

118TH CONGRESS  
1ST SESSION

# H. R. 11

To expand Americans' access to the ballot box and reduce the influence of big money in politics, and for other purposes.

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## IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

JULY 18, 2023

Mr. SARBANES (for himself, Mr. JEFFRIES, Mr. MORELLE, and Ms. SEWELL) introduced the following bill; which was referred to the Committee on House Administration, and in addition to the Committees on the Judiciary, Science, Space, and Technology, Oversight and Accountability, Financial Services, Ways and Means, Natural Resources, and Homeland Security, 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

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## A BILL

To expand Americans' access to the ballot box and reduce the influence of big money in politics, 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.**

4 This Act may be cited as the "Freedom to Vote Act".

1 **SEC. 2. ORGANIZATION OF ACT INTO DIVISIONS; TABLE OF**  
 2 **CONTENTS.**

3 (a) DIVISIONS.—This Act is organized into divisions  
 4 as follows:

5 (1) Division A—Voter Access.

6 (2) Division B—Election Integrity.

7 (3) Division C—Civic Participation and Em-  
 8 powerment.

9 (b) TABLE OF CONTENTS.—The table of contents of  
 10 this Act is as follows:

Sec. 1. Short title.

Sec. 2. Organization of Act into divisions; table of contents.

Sec. 3. Findings of general constitutional authority.

Sec. 4. Standards for judicial review.

Sec. 5. Severability.

DIVISION A—VOTER ACCESS

TITLE I—ELECTION MODERNIZATION AND ADMINISTRATION

Sec. 1000. Short title; statement of policy.

Subtitle A—Voter Registration Modernization

Sec. 1000A. Short title.

PART 1—AUTOMATIC VOTER REGISTRATION

Sec. 1001. Short title; findings and purpose.

Sec. 1002. Automatic registration of eligible individuals.

Sec. 1003. Voter protection and security in automatic registration.

Sec. 1004. Payments and grants.

Sec. 1005. Miscellaneous provisions.

Sec. 1006. Definitions.

Sec. 1007. Effective date.

PART 2—ELECTION DAY AS LEGAL PUBLIC HOLIDAY

Sec. 1011. Election day as legal public holiday.

PART 3—PROMOTING INTERNET REGISTRATION

Sec. 1021. Requiring availability of internet for voter registration.

Sec. 1022. Use of internet to update registration information.

Sec. 1023. Provision of election information by electronic mail to individuals  
 registered to vote.

- Sec. 1024. Clarification of requirement regarding necessary information to show eligibility to vote.
- Sec. 1025. Prohibiting State from requiring applicants to provide more than last 4 digits of social security number.
- Sec. 1026. Application of rules to certain exempt States.
- Sec. 1027. Report on data collection relating to online voter registration systems.
- Sec. 1028. Permitting voter registration application form to serve as application for absentee ballot.
- Sec. 1029. Effective date.

#### PART 4—SAME-DAY VOTER REGISTRATION

- Sec. 1031. Same-day registration.
- Sec. 1032. Ensuring pre-election registration deadlines are consistent with timing of legal public holidays.

#### PART 5—STREAMLINE VOTER REGISTRATION INFORMATION, ACCESS, AND PRIVACY

- Sec. 1041. Authorizing the dissemination of voter registration information displays following naturalization ceremonies.
- Sec. 1042. Inclusion of voter registration information with certain leases and vouchers for federally assisted rental housing and mortgage applications.
- Sec. 1043. Acceptance of voter registration applications from individuals under 18 years of age.
- Sec. 1044. Requiring States to establish and operate voter privacy programs.

#### PART 6—FUNDING SUPPORT TO STATES FOR COMPLIANCE

- Sec. 1051. Availability of requirements payments under HAVA to cover costs of compliance with new requirements.

#### Subtitle B—Access to Voting for Individuals With Disabilities

- Sec. 1101. Requirements for States to promote access to voter registration and voting for individuals with disabilities.
- Sec. 1102. Establishment and maintenance of State accessible election websites.
- Sec. 1103. Protections for in-person voting for individuals with disabilities and older individuals.
- Sec. 1104. Protections for individuals subject to guardianship.
- Sec. 1105. Expansion and reauthorization of grant program to assure voting access for individuals with disabilities.
- Sec. 1106. Pilot programs for enabling individuals with disabilities to register to vote privately and independently at residences.
- Sec. 1107. GAO analysis and report on voting access for individuals with disabilities.

#### Subtitle C—Early Voting

- Sec. 1201. Early voting.

#### Subtitle D—Voting by Mail

- Sec. 1301. Voting by mail.
- Sec. 1302. Balloting materials tracking program.
- Sec. 1303. Election mail and delivery improvements.

- Sec. 1304. Carriage of election mail.
- Sec. 1305. Requiring States to provide secured drop boxes for voted ballots in elections for Federal office.

#### Subtitle E—Absent Uniformed Services Voters and Overseas Voters

- Sec. 1401. Pre-election reports on availability and transmission of absentee ballots.
- Sec. 1402. Enforcement.
- Sec. 1403. Transmission requirements; repeal of waiver provision.
- Sec. 1404. Use of single absentee ballot application for subsequent elections.
- Sec. 1405. Extending guarantee of residency for voting purposes to family members of absent military personnel.
- Sec. 1406. Technical clarifications to conform to Military and Overseas Voter Empowerment Act amendments related to the Federal write-in absentee ballot.
- Sec. 1407. Treatment of postcard registration requests.
- Sec. 1408. Presidential designee report on voter disenfranchisement.
- Sec. 1409. Effective date.

#### Subtitle F—Enhancement of Enforcement

- Sec. 1501. Enhancement of enforcement of Help America Vote Act of 2002.

#### Subtitle G—Promoting Voter Access Through Election Administration Modernization Improvements

##### PART 1—PROMOTING VOTER ACCESS

- Sec. 1601. Minimum notification requirements for voters affected by polling place changes.
- Sec. 1602. Applicability to Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands.
- Sec. 1603. Elimination of 14-day time period between general election and runoff election for Federal elections in the Virgin Islands and Guam.
- Sec. 1604. Application of Federal election administration laws to territories of the United States.
- Sec. 1605. Application of Federal voter protection laws to territories of the United States.
- Sec. 1606. Ensuring equitable and efficient operation of polling places.
- Sec. 1607. Prohibiting States from restricting curbside voting.

##### PART 2—IMPROVEMENTS IN OPERATION OF ELECTION ASSISTANCE COMMISSION

- Sec. 1611. Reauthorization of Election Assistance Commission.
- Sec. 1612. Recommendations to improve operations of Election Assistance Commission.
- Sec. 1613. Repeal of exemption of Election Assistance Commission from certain government contracting requirements.

##### PART 3—MISCELLANEOUS PROVISIONS

- Sec. 1621. Definition of election for Federal office.
- Sec. 1622. No effect on other laws.
- Sec. 1623. Clarification of exemption for States without voter registration.
- Sec. 1624. Clarification of exemption for States which do not collect telephone information.

Subtitle H—Democracy Restoration

- Sec. 1701. Short title.
- Sec. 1702. Findings.
- Sec. 1703. Rights of citizens.
- Sec. 1704. Enforcement.
- Sec. 1705. Notification of restoration of voting rights.
- Sec. 1706. Definitions.
- Sec. 1707. Relation to other laws.
- Sec. 1708. Federal prison funds.
- Sec. 1709. Effective date.

Subtitle I—Voter Identification and Allowable Alternatives

- Sec. 1801. Requirements for voter identification.

Subtitle J—Voter List Maintenance Procedures

PART 1—VOTER CAGING PROHIBITED

- Sec. 1901. Voter caging prohibited.

PART 2—SAVING ELIGIBLE VOTERS FROM VOTER PURGING

- Sec. 1911. Conditions for removal of voters from list of registered voters.

Subtitle K—Severability

- Sec. 1921. Severability.

DIVISION B—ELECTION INTEGRITY

TITLE II—PROHIBITING INTERFERENCE WITH VOTER  
REGISTRATION

- Sec. 2001. Prohibiting hindering, interfering with, or preventing voter registration.
- Sec. 2002. Establishment of best practices.

TITLE III—PREVENTING ELECTION SUBVERSION

Subtitle A—Restrictions on Removal of Election Administrators

- Sec. 3001. Restrictions on removal of local election administrators in administration of elections for Federal office.

Subtitle B—Increased Protections for Election Workers

- Sec. 3101. Harassment of election workers prohibited.
- Sec. 3102. Protection of election workers.

Subtitle C—Prohibiting Deceptive Practices and Preventing Voter  
Intimidation

- Sec. 3201. Short title.
- Sec. 3202. Prohibition on deceptive practices in Federal elections.
- Sec. 3203. Corrective action.
- Sec. 3204. Reports to Congress.
- Sec. 3205. Private rights of action by election officials.

Sec. 3206. Making intimidation of tabulation, canvass, and certification efforts a crime.

Subtitle D—Protection of Election Records and Election Infrastructure

Sec. 3301. Strengthen protections for Federal election records.  
 Sec. 3302. Penalties; inspection; nondisclosure; jurisdiction.  
 Sec. 3303. Judicial review to ensure compliance.

Subtitle E—Judicial Protection of the Right To Vote and Non-Partisan Vote Tabulation

PART 1—RIGHT TO VOTE ACT

Sec. 3401. Short title.  
 Sec. 3402. Undue burdens on the ability to vote in elections for Federal office prohibited.  
 Sec. 3403. Judicial review.  
 Sec. 3404. Definitions.  
 Sec. 3405. Rules of construction.  
 Sec. 3406. Severability.  
 Sec. 3407. Effective date.

PART 2—CLARIFYING JURISDICTION OVER ELECTION DISPUTES

Sec. 3411. Findings.  
 Sec. 3412. Clarifying authority of United States district courts to hear cases.  
 Sec. 3413. Effective date.

Subtitle F—Poll Worker Recruitment and Training

Sec. 3501. Grants to States for poll worker recruitment and training.  
 Sec. 3502. State defined.

Subtitle G—Preventing Poll Observer Interference

Sec. 3601. Protections for voters on Election Day.

Subtitle H—Preventing Restrictions on Food and Beverages

Sec. 3701. Short title; findings.  
 Sec. 3702. Prohibiting restrictions on donations of food and beverages at polling stations.

Subtitle I—Establishing Duty To Report Foreign Election Interference

Sec. 3801. Findings relating to illicit money undermining our democracy.  
 Sec. 3802. Federal campaign reporting of foreign contacts.  
 Sec. 3803. Federal campaign foreign contact reporting compliance system.  
 Sec. 3804. Criminal penalties.  
 Sec. 3805. Report to congressional intelligence committees.  
 Sec. 3806. Rule of construction.

Subtitle J—Promoting Accuracy, Integrity, and Security Through Voter-Verifiable Permanent Paper Ballot

Sec. 3901. Short title.  
 Sec. 3902. Paper ballot and manual counting requirements.  
 Sec. 3903. Accessibility and ballot verification for individuals with disabilities.

- Sec. 3904. Durability and readability requirements for ballots.
- Sec. 3905. Study and report on optimal ballot design.
- Sec. 3906. Ballot marking device cybersecurity requirements.
- Sec. 3907. Effective date for new requirements.
- Sec. 3908. Grants for obtaining compliant paper ballot voting systems and carrying out voting system security improvements.

“PART 8—GRANTS FOR OBTAINING COMPLIANT PAPER BALLOT VOTING SYSTEMS AND CARRYING OUT VOTING SYSTEM SECURITY IMPROVEMENTS

- “Sec. 298. Grants for obtaining compliant paper ballot voting systems and carrying out voting system security improvements.
- “Sec. 298A. Voting system security improvements described.
- “Sec. 298B. Eligibility of States.
- “Sec. 298C. Reports to Congress.
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Subtitle K—Provisional Ballots

- Sec. 3911. Requirements for counting provisional ballots; establishment of uniform and nondiscriminatory standards.

TITLE IV—VOTING SYSTEM SECURITY

- Sec. 4001. Post-election audit requirement.
- Sec. 4002. Election infrastructure designation.
- Sec. 4003. Guidelines and certification for electronic poll books and remote ballot marking systems.
- Sec. 4004. Pre-election reports on voting system usage.
- Sec. 4005. Use of voting machines manufactured in the United States.
- Sec. 4006. Use of political party headquarters building fund for technology or cybersecurity-related purposes.
- Sec. 4007. Severability.

DIVISION C—CIVIC PARTICIPATION AND EMPOWERMENT

TITLE V—NONPARTISAN REDISTRICTING REFORM

- Sec. 5001. Finding of constitutional authority.
- Sec. 5002. Ban on mid-decade redistricting.
- Sec. 5003. Criteria for redistricting.
- Sec. 5004. Development of plan.
- Sec. 5005. Failure by State to enact plan.
- Sec. 5006. Civil enforcement.
- Sec. 5007. No effect on elections for State and local office.
- Sec. 5008. Effective date.

TITLE VI—CAMPAIGN FINANCE TRANSPARENCY

Subtitle A—DISCLOSE Act

- Sec. 6001. Short title.
- Sec. 6002. Findings.

PART 1—CLOSING LOOPHOLES ALLOWING SPENDING BY FOREIGN NATIONALS IN ELECTIONS

- Sec. 6003. Clarification of application of foreign money ban to certain disbursements and activities.
- Sec. 6004. Study and report on illicit foreign money in Federal elections.
- Sec. 6005. Prohibition on contributions and donations by foreign nationals in connection with ballot initiatives and referenda.
- Sec. 6006. Disbursements and activities subject to foreign money ban.
- Sec. 6007. Prohibiting establishment of corporation to conceal election contributions and donations by foreign nationals.

#### PART 2—REPORTING OF CAMPAIGN-RELATED DISBURSEMENTS

- Sec. 6011. Reporting of campaign-related disbursements.
- Sec. 6012. Reporting of Federal judicial nomination disbursements.
- Sec. 6013. Coordination with FinCEN.
- Sec. 6014. Application of foreign money ban to disbursements for campaign-related disbursements consisting of covered transfers.
- Sec. 6015. Sense of Congress regarding implementation.
- Sec. 6016. Effective date.

#### PART 3—OTHER ADMINISTRATIVE REFORMS

- Sec. 6021. Petition for certiorari.
- Sec. 6022. Judicial review of actions related to campaign finance laws.
- Sec. 6023. Effective date.

#### Subtitle B—Honest Ads

- Sec. 6101. Short title.
- Sec. 6102. Purpose.
- Sec. 6103. Findings.
- Sec. 6104. Sense of Congress.
- Sec. 6105. Expansion of definition of public communication.
- Sec. 6106. Expansion of definition of electioneering communication.
- Sec. 6107. Application of disclaimer statements to online communications.
- Sec. 6108. Political record requirements for online platforms.
- Sec. 6109. Preventing contributions, expenditures, independent expenditures, and disbursements for electioneering communications by foreign nationals in the form of online advertising.
- Sec. 6110. Requiring online platforms to display notices identifying sponsors of political advertisements and to ensure notices continue to be present when advertisements are shared.

#### Subtitle C—Spotlight Act

- Sec. 6201. Short title.
- Sec. 6202. Inclusion of contributor information on annual returns of certain organizations.

### TITLE VII—CAMPAIGN FINANCE OVERSIGHT

#### Subtitle A—Stopping Super PAC–Candidate Coordination

- Sec. 7001. Short title.
- Sec. 7002. Clarification of treatment of coordinated expenditures as contributions to candidates.

#### Subtitle B—Restoring Integrity to America’s Elections



- Sec. 7101. Short title.
- Sec. 7102. Revision to enforcement process.
- Sec. 7103. Official exercising the responsibilities of the general counsel.
- Sec. 7104. Permitting appearance at hearings on requests for advisory opinions by persons opposing the requests.
- Sec. 7105. Permanent extension of administrative penalty authority.
- Sec. 7106. Restrictions on ex parte communications.
- Sec. 7107. Clarifying authority of FEC attorneys to represent FEC in Supreme Court.
- Sec. 7108. Requiring forms to permit use of accent marks.
- Sec. 7109. Extension of the statutes of limitations for offenses under the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971.
- Sec. 7110. Effective date; transition.

#### Subtitle C—Imposition of Fee for Reports Filed by Paper

- Sec. 7201. Imposition of fee for reports filed by paper.

### TITLE VIII—CITIZEN EMPOWERMENT

#### Subtitle A—Funding To Promote Democracy

##### PART 1—PAYMENTS AND ALLOCATIONS TO STATES

- Sec. 8001. Democracy Advancement and Innovation Program.
- Sec. 8002. State plan.
- Sec. 8003. Prohibiting reduction in access to participation in elections.
- Sec. 8004. Amount of State allocation.
- Sec. 8005. Procedures for disbursements of payments and allocations.
- Sec. 8006. Office of Democracy Advancement and Innovation.

##### PART 2—STATE ELECTION ASSISTANCE AND INNOVATION TRUST FUND

- Sec. 8011. State Election Assistance and Innovation Trust Fund.
- Sec. 8012. Uses of Fund.
- Sec. 8013. Assessments against fines and penalties.

##### PART 3—GENERAL PROVISIONS

- Sec. 8021. Definitions.
- Sec. 8022. Rule of construction regarding calculation of deadlines.

#### Subtitle B—Elections for House of Representatives

- Sec. 8101. Short title.

##### PART 1—OPTIONAL DEMOCRACY CREDIT PROGRAM

- Sec. 8102. Establishment of program.
- Sec. 8103. Credit program described.
- Sec. 8104. Reports.
- Sec. 8105. Election cycle defined.

##### PART 2—OPTIONAL SMALL DOLLAR FINANCING OF ELECTIONS FOR HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

- Sec. 8111. Benefits and eligibility requirements for candidates.

“TITLE V—SMALL DOLLAR FINANCING OF ELECTIONS FOR  
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

“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 matching 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. Source of payments.
- “Sec. 542. Administration through dedicated division within Commission.
- “Sec. 543. Violations and penalties.
- “Sec. 544. Indexing of amounts.
- “Sec. 545. Election cycle defined.
- “Sec. 546. Division Director defined.
- Sec. 8112. Contributions and expenditures by multicandidate and political party committees on behalf of participating candidates.
- Sec. 8113. Prohibiting use of contributions by participating candidates for purposes other than campaign for election.
- Sec. 8114. Deadline for regulations; effective date.

Subtitle C—Personal Use Services as Authorized Campaign Expenditures

- Sec. 8201. Short title; findings; purpose.
- Sec. 8202. Treatment of payments for childcare and other personal use services as authorized campaign expenditure.

Subtitle D—Empowering Small Dollar Donations

- Sec. 8301. Permitting political party committees to provide enhanced support for House candidates through use of separate small dollar accounts.

Sec. 8401. Severability.

1 **SEC. 3. FINDINGS OF GENERAL CONSTITUTIONAL AUTHOR-**  
2 **ITY.**

3 Congress finds that the Constitution of the United  
4 States grants explicit and broad authority to protect the  
5 right to vote, to regulate elections for Federal office, to  
6 prevent and remedy discrimination in voting, and to de-  
7 fend the Nation’s democratic process. Congress enacts the  
8 Freedom to Vote Act pursuant to this broad authority,  
9 including but not limited to the following:

10 (1) Congress finds that it has broad authority  
11 to regulate the time, place, and manner of congress-  
12 sional elections under the Elections Clause of the  
13 Constitution, article I, section 4, clause 1. The Su-  
14 preme Court has affirmed that the “substantive  
15 scope” of the Elections Clause is “broad”; that  
16 “Times, Places, and Manner” are “comprehensive  
17 words which embrace authority to provide for a com-  
18 plete code for congressional elections”; and “[t]he  
19 power of Congress over the Times, Places and Man-  
20 ner of congressional elections is paramount, and may  
21 be exercised at any time, and to any extent which  
22 it deems expedient; and so far as it is exercised, and  
23 no farther, the regulations effected supersede those  
24 of the State which are inconsistent therewith”. Ari-

1       zona v. Inter Tribal Council of Arizona, 570 U.S. 1,  
2       8–9 (2013) (internal quotation marks and citations  
3       omitted). Indeed, “Congress has plenary and para-  
4       mount jurisdiction over the whole subject” of con-  
5       gressional elections, *Ex parte Siebold*, 100 U.S. (10  
6       Otto) 371, 388 (1879), and this power “may be ex-  
7       ercised as and when Congress sees fit”, and “so far  
8       as it extends and conflicts with the regulations of  
9       the State, necessarily supersedes them”. *Id.* at 384.  
10      Among other things, Congress finds that the Elec-  
11      tions Clause was intended to “vindicate the people’s  
12      right to equality of representation in the House”.  
13      *Wesberry v. Sanders*, 376 U.S. 1, 16 (1964), and to  
14      address partisan gerrymandering, *Rucho v. Common*  
15      *Cause*, 139 S. Ct. 2484 (2019).

16           (2) Congress also finds that it has both the au-  
17      thority and responsibility, as the legislative body for  
18      the United States, to fulfill the promise of article IV,  
19      section 4, of the Constitution, which states: “The  
20      United States shall guarantee to every State in this  
21      Union a Republican Form of Government[.]”. Con-  
22      gress finds that its authority and responsibility to  
23      enforce the Guarantee Clause is clear given that  
24      Federal courts have not enforced this clause because

1 they understood that its enforcement is committed  
2 to Congress by the Constitution.

3 (3)(A) Congress also finds that it has broad au-  
4 thority pursuant to section 5 of the Fourteenth  
5 Amendment to legislate to enforce the provisions of  
6 the Fourteenth Amendment, including its protec-  
7 tions of the right to vote and the democratic process.

8 (B) Section 1 of the Fourteenth Amendment  
9 protects the fundamental right to vote, which is “of  
10 the most fundamental significance under our con-  
11 stitutional structure”. *Ill. Bd. of Election v. Socialist*  
12 *Workers Party*, 440 U.S. 173, 184 (1979); see  
13 *United States v. Classic*, 313 U.S. 299 (1941) (“Ob-  
14 viously included within the right to choose, secured  
15 by the Constitution, is the right of qualified voters  
16 within a State to cast their ballots and have them  
17 counted . . .”). As the Supreme Court has repeatedly  
18 affirmed, the right to vote is “preservative of all  
19 rights”, *Yick Wo v. Hopkins*, 118 U.S. 356, 370  
20 (1886). Section 2 of the Fourteenth Amendment  
21 also protects the right to vote, granting Congress  
22 additional authority to reduce a State’s representa-  
23 tion in Congress when the right to vote is abridged  
24 or denied.

1           (C) As a result, Congress finds that it has the  
2 authority pursuant to section 5 of the Fourteenth  
3 Amendment to protect the right to vote. Congress  
4 also finds that States and localities have eroded ac-  
5 cess to the right to vote through restrictions on the  
6 right to vote including excessively onerous voter  
7 identification requirements, burdensome voter reg-  
8 istration procedures, voter purges, limited and un-  
9 equal access to voting by mail, polling place closures,  
10 unequal distribution of election resources, and other  
11 impediments.

