rev-
21	enue Code of 1986; and
22	"(4) the term 'income tax return' means, with
23	respect to any covered candidate or covered indi-
24	vidual, any return (within the meaning of section

6103(b) of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986) re-

1	lated to Federal income taxes, but does not in-
2	clude—
3	"(A) information returns issued to persons
4	other than such covered candidate or covered
5	individual, and
6	"(B) declarations of estimated tax.
7	"(b) Disclosure.—
8	"(1) Covered individuals.—
9	"(A) IN GENERAL.—In addition to the in-
10	formation described in subsections (a) and (b)
11	of section 102, a covered individual shall in-
12	clude in each report required to be filed under
13	this title a copy of the income tax returns of the
14	covered individual for the 3 most recent taxable
15	years for which a return have been filed with
16	the Internal Revenue Service as of the date on
17	which the report is filed.
18	"(B) Failure to disclose.—If an in-
19	come tax return is not disclosed under subpara-
20	graph (A), the Director of the Office of Govern-
21	ment Ethics shall submit to the Secretary of
22	the Treasury a request that the Secretary of
23	the Treasury provide the Director of the Office
24	of Government Ethics with a copy of the in-
25	come tax return.

"(C) Publicly available.—Each income tax return submitted under this paragraph shall be filed with the Director of the Office of Government Ethics and made publicly available in the same manner as the information described in subsections (a) and (b) of section 102.

"(D) REDACTION OF CERTAIN INFORMA-TION.—Before making any income tax return submitted under this paragraph available to the public, the Director of the Office of Government Ethics shall redact such information as the Director of the Office of Government Ethics, in consultation with the Secretary of the Treasury (or a delegate of the Secretary), determines appropriate.

## "(2) Candidates.—

"(A) IN GENERAL.—Not later than 15 days after the date on which a covered candidate is nominated, the covered candidate shall amend the report filed by the covered candidate under section 101(c) with the Federal Election Commission to include a copy of the income tax returns of the covered candidate for the 3 most recent taxable years for which a return has been filed with the Internal Revenue Service.

- 1 "(B) FAILURE TO DISCLOSE.—If an in2 come tax return is not disclosed under subpara3 graph (A) the Federal Election Commission
  4 shall submit to the Secretary of the Treasury a
  5 request that the Secretary of the Treasury provide the Federal Election Commission with the
  7 income tax return.
  - "(C) Publicly available.—Each income tax return submitted under this paragraph shall be filed with the Federal Election Commission and made publicly available in the same manner as the information described in section 102(b).
  - "(D) REDACTION OF CERTAIN INFORMA-TION.—Before making any income tax return submitted under this paragraph available to the public, the Federal Election Commission shall redact such information as the Federal Election Commission, in consultation with the Secretary of the Treasury (or a delegate of the Secretary) and the Director of the Office of Government Ethics, determines appropriate.
  - "(3) SPECIAL RULE FOR SITTING PRESI-DENTS.—Not later than 30 days after the date of enactment of this section, the President shall submit to the Director of the Office of Government Ethics

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1	a copy of the income tax returns described in para-
2	graph $(1)(A)$ ."; and
3	(2) in section 104—
4	(A) in subsection (a)—
5	(i) in paragraph (1), in the first sen-
6	tence, by inserting "or any individual who
7	knowingly and willfully falsifies or who
8	knowingly and willfully fails to file an in-
9	come tax return that such individual is re-
10	quired to disclose pursuant to section
11	102A" before the period; and
12	(ii) in paragraph (2)(A)—
13	(I) in clause (i), by inserting "or
14	falsify any income tax return that
15	such person is required to disclose
16	under section 102A" before the semi-
17	colon; and
18	(II) in clause (ii), by inserting
19	"or fail to file any income tax return
20	that such person is required to dis-
21	closed under section 102A" before the
22	period;
23	(B) in subsection (b), in the first sentence
24	by inserting "or willfully failed to file or has
25	willfully falsified an income tax return required