12           (D) Congress also finds that “the right of suf-  
13 frage can be denied by a debasement or dilution of  
14 the weight of a citizen’s vote just as effectively as by  
15 wholly prohibiting the free exercise of the franchise”.  
16 *Reynolds v. Sims*, 377 U.S. 533, 555 (1964). Con-  
17 gress finds that the right of suffrage has been so di-  
18 luted and debased by means of gerrymandering of  
19 districts. Congress finds that it has authority pursu-  
20 ant to section 5 of the Fourteenth Amendment to  
21 remedy this debasement.

22           (4)(A) Congress also finds that it has authority  
23 to legislate to eliminate racial discrimination in vot-  
24 ing and the democratic process pursuant to both sec-  
25 tion 5 of the Fourteenth Amendment, which grants

1 equal protection of the laws, and section 2 of the  
2 Fifteenth Amendment, which explicitly bars denial  
3 or abridgment of the right to vote on account of  
4 race, color, or previous condition of servitude.

5 (B) Congress finds that racial discrimination in  
6 access to voting and the political process persists.  
7 Voting restrictions, redistricting, and other electoral  
8 practices and processes continue to disproportion-  
9 ately impact communities of color in the United  
10 States and do so as a result of both intentional ra-  
11 cial discrimination, structural racism, and the ongo-  
12 ing structural socioeconomic effects of historical ra-  
13 cial discrimination.

14 (C) Recent elections and studies have shown  
15 that minority communities wait longer in lines to  
16 vote, are more likely to have their mail ballots re-  
17 jected, continue to face intimidation at the polls, are  
18 more likely to be disenfranchised by voter purges,  
19 and are disproportionately burdened by excessively  
20 onerous voter identification and other voter restric-  
21 tions. Research shows that communities of color are  
22 more likely to face nearly every barrier to voting  
23 than their white counterparts.

24 (D) Congress finds that racial disparities in dis-  
25 enfranchisement due to past felony convictions is

1 particularly stark. In 2022, according to the Sen-  
2 tencing Project, an estimated 4,600,000 Americans  
3 could not vote due to a felony conviction. One in 19  
4 African Americans of voting age is disenfranchised,  
5 a rate 3.5 times greater than that of non-African  
6 Americans. In eight States—Alabama, Arizona,  
7 Florida, Kentucky, Mississippi, South Dakota, Ten-  
8 nessee, and Virginia—more than one in ten African  
9 Americans is disenfranchised, nearly twice the na-  
10 tional average for African Americans. Congress finds  
11 that felony disenfranchisement was one of the tools  
12 of intentional racial discrimination during the Jim  
13 Crow era. Congress further finds that current racial  
14 disparities in felony disenfranchisement are linked to  
15 this history of voter suppression, structural racism  
16 in the criminal justice system, and ongoing effects of  
17 historical discrimination.

18 (5)(A) Congress finds that it further has the  
19 power to protect the right to vote from denial or  
20 abridgment on account of sex, age, or ability to pay  
21 a poll tax or other tax pursuant to the Nineteenth,  
22 Twenty-Fourth, and Twenty-Sixth Amendments.

23 (B) Congress finds that electoral practices in-  
24 cluding voting rights restoration conditions for peo-  
25 ple with convictions and other restrictions to the



1 franchise burden voters on account of their ability to  
2 pay.

3 (C) Congress further finds that electoral prac-  
4 tices including voting restrictions related to college  
5 campuses, age restrictions on mail voting, and simi-  
6 lar practices burden the right to vote on account of  
7 age.

8 **SEC. 4. STANDARDS FOR JUDICIAL REVIEW.**

9 (a) IN GENERAL.—For any action brought for declar-  
10 atory or injunctive relief to challenge, whether facially or  
11 as-applied, the constitutionality or lawfulness of any provi-  
12 sion of this Act or any amendment made by this Act or  
13 any rule or regulation promulgated under this Act, the fol-  
14 lowing rules shall apply:

15 (1) The action shall be filed in the United  
16 States District Court for the District of Columbia  
17 and an appeal from the decision of the district court  
18 may be taken to the Court of Appeals for the Dis-  
19 trict of Columbia Circuit. These courts, and the Su-  
20 preme Court of the United States on a writ of cer-  
21 tiorari (if such writ is issued), shall have exclusive  
22 jurisdiction to hear such actions.

23 (2) The party filing the action shall concur-  
24 rently deliver a copy the complaint to the Clerk of

1 the House of Representatives and the Secretary of  
2 the Senate.

3 (3) It shall be the duty of the United States  
4 District Court for the District of Columbia and the  
5 Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia Cir-  
6 cuit to advance on the docket and to expedite to the  
7 greatest possible extent the disposition of the action  
8 and appeal.

9 (b) CLARIFYING SCOPE OF JURISDICTION.—If an ac-  
10 tion at the time of its commencement is not subject to  
11 subsection (a), but an amendment, counterclaim, cross-  
12 claim, affirmative defense, or any other pleading or motion  
13 is filed challenging, whether facially or as-applied, the con-  
14 stitutionality or lawfulness of this Act or any amendment  
15 made by this Act or any rule or regulation promulgated  
16 under this Act, the district court shall transfer the action  
17 to the District Court for the District of Columbia, and  
18 the action shall thereafter be conducted pursuant to sub-  
19 section (a).

20 (c) INTERVENTION BY MEMBERS OF CONGRESS.—In  
21 any action described in subsection (a), any Member of the  
22 House of Representatives (including a Delegate or Resi-  
23 dent Commissioner to the Congress) or Senate shall have  
24 the right to intervene either in support of or opposition  
25 to the position of a party to the case regarding the con-

1 stitutionality of the provision. To avoid duplication of ef-  
2 forts and reduce the burdens placed on the parties to the  
3 action, the court in any such action may make such orders  
4 as it considers necessary, including orders to require  
5 interveners taking similar positions to file joint papers or  
6 to be represented by a single attorney at oral argument.

7 **SEC. 5. SEVERABILITY.**

8       If any provision of this Act or any amendment made  
9 by this Act, or the application of any such provision or  
10 amendment to any person or circumstance, is held to be  
11 unconstitutional, the remainder of this Act, and the appli-  
12 cation of such provision or amendment to any other person  
13 or circumstance, shall not be affected by the holding.

14       **DIVISION A—VOTER ACCESS**  
15       **TITLE I—ELECTION MODERNIZA-**  
16       **TION AND ADMINISTRATION**

17 **SEC. 1000. SHORT TITLE; STATEMENT OF POLICY.**

18       (a) **SHORT TITLE.**—This title may be cited as the  
19 “Voter Empowerment Act of 2023”.

20       (b) **STATEMENT OF POLICY.**—It is the policy of the  
21 United States that—

22               (1) the ability of all eligible citizens of the  
23 United States to access and exercise their constitu-  
24 tional right to vote in a free, fair, and timely manner

1 must be vigilantly enhanced, protected, and main-  
2 tained; and

3 (2) the integrity, security, and accountability of  
4 the voting process must be vigilantly protected,  
5 maintained, and enhanced in order to protect and  
6 preserve electoral and participatory democracy in the  
7 United States.

## 8 **Subtitle A—Voter Registration** 9 **Modernization**

### 10 **SEC. 1000A. SHORT TITLE.**

11 This subtitle may be cited as the “Voter Registration  
12 Modernization Act of 2023”.

### 13 **PART 1—AUTOMATIC VOTER REGISTRATION**

#### 14 **SEC. 1001. SHORT TITLE; FINDINGS AND PURPOSE.**

15 (a) **SHORT TITLE.**—This part may be cited as the  
16 “Automatic Voter Registration Act of 2023”.

17 (b) **FINDINGS AND PURPOSE.**—

18 (1) **FINDINGS.**—Congress finds that—

19 (A) the right to vote is a fundamental  
20 right of citizens of the United States;

21 (B) it is the responsibility of the State and  
22 Federal governments to ensure that every eligi-  
23 ble citizen is registered to vote;

24 (C) existing voter registration systems can  
25 be inaccurate, costly, inaccessible and con-

1 fusing, with damaging effects on voter partici-  
2 pation in elections for Federal office and dis-  
3 proportionate impacts on young people, persons  
4 with disabilities, and racial and ethnic minori-  
5 ties; and

6 (D) voter registration systems must be up-  
7 dated with 21st century technologies and proce-  
8 dures to maintain their security.

9 (2) PURPOSE.—It is the purpose of this part—

10 (A) to establish that it is the responsibility  
11 of government to ensure that all eligible citizens  
12 are registered to vote in elections for Federal  
13 office;

14 (B) to enable the State governments to  
15 register all eligible citizens to vote with accu-  
16 rate, cost-efficient, and up-to-date procedures;

17 (C) to modernize voter registration and list  
18 maintenance procedures with electronic and  
19 internet capabilities; and

20 (D) to protect and enhance the integrity,  
21 accuracy, efficiency, and accessibility of the  
22 electoral process for all eligible citizens.

1 **SEC. 1002. AUTOMATIC REGISTRATION OF ELIGIBLE INDI-**  
2 **VIDUALS.**

3 (a) IN GENERAL.—The National Voter Registration  
4 Act of 1993 (52 U.S.C. 20504) is amended by inserting  
5 after section 5 the following new section:

6 **“SEC. 5A. AUTOMATIC REGISTRATION BY STATE MOTOR VE-**  
7 **HICLE AUTHORITY.**

8 “(a) DEFINITIONS.—In this section—

9 “(1) APPLICABLE AGENCY.—The term ‘applica-  
10 ble agency’ means, with respect to a State, the State  
11 motor vehicle authority responsible for motor vehicle  
12 driver’s licenses under State law.

13 “(2) APPLICABLE TRANSACTION.—The term  
14 ‘applicable transaction’ means—

15 “(A) an application to an applicable agency  
16 for a motor vehicle driver’s license; and

17 “(B) any other service or assistance (in-  
18 cluding for a change of address) provided by an  
19 applicable agency.

20 “(3) AUTOMATIC REGISTRATION.—The term  
21 ‘automatic registration’ means a system that reg-  
22 isters an individual to vote and updates existing reg-  
23 istrations, in elections for Federal office in a State,  
24 if eligible, by electronically transferring the informa-  
25 tion necessary for registration from the applicable  
26 agency to election officials of the State so that, un-

1 less the individual affirmatively declines to be reg-  
2 istered or to update any voter registration, the indi-  
3 vidual will be registered to vote in such elections.

4 “(4) ELIGIBLE INDIVIDUAL.—The term ‘eligible  
5 individual’ means, with respect to an election for  
6 Federal office, an individual who is otherwise quali-  
7 fied to vote in that election.

8 “(5) REGISTER TO VOTE.—The term ‘register  
9 to vote’ includes updating an individual’s existing  
10 voter registration.

11 “(b) ESTABLISHMENT.—

12 “(1) IN GENERAL.—The chief State election of-  
13 ficial of each State shall establish and operate a sys-  
14 tem of automatic registration for the registration of  
15 eligible individuals to vote for elections for Federal  
16 office in the State, in accordance with the provisions  
17 of this section.

18 “(2) REGISTRATION OF VOTERS BASED ON NEW  
19 AGENCY RECORDS.—

20 “(A) IN GENERAL.—The chief State elec-  
21 tion official shall—

22 “(i) subject to subparagraph (B), en-  
23 sure that each eligible individual who com-  
24 pletes an applicable transaction and does

1 not decline to register to vote is registered  
2 to vote—

3 “(I) in the next upcoming elec-  
4 tion for Federal office (and subse-  
5 quent elections for Federal office), if  
6 an applicable agency transmits infor-  
7 mation under subsection (c)(1)(E)  
8 with respect to the individual not later  
9 than the applicable date; and

10 “(II) in subsequent elections for  
11 Federal office, if an applicable agency  
12 transmits such information with re-  
13 spect to such individual after the ap-  
14 plicable date; and

15 “(ii) not later than 60 days after the  
16 receipt of such information with respect to  
17 an individual, send written notice to the in-  
18 dividual, in addition to other means of no-  
19 tice established by this section, of the indi-  
20 vidual’s voter registration status.

21 “(B) APPLICABLE DATE.—For purposes of  
22 this subsection, the term ‘applicable date’  
23 means, with respect to any election for Federal  
24 office, the later of—



1                   “(i) the date that is 28 days before  
2                   the date of the election; or

3                   “(ii) the last day of the period pro-  
4                   vided by State law for registration with re-  
5                   spect to such election.

6                   “(C) CLARIFICATION.—Nothing in this  
7                   subsection shall prevent the chief State election  
8                   official from registering an eligible individual to  
9                   vote for the next upcoming election for Federal  
10                  office in the State even if an applicable agency  
11                  transmits information under subsection  
12                  (c)(1)(E) with respect to the individual after  
13                  the applicable date.

14                  “(3) TREATMENT OF INDIVIDUALS UNDER 18  
15                  YEARS OF AGE.—A State may not refuse to treat an  
16                  individual as an eligible individual for purposes of  
17                  this section on the grounds that the individual is less  
18                  than 18 years of age at the time an applicable agen-  
19                  cy receives information with respect to the indi-  
20                  vidual, so long as the individual is at least 16 years  
21                  of age at such time. Nothing in the previous sen-  
22                  tence may be construed to require a State to permit  
23                  an individual who is under 18 years of age at the  
24                  time of an election for Federal office to vote in the  
25                  election.

1 “(c) APPLICABLE AGENCY RESPONSIBILITIES.—

2 “(1) INSTRUCTIONS ON AUTOMATIC REGISTRA-  
3 TION FOR AGENCIES COLLECTING CITIZENSHIP IN-  
4 FORMATION.—

5 “(A) IN GENERAL.—Except as otherwise  
6 provided in this section, in the case of any ap-  
7 plicable transaction for which an applicable  
8 agency (in the normal course of its operations)  
9 requests individuals to affirm United States  
10 citizenship (either directly or as part of the  
11 overall application for service or assistance or  
12 enrollment), the applicable agency shall inform  
13 each such individual who is a citizen of the  
14 United States of the following:

15 “(i) Unless that individual declines to  
16 register to vote, or is found ineligible to  
17 vote, the individual will be registered to  
18 vote or, if applicable, the individual’s reg-  
19 istration will be updated.

20 “(ii) The substantive qualifications of  
21 an elector in the State as listed in the mail  
22 voter registration application form for elec-  
23 tions for Federal office prescribed pursu-  
24 ant to section 9, the consequences of false  
25 registration, and how the individual should

1           decline to register if the individual does  
2           not meet all those qualifications.

3           “(iii) In the case of a State in which  
4           affiliation or enrollment with a political  
5           party is required in order to participate in  
6           an election to select the party’s candidate  
7           in an election for Federal office, the re-  
8           quirement that the individual must affiliate  
9           or enroll with a political party in order to  
10          participate in such an election.

11          “(iv) Voter registration is voluntary,  
12          and neither registering nor declining to  
13          register to vote will in any way affect the  
14          availability of services or benefits, nor be  
15          used for other purposes.

16          “(B) INDIVIDUALS WITH LIMITED  
17          ENGLISH PROFICIENCY.—In the case in which  
18          the individual is a member of a group that con-  
19          stitutes 3 percent or more of the overall popu-  
20          lation within the State served by the applicable  
21          agency as measured by the United States Cen-  
22          sus and are limited English proficient, the in-  
23          formation described in clauses (i) through (iv)  
24          of subparagraph (A) shall be provided in a lan-  
25          guage understood by the individual.

1           “(C) CLARIFICATION ON PROCEDURES FOR  
2 INELIGIBLE VOTERS.—An applicable agency  
3 shall not provide an individual who did not af-  
4 firm United States citizenship, or for whom the  
5 agency has conclusive documentary evidence ob-  
6 tained through its normal course of operations  
7 that the individual is not a United States cit-  
8 izen, the opportunity to register to vote under  
9 subparagraph (A).

10           “(D) OPPORTUNITY TO DECLINE REG-  
11 ISTRATION REQUIRED.—Except as otherwise  
12 provided in this section, each applicable agency  
13 shall ensure that each applicable transaction de-  
14 scribed in subparagraph (A) with an eligible in-  
15 dividual cannot be completed until the indi-  
16 vidual is given the opportunity to decline to be  
17 registered to vote. In the case where the indi-  
18 vidual is a member of a group that constitutes  
19 3 percent or more of the overall population  
20 within the State served by the applicable agency  
21 as measured by the United States Census and  
22 are limited English proficient, such opportunity  
23 shall be given in a language understood by the  
24 individual.

1           “(E) INFORMATION TRANSMITTAL.—Not  
2 later than 10 days after an applicable trans-  
3 action with an eligible individual, if the indi-  
4 vidual did not decline to be registered to vote,  
5 the applicable agency shall electronically trans-  
6 mit to the appropriate State election official the  
7 following information with respect to the indi-  
8 vidual:

9           “(i) The individual’s given name(s)  
10 and surname(s).

11           “(ii) The individual’s date of birth.

12           “(iii) The individual’s residential ad-  
13 dress.

14           “(iv) Information showing that the in-  
15 dividual is a citizen of the United States.

16           “(v) The date on which information  
17 pertaining to that individual was collected  
18 or last updated.

19           “(vi) If available, the individual’s sig-  
20 nature in electronic form.

21           “(vii) In the case of a State in which  
22 affiliation or enrollment with a political  
23 party is required in order to participate in  
24 an election to select the party’s candidate  
25 in an election for Federal office, informa-

1           tion regarding the individual’s affiliation or  
2           enrollment with a political party, but only  
3           if the individual provides such information.

4           “(viii) Any additional information list-  
5           ed in the mail voter registration applica-  
6           tion form for elections for Federal office  
7           prescribed pursuant to section 9, including  
8           any valid driver’s license number or the  
9           last 4 digits of the individual’s social secu-  
10          rity number, if the individual provided  
11          such information.

12          “(F) PROVISION OF INFORMATION RE-  
13          GARDING PARTICIPATION IN PRIMARY ELEC-  
14          TIONS.—In the case of a State in which affili-  
15          ation or enrollment with a political party is re-  
16          quired in order to participate in an election to  
17          select the party’s candidate in an election for  
18          Federal office, if the information transmitted  
19          under subparagraph (E) with respect to an in-  
20          dividual does not include information regarding  
21          the individual’s affiliation or enrollment with a  
22          political party, the chief State election official  
23          shall—

1           “(i) notify the individual that such af-  
2           filiation or enrollment is required to par-  
3           ticipate in primary elections; and

4           “(ii) provide an opportunity for the  
5           individual to update their registration with  
6           a party affiliation or enrollment.

7           “(G) CLARIFICATION.—Nothing in this  
8           section shall be read to require an applicable  
9           agency to transmit to an election official the in-  
10          formation described in subparagraph (E) for an  
11          individual who is ineligible to vote in elections  
12          for Federal office in the State, except to the ex-  
13          tent required to pre-register citizens between 16  
14          and 18 years of age.

15          “(2) ALTERNATE PROCEDURE FOR CERTAIN  
16          OTHER APPLICABLE AGENCIES.—With each applica-  
17          ble transaction for which an applicable agency in the  
18          normal course of its operations does not request in-  
19          dividuals to affirm United States citizenship (either  
20          directly or as part of the overall application for serv-  
21          ice or assistance), the applicable agency shall—

22                  “(A) complete the requirements of section  
23                  5;

24                  “(B) ensure that each applicant’s trans-  
25                  action with the applicable agency cannot be

1 completed until the applicant has indicated  
2 whether the applicant wishes to register to vote  
3 or declines to register to vote in elections for  
4 Federal office held in the State; and

5 “(C) for each individual who wishes to reg-  
6 ister to vote, transmit that individual’s informa-  
7 tion in accordance with subsection (c)(1)(E),  
8 unless the applicable agency has conclusive doc-  
9 umentary evidence obtained through its normal  
10 course of operations that the individual is not  
11 a United States citizen.

12 “(3) REQUIRED AVAILABILITY OF AUTOMATIC  
13 REGISTRATION OPPORTUNITY WITH EACH APPLICA-  
14 TION FOR SERVICE OR ASSISTANCE.—Each applica-  
15 ble agency shall offer each eligible individual, with  
16 each applicable transaction, the opportunity to reg-  
17 ister to vote as prescribed by this section without re-  
18 gard to whether the individual previously declined a  
19 registration opportunity.

20 “(d) VOTER PROTECTION.—

21 “(1) APPLICABLE AGENCIES’ PROTECTION OF  
22 INFORMATION.—Nothing in this section authorizes  
23 an applicable agency to collect, retain, transmit, or  
24 publicly disclose any of the following, except as nec-



1        essary to comply with title III of the Civil Rights  
2        Act of 1960 (52 U.S.C. 20701 et seq.):

3               “(A) An individual’s decision to decline to  
4        register to vote or not to register to vote.

5               “(B) An individual’s decision not to affirm  
6        his or her citizenship.

7               “(C) Any information that an applicable  
8        agency transmits pursuant to subsection  
9        (c)(1)(E), except in pursuing the agency’s ordi-  
10       nary course of business.

11              “(2) ELECTION OFFICIALS’ PROTECTION OF IN-  
12       FORMATION.—

13              “(A) PUBLIC DISCLOSURE PROHIBITED.—

14                      “(i) IN GENERAL.—Subject to clause  
15                      (ii), with respect to any individual for  
16                      whom any State election official receives  
17                      information from an applicable agency, the  
18                      State election official shall not publicly dis-  
19                      close any of the following:

20                              “(I) Any information not nec-  
21                              essary to voter registration.

22                              “(II) Any voter information oth-  
23                              erwise shielded from disclosure under  
24                              State law or section 8(a).

1                   “(III) Any portion of the individ-  
2                   ual’s social security number.

3                   “(IV) Any portion of the individ-  
4                   ual’s motor vehicle driver’s license  
5                   number.

6                   “(V) The individual’s signature.

7                   “(VI) The individual’s telephone  
8                   number.

9                   “(VII) The individual’s email ad-  
10                  dress.

11                  “(ii) SPECIAL RULE FOR INDIVIDUALS  
12                  REGISTERED TO VOTE.—The prohibition  
13                  on public disclosure under clause (i) shall  
14                  not apply with respect to the telephone  
15                  number or email address of any individual  
16                  for whom any State election official re-  
17                  ceives information from the applicable  
18                  agency and who, on the basis of such infor-  
19                  mation, is registered to vote in the State  
20                  under this section.

21                  “(e) MISCELLANEOUS PROVISIONS.—

22                  “(1) ACCESSIBILITY OF REGISTRATION SERV-  
23                  ICES.—Each applicable agency shall ensure that the  
24                  services it provides under this section are made  
25                  available to individuals with disabilities to the same

1 extent as services are made available to all other in-  
2 dividuals.

3 “(2) TRANSMISSION THROUGH SECURE THIRD  
4 PARTY PERMITTED.—Nothing in this section or in  
5 the Automatic Voter Registration Act of 2023 shall  
6 be construed to prevent an applicable agency from  
7 contracting with a third party to assist the agency  
8 in meeting the information transmittal requirements  
9 of this section, so long as the data transmittal com-  
10 plies with the applicable requirements of this section  
11 and such Act, including provisions relating to pri-  
12 vacy and security.

13 “(3) NONPARTISAN, NONDISCRIMINATORY PRO-  
14 VISION OF SERVICES.—The services made available  
15 by applicable agencies under this section shall be  
16 made in a manner consistent with paragraphs (4),  
17 (5), and (6)(C) of section 7(a).