1	to be disclosed under section 102A" before the
2	period;
3	(C) in subsection (c), by inserting "or fail-
4	ing to file or falsifying an income tax return re-
5	quired to be disclosed under section 102A" be-
6	fore the period; and
7	(D) in subsection (d)(1)—
8	(i) in the matter preceding subpara-
9	graph (A), by inserting "or files an income
10	tax return required to be disclosed under
11	section 102A" after "title"; and
12	(ii) in subparagraph (A), by inserting
13	"or such income tax return, as applicable,"
14	after "report".
15	(b) Authority To Disclose Information.—
16	(1) In general.—Section 6103(l) of the Inter-
17	nal Revenue Code of 1986 is amended by adding at
18	the end the following new paragraph:
19	"(23) Disclosure of Return Information
20	OF PRESIDENTS AND CERTAIN PRESIDENTIAL CAN-
21	DIDATES.—
22	"(A) DISCLOSURE OF RETURNS OF PRESI-
23	DENTS.—
24	"(i) In General.—The Secretary
25	shall, upon written request from the Direc-

1	tor of the Office of Government Ethics
2	pursuant to section 102A(b)(1)(B) of the
3	Ethics in Government Act of 1978, provide
4	to officers and employees of the Office of
5	Government Ethics a copy of any income
6	tax return of the President which is re-
7	quired to be filed under section 102A of
8	such Act.
9	"(ii) DISCLOSURE TO PUBLIC.—The
10	Director of the Office of Government Eth-
11	ics may disclose to the public the income
12	tax return of any President which is re-
13	quired to be filed with the Director pursu-
14	ant to section 102A of the Ethics in Gov-
15	ernment Act of 1978.
16	"(B) Disclosure of returns of cer-
17	TAIN CANDIDATES FOR PRESIDENT.—
18	"(i) In General.—The Secretary
19	shall, upon written request from the Chair-
20	man of the Federal Election Commission
21	pursuant to section 102A(b)(2)(B) of the
22	Ethics in Government Act of 1978, provide
23	to officers and employees of the Federal
24	Election Commission conies of the applica-

ble returns of any person who has been

nominated as a candidate of a major party

(as defined in section 9002(a)) for the of
fice of President.

- "(ii) DISCLOSURE TO PUBLIC.—The Federal Election Commission may disclose to the public applicable returns of any person who has been nominated as a candidate of a major party (as defined in section 9002(6)) for the office of President and which is required to be filed with the Commission pursuant to section 102A of the Ethics in Government Act.
- "(C) APPLICABLE RETURNS.—For purposes of this paragraph, the term 'applicable returns' means, with respect to any candidate for the office of President, income tax returns for the 3 most recent taxable years for which a return has been filed as of the date of the nomination.".
- (2) Conforming amendments.—Section 6103(p)(4) of such Code, in the matter preceding subparagraph (A) and in subparagraph (F)(ii), is amended by striking "or (22)" and inserting "(22), or (23)" each place it appears.

#### 1 SEC. 6. SENSE OF CONGRESS REGARDING VIOLATIONS.

- 2 It is the sense of Congress that a violation of section
- 3 2 of this Act or the Ethics in Government Act of 1978
- 4 (5 U.S.C. App.) by the President or the Vice President
- 5 would constitute a high crime or misdemeanor under arti-
- 6 cle II, section 4 of the Constitution of the United States.

#### 7 SEC. 7. RULE OF CONSTRUCTION.

- 8 Nothing in this Act or an amendment made by this
- 9 Act shall be construed to violate the Constitution of the
- 10 United States.

#### 11 SEC. 8. SEVERABILITY.

- 12 If any provision of this Act or any amendment made
- 13 by this Act, or any application of such provision or amend-
- 14 ment to any person or circumstance, is held to be uncon-
- 15 stitutional, the remainder of the provisions of this Act and
- 16 the amendments made by this Act, and the application of
- 17 the provision or amendment to any other person or cir-
- 18 cumstance, shall not be affected.

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