18 “(4) NOTICES.—Each State may send notices  
19 under this section via electronic mail if the indi-  
20 vidual has provided an electronic mail address and  
21 consented to electronic mail communications for  
22 election-related materials. All notices sent pursuant  
23 to this section that require a response must offer the  
24 individual notified the opportunity to respond at no  
25 cost to the individual.

1           “(5) REGISTRATION AT OTHER STATE OFFICES  
2           PERMITTED.—Nothing in this section may be con-  
3           strued to prohibit a State from offering voter reg-  
4           istration services described in this section at offices  
5           of the State other than the State motor vehicle au-  
6           thority.

7           “(f) APPLICABILITY.—

8           “(1) IN GENERAL.—This section shall not apply  
9           to an exempt State.

10           “(2) EXEMPT STATE DEFINED.—The term ‘ex-  
11           empt State’ means a State that, under law that is  
12           in effect continuously on and after the date of enact-  
13           ment of this section, either—

14                   “(A) has no voter registration requirement  
15                   for any voter in the State with respect to a  
16                   Federal election; or

17                   “(B) operates a system of automatic reg-  
18                   istration at the motor vehicle authority of the  
19                   State or a Permanent Dividend Fund of the  
20                   State under which an individual is provided the  
21                   opportunity to decline registration during the  
22                   transaction or by way of a notice sent by mail  
23                   or electronically after the transaction.”.

24           (b) CONFORMING AMENDMENTS.—

1           (1) Section 4(a) of the National Voter Registra-  
2           tion Act of 1993 (52 U.S.C. 20503(a)) is amended  
3           by redesignating paragraphs (2) and (3) as para-  
4           graphs (3) and (4), respectively, and by inserting  
5           after paragraph (1) the following new paragraph:

6           “(2) by application made simultaneously with  
7           an application for a motor vehicle driver’s license  
8           pursuant to section 5A;”.

9           (2) Section 4(b) of the National Voter Registra-  
10          tion Act of 1993 (52 U.S.C. 20503(b)) is amend-  
11          ed—

12                   (A) by redesignating paragraphs (1) and  
13                   (2) as subparagraphs (A) and (B), respectively,  
14                   and indenting appropriately;

15                   (B) by striking “STATES.—This Act” and  
16                   inserting “STATES.—

17                   “(1) IN GENERAL.—Except as provided in para-  
18                   graph (2), this Act”; and

19                   (C) by adding at the end the following new  
20                   paragraph:

21                   “(2) APPLICATION OF AUTOMATIC REGISTRA-  
22                   TION REQUIREMENTS.—Section 5A shall apply to a  
23                   State described in paragraph (1), unless the State is  
24                   an exempt State as defined in subsection (f)(2) of  
25                   such section.”.

1           (3) Section 8(a)(1) of such Act (52 U.S.C.  
2           20507(a)(1)) is amended by redesignating subpara-  
3           graphs (B), (C), and (D) as subparagraphs (C), (D),  
4           and (E), respectively, and by inserting after sub-  
5           paragraph (A) the following new subparagraph:

6                       “(B) in the case of registration under sec-  
7                       tion 5A, within the period provided in section  
8                       5A(b)(2);”.

9   **SEC. 1003. VOTER PROTECTION AND SECURITY IN AUTO-**  
10   **MATIC REGISTRATION.**

11           (a) PROTECTIONS FOR ERRORS IN REGISTRATION.—  
12   An individual shall not be prosecuted under any Federal  
13   or State law, adversely affected in any civil adjudication  
14   concerning immigration status or naturalization, or sub-  
15   ject to an allegation in any legal proceeding that the indi-  
16   vidual is not a citizen of the United States on any of the  
17   following grounds:

18                       (1) The individual notified an election office of  
19                       the individual’s automatic registration to vote.

20                       (2) The individual is not eligible to vote in elec-  
21                       tions for Federal office but was registered to vote  
22                       due to individual or agency error.

23                       (3) The individual was automatically registered  
24                       to vote at an incorrect address.

1           (4) The individual declined the opportunity to  
2           register to vote or did not make an affirmation of  
3           citizenship, including through automatic registration.

4           (b) LIMITS ON USE OF AUTOMATIC REGISTRA-  
5           TION.—The automatic registration (within the meaning of  
6           section 5A of the National Voter Registration Act of  
7           1993) of any individual or the fact that an individual de-  
8           clined the opportunity to register to vote or did not make  
9           an affirmation of citizenship (including through automatic  
10          registration) may not be used as evidence against that in-  
11          dividual in any State or Federal law enforcement pro-  
12          ceeding or any civil adjudication concerning immigration  
13          status or naturalization, and an individual’s lack of knowl-  
14          edge or willfulness of such registration may be dem-  
15          onstrated by the individual’s testimony alone.

16          (c) PROTECTION OF ELECTION INTEGRITY.—Noth-  
17          ing in subsection (a) or (b) may be construed to prohibit  
18          or restrict any action under color of law against an indi-  
19          vidual who—

20                (1) knowingly and willfully makes a false state-  
21                ment to effectuate or perpetuate automatic voter  
22                registration (within the meaning of section 5A of the  
23                National Voter Registration Act of 1993) by any in-  
24                dividual; or

1           (2) casts a ballot knowingly and willfully in vio-  
2           lation of State law or the laws of the United States.

3           (d) ELECTION OFFICIALS' PROTECTION OF INFOR-  
4           MATION.—

5           (1) VOTER RECORD CHANGES.—Each State  
6           shall maintain for not less than 2 years and shall  
7           make available for public inspection (and, where  
8           available, photocopying at a reasonable cost), includ-  
9           ing in electronic form and through electronic meth-  
10          ods, all records of changes to voter records, includ-  
11          ing removals, the reasons for removals, and updates.

12          (2) DATABASE MANAGEMENT STANDARDS.—  
13          Not later than 1 year after the date of enactment  
14          of this Act, the Director of the National Institute of  
15          Standards and Technology, in consultation with  
16          State and local election officials and the Commis-  
17          sion, shall, after providing the public with notice and  
18          the opportunity to comment—

19                 (A) establish standards governing the com-  
20                 parison of data for voter registration list main-  
21                 tenance purposes, identifying as part of such  
22                 standards the specific data elements, the  
23                 matching rules used, and how a State may use  
24                 the data to determine and deem that an indi-  
25                 vidual is ineligible under State law to vote in an



1 election, or to deem a record to be a duplicate  
2 or outdated;

3 (B) ensure that the standards developed  
4 pursuant to this paragraph are uniform and  
5 nondiscriminatory and are applied in a uniform  
6 and nondiscriminatory manner;

7 (C) not later than 45 days after the dead-  
8 line for public notice and comment, publish the  
9 standards developed pursuant to this paragraph  
10 on the Director's website and make those  
11 standards available in written form upon re-  
12 quest; and

13 (D) ensure that the standards developed  
14 pursuant to this paragraph are maintained and  
15 updated in a manner that reflects innovations  
16 and best practices in the security of database  
17 management.

18 (3) SECURITY POLICY.—

19 (A) IN GENERAL.—Not later than 1 year  
20 after the date of enactment of this Act, the Di-  
21 rector of the National Institute of Standards  
22 and Technology shall, after providing the public  
23 with notice and the opportunity to comment,  
24 publish privacy and security standards for voter  
25 registration information not later than 45 days

1 after the deadline for public notice and com-  
2 ment. The standards shall require the chief  
3 State election official of each State to adopt a  
4 policy that shall specify—

5 (i) each class of users who shall have  
6 authorized access to the computerized  
7 statewide voter registration list, specifying  
8 for each class the permission and levels of  
9 access to be granted, and setting forth  
10 other safeguards to protect the privacy, se-  
11 curity, and accuracy of the information on  
12 the list; and

13 (ii) security safeguards to protect per-  
14 sonal information transmitted through the  
15 information transmittal processes of sec-  
16 tion 5A(b) of the National Voter Registra-  
17 tion Act of 1993, any telephone interface,  
18 the maintenance of the voter registration  
19 database, and any audit procedure to track  
20 access to the system.

21 (B) MAINTENANCE AND UPDATING.—The  
22 Director of the National Institute of Standards  
23 and Technology shall ensure that the standards  
24 developed pursuant to this paragraph are main-  
25 tained and updated in a manner that reflects

1 innovations and best practices in the privacy  
2 and security of voter registration information.

3 (4) STATE COMPLIANCE WITH NATIONAL  
4 STANDARDS.—

5 (A) CERTIFICATION.—The chief State elec-  
6 tion official of the State shall annually file with  
7 the Commission a statement certifying to the  
8 Director of the National Institute of Standards  
9 and Technology that the State is in compliance  
10 with the standards referred to in paragraphs  
11 (2) and (3). A State may meet the requirement  
12 of the previous sentence by filing with the Com-  
13 mission a statement that reads as follows:  
14 “\_\_\_\_\_ hereby certifies that it is in  
15 compliance with the standards referred to in  
16 paragraphs (2) and (3) of section 1003(d) of  
17 the Automatic Voter Registration Act of 2023.”  
18 (with the blank to be filled in with the name of  
19 the State involved).

20 (B) PUBLICATION OF POLICIES AND PRO-  
21 CEDURES.—The chief State election official of a  
22 State shall publish on the official’s website the  
23 policies and procedures established under this  
24 section, and shall make those policies and pro-

1           cedures available in written form upon public  
2           request.

3           (C) FUNDING DEPENDENT ON CERTIFI-  
4           CATION.—If a State does not timely file the cer-  
5           tification required under this paragraph, it shall  
6           not receive any payment under this part for the  
7           upcoming fiscal year.

8           (D) COMPLIANCE OF STATES THAT RE-  
9           QUIRE CHANGES TO STATE LAW.—In the case  
10          of a State that requires State legislation to  
11          carry out an activity covered by any certifi-  
12          cation submitted under this paragraph, for a  
13          period of not more than 2 years, the State shall  
14          be permitted to make the certification notwith-  
15          standing that the legislation has not been en-  
16          acted at the time the certification is submitted,  
17          and such State shall submit an additional cer-  
18          tification once such legislation is enacted.

19          (e) RESTRICTIONS ON USE OF INFORMATION.—No  
20          person acting under color of law may discriminate against  
21          any individual based on, or use for any purpose other than  
22          voter registration, election administration, juror selection,  
23          or enforcement relating to election crimes, any of the fol-  
24          lowing:

25                 (1) Voter registration records.

1           (2) An individual's declination to register to  
2           vote or complete an affirmation of citizenship under  
3           section 5A of the National Voter Registration Act of  
4           1993.

5           (3) An individual's voter registration status.

6           (f) PROHIBITION ON THE USE OF VOTER REGISTRA-  
7           TION INFORMATION FOR COMMERCIAL PURPOSES.—In-  
8           formation collected under this part or the amendments  
9           made by this part shall not be used for commercial pur-  
10          poses. Nothing in this subsection may be construed to pro-  
11          hibit the transmission, exchange, or dissemination of in-  
12          formation for political purposes, including the support of  
13          campaigns for election for Federal, State, or local public  
14          office or the activities of political committees (including  
15          committees of political parties) under the Federal Election  
16          Campaign Act of 1971 (52 U.S.C. 30101 et seq.).

17          **SEC. 1004. PAYMENTS AND GRANTS.**

18          (a) IN GENERAL.—The Commission shall make  
19          grants to each eligible State to assist the State in imple-  
20          menting the requirements of this part and the amend-  
21          ments made by this part (or, in the case of an exempt  
22          State, in implementing its existing automatic voter reg-  
23          istration program or expanding its automatic voter reg-  
24          istration program in a manner consistent with the require-  
25          ments of this part) with respect to the offices of the State

1 motor vehicle authority and any other offices of the State  
2 at which the State offers voter registration services as de-  
3 scribed in this part and the amendments made by this  
4 part.

5 (b) ELIGIBILITY; APPLICATION.—A State is eligible  
6 to receive a grant under this section if the State submits  
7 to the Commission, at such time and in such form as the  
8 Commission may require, an application containing—

9 (1) a description of the activities the State will  
10 carry out with the grant;

11 (2) an assurance that the State shall carry out  
12 such activities without partisan bias and without  
13 promoting any particular point of view regarding  
14 any issue; and

15 (3) such other information and assurances as  
16 the Commission may require.

17 (c) AMOUNT OF GRANT; PRIORITIES.—The Commis-  
18 sion shall determine the amount of a grant made to an  
19 eligible State under this section. In determining the  
20 amounts of the grants, the Commission shall give priority  
21 to providing funds for those activities that are most likely  
22 to accelerate compliance with the requirements of this part  
23 (or, in the case of an exempt State, which are most likely  
24 to enhance the ability of the State to automatically reg-

1 ister individuals to vote through its existing automatic  
2 voter registration program), including—

3 (1) investments supporting electronic informa-  
4 tion transfer, including electronic collection and  
5 transfer of signatures, between applicable agencies  
6 (as defined in section 5A of the National Voter Reg-  
7 istration Act of 1993) and the appropriate State  
8 election officials;

9 (2) updates to online or electronic voter reg-  
10 istration systems already operating as of the date of  
11 enactment of this Act;

12 (3) introduction of online voter registration sys-  
13 tems in jurisdictions in which those systems did not  
14 previously exist; and

15 (4) public education on the availability of new  
16 methods of registering to vote, updating registration,  
17 and correcting registration.

18 (d) EXEMPT STATE.—For purposes of this section,  
19 the term “exempt State” has the meaning given that term  
20 in section 5A of the National Voter Registration Act of  
21 1993, and also includes a State in which, under law that  
22 is in effect continuously on and after the date of enact-  
23 ment of the National Voter Registration Act of 1993,  
24 there is no voter registration requirement for any voter  
25 in the State with respect to an election for Federal office.

1 (e) AUTHORIZATION OF APPROPRIATIONS.—

2 (1) AUTHORIZATION.—There are authorized to  
3 be appropriated to carry out this section—

4 (A) \$3,000,000,000 for fiscal year 2024;  
5 and

6 (B) such sums as may be necessary for  
7 each succeeding fiscal year.

8 (2) CONTINUING AVAILABILITY OF FUNDS.—

9 Any amounts appropriated pursuant to the authority  
10 of this subsection shall remain available without fis-  
11 cal year limitation until expended.

12 **SEC. 1005. MISCELLANEOUS PROVISIONS.**

13 (a) ENFORCEMENT.—Section 11 of the National  
14 Voter Registration Act of 1993 (52 U.S.C. 20510), relat-  
15 ing to civil enforcement and the availability of private  
16 rights of action, shall apply with respect to this part in  
17 the same manner as such section applies to such Act.

18 (b) RELATION TO OTHER LAWS.—Except as pro-  
19 vided, nothing in this part or the amendments made by  
20 this part may be construed to authorize or require conduct  
21 prohibited under, or to supersede, restrict, or limit the ap-  
22 plication of any of the following:

23 (1) The Voting Rights Act of 1965 (52 U.S.C.  
24 10301 et seq.).



1           (2) The Uniformed and Overseas Citizens Ab-  
2           sentee Voting Act (52 U.S.C. 20301 et seq.).

3           (3) The National Voter Registration Act of  
4           1993 (52 U.S.C. 20501 et seq.) (other than section  
5           5A thereof).

6           (4) The Help America Vote Act of 2002 (52  
7           U.S.C. 20901 et seq.).

8           (5) The Americans with Disabilities Act of  
9           1990 (42 U.S.C. 12101 et seq.).

10 **SEC. 1006. DEFINITIONS.**

11           In this part, the following definitions apply:

12           (1) The term “chief State election official”  
13           means, with respect to a State, the individual des-  
14           ignated by the State under section 10 of the Na-  
15           tional Voter Registration Act of 1993 (52 U.S.C.  
16           20509) to be responsible for coordination of the  
17           State’s responsibilities under such Act.

18           (2) The term “Commission” means the Election  
19           Assistance Commission.

20           (3) The term “State” means each of the several  
21           States, the District of Columbia, the Commonwealth  
22           of Puerto Rico, the United States Virgin Islands,  
23           Guam, American Samoa, and the Commonwealth of  
24           the Northern Mariana Islands.

1 **SEC. 1007. EFFECTIVE DATE.**

2 (a) IN GENERAL.—Except as provided in subsection  
3 (b), this part and the amendments made by this part shall  
4 apply on and after January 1, 2025.

5 (b) WAIVER.—If a State certifies to the Commission  
6 not later than January 1, 2025, that the State will not  
7 meet the deadline described in subsection (a) because it  
8 would be impracticable to do so and includes in the certifi-  
9 cation the reasons for the failure to meet such deadline,  
10 subsection (a) shall apply to the State as if the reference  
11 in such subsection to “January 1, 2025” were a reference  
12 to “January 1, 2027”.

13 **PART 2—ELECTION DAY AS LEGAL PUBLIC**  
14 **HOLIDAY**

15 **SEC. 1011. ELECTION DAY AS LEGAL PUBLIC HOLIDAY.**

16 (a) IN GENERAL.—Section 6103(a) of title 5, United  
17 States Code, is amended by inserting after the item relat-  
18 ing to Columbus Day, the following:

19 “Election Day, the Tuesday next after the first Mon-  
20 day in November in each even-numbered year.”.

21 (b) CONFORMING AMENDMENT.—Section 241(b) of  
22 the Help America Vote Act of 2002 (52 U.S.C. 20981(b))  
23 is amended—

24 (1) by striking paragraph (10); and

25 (2) by redesignating paragraphs (11) through  
26 (19) as paragraphs (10) through (18), respectively.

1 (c) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendment made by  
2 subsection (a) shall apply with respect to the regularly  
3 scheduled general elections for Federal office held in No-  
4 vember 2024 or any succeeding year.

5 **PART 3—PROMOTING INTERNET REGISTRATION**

6 **SEC. 1021. REQUIRING AVAILABILITY OF INTERNET FOR**  
7 **VOTER REGISTRATION.**

8 (a) REQUIRING AVAILABILITY OF INTERNET FOR  
9 REGISTRATION.—The National Voter Registration Act of  
10 1993 (52 U.S.C. 20501 et seq.) is amended by inserting  
11 after section 6 the following new section:

12 **“SEC. 6A. INTERNET REGISTRATION.**

13 “(a) REQUIRING AVAILABILITY OF INTERNET FOR  
14 ONLINE REGISTRATION.—Each State, acting through the  
15 chief State election official, shall ensure that the following  
16 services are available to the public at any time on the offi-  
17 cial public websites of the appropriate State and local elec-  
18 tion officials in the State, in the same manner and subject  
19 to the same terms and conditions as the services provided  
20 by voter registration agencies under section 7(a):

21 “(1) Online application for voter registration.

22 “(2) Online assistance to applicants in applying  
23 to register to vote.

24 “(3) Online completion and submission by ap-  
25 plicants of the mail voter registration application

1 form prescribed by the Election Assistance Commis-  
2 sion pursuant to section 9(a)(2), including assist-  
3 ance with providing a signature as required under  
4 subsection (c).

5 “(4) Online receipt of completed voter registra-  
6 tion applications.

7 “(b) ACCEPTANCE OF COMPLETED APPLICATIONS.—  
8 A State shall accept an online voter registration applica-  
9 tion provided by an individual under this section, and en-  
10 sure that the individual is registered to vote in the State,  
11 if—

12 “(1) the individual meets the same voter reg-  
13 istration requirements applicable to individuals who  
14 register to vote by mail in accordance with section  
15 6(a)(1) using the mail voter registration application  
16 form prescribed by the Election Assistance Commis-  
17 sion pursuant to section 9(a)(2); and

18 “(2) the individual meets the requirements of  
19 subsection (c) to provide a signature in electronic  
20 form (but only in the case of applications submitted  
21 during or after the second year in which this section  
22 is in effect in the State).

23 “(c) SIGNATURE REQUIREMENTS.—

1           “(1) IN GENERAL.—For purposes of this sec-  
2           tion, an individual meets the requirements of this  
3           subsection as follows:

4                   “(A) In the case of an individual who has  
5                   a signature on file with a State agency, includ-  
6                   ing the State motor vehicle authority, that is  
7                   required to provide voter registration services  
8                   under this Act or any other law, the individual  
9                   consents to the transfer of that electronic signa-  
10                  ture.

11                   “(B) If subparagraph (A) does not apply,  
12                   the individual submits with the application an  
13                   electronic copy of the individual’s handwritten  
14                   signature through electronic means.

15                   “(C) If subparagraph (A) and subpara-  
16                   graph (B) do not apply, the individual executes  
17                   a computerized mark in the signature field on  
18                   an online voter registration application, in ac-  
19                   cordance with reasonable security measures es-  
20                   tablished by the State, but only if the State ac-  
21                   cepts such mark from the individual.

22           “(2) TREATMENT OF INDIVIDUALS UNABLE TO  
23           MEET REQUIREMENT.—If an individual is unable to  
24           meet the requirements under paragraph (1), the  
25           State shall—

1           “(A) permit the individual to complete all  
2 other elements of the online voter registration  
3 application;

4           “(B) permit the individual to provide a sig-  
5 nature at the time the individual requests a bal-  
6 lot in an election (whether the individual re-  
7 quests the ballot at a polling place or requests  
8 the ballot by mail); and

9           “(C) if the individual carries out the steps  
10 described in subparagraphs (A) and (B), ensure  
11 that the individual is registered to vote in the  
12 State.

13           “(3) NOTICE.—The State shall ensure that in-  
14 dividuals applying to register to vote online are noti-  
15 fied of the requirements under paragraph (1) and of  
16 the treatment of individuals unable to meet such re-  
17 quirements, as described in paragraph (2).

18           “(d) CONFIRMATION AND DISPOSITION.—

19           “(1) CONFIRMATION OF RECEIPT.—

20           “(A) IN GENERAL.—Upon the online sub-  
21 mission of a completed voter registration appli-  
22 cation by an individual under this section, the  
23 appropriate State or local election official shall  
24 provide the individual a notice confirming the  
25 State’s receipt of the application and providing

1 instructions on how the individual may check  
2 the status of the application.

3 “(B) METHOD OF NOTIFICATION.—The  
4 appropriate State or local election official shall  
5 provide the notice required under subparagraph  
6 (A) though the online submission process and—

7 “(i) in the case of an individual who  
8 has provided the official with an electronic  
9 mail address, by electronic mail; and

10 “(ii) at the option of the individual,  
11 by text message.

12 “(2) NOTICE OF DISPOSITION.—

13 “(A) IN GENERAL.—Not later than 7 days  
14 after the date on which the appropriate State or  
15 local election official approves or rejects an ap-  
16 plication submitted by an individual under this  
17 section, the official shall provide the individual  
18 a notice of the disposition of the application.

19 “(B) METHOD OF NOTIFICATION.—The  
20 appropriate State or local election official shall  
21 provide the notice required under subparagraph  
22 (A) by regular mail and—

23 “(i) in the case of an individual who  
24 has provided the official with an electronic  
25 mail address, by electronic mail; and

1                   “(ii) at the option of the individual,  
2                   by text message.

3           “(e) PROVISION OF SERVICES IN NONPARTISAN  
4 MANNER.—The services made available under subsection  
5 (a) shall be provided in a manner that ensures that—

6                   “(1) the online application does not seek to in-  
7                   fluence an applicant’s political preference or party  
8                   registration; and

9                   “(2) there is no display on the website pro-  
10                  moting any political preference or party allegiance,  
11                  except that nothing in this paragraph may be con-  
12                  strued to prohibit an applicant from registering to  
13                  vote as a member of a political party.

14          “(f) PROTECTION OF SECURITY OF INFORMATION.—  
15 In meeting the requirements of this section, the State shall  
16 establish appropriate technological security measures to  
17 prevent to the greatest extent practicable any unauthor-  
18 ized access to information provided by individuals using  
19 the services made available under subsection (a).

20          “(g) ACCESSIBILITY OF SERVICES.—A State shall en-  
21 sure that the services made available under this section  
22 are made available to individuals with disabilities to the  
23 same extent as services are made available to all other in-  
24 dividuals.



1       “(h) NONDISCRIMINATION AMONG REGISTERED  
2 VOTERS USING MAIL AND ONLINE REGISTRATION.—In  
3 carrying out this Act, the Help America Vote Act of 2002  
4 (52 U.S.C. 20901 et seq.), or any other Federal, State,  
5 or local law governing the treatment of registered voters  
6 in the State or the administration of elections for public  
7 office in the State, a State shall treat a registered voter  
8 who registered to vote online in accordance with this sec-  
9 tion in the same manner as the State treats a registered  
10 voter who registered to vote by mail.”.

11       (b) SPECIAL REQUIREMENTS FOR INDIVIDUALS  
12 USING ONLINE REGISTRATION.—

13           (1) TREATMENT AS INDIVIDUALS REGISTERING  
14 TO VOTE BY MAIL FOR PURPOSES OF FIRST-TIME  
15 VOTER IDENTIFICATION REQUIREMENTS.—Section  
16 303(b)(1)(A) of the Help America Vote Act of 2002  
17 (52 U.S.C. 21083(b)(1)(A)) is amended by striking  
18 “by mail” and inserting “by mail or online under  
19 section 6A of the National Voter Registration Act of  
20 1993”.

21           (2) REQUIRING SIGNATURE FOR FIRST-TIME  
22 VOTERS IN JURISDICTION.—Section 303(b) of such  
23 Act (52 U.S.C. 21083(b)) is amended—

24                   (A) by redesignating paragraph (5) as  
25                   paragraph (6); and

1 (B) by inserting after paragraph (4) the  
2 following new paragraph:

3 “(5) SIGNATURE REQUIREMENTS FOR FIRST-  
4 TIME VOTERS USING ONLINE REGISTRATION.—

5 “(A) IN GENERAL.—A State shall, in a  
6 uniform and nondiscriminatory manner, require  
7 an individual to meet the requirements of sub-  
8 paragraph (B) if—

9 “(i) the individual registered to vote  
10 in the State online under section 6A of the  
11 National Voter Registration Act of 1993;  
12 and

13 “(ii) the individual has not previously  
14 voted in an election for Federal office in  
15 the State.

16 “(B) REQUIREMENTS.—An individual  
17 meets the requirements of this subparagraph  
18 if—

19 “(i) in the case of an individual who  
20 votes in person, the individual provides the  
21 appropriate State or local election official  
22 with a handwritten signature; or

23 “(ii) in the case of an individual who  
24 votes by mail, the individual submits with  
25 the ballot a handwritten signature.

1           “(C)    INAPPLICABILITY.—Subparagraph  
2           (A) does not apply in the case of an individual  
3           who is—

4                   “(i) entitled to vote by absentee ballot  
5                   under the Uniformed and Overseas Citi-  
6                   zens Absentee Voting Act (52 U.S.C.  
7                   20302 et seq.);

8                   “(ii) provided the right to vote other-  
9                   wise than in person under section  
10                   3(b)(2)(B)(ii) of the Voting Accessibility  
11                   for the Elderly and Handicapped Act (52  
12                   U.S.C. 20102(b)(2)(B)(ii)); or

13                   “(iii) entitled to vote otherwise than  
14                   in person under any other Federal law.”.

15           (3) CONFORMING AMENDMENT RELATING TO  
16           EFFECTIVE DATE.—Section 303(d)(2)(A) of such  
17           Act (52 U.S.C. 21083(d)(2)(A)) is amended by  
18           striking “Each State” and inserting “Except as pro-  
19           vided in subsection (b)(5), each State”.

20           (e) CONFORMING AMENDMENTS.—

21                   (1) TIMING OF REGISTRATION.—Section 8(a)(1)  
22                   of the National Voter Registration Act of 1993 (52  
23                   U.S.C. 20507(a)(1)), as amended by section  
24                   1002(b)(3), is amended—

1 (A) by striking “and” at the end of sub-  
2 paragraph (D);

3 (B) by redesignating subparagraph (E) as  
4 subparagraph (F); and

5 (C) by inserting after subparagraph (D)  
6 the following new subparagraph:

7 “(E) in the case of online registration  
8 through the official public website of an election  
9 official under section 6A, if the valid voter reg-  
10 istration application is submitted online not  
11 later than the lesser of 28 days, or the period  
12 provided by State law, before the date of the  
13 election (as determined by treating the date on  
14 which the application is sent electronically as  
15 the date on which it is submitted); and”.

16 (2) INFORMING APPLICANTS OF ELIGIBILITY  
17 REQUIREMENTS AND PENALTIES.—Section 8(a)(5)  
18 of such Act (52 U.S.C. 20507(a)(5)) is amended by  
19 striking “and 7” and inserting “6A, and 7”.

20 **SEC. 1022. USE OF INTERNET TO UPDATE REGISTRATION**  
21 **INFORMATION.**

22 (a) IN GENERAL.—

23 (1) UPDATES TO INFORMATION CONTAINED ON  
24 COMPUTERIZED STATEWIDE VOTER REGISTRATION  
25 LIST.—Section 303(a) of the Help America Vote Act

1 of 2002 (52 U.S.C. 21083(a)) is amended by adding  
2 at the end the following new paragraph:

3 “(6) USE OF INTERNET BY REGISTERED VOT-  
4 ERS TO UPDATE INFORMATION.—

5 “(A) IN GENERAL.—The appropriate State  
6 or local election official shall ensure that any  
7 registered voter on the computerized list may at  
8 any time update the voter’s registration infor-  
9 mation, including the voter’s address and elec-  
10 tronic mail address, online through the official  
11 public website of the election official responsible  
12 for the maintenance of the list, so long as the  
13 voter attests to the contents of the update by  
14 providing a signature in electronic form in the  
15 same manner required under section 6A(c) of  
16 the National Voter Registration Act of 1993.

17 “(B) PROCESSING OF UPDATED INFORMA-  
18 TION BY ELECTION OFFICIALS.—If a registered  
19 voter updates registration information under  
20 subparagraph (A), the appropriate State or  
21 local election official shall—

22 “(i) revise any information on the  
23 computerized list to reflect the update  
24 made by the voter; and

1           “(ii) if the updated registration infor-  
2 mation affects the voter’s eligibility to vote  
3 in an election for Federal office, ensure  
4 that the information is processed with re-  
5 spect to the election if the voter updates  
6 the information not later than the lesser of  
7 7 days, or the period provided by State  
8 law, before the date of the election.

9           “(C) CONFIRMATION AND DISPOSITION.—

10           “(i) CONFIRMATION OF RECEIPT.—  
11 Upon the online submission of updated  
12 registration information by an individual  
13 under this paragraph, the appropriate  
14 State or local election official shall send  
15 the individual a notice confirming the  
16 State’s receipt of the updated information  
17 and providing instructions on how the indi-  
18 vidual may check the status of the update.

19           “(ii) NOTICE OF DISPOSITION.—Not  
20 later than 7 days after the appropriate  
21 State or local election official has accepted  
22 or rejected updated information submitted  
23 by an individual under this paragraph, the  
24 official shall send the individual a notice of  
25 the disposition of the update.

1 “(iii) METHOD OF NOTIFICATION.—

2 The appropriate State or local election offi-  
3 cial shall send the notices required under  
4 this subparagraph by regular mail and—

5 “(I) in the case of an individual  
6 who has requested that the State pro-  
7 vide voter registration and voting in-  
8 formation through electronic mail, by  
9 electronic mail; and

10 “(II) at the option of the indi-  
11 vidual, by text message.”.

12 (2) CONFORMING AMENDMENT RELATING TO  
13 EFFECTIVE DATE.—Section 303(d)(1)(A) of such  
14 Act (52 U.S.C. 21083(d)(1)(A)) is amended by  
15 striking “subparagraph (B)” and inserting “sub-  
16 paragraph (B) and subsection (a)(6)”.

17 (b) ABILITY OF REGISTRANT TO USE ONLINE UP-  
18 DATE TO PROVIDE INFORMATION ON RESIDENCE.—Sec-  
19 tion 8(d)(2)(A) of the National Voter Registration Act of  
20 1993 (52 U.S.C. 20507(d)(2)(A)) is amended—

21 (1) in the first sentence, by inserting after “re-  
22 turn the card” the following: “or update the reg-  
23 istrant’s information on the computerized statewide  
24 voter registration list using the online method pro-

1 vided under section 303(a)(6) of the Help America  
2 Vote Act of 2002”; and

3 (2) in the second sentence, by striking “re-  
4 turned,” and inserting the following: “returned or if  
5 the registrant does not update the registrant’s infor-  
6 mation on the computerized statewide voter registra-  
7 tion list using such online method,”.

8 **SEC. 1023. PROVISION OF ELECTION INFORMATION BY**  
9 **ELECTRONIC MAIL TO INDIVIDUALS REG-**  
10 **ISTERED TO VOTE.**

11 (a) INCLUDING OPTION ON VOTER REGISTRATION  
12 APPLICATION TO PROVIDE EMAIL ADDRESS AND RE-  
13 CEIVE INFORMATION.—

14 (1) IN GENERAL.—Section 9(b) of the National  
15 Voter Registration Act of 1993 (52 U.S.C.  
16 20508(b)) is amended—

17 (A) by striking “and” at the end of para-  
18 graph (3);

19 (B) in paragraph (4)—

20 (i) by redesignating clauses (i), (ii),  
21 and (iii) as subparagraphs (A), (B), and  
22 (C), respectively; and

23 (ii) in subparagraph (C), as so redes-  
24 ignated, by striking the period at the end  
25 and inserting “; and”; and



1 (C) by adding at the end the following new  
2 paragraph:

3 “(5) shall include a space for the applicant to  
4 provide (at the applicant’s option) an electronic mail  
5 address, together with a statement that, if the appli-  
6 cant so requests, instead of using regular mail the  
7 appropriate State and local election officials shall  
8 provide to the applicant, through electronic mail sent  
9 to that address, the same voting information (as de-  
10 fined in section 302(b)(2) of the Help America Vote  
11 Act of 2002) that the officials would provide to the  
12 applicant through regular mail.”.

13 (2) PROHIBITING USE FOR PURPOSES UNRE-  
14 LATED TO OFFICIAL DUTIES OF ELECTION OFFI-  
15 CIALS.—Section 9 of such Act (52 U.S.C. 20508) is  
16 amended by adding at the end the following new  
17 subsection:

18 “(c) PROHIBITING USE OF ELECTRONIC MAIL AD-  
19 DRESSES FOR OTHER THAN OFFICIAL PURPOSES.—The  
20 chief State election official shall ensure that any electronic  
21 mail address provided by an applicant under subsection  
22 (b)(5) is used only for purposes of carrying out official  
23 duties of election officials and is not transmitted by any  
24 State or local election official (or any agent of such an  
25 official, including a contractor) to any person who does

1 not require the address to carry out such official duties  
2 and who is not under the direct supervision and control  
3 of a State or local election official.”.

4 (b) REQUIRING PROVISION OF INFORMATION BY  
5 ELECTION OFFICIALS.—Section 302(b) of the Help Amer-  
6 ica Vote Act of 2002 (52 U.S.C. 21082(b)) is amended  
7 by adding at the end the following new paragraph:

8 “(3) PROVISION OF OTHER INFORMATION BY  
9 ELECTRONIC MAIL.—If an individual who is a reg-  
10 istered voter has provided the State or local election  
11 official with an electronic mail address for the pur-  
12 pose of receiving voting information (as described in  
13 section 9(b)(5) of the National Voter Registration  
14 Act of 1993), the appropriate State or local election  
15 official, through electronic mail transmitted not later  
16 than 7 days before the date of the election for Fed-  
17 eral office involved, shall provide the individual with  
18 information on how to obtain the following informa-  
19 tion by electronic means:

20 “(A)(i) If the individual is assigned to vote  
21 in the election at a specific polling place—

22 “(I) the name and address of the poll-  
23 ing place; and

24 “(II) the hours of operation for the  
25 polling place.

1           “(ii) If the individual is not assigned to  
2           vote in the election at a specific polling place—

3                   “(I) the name and address of loca-  
4                   tions at which the individual is eligible to  
5                   vote; and

6                   “(II) the hours of operation for those  
7                   locations.

8                   “(B) A description of any identification or  
9                   other information the individual may be re-  
10                  quired to present at the polling place or a loca-  
11                  tion described in subparagraph (A)(ii)(I) to vote  
12                  in the election.”.

13 **SEC. 1024. CLARIFICATION OF REQUIREMENT REGARDING**  
14                   **NECESSARY INFORMATION TO SHOW ELIGI-**  
15                   **BILITY TO VOTE.**

16           Section 8 of the National Voter Registration Act of  
17 1993 (52 U.S.C. 20507) is amended—

18                   (1) by redesignating subsection (j) as sub-  
19                   section (k); and

20                   (2) by inserting after subsection (i) the fol-  
21                   lowing new subsection:

22                   “(j) REQUIREMENT FOR STATE TO REGISTER APPLI-  
23                   CANTS PROVIDING NECESSARY INFORMATION TO SHOW  
24                   ELIGIBILITY TO VOTE.—For purposes meeting the re-  
25                   quirement of subsection (a)(1) that an eligible applicant

1 is registered to vote in an election for Federal office within  
 2 the deadlines required under such subsection, the State  
 3 shall consider an applicant to have provided a ‘valid voter  
 4 registration form’ if—

5 “(1) the applicant has substantially completed  
 6 the application form and attested to the statement  
 7 required by section 9(b)(2); and

8 “(2) in the case of an applicant who registers  
 9 to vote online in accordance with section 6A, the ap-  
 10 plicant provides a signature in accordance with sub-  
 11 section (c) of such section.”.

12 **SEC. 1025. PROHIBITING STATE FROM REQUIRING APPLI-**  
 13 **CANTS TO PROVIDE MORE THAN LAST 4 DIG-**  
 14 **ITS OF SOCIAL SECURITY NUMBER.**

15 (a) FORM INCLUDED WITH APPLICATION FOR  
 16 MOTOR VEHICLE DRIVER’S LICENSE.—Section  
 17 5(c)(2)(B)(ii) of the National Voter Registration Act of  
 18 1993 (52 U.S.C. 20504(c)(2)(B)(ii)) is amended by strik-  
 19 ing the semicolon at the end and inserting the following:  
 20 “, and to the extent that the application requires the appli-  
 21 cant to provide a social security number, may not require  
 22 the applicant to provide more than the last 4 digits of such  
 23 number;”.

24 (b) NATIONAL MAIL VOTER REGISTRATION FORM.—  
 25 Section 9(b)(1) of such Act (52 U.S.C. 20508(b)(1)) is

1 amended by striking the semicolon at the end and insert-  
2 ing the following: “, and to the extent that the form re-  
3 quires the applicant to provide a social security number,  
4 the form may not require the applicant to provide more  
5 than the last 4 digits of such number;”.

6 **SEC. 1026. APPLICATION OF RULES TO CERTAIN EXEMPT**  
7 **STATES.**

8 Section 4 of the National Voter Registration Act of  
9 1993 (52 U.S.C. 20503) is amended by adding at the end  
10 the following new subsection:

11 “(c) APPLICATION OF INTERNET VOTER REGISTRA-  
12 TION RULES.—Notwithstanding subsection (b), the fol-  
13 lowing provisions shall apply to a State described in para-  
14 graph (2) thereof:

15 “(1) Section 6A (as added by section 1021(a)  
16 of the Voter Registration Modernization Act of  
17 2023).

18 “(2) Section 8(a)(1)(E) (as added by section  
19 1021(e)(1) of the Voter Registration Modernization  
20 Act of 2023).

21 “(3) Section 8(a)(5) (as amended by section  
22 1021(e)(2) of Voter Registration Modernization Act  
23 of 2023), but only to the extent such provision re-  
24 lates to section 6A.

1           “(4) Section 8(j) (as added by section 1024 of  
2           the Voter Registration Modernization Act of 2023),  
3           but only to the extent such provision relates to sec-  
4           tion 6A.”.

5   **SEC. 1027. REPORT ON DATA COLLECTION RELATING TO**  
6                           **ONLINE VOTER REGISTRATION SYSTEMS.**

7           Not later than 1 year after the date of enactment  
8           of this Act, the Attorney General shall submit to Congress  
9           a report on local, State, and Federal personally identifi-  
10          able information data collections efforts related to online  
11          voter registration systems, the cybersecurity resources  
12          necessary to defend such efforts from online attacks, and  
13          the impact of a potential data breach of local, State, or  
14          Federal online voter registration systems.

15   **SEC. 1028. PERMITTING VOTER REGISTRATION APPLICA-**  
16                           **TION FORM TO SERVE AS APPLICATION FOR**  
17                           **ABSENTEE BALLOT.**

18          Section 5(c) of the National Voter Registration Act  
19          of 1993 (52 U.S.C. 20504(c)) is amended—

20                   (1) in paragraph (2)—

21                           (A) by striking “and” at the end of sub-  
22                           paragraph (D);

23                           (B) by striking the period at the end of  
24                           subparagraph (E) and inserting “; and”; and

1           (C) by adding at the end the following new  
2           subparagraph:

3           “(F) at the option of the applicant, shall serve  
4           as an application to vote by absentee ballot in the  
5           next election for Federal office held in the State and  
6           in each subsequent election for Federal office held in  
7           the State.”; and

8           (2) by adding at the end the following new  
9           paragraph:

10          “(3)(A) In the case of an individual who is treated  
11          as having applied for an absentee ballot in the next elec-  
12          tion for Federal office held in the State and in each subse-  
13          quent election for Federal office held in the State under  
14          paragraph (2)(F), such treatment shall remain effective  
15          until the earlier of such time as—

16                 “(i) the individual is no longer registered to  
17                 vote in the State; or

18                 “(ii) the individual provides an affirmative writ-  
19                 ten notice revoking such treatment.

20          “(B) The treatment of an individual as having ap-  
21          plied for an absentee ballot in the next election for Federal  
22          office held in the State and in each subsequent election  
23          for Federal office held in the State under paragraph  
24          (2)(F) shall not be revoked on the basis that the individual  
25          has not voted in an election”.

1 **SEC. 1029. EFFECTIVE DATE.**

2 (a) IN GENERAL.—Except as provided in subsection  
3 (b), the amendments made by this part (other than the  
4 amendments made by section 1024) shall apply with re-  
5 spect to the regularly scheduled general election for Fed-  
6 eral office held in November 2024 and each succeeding  
7 election for Federal office.

8 (b) WAIVER.—If a State certifies to the Election As-  
9 sistance Commission not later than 180 days after the  
10 date of enactment of this Act that the State will not meet  
11 the deadline described in subsection (a) because it would  
12 be impracticable to do so and includes in the certification  
13 the reasons for the failure to meet such deadline, sub-  
14 section (a) shall apply to the State as if the reference in  
15 such subsection to “the regularly scheduled general elec-  
16 tion for Federal office held in November 2024” were a  
17 reference to “January 1, 2026”.

18 **PART 4—SAME-DAY VOTER REGISTRATION**

19 **SEC. 1031. SAME-DAY REGISTRATION.**

20 (a) IN GENERAL.—Title III of the Help America  
21 Vote Act of 2002 (52 U.S.C. 21081 et seq.) is amended—

22 (1) by redesignating sections 304 and 305 as  
23 sections 305 and 306, respectively; and

24 (2) by inserting after section 303 the following  
25 new section:



1 **“SEC. 304. SAME-DAY REGISTRATION.**

2 “(a) IN GENERAL.—

3 “(1) REGISTRATION.—Each State shall permit  
4 any eligible individual on the day of a Federal elec-  
5 tion and on any day when voting, including early  
6 voting, is permitted for a Federal election—

7 “(A) to register to vote in such election at  
8 the polling place using a form that meets the  
9 requirements under section 9(b) of the National  
10 Voter Registration Act of 1993 (or, if the indi-  
11 vidual is already registered to vote, to revise  
12 any of the individual’s voter registration infor-  
13 mation); and

14 “(B) to cast a vote in such election.

15 “(2) EXCEPTION.—The requirements under  
16 paragraph (1) shall not apply to a State in which,  
17 under a State law in effect continuously on and after  
18 the date of enactment of this section, there is no  
19 voter registration requirement for individuals in the  
20 State with respect to elections for Federal office.

21 “(b) ELIGIBLE INDIVIDUAL.—For purposes of this  
22 section, the term ‘eligible individual’ means, with respect  
23 to any election for Federal office, an individual who is oth-  
24 erwise qualified to vote in that election.

25 “(c) ENSURING AVAILABILITY OF FORMS.—The  
26 State shall ensure that each polling place has copies of

1 any forms an individual may be required to complete in  
2 order to register to vote or revise the individual’s voter  
3 registration information under this section.

4 “(d) EFFECTIVE DATE.—

5 “(1) IN GENERAL.—Subject to paragraph (2),  
6 each State shall be required to comply with the re-  
7 quirements of this section for the regularly sched-  
8 uled general election for Federal office occurring in  
9 November 2024 and for any subsequent election for  
10 Federal office.

11 “(2) SPECIAL RULES FOR ELECTIONS BEFORE  
12 NOVEMBER 2026.—

13 “(A) ELECTIONS PRIOR TO NOVEMBER  
14 2026 GENERAL ELECTION.—A State shall be  
15 deemed to be in compliance with the require-  
16 ments of this section for the regularly scheduled  
17 general election for Federal office occurring in  
18 November 2024 and subsequent elections for  
19 Federal office occurring before the regularly  
20 scheduled general election for Federal office in  
21 November 2026 if at least 1 location for each  
22 15,000 registered voters in each jurisdiction in  
23 the State meets such requirements, and such lo-  
24 cation is reasonably located to serve voting pop-  
25 ulations equitably across the jurisdiction.

1           “(B) NOVEMBER 2026 GENERAL ELEC-  
2           TION.—If a State certifies to the Election As-  
3           sistance Commission not later than November  
4           3, 2026, that the State will not be in compli-  
5           ance with the requirements of this section for  
6           the regularly scheduled general election for  
7           Federal office occurring in November 2026 be-  
8           cause it would be impracticable to do so and in-  
9           cludes in the certification the reasons for the  
10          failure to meet such requirements, the State  
11          shall be deemed to be in compliance with the re-  
12          quirements of this section for such election if at  
13          least one location for each 15,000 registered  
14          voters in each jurisdiction in the State meets  
15          such requirements, and such location is reason-  
16          ably located to serve voting populations equi-  
17          tably across the jurisdiction.”.

18          (b) CONFORMING AMENDMENT RELATING TO EN-  
19          FORCEMENT.—Section 401 of such Act (52 U.S.C. 21111)  
20          is amended by striking “sections 301, 302, and 303” and  
21          inserting “subtitle A of title III”.

22          (c) CLERICAL AMENDMENTS.—The table of contents  
23          of such Act is amended—

1           (1) by redesignating the items relating to sec-  
 2           tions 304 and 305 as relating to sections 305 and  
 3           306, respectively; and

4           (2) by inserting after the item relating to sec-  
 5           tion 303 the following new item:

“Sec. 304. Same-day registration.”.

6   **SEC. 1032. ENSURING PRE-ELECTION REGISTRATION DEAD-**  
 7                   **LINES ARE CONSISTENT WITH TIMING OF**  
 8                   **LEGAL PUBLIC HOLIDAYS.**

9           (a) IN GENERAL.—Section 8(a)(1) of the National  
 10   Voter Registration Act of 1993 (52 U.S.C. 20507(a)(1))  
 11   is amended by striking “30 days” each place it appears  
 12   and inserting “28 days”.

13          (b) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendment made by  
 14   subsection (a) shall apply with respect to elections held  
 15   in 2024 or any succeeding year.

16   **PART 5—STREAMLINE VOTER REGISTRATION**  
 17                   **INFORMATION, ACCESS, AND PRIVACY**

18   **SEC. 1041. AUTHORIZING THE DISSEMINATION OF VOTER**  
 19                   **REGISTRATION INFORMATION DISPLAYS**  
 20                   **FOLLOWING NATURALIZATION CEREMONIES.**

21          (a) AUTHORIZATION.—The Secretary of Homeland  
 22   Security shall establish a process for authorizing the chief  
 23   State election official of a State to disseminate voter reg-  
 24   istration information at the conclusion of any naturaliza-

1 tion ceremony conducted by the Department of Homeland  
2 Security, its constituent agencies, or the Federal judiciary.

3 (b) NO EFFECT ON OTHER AUTHORITY.—Nothing in  
4 this section shall be construed to imply that a Federal  
5 agency cannot provide voter registration services beyond  
6 those minimally required herein, or to imply that agencies  
7 not named may not distribute voter registration informa-  
8 tion or provide voter registration services up to the limits  
9 of their statutory and funding authority.

10 (c) DESIGNATED VOTER REGISTRATION AGEN-  
11 CIES.—In any State or other location in which a Federal  
12 agency is designated as a voter registration agency under  
13 section 7(a)(3)(B)(ii) of the National Voter Registration  
14 Act, the voter registration responsibilities incurred  
15 through such designation shall supersede the requirements  
16 described in this section.

17 **SEC. 1042. INCLUSION OF VOTER REGISTRATION INFORMA-**  
18 **TION WITH CERTAIN LEASES AND VOUCHERS**  
19 **FOR FEDERALLY ASSISTED RENTAL HOUSING**  
20 **AND MORTGAGE APPLICATIONS.**

21 (a) DEFINITIONS.—In this section:

22 (1) BUREAU.—The term “Bureau” means the  
23 Bureau of Consumer Financial Protection.

24 (2) DIRECTOR.—The term “Director” means  
25 the Director of the Bureau.

1           (3) FEDERAL RENTAL ASSISTANCE.—The term  
2           “Federal rental assistance” means rental assistance  
3           provided under—

4                   (A) any covered housing program, as de-  
5                   fined in section 41411(a) of the Violence  
6                   Against Women Act of 1994 (34 U.S.C.  
7                   12491(a));

8                   (B) title V of the Housing Act of 1949 (42  
9                   U.S.C. 1471 et seq.), including voucher assist-  
10                   ance under section 542 of such title (42 U.S.C.  
11                   1490r);

12                   (C) the Housing Trust Fund program  
13                   under section 1338 of the Federal Housing En-  
14                   terprises Financial Safety and Soundness Act  
15                   of 1992 (12 U.S.C. 4588); or

16                   (D) subtitle C of title IV of the McKinney-  
17                   Vento Homeless Assistance Act (42 U.S.C.  
18                   11381 et seq.).

19           (4) FEDERALLY BACKED MULTIFAMILY MORT-  
20           GAGE LOAN.—The term “federally backed multi-  
21           family mortgage loan” includes any loan (other than  
22           temporary financing such as a construction loan)  
23           that—

24                   (A) is secured by a first or subordinate lien  
25                   on residential multifamily real property de-

1 signed principally for the occupancy of 5 or  
2 more families, including any such secured loan,  
3 the proceeds of which are used to prepay or pay  
4 off an existing loan secured by the same prop-  
5 erty; and

6 (B) is made in whole or in part, or in-  
7 sured, guaranteed, supplemented, or assisted in  
8 any way, by any officer or agency of the Fed-  
9 eral Government or under or in connection with  
10 a housing or urban development program ad-  
11 ministered by the Secretary of Housing and  
12 Urban Development or a housing or related  
13 program administered by any other such officer  
14 or agency, or is purchased or securitized by the  
15 Federal Home Loan Mortgage Corporation or  
16 the Federal National Mortgage Association.

17 (5) OWNER.—The term “owner” has the mean-  
18 ing given the term in section 8(f) of the United  
19 States Housing Act of 1937 (42 U.S.C. 1437f(f)).

20 (6) PUBLIC HOUSING; PUBLIC HOUSING AGEN-  
21 CY.—The terms “public housing” and “public hous-  
22 ing agency” have the meanings given those terms in  
23 section 3(b) of the United States Housing Act of  
24 1937 (42 U.S.C. 1437a(b)).

1           (7) RESIDENTIAL MORTGAGE LOAN.—The term  
2           “residential mortgage loan” includes any loan that is  
3           secured by a first or subordinate lien on residential  
4           real property, including individual units of con-  
5           dominiums and cooperatives, designed principally for  
6           the occupancy of from 1 to 4 families.

7           (b) UNIFORM STATEMENT.—

8           (1) DEVELOPMENT.—The Director, after con-  
9           sultation with the Election Assistance Commission,  
10          shall develop a uniform statement designed to pro-  
11          vide recipients of the statement pursuant to this sec-  
12          tion with information on how the recipient can reg-  
13          ister to vote and the voting rights of the recipient  
14          under law.

15          (2) RESPONSIBILITIES.—In developing the uni-  
16          form statement, the Director shall be responsible  
17          for—

18                 (A) establishing the format of the state-  
19                 ment;

20                 (B) consumer research and testing of the  
21                 statement; and

22                 (C) consulting with and obtaining from the  
23                 Election Assistance Commission the content re-  
24                 garding voter rights and registration issues



1           needed to ensure the statement complies with  
2           the requirements of paragraph (1).

3           (3) LANGUAGES.—

4                   (A) IN GENERAL.—The uniform statement  
5           required under paragraph (1) shall be developed  
6           and made available in English and in each of  
7           the 10 languages most commonly spoken by in-  
8           dividuals with limited English proficiency, as  
9           determined by the Director using information  
10          published by the Director of the Bureau of the  
11          Census.

12                   (B) PUBLICATION.—The Director shall  
13          make all translated versions of the uniform  
14          statement required under paragraph (1) pub-  
15          licly available in a centralized location on the  
16          website of the Bureau.

17          (c) LEASES AND VOUCHERS FOR FEDERALLY AS-  
18          SISTED RENTAL HOUSING.—Each Federal agency admin-  
19          istering a Federal rental assistance program shall re-  
20          quire—

21                   (1) each public housing agency to provide a  
22          copy of the uniform statement developed pursuant to  
23          subsection (b) to each lessee of a dwelling unit in  
24          public housing administered by the agency—

1 (A) together with the lease for the dwelling  
2 unit, at the same time the lease is signed by the  
3 lessee; and

4 (B) together with any income verification  
5 form, at the same time the form is provided to  
6 the lessee;

7 (2) each public housing agency that administers  
8 rental assistance under the Housing Choice Voucher  
9 program under section 8(o) of the United States  
10 Housing Act of 1937 (42 U.S.C. 1437f(o)), includ-  
11 ing the program under paragraph (13) of such sec-  
12 tion 8(o), to provide a copy of the uniform statement  
13 developed pursuant to subsection (b) to each assisted  
14 family or individual—

15 (A) together with the voucher for the as-  
16 sistance, at the time the voucher is issued for  
17 the family or individual; and

18 (B) together with any income verification  
19 form, at the time the voucher is provided to the  
20 applicant or assisted family or individual; and

21 (3) each owner of a dwelling unit assisted with  
22 Federal rental assistance to provide a copy of the  
23 uniform statement developed pursuant to subsection  
24 (b) to the lessee of the dwelling unit—

1           (A) together with the lease for such dwell-  
2           ing unit, at the same time the lease is signed  
3           by the lessee; and

4           (B) together with any income verification  
5           form, at the same time the form is provided to  
6           the applicant or tenant.

7           (d) APPLICATIONS FOR RESIDENTIAL MORTGAGE  
8           LOANS.—The Director shall require each creditor (within  
9           the meaning of such term as used in section 1026.2(a)(17)  
10          of title 12, Code of Federal Regulations) that receives an  
11          application (within the meaning of such term as used in  
12          section 1026.2(a)(3)(ii) of title 12, Code of Federal Regu-  
13          lations) to provide a copy of the uniform statement devel-  
14          oped pursuant to subsection (b) in written form to the  
15          applicant for the residential mortgage loan not later than  
16          5 business days after the date of the application.

17          (e) FEDERALLY BACKED MULTIFAMILY MORTGAGE  
18          LOANS.—The head of the Federal agency insuring, guar-  
19          anteeing, supplementing, or assisting a federally backed  
20          multifamily mortgage loan, or the Director of the Federal  
21          Housing Finance Agency in the case of a federally backed  
22          multifamily mortgage loan that is purchased or securitized  
23          by the Federal Home Loan Mortgage Corporation or the  
24          Federal National Mortgage Association, shall require the  
25          owner of the property secured by the federally backed mul-

1 multifamily mortgage loan to provide a copy of the uniform  
2 statement developed pursuant to subsection (b) in written  
3 form to each lessee of a dwelling unit assisted by that loan  
4 at the time the lease is signed by the lessee.

5 (f) OPTIONAL COMPLETION OF VOTER REGISTRA-  
6 TION.—Nothing in this section may be construed to re-  
7 quire any individual to complete a voter registration form.

8 (g) REGULATIONS.—The head of a Federal agency  
9 administering a Federal rental assistance program, the  
10 head of the Federal agency insuring, guaranteeing,  
11 supplementing, or assisting a federally backed multifamily  
12 mortgage loan, the Director of the Federal Housing Fi-  
13 nance Agency, and the Director may issue such regula-  
14 tions as may be necessary to carry out this section.

15 (h) NO EFFECT ON OTHER AUTHORITY.—Nothing in  
16 this section shall be construed to imply that a Federal  
17 agency cannot provide voter registration services beyond  
18 those minimally required herein, or to imply that agencies  
19 not named may not distribute voter registration informa-  
20 tion or provide voter registration services up to the limits  
21 of their statutory and funding authority.

22 (i) DESIGNATED VOTER REGISTRATION AGENCIES.—  
23 In any State or other location in which a Federal agency  
24 is designated as a voter registration agency under section  
25 7(a)(3)(B)(ii) of the National Voter Registration Act, the

1 voter registration responsibilities incurred through such  
2 designation shall supersede the requirements described in  
3 this section.

4 **SEC. 1043. ACCEPTANCE OF VOTER REGISTRATION APPLI-**  
5 **CATIONS FROM INDIVIDUALS UNDER 18**  
6 **YEARS OF AGE.**

7 (a) ACCEPTANCE OF APPLICATIONS.—Section 8 of  
8 the National Voter Registration Act of 1993 (52 U.S.C.  
9 20507), as amended by section 1024, is amended—

10 (1) by redesignating subsection (k) as sub-  
11 section (l); and

12 (2) by inserting after subsection (j) the fol-  
13 lowing new subsection:

14 “(k) ACCEPTANCE OF APPLICATIONS FROM INDIVID-  
15 UALS UNDER 18 YEARS OF AGE.—

16 “(1) IN GENERAL.—A State may not refuse to  
17 accept or process an individual’s application to reg-  
18 ister to vote in elections for Federal office on the  
19 grounds that the individual is under 18 years of age  
20 at the time the individual submits the application, so  
21 long as the individual is at least 16 years of age at  
22 such time.

23 “(2) NO EFFECT ON STATE VOTING AGE RE-  
24 QUIREMENTS.—Nothing in paragraph (1) may be  
25 construed to require a State to permit an individual

1 who is under 18 years of age at the time of an elec-  
2 tion for Federal office to vote in the election.”.

3 (b) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendment made by  
4 subsection (a) shall apply with respect to elections occur-  
5 ring on or after January 1, 2024.

6 **SEC. 1044. REQUIRING STATES TO ESTABLISH AND OPER-**  
7 **ATE VOTER PRIVACY PROGRAMS.**

8 (a) IN GENERAL.—Title III of the Help America  
9 Vote Act of 2002 (52 U.S.C. 21081 et seq.), as amended  
10 by section 1031(a), is amended—

11 (1) by redesignating sections 305 and 306 as  
12 sections 306 and 307, respectively; and

13 (2) by inserting after section 304 the following  
14 new section:

15 **“SEC. 305. VOTER PRIVACY PROGRAMS.**

16 “(a) IN GENERAL.—Each State shall establish and  
17 operate a privacy program to enable victims of domestic  
18 violence, dating violence, stalking, sexual assault, and traf-  
19 ficking to have personally identifiable information that  
20 State or local election officials maintain with respect to  
21 an individual voter registration status for purposes of elec-  
22 tions for Federal office in the State, including addresses,  
23 be kept confidential.

24 “(b) NOTICE.—Each State shall notify residents of  
25 that State of the information that State and local election

1 officials maintain with respect to an individual voter reg-  
2 istration status for purposes of elections for Federal office  
3 in the State, how that information is shared or sold and  
4 with whom, what information is automatically kept con-  
5 fidential, what information is needed to access voter infor-  
6 mation online, and the privacy programs that are avail-  
7 able.

8 “(c) PUBLIC AVAILABILITY.—Each State shall make  
9 information about the program established under sub-  
10 section (a) available on a publicly accessible website.

11 “(d) DEFINITIONS.—In this section:

12 “(1) The terms ‘dating violence’, ‘domestic vio-  
13 lence’, ‘sexual assault’, and ‘stalking’ have the mean-  
14 ings given those terms in section 40002 of the Vio-  
15 lence Against Women Act of 1994 (34 U.S.C.  
16 12291).

17 “(2) The term ‘trafficking’ means an act or  
18 practice described in paragraph (11) or (12) of sec-  
19 tion 103 of the Trafficking Victims Protection Act  
20 of 2000 (22 U.S.C. 7102).

21 “(e) EFFECTIVE DATE.—Each State and jurisdiction  
22 shall be required to comply with the requirements of this  
23 section on and after January 1, 2025.”.

24 (b) CLERICAL AMENDMENTS.—The table of contents  
25 of such Act, as amended by section 1031(c), is amended—

1 (1) by redesignating the items relating to sec-  
 2 tions 305 and 306 as relating to sections 306 and  
 3 307, respectively; and

4 (2) by inserting after the item relating to sec-  
 5 tion 304 the following new item:

“Sec. 305. Voter privacy programs.”.

6 **PART 6—FUNDING SUPPORT TO STATES FOR**  
 7 **COMPLIANCE**

8 **SEC. 1051. AVAILABILITY OF REQUIREMENTS PAYMENTS**  
 9 **UNDER HAVA TO COVER COSTS OF COMPLI-**  
 10 **ANCE WITH NEW REQUIREMENTS.**

11 (a) IN GENERAL.—Section 251(b) of the Help Amer-  
 12 ica Vote Act of 2002 (52 U.S.C. 21001(b)) is amended—

13 (1) in paragraph (1), by striking “as provided  
 14 in paragraphs (2) and (3)” and inserting “as other-  
 15 wise provided in this subsection”; and

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

18 “(4) CERTAIN VOTER REGISTRATION ACTIVI-  
 19 TIES.—Notwithstanding paragraph (3), a State may  
 20 use a requirements payment to carry out any of the  
 21 requirements of the Voter Registration Moderniza-  
 22 tion Act of 2023, including the requirements of the  
 23 National Voter Registration Act of 1993 that are  
 24 imposed pursuant to the amendments made to such



1 Act by the Voter Registration Modernization Act of  
2 2023.”.

3 (b) CONFORMING AMENDMENT.—Section 254(a)(1)  
4 of such Act (52 U.S.C. 21004(a)(1)) is amended by strik-  
5 ing “section 251(a)(2)” and inserting “section  
6 251(b)(2)”.

7 (c) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendments made by  
8 this section shall apply with respect to fiscal year 2024  
9 and each succeeding fiscal year.

## 10 **Subtitle B—Access to Voting for** 11 **Individuals With Disabilities**

### 12 **SEC. 1101. REQUIREMENTS FOR STATES TO PROMOTE AC-** 13 **CESS TO VOTER REGISTRATION AND VOTING** 14 **FOR INDIVIDUALS WITH DISABILITIES.**

15 (a) REQUIREMENTS.—Subtitle A of title III of the  
16 Help America Vote Act of 2002 (52 U.S.C. 21081 et seq.),  
17 as amended by section 1031(a) and section 1044(a), is  
18 amended—

19 (1) by redesignating sections 306 and 307 as  
20 sections 307 and 308, respectively; and

21 (2) by inserting after section 305 the following  
22 new section:

1 **“SEC. 306. ACCESS TO VOTER REGISTRATION AND VOTING**  
2 **FOR INDIVIDUALS WITH DISABILITIES.**

3 “(a) TREATMENT OF APPLICATIONS AND BAL-  
4 LOTS.—Each State shall—

5 “(1) ensure that absentee registration forms,  
6 absentee ballot applications, and absentee ballots  
7 that are available electronically are accessible (as de-  
8 fined in section 307);

9 “(2) permit individuals with disabilities to use  
10 absentee registration procedures and to vote by ab-  
11 sentee ballot in elections for Federal office;

12 “(3) accept and process, with respect to any  
13 election for Federal office, any otherwise valid voter  
14 registration application and absentee ballot applica-  
15 tion from an individual with a disability if the appli-  
16 cation is received by the appropriate State election  
17 official within the deadline for the election which is  
18 applicable under Federal law;

19 “(4) in addition to any other method of reg-  
20 istering to vote or applying for an absentee ballot in  
21 the State, establish procedures—

22 “(A) for individuals with disabilities to re-  
23 quest by mail and electronically voter registra-  
24 tion applications and absentee ballot applica-  
25 tions with respect to elections for Federal office  
26 in accordance with subsection (c);

1           “(B) for States to send by mail and elec-  
2           tronically (in accordance with the preferred  
3           method of transmission designated by the indi-  
4           vidual under subparagraph (C)) voter registra-  
5           tion applications and absentee ballot applica-  
6           tions requested under subparagraph (A) in ac-  
7           cordance with subsection (c); and

8           “(C) by which such an individual can des-  
9           ignate whether the individual prefers that such  
10          voter registration application or absentee ballot  
11          application be transmitted by mail or electroni-  
12          cally;

13          “(5) in addition to any other method of trans-  
14          mitting blank absentee ballots in the State, establish  
15          procedures for transmitting by mail and electroni-  
16          cally blank absentee ballots to individuals with dis-  
17          abilities with respect to elections for Federal office  
18          in accordance with subsection (d); and

19          “(6) if the State declares or otherwise holds a  
20          runoff election for Federal office, establish a written  
21          plan that provides absentee ballots are made avail-  
22          able to individuals with disabilities in a manner that  
23          gives them sufficient time to vote in the runoff elec-  
24          tion.

1       “(b) DESIGNATION OF SINGLE STATE OFFICE TO  
2 PROVIDE INFORMATION ON REGISTRATION AND ABSEN-  
3 TEE BALLOT PROCEDURES FOR VOTERS WITH DISABIL-  
4 ITIES IN STATE.—

5           “(1) IN GENERAL.—Each State shall designate  
6 a single office that shall be responsible for providing  
7 information regarding voter registration procedures,  
8 absentee ballot procedures, and in-person voting pro-  
9 cedures to be used by individuals with disabilities  
10 with respect to elections for Federal office to all in-  
11 dividuals with disabilities who wish to register to  
12 vote or vote in any jurisdiction in the State.

13           “(2) RESPONSIBILITIES.—Each State shall,  
14 through the office designated under paragraph (1)—

15           “(A) provide information to election offi-  
16 cials—

17           “(i) on how to set up and operate ac-  
18 cessible voting systems; and

19           “(ii) regarding the accessibility of vot-  
20 ing procedures, including guidance on com-  
21 patibility with assistive technologies such  
22 as screen readers and ballot marking de-  
23 vices;

24           “(B) integrate information on accessibility,  
25 accommodations, disability, and older individ-

1 uals into regular training materials for poll  
2 workers and election administration officials;

3 “(C) train poll workers on how to make  
4 polling places accessible for individuals with dis-  
5 abilities and older individuals;

6 “(D) promote the hiring of individuals with  
7 disabilities and older individuals as poll workers  
8 and election staff; and

9 “(E) publicly post the results of any audits  
10 to determine the accessibility of polling places  
11 not later than 6 months after the completion of  
12 the audit.

13 “(c) DESIGNATION OF MEANS OF ELECTRONIC COM-  
14 MUNICATION FOR INDIVIDUALS WITH DISABILITIES TO  
15 REQUEST AND FOR STATES TO SEND VOTER REGISTRA-  
16 TION APPLICATIONS AND ABSENTEE BALLOT APPLICA-  
17 TIONS, AND FOR OTHER PURPOSES RELATED TO VOTING  
18 INFORMATION.—

19 “(1) IN GENERAL.—Each State shall, in addi-  
20 tion to the designation of a single State office under  
21 subsection (b), designate not less than 1 means of  
22 accessible electronic communication—

23 “(A) for use by individuals with disabilities  
24 who wish to register to vote or vote in any ju-  
25 risdiction in the State to request voter registra-

1           tion applications and absentee ballot applica-  
2           tions under subsection (a)(4);

3           “(B) for use by States to send voter reg-  
4           istration applications and absentee ballot applica-  
5           tions requested under such subsection; and

6           “(C) for the purpose of providing related  
7           voting, balloting, and election information to in-  
8           dividuals with disabilities.

9           “(2) CLARIFICATION REGARDING PROVISION OF  
10          MULTIPLE MEANS OF ELECTRONIC COMMUNICA-  
11          TION.—A State may, in addition to the means of  
12          electronic communication so designated, provide  
13          multiple means of electronic communication to indi-  
14          viduals with disabilities, including a means of elec-  
15          tronic communication for the appropriate jurisdic-  
16          tion of the State.

17          “(3) INCLUSION OF DESIGNATED MEANS OF  
18          ELECTRONIC COMMUNICATION WITH INFORMA-  
19          TIONAL AND INSTRUCTIONAL MATERIALS THAT AC-  
20          COMPANY BALLOTING MATERIALS.—Each State shall  
21          include a means of electronic communication so des-  
22          ignated with all informational and instructional ma-  
23          terials that accompany balloting materials sent by  
24          the State to individuals with disabilities.

1           “(4) TRANSMISSION IF NO PREFERENCE INDI-  
2           CATED.—In the case in which an individual with a  
3           disability does not designate a preference under sub-  
4           section (a)(4)(C), the State shall transmit the voter  
5           registration application or absentee ballot application  
6           by any delivery method allowable in accordance with  
7           applicable State law, or if there is no applicable  
8           State law, by mail.

9           “(d) TRANSMISSION OF BLANK ABSENTEE BALLOTS  
10          BY MAIL AND ELECTRONICALLY.—

11           “(1) IN GENERAL.—Each State shall establish  
12          procedures—

13           “(A) to securely transmit blank absentee  
14          ballots by mail and electronically (in accordance  
15          with the preferred method of transmission des-  
16          ignated by the individual with a disability under  
17          subparagraph (B)) to individuals with disabili-  
18          ties for an election for Federal office; and

19           “(B) by which the individual with a dis-  
20          ability can designate whether the individual pre-  
21          fers that such blank absentee ballot be trans-  
22          mitted by mail or electronically.

23           “(2) TRANSMISSION IF NO PREFERENCE INDI-  
24          CATED.—In the case where an individual with a dis-  
25          ability does not designate a preference under para-

1 graph (1)(B), the State shall transmit the ballot by  
2 any delivery method allowable in accordance with ap-  
3 plicable State law, or if there is no applicable State  
4 law, by mail.

5 “(3) APPLICATION OF METHODS TO TRACK DE-  
6 LIVERY TO AND RETURN OF BALLOT BY INDIVIDUAL  
7 REQUESTING BALLOT.—Under the procedures estab-  
8 lished under paragraph (1), the State shall apply  
9 such methods as the State considers appropriate,  
10 such as assigning a unique identifier to the ballot  
11 envelope, to ensure that if an individual with a dis-  
12 ability requests the State to transmit a blank absen-  
13 tee ballot to the individual in accordance with this  
14 subsection, the voted absentee ballot that is returned  
15 by the individual is the same blank absentee ballot  
16 that the State transmitted to the individual.

17 “(e) INDIVIDUAL WITH A DISABILITY DEFINED.—In  
18 this section, an ‘individual with a disability’ means an in-  
19 dividual with an impairment that substantially limits any  
20 major life activities and who is otherwise qualified to vote  
21 in elections for Federal office.

22 “(f) EFFECTIVE DATE.—This section shall apply  
23 with respect to elections for Federal office held on or after  
24 January 1, 2024.”



1 (b) CONFORMING AMENDMENT RELATING TO  
2 ISSUANCE OF VOLUNTARY GUIDANCE BY ELECTION AS-  
3 SISTANCE COMMISSION.—

4 (1) TIMING OF ISSUANCE.—Section 311(b) of  
5 such Act (52 U.S.C. 21101(b)) is amended—

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

8 (B) by striking the period at the end of  
9 paragraph (3) and inserting “; and”; and

10 (C) by adding at the end the following new  
11 paragraph:

12 “(4) in the case of the recommendations with  
13 respect to section 306, January 1, 2024.”.

14 (2) REDESIGNATION.—

15 (A) IN GENERAL.—Title III of such Act  
16 (52 U.S.C. 21081 et seq.) is amended by redesi-  
17 gnating sections 311 and 312 as sections 321  
18 and 322, respectively.

19 (B) CONFORMING AMENDMENT.—Section  
20 321(a) of such Act, as redesignated by subpara-  
21 graph (A), is amended by striking “section  
22 312” and inserting “section 322”.

23 (c) CLERICAL AMENDMENTS.—The table of contents  
24 of such Act, as amended by section 1031(c) and section  
25 1044(b), is amended—

1 (1) by redesignating the items relating to sec-  
 2 tions 306 and 307 as relating to sections 307 and  
 3 308, respectively; and

4 (2) by inserting after the item relating to sec-  
 5 tion 305 the following new item:

“Sec. 306. Access to voter registration and voting for individuals with disabili-  
 ities.”.

6 **SEC. 1102. ESTABLISHMENT AND MAINTENANCE OF STATE**

7 **ACCESSIBLE ELECTION WEBSITES.**

8 (a) IN GENERAL.—Subtitle A of title III of the Help  
 9 America Vote Act of 2002 (52 U.S.C. 21081 et seq.), as  
 10 amended by section 1031(a), section 1044(a), and section  
 11 1101(a), is amended—

12 (1) by redesignating sections 307 and 308 as  
 13 sections 308 and 309, respectively; and

14 (2) by inserting after section 306 the following:

15 **“SEC. 307. ESTABLISHMENT AND MAINTENANCE OF ACCES-**

16 **SIBLE ELECTION WEBSITES.**

17 “(a) IN GENERAL.—Not later than January 1, 2025,  
 18 each State shall establish a single election website that is  
 19 accessible and meets the following requirements:

20 “(1) LOCAL ELECTION OFFICIALS.—The  
 21 website shall provide local election officials, poll  
 22 workers, and volunteers with—

23 “(A) guidance to ensure that polling places  
 24 are accessible for individuals with disabilities

1 and older individuals in a manner that provides  
2 the same opportunity for access and participa-  
3 tion (including privacy and independence) as for  
4 other voters; and

5 “(B) online training and resources on—

6 “(i) how best to promote the access  
7 and participation of individuals with dis-  
8 abilities and older individuals in elections  
9 for public office; and

10 “(ii) the voting rights and protections  
11 for individuals with disabilities and older  
12 individuals under State and Federal law.

13 “(2) VOTERS.—The website shall provide infor-  
14 mation about voting, including—

15 “(A) the accessibility of all polling places  
16 within the State, including outreach programs  
17 to inform individuals about the availability of  
18 accessible polling places;

19 “(B) how to register to vote and confirm  
20 voter registration in the State;

21 “(C) the location and operating hours of  
22 all polling places in the State;

23 “(D) the availability of aid or assistance  
24 for individuals with disabilities and older indi-  
25 viduals to cast their vote in a manner that pro-

1 provides the same opportunity for access and par-  
2 ticipation (including privacy and independence)  
3 as for other voters at polling places;

4 “(E) the availability of transportation aid  
5 or assistance to the polling place for individuals  
6 with disabilities or older individuals;

7 “(F) the rights and protections under  
8 State and Federal law for individuals with dis-  
9 abilities and older individuals to participate in  
10 elections; and

11 “(G) how to contact State, local, and Fed-  
12 eral officials with complaints or grievances if in-  
13 dividuals with disabilities, older individuals, Na-  
14 tive Americans, Alaska Natives, and individuals  
15 with limited proficiency in the English language  
16 feel their ability to register to vote or vote has  
17 been blocked or delayed.

18 “(b) PARTNERSHIP WITH OUTSIDE TECHNICAL OR-  
19 GANIZATION.—The chief State election official of each  
20 State, through the committee of appropriate individuals  
21 under subsection (c)(2), shall partner with an outside  
22 technical organization with demonstrated experience in es-  
23 tablishing accessible and easy to use accessible election  
24 websites to—

1           “(1) update an existing election website of the  
2 State to make the website fully accessible in accord-  
3 ance with this section; or

4           “(2) develop an election website of the State  
5 that is fully accessible in accordance with this sec-  
6 tion.

7           “(c) STATE PLAN.—

8           “(1) DEVELOPMENT.—The chief State election  
9 official of each State shall, through a committee of  
10 appropriate individuals as described in paragraph  
11 (2), develop a State plan that describes how the  
12 State and local governments will meet the require-  
13 ments under this section.

14           “(2) COMMITTEE MEMBERSHIP.—The com-  
15 mittee shall comprise at least the following individ-  
16 uals:

17           “(A) The chief election officials of the 4  
18 most populous jurisdictions within the State.

19           “(B) The chief election officials of the 4  
20 least populous jurisdictions within the State.

21           “(C) Representatives from 2 disability ad-  
22 vocacy groups, including not fewer than 1 such  
23 representative who is an individual with a dis-  
24 ability.

1           “(D) Representatives from 2 older indi-  
2           vidual advocacy groups, including not fewer  
3           than 1 such representative who is an older indi-  
4           vidual.

5           “(E) Representatives from 2 independent  
6           non-governmental organizations with expertise  
7           in establishing and maintaining accessible  
8           websites.

9           “(F) Representatives from 2 independent  
10          non-governmental voting rights organizations.

11          “(G) Representatives from State protection  
12          and advocacy systems, as defined in section 102  
13          of the Developmental Disabilities Assistance  
14          and Bill of Rights Act of 2000 (42 U.S.C.  
15          15002).

16          “(d) PARTNERSHIP TO MONITOR AND VERIFY AC-  
17          CESSIBILITY.—The chief State election official of each eli-  
18          gible State, through the committee of appropriate individ-  
19          uals established under subsection (c)(2), shall partner with  
20          not fewer than 2 of the following organizations to monitor  
21          and verify the accessibility of the election website of the  
22          State and the completeness of the election information and  
23          the accuracy of the disability information provided on such  
24          website:

1           “(1) University Centers for Excellence in Devel-  
2           opmental Disabilities Education, Research, and  
3           Services established under subtitle D of title I of the  
4           Developmental Disabilities Assistance and Bill of  
5           Rights Act of 2000 (42 U.S.C. 15061 et seq.).

6           “(2) Centers for independent living, as de-  
7           scribed in part C of title VII of the Rehabilitation  
8           Act of 1973 (29 U.S.C. 796f et seq.).

9           “(3) The State Council on Developmental Dis-  
10          abilities established under section 125 of the Devel-  
11          opmental Disabilities Assistance and Bill of Rights  
12          Act of 2000 (42 U.S.C. 15025).

13          “(4) State protection and advocacy systems, as  
14          defined in section 102 of the Developmental Disabil-  
15          ities Assistance and Bill of Rights Act of 2000 (42  
16          U.S.C. 15002).

17          “(5) Statewide Independent Living Councils es-  
18          tablished under section 705 of the Rehabilitation Act  
19          of 1973 (29 U.S.C. 796d).

20          “(6) State programs established under the As-  
21          sistive Technology Act of 1998 (29 U.S.C. 3001 et  
22          seq.).

23          “(7) A visual access advocacy organization.

24          “(8) An organization for the deaf.

25          “(9) A mental health organization.

1       “(e) DEFINITIONS.—For purposes of this section,  
2 section 305, and section 307:

3           “(1) ACCESSIBLE.—The term ‘accessible’  
4 means—

5           “(A) in the case of the election website  
6 under subsection (a) or an electronic commu-  
7 nication under section 305—

8           “(i) that the functions and content of  
9 the website or electronic communication,  
10 including all text, visual, and aural con-  
11 tent, are as accessible to people with dis-  
12 abilities as to those without disabilities;

13           “(ii) that the functions and content of  
14 the website or electronic communication  
15 are accessible to individuals with limited  
16 proficiency in the English language; and

17           “(iii) that the website or electronic  
18 communication meets, at a minimum, con-  
19 formance to Level AA of the Web Content  
20 Accessibility Guidelines 2.0 of the Web Ac-  
21 cessibility Initiative (or any successor  
22 guidelines); and

23           “(B) in the case of a facility (including a  
24 polling place), that the facility is readily acces-  
25 sible to and usable by individuals with disabil-



1           ities and older individuals, as determined under  
2           the 2010 ADA Standards for Accessible Design  
3           of the Department of Justice, published on Sep-  
4           tember 15, 2010 (or any successor standards).

5           “(2) INDIVIDUAL WITH A DISABILITY.—The  
6           term ‘individual with a disability’ means an indi-  
7           vidual with a disability, as defined in section 3 of the  
8           Americans with Disabilities Act of 1990 (42 U.S.C.  
9           12102), and who is otherwise qualified to vote in  
10          elections for Federal office.

11          “(3) OLDER INDIVIDUAL.—The term ‘older in-  
12          dividual’ means an individual who is 60 years of age  
13          or older and who is otherwise qualified to vote in  
14          elections for Federal office.”.

15          (b) VOLUNTARY GUIDANCE.—Section 321(b)(4) of  
16          such Act (52 U.S.C. 21101(b)), as added and redesignated  
17          by section 1101(b), is amended by striking “section 306”  
18          and inserting “sections 306 and 307”.

19          (c) CLERICAL AMENDMENTS.—The table of contents  
20          of such Act, as amended by section 1031(c), section  
21          1044(b), and section 1101(c), is amended—

22                  (1) by redesignating the items relating to sec-  
23                  tions 307 and 308 as relating to sections 308 and  
24                  309, respectively; and

1 (2) by inserting after the item relating to sec-  
 2 tion 306 the following new item:

“Sec. 307. Establishment and maintenance of accessible election websites.”.

3 **SEC. 1103. PROTECTIONS FOR IN-PERSON VOTING FOR IN-**  
 4 **INDIVIDUALS WITH DISABILITIES AND OLDER**  
 5 **INDIVIDUALS.**

6 (a) REQUIREMENT.—

7 (1) IN GENERAL.—Subtitle A of title III of the  
 8 Help America Vote Act of 2002 (52 U.S.C. 21081  
 9 et seq.), as amended by section 1031(a), section  
 10 1044(a), section 1101(a), and section 1102(a), is  
 11 amended—

12 (A) by redesignating sections 308 and 309  
 13 as sections 309 and 310, respectively; and

14 (B) by inserting after section 307 the fol-  
 15 lowing:

16 **“SEC. 308. ACCESS TO VOTING FOR INDIVIDUALS WITH DIS-**  
 17 **ABILITIES AND OLDER INDIVIDUALS.**

18 “(a) IN GENERAL.—Each State shall—

19 “(1) ensure all polling places within the State  
 20 are accessible, as defined in section 306;

21 “(2) consider procedures to address long wait  
 22 times at polling places that allow individuals with  
 23 disabilities and older individuals alternate options to  
 24 cast a ballot in person in an election for Federal of-  
 25 fice, such as the option to cast a ballot outside of

1 the polling place or from a vehicle, or providing an  
2 expedited voting line; and

3 “(3) consider options to establish mobile polling  
4 sites to allow election officials or volunteers to travel  
5 to long-term care facilities and assist residents who  
6 request assistance in casting a ballot in order to  
7 maintain the privacy and independence of voters in  
8 those facilities.

9 “(b) CLARIFICATION.—Nothing in this section shall  
10 be construed to alter the requirements under Federal law  
11 that all polling places for Federal elections are accessible  
12 to individuals with disabilities and older individuals.

13 “(c) EFFECTIVE DATE.—This section shall apply  
14 with respect to elections for Federal office held on or after  
15 January 1, 2026.”.

16 (2) VOLUNTARY GUIDANCE.—Section 321(b)(4)  
17 of such Act (52 U.S.C. 21101(b)), as added and re-  
18 designated by section 1101(b) and as amended by  
19 section 1102(b), is amended by striking “and 307”  
20 and inserting “, 307, and 308”.

21 (3) CLERICAL AMENDMENTS.—The table of  
22 contents of such Act, as amended by section  
23 1031(e), section 1044(b), section 1101(c), and sec-  
24 tion 1102(c), is amended—

1 (A) by redesignating the items relating to  
2 sections 308 and 309 as relating to sections  
3 309 and 310, respectively; and

4 (B) by inserting after the item relating to  
5 section 307 the following new item:

“Sec. 308. Access to voting for individuals with disabilities and older individuals.”.

6 (b) REVISIONS TO VOTING ACCESSIBILITY FOR THE  
7 ELDERLY AND HANDICAPPED ACT.—

8 (1) REPORTS TO ELECTION ASSISTANCE COM-  
9 MISSION.—Section 3(c) of the Voting Accessibility  
10 for the Elderly and Handicapped Act (52 U.S.C.  
11 20102(c)) is amended—

12 (A) in the subsection heading, by striking  
13 “FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION” and in-  
14 serting “ELECTION ASSISTANCE COMMISSION”;

15 (B) in each of paragraphs (1) and (2), by  
16 striking “Federal Election Commission” and in-  
17 serting “Election Assistance Commission”; and

18 (C) by striking paragraph (3).

19 (2) CONFORMING AMENDMENTS RELATING TO  
20 REFERENCES.—The Voting Accessibility for the El-  
21 derly and Handicapped Act (52 U.S.C. 20101 et  
22 seq.), as amended by paragraph (1), is amended—

23 (A) by striking “handicapped and elderly  
24 individuals” each place it appears and inserting

1 “individuals with disabilities and older individ-  
2 uals”;

3 (B) by striking “handicapped and elderly  
4 voters” each place it appears and inserting “in-  
5 dividuals with disabilities and older individ-  
6 uals”;

7 (C) in section 3(b)(2)(B), by striking  
8 “handicapped or elderly voter” and inserting  
9 “individual with a disability or older indi-  
10 vidual”;

11 (D) in section 5(b), by striking “handi-  
12 capped voter” and inserting “individual with a  
13 disability”; and

14 (E) in section 8—

15 (i) by striking paragraphs (1) and (2)  
16 and inserting the following:

17 “(1) ‘accessible’ has the meaning given that  
18 term in section 307 of the Help America Vote Act  
19 of 2002, as added by section 1102(a) of the Free-  
20 dom to Vote Act;

21 “(2) ‘older individual’ has the meaning given  
22 that term in such section 307;” and

23 (ii) by striking paragraph (4), and in-  
24 serting the following:

1           “(4) ‘individual with a disability’ has the mean-  
2           ing given that term in such section 306; and”.

3           (3) SHORT TITLE AMENDMENT.—

4           (A) IN GENERAL.—Section 1 of the Voting  
5           Accessibility for the Elderly and Handicapped  
6           Act (Public Law 98–435; 42 U.S.C. 1973ee  
7           note) is amended by striking “for the Elderly  
8           and Handicapped” and inserting “for Individ-  
9           uals with Disabilities and Older Individuals”.

10          (B) REFERENCES.—Any reference in any  
11          other provision of law, regulation, document,  
12          paper, or other record of the United States to  
13          the “Voting Accessibility for the Elderly and  
14          Handicapped Act” shall be deemed to be a ref-  
15          erence to the “Voting Accessibility for Individ-  
16          uals with Disabilities and Older Individuals  
17          Act”.

18          (4) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendments made  
19          by this subsection shall take effect on January 1,  
20          2026, and shall apply with respect to elections for  
21          Federal office held on or after that date.

22   **SEC. 1104. PROTECTIONS FOR INDIVIDUALS SUBJECT TO**  
23                                   **GUARDIANSHIP.**

24          (a) IN GENERAL.—Subtitle A of title III of the Help  
25          America Vote Act of 2002 (52 U.S.C. 21081 et seq.), as

1 amended by section 1031(a), section 1044(a), section  
2 1101(a), section 1102(a), and section 1103(a)(1), is  
3 amended—

4 (1) by redesignating sections 309 and 310 as  
5 sections 310 and 311, respectively; and

6 (2) by inserting after section 308 the following:

7 **“SEC. 309. PROTECTIONS FOR INDIVIDUALS SUBJECT TO**  
8 **GUARDIANSHIP.**

9 “(a) IN GENERAL.—A State shall not determine that  
10 an individual lacks the capacity to vote in an election for  
11 Federal office on the ground that the individual is subject  
12 to guardianship, unless a court of competent jurisdiction  
13 issues a court order finding by clear and convincing evi-  
14 dence that the individual cannot communicate, with or  
15 without accommodations, a desire to participate in the vot-  
16 ing process.

17 “(b) EFFECTIVE DATE.—This section shall apply  
18 with respect to elections for Federal office held on or after  
19 January 1, 2024.”.

20 (b) VOLUNTARY GUIDANCE.—Section 321(b)(4) of  
21 such Act (52 U.S.C. 21101(b)), as added and redesignated  
22 by section 1101(b) and as amended by sections 1102 and  
23 1103, is amended by striking “and 308” and inserting  
24 “308, and 309”.

1 (c) CLERICAL AMENDMENTS.—The table of contents  
2 of such Act, as amended by section 1031(c), section  
3 1044(b), section 1101(c), section 1102(c), and section  
4 1103(a)(3), is amended—

5 (1) by redesignating the items relating to sec-  
6 tions 309 and 310 as relating to sections 310 and  
7 311, respectively; and

8 (2) by inserting after the item relating to sec-  
9 tion 308 the following new item:

“Sec. 309. Protections for individuals subject to guardianship.”.

10 **SEC. 1105. EXPANSION AND REAUTHORIZATION OF GRANT**  
11 **PROGRAM TO ASSURE VOTING ACCESS FOR**  
12 **INDIVIDUALS WITH DISABILITIES.**

13 (a) PURPOSES OF PAYMENTS.—Section 261(b) of the  
14 Help America Vote Act of 2002 (52 U.S.C. 21021(b)) is  
15 amended by striking paragraphs (1) and (2) and inserting  
16 the following:

17 “(1) making absentee voting and voting at  
18 home accessible to individuals with the full range of  
19 disabilities (including impairments involving vision,  
20 hearing, mobility, or dexterity) through the imple-  
21 mentation of accessible absentee voting systems that  
22 work in conjunction with assistive technologies for  
23 which individuals have access at their homes, inde-  
24 pendent living centers, or other facilities;



1           “(2) making polling places, including the path  
2 of travel, entrances, exits, and voting areas of each  
3 polling facility, accessible to individuals with disabili-  
4 ties, including the blind and visually impaired, in a  
5 manner that provides the same opportunity for ac-  
6 cess and participation (including privacy and inde-  
7 pendence) as for other voters; and

8           “(3) providing solutions to problems of access  
9 to voting and elections for individuals with disabili-  
10 ties that are universally designed and provide the  
11 same opportunities for individuals with and without  
12 disabilities.”.

13       (b) REAUTHORIZATION.—Section 264(a) of such Act  
14 (52 U.S.C. 21024(a)) is amended by adding at the end  
15 the following new paragraph:

16           “(4) For fiscal year 2024 and each succeeding  
17 fiscal year, such sums as may be necessary to carry  
18 out this part.”.

19       (c) PERIOD OF AVAILABILITY OF FUNDS.—Section  
20 264 of such Act (52 U.S.C. 21024) is amended—

21           (1) in subsection (b), by striking “Any  
22 amounts” and inserting “Except as provided in sub-  
23 section (c), any amounts”; and

24           (2) by adding at the end the following new sub-  
25 section:

1 “(c) RETURN AND TRANSFER OF CERTAIN FUNDS.—

2 “(1) DEADLINE FOR OBLIGATION AND EXPEND-  
3 ITURE.—In the case of any amounts appropriated  
4 pursuant to the authority of subsection (a) for a  
5 payment to a State or unit of local government for  
6 fiscal year 2024 or any succeeding fiscal year, any  
7 portion of such amounts which have not been obli-  
8 gated or expended by the State or unit of local gov-  
9 ernment prior to the expiration of the 4-year period  
10 that begins on the date the State or unit of local  
11 government first received the amounts shall be  
12 transferred to the Commission.

13 “(2) REALLOCATION OF TRANSFERRED  
14 AMOUNTS.—

15 “(A) IN GENERAL.—The Commission shall  
16 use the amounts transferred under paragraph  
17 (1) to make payments on a pro rata basis to  
18 each covered payment recipient described in  
19 subparagraph (B), which may obligate and ex-  
20 pend such payment for the purposes described  
21 in section 261(b) during the 1-year period  
22 which begins on the date of receipt.

23 “(B) COVERED PAYMENT RECIPIENTS DE-  
24 SCRIBED.—In subparagraph (A), a ‘covered

1 payment recipient' is a State or unit of local  
2 government with respect to which—

3 “(i) amounts were appropriated pur-  
4 suant to the authority of subsection (a);  
5 and

6 “(ii) no amounts were transferred to  
7 the Commission under paragraph (1).”.

8 **SEC. 1106. PILOT PROGRAMS FOR ENABLING INDIVIDUALS**  
9 **WITH DISABILITIES TO REGISTER TO VOTE**  
10 **PRIVATELY AND INDEPENDENTLY AT RESI-**  
11 **DENCES.**

12 (a) ESTABLISHMENT OF PILOT PROGRAMS.—The  
13 Election Assistance Commission (hereafter referred to as  
14 the “Commission”) shall, subject to the availability of ap-  
15 propriations to carry out this section, make grants to eligi-  
16 ble States to conduct pilot programs under which individ-  
17 uals with disabilities may use electronic means (including  
18 the internet and telephones utilizing assistive devices) to  
19 register to vote and to request and receive absentee ballots  
20 in a manner which permits such individuals to do so pri-  
21 vately and independently at their own residences.

22 (b) REPORTS.—

23 (1) IN GENERAL.—A State receiving a grant for  
24 a year under this section shall submit a report to the  
25 Commission on the pilot programs the State carried

1 out with the grant with respect to elections for pub-  
2 lic office held in the State during the year.

3 (2) DEADLINE.—A State shall submit a report  
4 under paragraph (1) not later than 90 days after  
5 the last election for public office held in the State  
6 during the year.

7 (c) ELIGIBILITY.—A State is eligible to receive a  
8 grant under this section if the State submits to the Com-  
9 mission, at such time and in such form as the Commission  
10 may require, an application containing such information  
11 and assurances as the Commission may require.

12 (d) TIMING.—The Commission shall make the first  
13 grants under this section for pilot programs which will be  
14 in effect with respect to elections for Federal office held  
15 in 2024, or, at the option of a State, with respect to other  
16 elections for public office held in the State in 2024.

17 (e) STATE DEFINED.—In this section, the term  
18 “State” includes the District of Columbia, the Common-  
19 wealth of Puerto Rico, Guam, American Samoa, the  
20 United States Virgin Islands, and the Commonwealth of  
21 the Northern Mariana Islands.

22 **SEC. 1107. GAO ANALYSIS AND REPORT ON VOTING ACCESS**  
23 **FOR INDIVIDUALS WITH DISABILITIES.**

24 (a) ANALYSIS.—The Comptroller General of the  
25 United States shall conduct an analysis after each regu-

1 larly scheduled general election for Federal office with re-  
2 spect to the following:

3 (1) In relation to polling places located in  
4 houses of worship or other facilities that may be ex-  
5 empt from accessibility requirements under the  
6 Americans with Disabilities Act—

7 (A) efforts to overcome accessibility chal-  
8 lenges posed by such facilities; and

9 (B) the extent to which such facilities are  
10 used as polling places in elections for Federal  
11 office.

12 (2) Assistance provided by the Election Assist-  
13 ance Commission, Department of Justice, or other  
14 Federal agencies to help State and local officials im-  
15 prove voting access for individuals with disabilities  
16 during elections for Federal office.

17 (3) When accessible voting machines are avail-  
18 able at a polling place, the extent to which such ma-  
19 chines—

20 (A) are located in places that are difficult  
21 to access;

22 (B) malfunction; or

23 (C) fail to provide sufficient privacy to en-  
24 sure that the ballot of the individual cannot be  
25 seen by another individual.

1           (4) The process by which Federal, State, and  
2 local governments track compliance with accessibility  
3 requirements related to voting access, including  
4 methods to receive and address complaints.

5           (5) The extent to which poll workers receive  
6 training on how to assist individuals with disabili-  
7 ties, including the receipt by such poll workers of  
8 information on legal requirements related to voting  
9 rights for individuals with disabilities.

10           (6) The extent and effectiveness of training pro-  
11 vided to poll workers on the operation of accessible  
12 voting machines.

13           (7) The extent to which individuals with a de-  
14 velopmental or psychiatric disability experience  
15 greater barriers to voting, and whether poll worker  
16 training adequately addresses the needs of such indi-  
17 viduals.

18           (8) The extent to which State or local govern-  
19 ments employ, or attempt to employ, individuals  
20 with disabilities to work at polling sites.

21 (b) REPORT.—

22           (1) IN GENERAL.—Not later than 9 months  
23 after the date of a regularly scheduled general elec-  
24 tion for Federal office, the Comptroller General shall  
25 submit to the appropriate congressional committees

1 a report with respect to the most recent regularly  
2 scheduled general election for Federal office that  
3 contains the following:

4 (A) The analysis required by subsection

5 (a).

6 (B) Recommendations, as appropriate, to  
7 promote the use of best practices used by State  
8 and local officials to address barriers to accessi-  
9 bility and privacy concerns for individuals with  
10 disabilities in elections for Federal office.

11 (2) APPROPRIATE CONGRESSIONAL COMMIT-  
12 TEES.—For purposes of this subsection, the term  
13 “appropriate congressional committees” means—

14 (A) the Committee on House Administra-  
15 tion of the House of Representatives;

16 (B) the Committee on Rules and Adminis-  
17 tration of the Senate;

18 (C) the Committee on Appropriations of  
19 the House of Representatives; and

20 (D) the Committee on Appropriations of  
21 the Senate.

## 22 **Subtitle C—Early Voting**

### 23 **SEC. 1201. EARLY VOTING.**

24 (a) REQUIREMENTS.—Subtitle A of title III of the  
25 Help America Vote Act of 2002 (52 U.S.C. 21081 et seq.),

1 as amended by section 1031(a), section 1044(a), section  
2 1101(a), section 1102(a), section 1103(a), and section  
3 1104(a), is amended—

4 (1) by redesignating sections 310 and 311 as  
5 sections 311 and 312, respectively; and

6 (2) by inserting after section 309 the following  
7 new section:

8 **“SEC. 310. EARLY VOTING.**

9 “(a) **REQUIRING VOTING PRIOR TO DATE OF ELEC-**  
10 **TION.**—Each election jurisdiction shall allow individuals to  
11 vote in an election for Federal office during an early voting  
12 period which occurs prior to the date of the election, in  
13 a manner that allows the individual to receive, complete,  
14 and cast their ballot in person.

15 “(b) **MINIMUM EARLY VOTING REQUIREMENTS.**—

16 “(1) **IN GENERAL.**—

17 “(A) **LENGTH OF PERIOD.**—The early vot-  
18 ing period required under this subsection with  
19 respect to an election shall consist of a period  
20 of consecutive days (including weekends) which  
21 begins on the 15th day before the date of the  
22 election (or, at the option of the State, on a day  
23 prior to the 15th day before the date of the  
24 election) and ends no earlier than the second  
25 day before the date of the election.



1           “(B) HOURS FOR EARLY VOTING.—Each  
2           polling place which allows voting during an  
3           early voting period under subparagraph (A)  
4           shall—

5                   “(i) allow such voting for no less than  
6                   10 hours on each day during the period;

7                   “(ii) have uniform hours each day for  
8                   which such voting occurs; and

9                   “(iii) allow such voting to be held for  
10                  some period of time prior to 9:00 a.m.  
11                  (local time) and some period of time after  
12                  5:00 p.m. (local time).

13           “(2) REQUIREMENTS FOR VOTE-BY-MAIL JURIS-  
14           DICTIONS.—In the case of a jurisdiction that sends  
15           every registered voter a ballot by mail—

16                   “(A) paragraph (1) shall not apply;

17                   “(B) such jurisdiction shall allow eligible  
18                   individuals to vote during an early voting period  
19                   that ensures voters are provided the greatest  
20                   opportunity to cast ballots ahead of Election  
21                   Day and which includes at least one consecutive  
22                   Saturday and Sunday; and

23                   “(C) each polling place which allows voting  
24                   during an early voting period under subpara-  
25                   graph (B) shall allow such voting—

1 “(i) during the election office’s reg-  
2 ular business hours; and

3 “(ii) for a period of not less than 8  
4 hours on Saturdays and Sundays included  
5 in the early voting period.

6 “(3) REQUIREMENTS FOR SMALL JURISDIC-  
7 TIONS.—

8 “(A) IN GENERAL.—In the case of a juris-  
9 diction described in subparagraph (B), para-  
10 graph (1)(B) shall not apply so long as all eligi-  
11 ble individuals in the jurisdiction have the op-  
12 portunity to vote—

13 “(i) at each polling place which allows  
14 voting during the early voting period de-  
15 scribed in paragraph (1)(A)—

16 “(I) during the election office’s  
17 regular business hours; and

18 “(II) for a period of not less than  
19 8 hours on at least one Saturday and  
20 at least one Sunday included in the  
21 early voting period; or

22 “(ii) at 1 or more polling places in the  
23 county in which such jurisdiction is located  
24 that allows voting during the early voting  
25 period described in paragraph (1)(A) in ac-

1 cordance with the requirements under  
2 paragraph (1)(B).

3 “(B) JURISDICTION DESCRIBED.—A juris-  
4 diction is described in this subparagraph if such  
5 jurisdiction—

6 “(i) had less than 3,000 registered  
7 voters at the time of the most recent prior  
8 election for Federal office; and

9 “(ii) consists of a geographic area  
10 that is smaller than the jurisdiction of the  
11 county in which such jurisdiction is lo-  
12 cated.

13 “(4) RULE OF CONSTRUCTION.—Nothing in  
14 this subsection shall be construed—

15 “(A) to limit the availability of additional  
16 temporary voting sites which provide voters  
17 more opportunities to cast their ballots but  
18 which do not meet the requirements of this sub-  
19 section;

20 “(B) to limit a polling place from being  
21 open for additional hours outside of the uniform  
22 hours set for the polling location on any day of  
23 the early voting period; or

1           “(C) to limit a State or jurisdiction from  
2           offering early voting on the Monday before  
3           Election Day.

4           “(c) AVAILABILITY OF POLLING PLACES.—To the  
5           greatest extent practicable, each State and jurisdiction  
6           shall—

7           “(1) ensure that there are an appropriate num-  
8           ber of polling places which allow voting during an  
9           early voting period; and

10           “(2) ensure that such polling places provide the  
11           greatest opportunity for residents of the jurisdiction  
12           to vote.

13           “(d) LOCATION OF POLLING PLACES.—

14           “(1) PROXIMITY TO PUBLIC TRANSPOR-  
15           TATION.—To the greatest extent practicable, each  
16           State and jurisdiction shall ensure that each polling  
17           place which allows voting during an early voting pe-  
18           riod under subsection (b) is located within walking  
19           distance of a stop on a public transportation route.

20           “(2) AVAILABILITY IN RURAL AREAS.—In the  
21           case of a jurisdiction that includes a rural area, the  
22           State or jurisdiction shall—

23           “(A) ensure that an appropriate number of  
24           polling places, but not less than 1, that allow  
25           voting during an early voting period under sub-

1 section (b) will be located in such rural areas;  
2 and

3 “(B) ensure that such polling places are lo-  
4 cated in communities which will provide the  
5 greatest opportunity for residents of rural areas  
6 to vote during the early voting period.

7 “(3) CAMPUSES OF INSTITUTIONS OF HIGHER  
8 EDUCATION.—In the case of a jurisdiction that is  
9 not considered a vote by mail jurisdiction described  
10 in subsection (b)(2) or a small jurisdiction described  
11 in subsection (b)(3) and that includes an institution  
12 of higher education (as defined under section 102 of  
13 the Higher Education Act of 1965 (20 U.S.C.  
14 1002)), including a branch campus of such an insti-  
15 tution, the State or jurisdiction shall—

16 “(A) ensure that an appropriate number of  
17 polling places, but not less than 1, that allow  
18 voting during the early voting period under sub-  
19 section (b) will be located on the physical cam-  
20 pus of each such institution, including each  
21 such branch campus; and

22 “(B) ensure that such polling places pro-  
23 vide the greatest opportunity for residents of  
24 the jurisdiction to vote.

1       “(e) STANDARDS.—Not later than June 30, 2024,  
2 the Commission shall issue voluntary standards for the ad-  
3 ministration of voting during voting periods which occur  
4 prior to the date of a Federal election. Subject to sub-  
5 section (d), such voluntary standards shall include the  
6 nondiscriminatory geographic placement of polling places  
7 at which such voting occurs.

8       “(f) BALLOT PROCESSING AND SCANNING REQUIRE-  
9 MENTS.—

10           “(1) IN GENERAL.—Each State or jurisdiction  
11 shall begin processing and scanning ballots cast dur-  
12 ing in-person early voting for tabulation not later  
13 than the date that is 14 days prior to the date of  
14 the election involved, except that a State or jurisdic-  
15 tion may begin processing and scanning ballots cast  
16 during in-person early voting for tabulation after  
17 such date if the date on which the State or jurisdic-  
18 tion begins such processing and scanning ensures, to  
19 the greatest extent practical, that ballots cast before  
20 the date of the election are processed and scanned  
21 before the date of the election.

22           “(2) LIMITATION.—Nothing in this subsection  
23 shall be construed—

24                   “(A) to permit a State or jurisdiction to  
25 tabulate ballots in an election before the closing

1 of the polls on the date of the election unless  
2 such tabulation is a necessary component of  
3 preprocessing in the State or jurisdiction and is  
4 performed in accordance with existing State  
5 law; or

6 “(B) to permit an official to make public  
7 any results of tabulation and processing before  
8 the closing of the polls on the date of the elec-  
9 tion.

10 “(g) EFFECTIVE DATE.—This section shall apply  
11 with respect to the regularly scheduled general election for  
12 Federal office held in November 2024 and each succeeding  
13 election for Federal office.”.

14 (b) CONFORMING AMENDMENTS RELATING TO  
15 ISSUANCE OF VOLUNTARY GUIDANCE BY ELECTION AS-  
16 SISTANCE COMMISSION.—Section 321(b) of such Act (52  
17 U.S.C. 21101(b)), as redesignated and amended by sec-  
18 tion 1101(b), is amended—

19 (1) by striking “and” at the end of paragraph  
20 (3);

21 (2) by striking the period at the end of para-  
22 graph (4) and inserting “; and”; and

23 (3) by adding at the end the following new  
24 paragraph:

1           “(5) except as provided in paragraph (4), in the  
2 case of the recommendations with respect to any sec-  
3 tion added by the Freedom to Vote Act, June 30,  
4 2024.”.

5           (c) CLERICAL AMENDMENTS.—The table of contents  
6 of such Act, as amended by section 1031(c), section  
7 1044(b), section 1101(c), section 1102(c), section  
8 1103(a), and section 1104(c), is amended—

9           (1) by redesignating the items relating to sec-  
10 tions 310 and 311 as relating to sections 311 and  
11 312, respectively; and

12           (2) by inserting after the item relating to sec-  
13 tion 309 the following new item:

“Sec. 310. Early voting.”.

## 14           **Subtitle D—Voting by Mail**

### 15           **SEC. 1301. VOTING BY MAIL.**

16           (a) IN GENERAL.—

17           (1) REQUIREMENTS.—Subtitle A of title III of  
18 the Help America Vote Act of 2002 (52 U.S.C.  
19 21081 et seq.), as amended by section 1031(a), sec-  
20 tion 1044(a), section 1101(a), section 1102(a), sec-  
21 tion 1103(a), section 1104(a), and section 1201(a),  
22 is amended—

23           (A) by redesignating sections 311 and 312  
24 as sections 312 and 313, respectively; and



1 (B) by inserting after section 310 the fol-  
2 lowing new section:

3 **“SEC. 311. PROMOTING ABILITY OF VOTERS TO VOTE BY**  
4 **MAIL.**

5 “(a) UNIFORM AVAILABILITY OF ABSENTEE VOTING  
6 TO ALL VOTERS.—

7 “(1) IN GENERAL.—If an individual in a State  
8 is eligible to cast a vote in an election for Federal  
9 office, the State may not impose any additional con-  
10 ditions or requirements on the eligibility of the indi-  
11 vidual to cast the vote in such election by absentee  
12 ballot by mail.

13 “(2) ADMINISTRATION OF VOTING BY MAIL.—

14 “(A) PROHIBITING IDENTIFICATION RE-  
15 QUIREMENT AS CONDITION OF OBTAINING OR  
16 CASTING BALLOT.—A State may not require an  
17 individual to submit any form of identifying  
18 document as a condition of obtaining or casting  
19 an absentee ballot, except that nothing in this  
20 subparagraph may be construed to prevent a  
21 State from requiring—

22 “(i) the information required to com-  
23 plete an application for voter registration  
24 for an election for Federal office under sec-  
25 tion 303(a)(5)(A), provided that a State

1           may not deny a voter a ballot or the oppor-  
2           tunity to cast it on the grounds that the  
3           voter does not possess a current and valid  
4           driver’s license number or a social security  
5           number; or

6                   “(ii) a signature of the individual or  
7           similar affirmation as a condition of ob-  
8           taining or casting an absentee ballot.

9                   “(B) PROHIBITING FAULTY MATCHING RE-  
10           QUIREMENTS FOR IDENTIFYING INFORMA-  
11           TION.—A State may not deny a voter an absen-  
12           tee ballot or reject an absentee ballot cast by a  
13           voter—

14                   “(i) on the grounds that the voter  
15           provided a different form of identifying in-  
16           formation under subparagraph (A) than  
17           the voter originally provided when reg-  
18           istering to vote or when requesting an ab-  
19           sentee ballot; or

20                   “(ii) due to an error in, or omission  
21           of, identifying information required by a  
22           State under subparagraph (A), if such  
23           error or omission is not material to an in-  
24           dividual’s eligibility to vote under section

1                   2004(a)(2)(B) of the Revised Statutes (52  
2                   U.S.C. 10101(a)(2)(B)).

3                   “(C) PROHIBITING REQUIREMENT TO PRO-  
4                   VIDE NOTARIZATION OR WITNESS SIGNATURE  
5                   AS CONDITION OF OBTAINING OR CASTING BAL-  
6                   LOT.—A State may not require notarization or  
7                   witness signature or other formal authentica-  
8                   tion (other than voter attestation) as a condi-  
9                   tion of obtaining or casting an absentee ballot,  
10                  except that nothing in this subparagraph may  
11                  be construed to prohibit a State from enforcing  
12                  a law which has a witness signature require-  
13                  ment for a ballot where a voter oath is attested  
14                  to with a mark rather than a voter’s signature.

15                  “(3) NO EFFECT ON IDENTIFICATION REQUIRE-  
16                  MENTS FOR FIRST-TIME VOTERS REGISTERING BY  
17                  MAIL.—Nothing in this subsection may be construed  
18                  to exempt any individual described in paragraph (1)  
19                  of section 303(b) from meeting the requirements of  
20                  paragraph (2) of such section or to exempt an indi-  
21                  vidual described in paragraph (5)(A) of section  
22                  303(b) from meeting the requirements of paragraph  
23                  (5)(B).

24                  “(b) DUE PROCESS REQUIREMENTS FOR STATES  
25                  REQUIRING SIGNATURE VERIFICATION.—

1 “(1) REQUIREMENT.—

2 “(A) IN GENERAL.—A State may not im-  
3 pose a signature verification requirement as a  
4 condition of accepting and counting a mail-in  
5 ballot or absentee ballot submitted by any indi-  
6 vidual with respect to an election for Federal  
7 office unless the State meets the due process re-  
8 quirements described in paragraph (2).

9 “(B) SIGNATURE VERIFICATION REQUIRE-  
10 MENT DESCRIBED.—In this subsection, a ‘sig-  
11 nature verification requirement’ is a require-  
12 ment that an election official verify the identi-  
13 fication of an individual by comparing the sig-  
14 nature of the individual on the mail-in ballot or  
15 absentee ballot with the individual’s signature  
16 on the official list of registered voters in the  
17 State or another official record or other docu-  
18 ment used by the State to verify the signatures  
19 of voters.

20 “(2) DUE PROCESS REQUIREMENTS.—

21 “(A) NOTICE AND OPPORTUNITY TO CURE  
22 DISCREPANCY IN SIGNATURES.—If an indi-  
23 vidual submits a mail-in ballot or an absentee  
24 ballot and the appropriate State or local elec-  
25 tion official determines that a discrepancy ex-

1           ists between the signature on such ballot and  
2           the signature of such individual on the official  
3           list of registered voters in the State or other of-  
4           ficial record or document used by the State to  
5           verify the signatures of voters, such election of-  
6           ficial, prior to making a final determination as  
7           to the validity of such ballot, shall—

8                   “(i) as soon as practical, but not later  
9                   than the next business day after such de-  
10                  termination is made, make a good faith ef-  
11                  fort to notify the individual by mail, tele-  
12                  phone, and (if available) text message and  
13                  electronic mail that—

14                   “(I) a discrepancy exists between  
15                   the signature on such ballot and the  
16                   signature of the individual on the offi-  
17                   cial list of registered voters in the  
18                   State or other official record or docu-  
19                   ment used by the State to verify the  
20                   signatures of voters; and

21                   “(II) if such discrepancy is not  
22                   cured prior to the expiration of the  
23                   third day following the State’s dead-  
24                   line for receiving mail-in ballots or ab-

1                   sentee ballots, such ballot will not be  
2                   counted; and

3                   “(ii) cure such discrepancy and count  
4                   the ballot if, prior to the expiration of the  
5                   third day following the State’s deadline for  
6                   receiving mail-in ballots or absentee bal-  
7                   lots, the individual provides the official  
8                   with information to cure such discrepancy,  
9                   either in person, by telephone, or by elec-  
10                  tronic methods.

11                  “(B) NOTICE AND OPPORTUNITY TO CURE  
12                  MISSING SIGNATURE OR OTHER DEFECT.—If an  
13                  individual submits a mail-in ballot or an absen-  
14                  tee ballot without a signature or submits a  
15                  mail-in ballot or an absentee ballot with another  
16                  defect which, if left uncured, would cause the  
17                  ballot to not be counted, the appropriate State  
18                  or local election official, prior to making a final  
19                  determination as to the validity of the ballot,  
20                  shall—

21                  “(i) as soon as practical, but not later  
22                  than the next business day after such de-  
23                  termination is made, make a good faith ef-  
24                  fort to notify the individual by mail, tele-

1 phone, and (if available) text message and  
2 electronic mail that—

3 “(I) the ballot did not include a  
4 signature or has some other defect;  
5 and

6 “(II) if the individual does not  
7 provide the missing signature or cure  
8 the other defect prior to the expira-  
9 tion of the third day following the  
10 State’s deadline for receiving mail-in  
11 ballots or absentee ballots, such ballot  
12 will not be counted; and

13 “(ii) count the ballot if, prior to the  
14 expiration of the third day following the  
15 State’s deadline for receiving mail-in bal-  
16 lots or absentee ballots, the individual pro-  
17 vides the official with the missing signa-  
18 ture on a form proscribed by the State or  
19 cures the other defect.

20 This subparagraph does not apply with respect  
21 to a defect consisting of the failure of a ballot  
22 to meet the applicable deadline for the accept-  
23 ance of the ballot, as described in subsection  
24 (e).

25 “(C) OTHER REQUIREMENTS.—

1           “(i) IN GENERAL.—An election official  
2           may not make a determination that a dis-  
3           crepancy exists between the signature on a  
4           mail-in ballot or an absentee ballot and the  
5           signature of the individual on the official  
6           list of registered voters in the State or  
7           other official record or other document  
8           used by the State to verify the signatures  
9           of voters unless—

10                   “(I) not fewer than 2 election of-  
11                   ficials make the determination;

12                   “(II) each official who makes the  
13                   determination has received training in  
14                   procedures used to verify signatures;  
15                   and

16                   “(III) of the officials who make  
17                   the determination, not fewer than 1 is  
18                   affiliated with the political party  
19                   whose candidate received the most  
20                   votes in the most recent statewide  
21                   election for Federal office held in the  
22                   State and not fewer than 1 is affli-  
23                   ated with the political party whose  
24                   candidate received the second most  
25                   votes in the most recent statewide



1 election for Federal office held in the  
2 State.

3 “(ii) EXCEPTION.—Clause (i)(III)  
4 shall not apply to any State in which,  
5 under a law that is in effect continuously  
6 on and after the date of enactment of this  
7 section, determinations regarding signature  
8 discrepancies are made by election officials  
9 who are not affiliated with a political  
10 party.

11 “(3) REPORT.—

12 “(A) IN GENERAL.—Not later than 120  
13 days after the end of a Federal election cycle,  
14 each chief State election official shall submit to  
15 the Commission a report containing the fol-  
16 lowing information for the applicable Federal  
17 election cycle in the State:

18 “(i) The number of ballots invalidated  
19 due to a discrepancy under this subsection.

20 “(ii) Description of attempts to con-  
21 tact voters to provide notice as required by  
22 this subsection.

23 “(iii) Description of the cure process  
24 developed by such State pursuant to this  
25 subsection, including the number of ballots

1           determined valid as a result of such proc-  
2           ess.

3           “(B) SUBMISSION TO CONGRESS.—Not  
4 later than 10 days after receiving a report  
5 under subparagraph (A), the Commission shall  
6 transmit such report to Congress.

7           “(C) FEDERAL ELECTION CYCLE DE-  
8 FINED.—For purposes of this subsection, the  
9 term ‘Federal election cycle’ means, with re-  
10 spect to any regularly scheduled election for  
11 Federal office, the period beginning on the day  
12 after the date of the preceding regularly sched-  
13 uled general election for Federal office and end-  
14 ing on the date of such regularly scheduled gen-  
15 eral election.

16           “(4) RULE OF CONSTRUCTION.—Nothing in  
17 this subsection shall be construed—

18           “(A) to prohibit a State from rejecting a  
19 ballot attempted to be cast in an election for  
20 Federal office by an individual who is not eligi-  
21 ble to vote in the election; or

22           “(B) to prohibit a State from providing an  
23 individual with more time and more methods  
24 for curing a discrepancy in the individual’s sig-  
25 nature, providing a missing signature, or curing

1           any other defect than the State is required to  
2           provide under this subsection.

3           “(c) APPLICATIONS FOR ABSENTEE BALLOTS.—

4           “(1) IN GENERAL.—In addition to such other  
5           methods as the State may establish for an individual  
6           to apply for an absentee ballot, each State shall per-  
7           mit an individual to submit an application for an ab-  
8           sentee ballot online.

9           “(2) TREATMENT OF WEBSITES.—A State shall  
10          be considered to meet the requirements of paragraph  
11          (1) if the website of the appropriate State or local  
12          election official allows an application for an absentee  
13          ballot to be completed and submitted online and if  
14          the website permits the individual—

15                 “(A) to print the application so that the  
16                 individual may complete the application and re-  
17                 turn it to the official; or

18                 “(B) to request that a paper copy of the  
19                 application be transmitted to the individual by  
20                 mail or electronic mail so that the individual  
21                 may complete the application and return it to  
22                 the official.

23           “(3) ENSURING DELIVERY PRIOR TO ELEC-  
24          TION.—

1           “(A) IN GENERAL.—If an individual who is  
2 eligible to vote in an election for Federal office  
3 submits an application for an absentee ballot in  
4 the election and such application is received by  
5 the appropriate State or local election official  
6 not later than 13 days (excluding Saturdays,  
7 Sundays, and legal public holidays) before the  
8 date of the election, the election official shall  
9 ensure that the ballot and related voting mate-  
10 rials are promptly mailed to the individual.

11           “(B) APPLICATIONS RECEIVED CLOSE TO  
12 ELECTION DAY.—If an individual who is eligible  
13 to vote in an election for Federal office submits  
14 an application for an absentee ballot in the elec-  
15 tion and such application is received by the ap-  
16 propriate State or local election official after  
17 the date described in subparagraph (A) but not  
18 later than 7 days (excluding Saturdays, Sun-  
19 days, and legal public holidays) before the date  
20 of the election, the election official shall, to the  
21 greatest extent practical, ensure that the ballot  
22 and related voting materials are mailed to the  
23 individual within 1 business day of the receipt  
24 of the application.

1           “(C) RULE OF CONSTRUCTION.—Nothing  
2           in this paragraph shall preclude a State or local  
3           jurisdiction from allowing for the acceptance  
4           and processing of absentee ballot applications  
5           submitted or received after the date described  
6           in subparagraph (B).

7           “(4) APPLICATION FOR ALL FUTURE ELEC-  
8           TIONS.—

9           “(A) IN GENERAL.—At the option of an  
10          individual, the individual’s application to vote  
11          by absentee ballot by mail in an election for  
12          Federal office shall be treated as an application  
13          for an absentee ballot by mail in all subsequent  
14          elections for Federal office held in the State.

15          “(B) DURATION OF TREATMENT.—

16          “(i) IN GENERAL.—In the case of an  
17          individual who is treated as having applied  
18          for an absentee ballot for all subsequent  
19          elections for Federal office held in the  
20          State under subparagraph (A), such treat-  
21          ment shall remain effective until the earlier  
22          of such time as—

23                  “(I) the individual is no longer  
24                  registered to vote in the State; or

1                   “(II) the individual provides an  
2                   affirmative written notice revoking  
3                   such treatment.

4                   “(ii) PROHIBITION ON REVOCATION  
5                   BASED ON FAILURE TO VOTE.—The treat-  
6                   ment of an individual as having applied for  
7                   an absentee ballot for all subsequent elec-  
8                   tions held in the State under subparagraph  
9                   (A) shall not be revoked on the basis that  
10                  the individual has not voted in an election.

11                  “(d) ACCESSIBILITY FOR INDIVIDUALS WITH DIS-  
12                  ABILITIES.—Each State shall ensure that all absentee bal-  
13                  lot applications, absentee ballots, and related voting mate-  
14                  rials in elections for Federal office are accessible to indi-  
15                  viduals with disabilities in a manner that provides the  
16                  same opportunity for access and participation (including  
17                  with privacy and independence) as for other voters.

18                  “(e) UNIFORM DEADLINE FOR ACCEPTANCE OF  
19                  MAILED BALLOTS.—

20                  “(1) IN GENERAL.—A State or local election of-  
21                  ficial may not refuse to accept or process a ballot  
22                  submitted by an individual by mail with respect to  
23                  an election for Federal office in the State on the  
24                  grounds that the individual did not meet a deadline

1 for returning the ballot to the appropriate State or  
2 local election official if—

3 “(A) the ballot is postmarked or otherwise  
4 indicated by the United States Postal Service to  
5 have been mailed on or before the date of the  
6 election; and

7 “(B) the ballot is received by the appro-  
8 priate election official prior to the expiration of  
9 the 7-day period which begins on the date of  
10 the election.

11 “(2) RULE OF CONSTRUCTION.—Nothing in  
12 this subsection shall be construed to prohibit a State  
13 from having a law that allows for counting of ballots  
14 in an election for Federal office that are received  
15 through the mail after the date that is 7 days after  
16 the date of the election.

17 “(f) ALTERNATIVE METHODS OF RETURNING BAL-  
18 LOTS.—In addition to permitting an individual to whom  
19 a ballot in an election was provided under this section to  
20 return the ballot to an election official by mail, each State  
21 shall permit the individual to cast the ballot by delivering  
22 the ballot at such times and to such locations as the State  
23 may establish, including—

24 “(1) permitting the individual to deliver the bal-  
25 lot to a polling place within the jurisdiction in which

1 the individual is registered or otherwise eligible to  
2 vote on any date on which voting in the election is  
3 held at the polling place; and

4 “(2) permitting the individual to deliver the bal-  
5 lot to a designated ballot drop-off location, a tribally  
6 designated building, or the office of a State or local  
7 election official.

8 “(g) BALLOT PROCESSING AND SCANNING REQUIRE-  
9 MENTS.—

10 “(1) IN GENERAL.—Each State or jurisdiction  
11 shall begin processing and scanning ballots cast by  
12 mail for tabulation not later than the date that is 14  
13 days prior to the date of the election involved, except  
14 that a State may begin processing and scanning bal-  
15 lots cast by mail for tabulation after such date if the  
16 date on which the State begins such processing and  
17 scanning ensures, to the greatest extent practical,  
18 that ballots cast before the date of the election are  
19 processed and scanned before the date of the elec-  
20 tion.

21 “(2) LIMITATION.—Nothing in this subsection  
22 shall be construed—

23 “(A) to permit a State to tabulate ballots  
24 in an election before the closing of the polls on  
25 the date of the election unless such tabulation



1 is a necessary component of preprocessing in  
2 the State and is performed in accordance with  
3 existing State law; or

4 “(B) to permit an official to make public  
5 any results of tabulation and processing before  
6 the closing of the polls on the date of the elec-  
7 tion.

8 “(h) PROHIBITING RESTRICTIONS ON DISTRIBUTION  
9 OF ABSENTEE BALLOT APPLICATIONS BY THIRD PAR-  
10 TIES.—A State may not prohibit any person from pro-  
11 viding an application for an absentee ballot in the election  
12 to any individual who is eligible to vote in the election.

13 “(i) RULE OF CONSTRUCTION.—Nothing in this sec-  
14 tion shall be construed to affect the authority of States  
15 to conduct elections for Federal office through the use of  
16 polling places at which individuals cast ballots.

17 “(j) NO EFFECT ON BALLOTS SUBMITTED BY AB-  
18 SENT MILITARY AND OVERSEAS VOTERS.—Nothing in  
19 this section may be construed to affect the treatment of  
20 any ballot submitted by an individual who is entitled to  
21 vote by absentee ballot under the Uniformed and Overseas  
22 Citizens Absentee Voting Act (52 U.S.C. 20301 et seq.).

23 “(k) EFFECTIVE DATE.—This section shall apply  
24 with respect to the regularly scheduled general election for

1 Federal office held in November 2024 and each succeeding  
2 election for Federal office.”.

3 (2) CLERICAL AMENDMENTS.—The table of  
4 contents of such Act, as amended by section  
5 1031(c), section 1044(b), section 1101(c), section  
6 1102(c), section 1103(a), section 1104(c), and sec-  
7 tion 1201(c), is amended—

8 (A) by redesignating the items relating to  
9 sections 311 and 312 as relating to sections  
10 312 and 313, respectively; and

11 (B) by inserting after the item relating to  
12 section 310 the following new item:

“Sec. 311. Promoting ability of voters to vote by mail.”.

13 (b) SAME-DAY PROCESSING OF ABSENTEE BAL-  
14 LOTS.—

15 (1) IN GENERAL.—Chapter 34 of title 39,  
16 United States Code, is amended by adding at the  
17 end the following:

18 **“§ 3407. Same-day processing of ballots**

19 “(a) IN GENERAL.—The Postal Service shall ensure,  
20 to the maximum extent practicable, that any ballot carried  
21 by the Postal Service is processed by and cleared from  
22 any postal facility or post office on the same day that the  
23 ballot is received by that facility or post office.

24 “(b) DEFINITIONS.—As used in this section—

1           “(1) the term ‘ballot’ means any ballot trans-  
2           mitted by a voter by mail in an election for Federal  
3           office, but does not include any ballot covered by  
4           section 3406; and

5           “(2) the term ‘election for Federal office’ means  
6           a general, special, primary, or runoff election for the  
7           office of President or Vice President, or of Senator  
8           or Representative in, or Delegate or Resident Com-  
9           missioner to, the Congress.”.

10           (2) TECHNICAL AND CONFORMING AMEND-  
11           MENT.—The table of sections for chapter 34 of title  
12           39, United States Code, is amended by adding at  
13           the end the following:

“3407. Same-day processing of ballots.”.

14           (3) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendments made  
15           by this subsection shall apply to absentee ballots re-  
16           lating to an election for Federal office occurring on  
17           or after January 1, 2024.

18           (c) DEVELOPMENT OF ALTERNATIVE VERIFICATION  
19           METHODS.—

20           (1) DEVELOPMENT OF STANDARDS.—The Di-  
21           rector of the National Institute of Standards, in con-  
22           sultation with the Election Assistance Commission,  
23           shall develop standards for the use of alternative  
24           methods which could be used in place of signature  
25           verification requirements for purposes of verifying

1 the identification of an individual voting by mail-in  
2 or absentee ballot in elections for Federal office.

3 (2) PUBLIC NOTICE AND COMMENT.—The Di-  
4 rector of the National Institute of Standards shall  
5 solicit comments from the public in the development  
6 of standards under paragraph (1).

7 (3) DEADLINE.—Not later than 2 years after  
8 the date of enactment of this Act, the Director of  
9 the National Institute of Standards shall publish the  
10 standards developed under paragraph (1).

11 **SEC. 1302. BALLOTING MATERIALS TRACKING PROGRAM.**

12 (a) IN GENERAL.—

13 (1) REQUIREMENTS.—Subtitle A of title III of  
14 the Help America Vote Act of 2002 (52 U.S.C.  
15 21081 et seq.), as amended by section 1031(a), sec-  
16 tion 1044(a), section 1101(a), section 1102(a), sec-  
17 tion 1103(a), section 1104(a), section 1201(a), and  
18 section 1301(a), is amended—

19 (A) by redesignating sections 312 and 313  
20 as sections 313 and 314, respectively; and

21 (B) by inserting after section 311 the fol-  
22 lowing new section:

23 **“SEC. 312. BALLOT MATERIALS TRACKING PROGRAM.**

24 “(a) REQUIREMENT.—Each State shall carry out a  
25 program to track and confirm the receipt of mail-in ballots

1 and absentee ballots in an election for Federal office under  
2 which the State or local election official responsible for the  
3 receipt of such voted ballots in the election carries out pro-  
4 cedures to track and confirm the receipt of such ballots,  
5 and makes information on the receipt of such ballots avail-  
6 able to the individual who cast the ballot.

7 “(b) MEANS OF CARRYING OUT PROGRAM.—A State  
8 may meet the requirements of subsection (a)—

9 “(1) through a program—

10 “(A) which is established by the State;

11 “(B) under which the State or local elec-  
12 tion official responsible for the receipt of voted  
13 mail-in ballots and voted absentee ballots in the  
14 election—

15 “(i) carries out procedures to track  
16 and confirm the receipt of such ballots;  
17 and

18 “(ii) makes information on the receipt  
19 of such ballots available to the individual  
20 who cast the ballot; and

21 “(C) which meets the requirements of sub-  
22 section (c); or

23 “(2) through the ballot materials tracking serv-  
24 ice established under section 1302(b) of the Free-  
25 dom to Vote Act.

1       “(c) STATE PROGRAM REQUIREMENTS.—The re-  
2 requirements of this subsection are as follows:

3           “(1) INFORMATION ON WHETHER VOTE WAS  
4 ACCEPTED.—The information referred to under sub-  
5 section (b)(1)(B)(ii) with respect to the receipt of  
6 mail-in ballot or an absentee ballot shall include in-  
7 formation regarding whether the vote cast on the  
8 ballot was accepted, and, in the case of a vote which  
9 was rejected, the reasons therefor.

10          “(2) AVAILABILITY OF INFORMATION.—Infor-  
11 mation on whether a ballot was accepted or rejected  
12 shall be available within 1 business day of the State  
13 accepting or rejecting the ballot.

14          “(3) ACCESSIBILITY OF INFORMATION.—

15           “(A) IN GENERAL.—Except as provided  
16 under subparagraph (B), the information pro-  
17 vided under the program shall be available by  
18 means of online access using the internet site of  
19 the State or local election office.

20           “(B) USE OF TOLL-FREE TELEPHONE  
21 NUMBER BY OFFICIALS WITHOUT INTERNET  
22 SITE.—In the case of a State or local election  
23 official whose office does not have an internet  
24 site, the program shall require the official to es-  
25 tablish a toll-free telephone number that may be

1           used by an individual who cast an absentee bal-  
2           lot to obtain the information required under  
3           subsection (b)(1)(B).

4           “(d) EFFECTIVE DATE.—This section shall apply  
5 with respect to the regularly scheduled general election for  
6 Federal office held in November 2026 and each succeeding  
7 election for Federal office.”.

8           (2) CONFORMING AMENDMENTS.—Section 102  
9           of the Uniformed and Overseas Citizens Absentee  
10          Voting Act (52 U.S.C. 20302) is amended by strik-  
11          ing subsection (h) and redesignating subsection (i)  
12          as subsection (h).

13          (b) BALLOTING MATERIALS TRACKING SERVICE.—

14           (1) IN GENERAL.—Not later than January 1,  
15          2026, the Secretary of Homeland Security, in con-  
16          sultation with the Chair of the Election Assistance  
17          Commission, the Postmaster General, the Director  
18          of the General Services Administration, the Presi-  
19          dential designee, and State election officials, shall  
20          establish a balloting materials tracking service to be  
21          used by State and local jurisdictions to inform voters  
22          on the status of voter registration applications, ab-  
23          sentee ballot applications, absentee ballots, and mail-  
24          in ballots.

1           (2) INFORMATION TRACKED.—The balloting  
2 materials tracking service established under para-  
3 graph (1) shall provide to a voter the following infor-  
4 mation with respect to that voter:

5           (A) In the case of balloting materials sent  
6 by mail, tracking information from the United  
7 States Postal Service and the Presidential des-  
8 ignee on balloting materials sent to the voter  
9 and, to the extent feasible, returned by the  
10 voter.

11           (B) The date on which any request by the  
12 voter for an application for voter registration or  
13 an absentee ballot was received.

14           (C) The date on which any such requested  
15 application was sent to the voter.

16           (D) The date on which any such completed  
17 application was received from the voter and the  
18 status of such application.

19           (E) The date on which any mail-in ballot  
20 or absentee ballot was sent to the voter.

21           (F) The date on which any mail-in ballot  
22 or absentee ballot was out for delivery to the  
23 voter.

24           (G) The date on which the post office proc-  
25 esses the ballot.



1           (H) The date on which the returned ballot  
2 was out for delivery to the election office.

3           (I) Whether such ballot was accepted and  
4 counted, and in the case of any ballot not  
5 counted, the reason why the ballot was not  
6 counted.

7           The information described in subparagraph (I) shall  
8 be available not later than 1 day after a determina-  
9 tion is made on whether or not to accept and count  
10 the ballot.

11           (3) METHOD OF PROVIDING INFORMATION.—  
12           The balloting materials tracking service established  
13 under paragraph (1) shall allow voters the option to  
14 receive the information described in paragraph (2)  
15 through email (or other electronic means) or through  
16 the mail.

17           (4) PUBLIC AVAILABILITY OF LIMITED INFOR-  
18 MATION.—Information described in subparagraphs  
19 (E), (G), and (I) of paragraph (2) shall be made  
20 available to political parties and voter registration  
21 organizations, at cost to cover the expense of pro-  
22 viding such information, for use, in accordance with  
23 State guidelines and procedures, in helping to return  
24 or cure mail-in ballots during any period in which  
25 mail-in ballots may be returned.

1           (5) PROHIBITION ON FEES.—The Director may  
2 not charge any fee to a State or jurisdiction for use  
3 of the balloting materials tracking service in connec-  
4 tion with any Federal, State, or local election.

5           (6) PRESIDENTIAL DESIGNEE.—For purposes  
6 of this subsection, the term “Presidential designee”  
7 means the Presidential designee under section  
8 101(a) of the Uniformed and Overseas Citizens Ab-  
9 sentee Voting Act (52 U.S.C. 20301(a)).

10          (7) AUTHORIZATION OF APPROPRIATIONS.—  
11 There are authorized to be appropriated to the Di-  
12 rector such sums as are necessary for purposes of  
13 carrying out this subsection.

14          (c) REIMBURSEMENT FOR COSTS INCURRED BY  
15 STATES IN ESTABLISHING PROGRAM.—Subtitle D of title  
16 II of the Help America Vote Act of 2002 (52 U.S.C.  
17 21001 et seq.) is amended by adding at the end the fol-  
18 lowing new part:

19 **“PART 7—PAYMENTS TO REIMBURSE STATES**  
20 **FOR COSTS INCURRED IN ESTABLISHING**  
21 **PROGRAM TO TRACK AND CONFIRM RE-**  
22 **CEIPT OF ABSENTEE BALLOTS**

23 **“SEC. 297. PAYMENTS TO STATES.**

24          “(a) PAYMENTS FOR COSTS OF PROGRAM.—In ac-  
25 cordance with this section, the Commission shall make a

1 payment to a State to reimburse the State for the costs  
2 incurred in establishing the absentee ballot tracking pro-  
3 gram under section 322(b)(1) (including costs incurred  
4 prior to the date of enactment of this part).

5 “(b) CERTIFICATION OF COMPLIANCE AND COSTS.—

6 “(1) CERTIFICATION REQUIRED.—In order to  
7 receive a payment under this section, a State shall  
8 submit to the Commission a statement containing—

9 “(A) a certification that the State has es-  
10 tablished an absentee ballot tracking program  
11 with respect to elections for Federal office held  
12 in the State; and

13 “(B) a statement of the costs incurred by  
14 the State in establishing the program.

15 “(2) AMOUNT OF PAYMENT.—The amount of a  
16 payment made to a State under this section shall be  
17 equal to the costs incurred by the State in estab-  
18 lishing the absentee ballot tracking program, as set  
19 forth in the statement submitted under paragraph  
20 (1), except that such amount may not exceed the  
21 product of—

22 “(A) the number of jurisdictions in the  
23 State which are responsible for operating the  
24 program; and

25 “(B) \$3,000.

1           “(3) LIMIT ON NUMBER OF PAYMENTS RE-  
2           CEIVED.—A State may not receive more than one  
3           payment under this part.

4   **“SEC. 297A. AUTHORIZATION OF APPROPRIATIONS.**

5           “(a) AUTHORIZATION.—There are authorized to be  
6           appropriated to the Commission for fiscal year 2024 and  
7           each succeeding fiscal year such sums as may be necessary  
8           for payments under this part.

9           “(b) CONTINUING AVAILABILITY OF FUNDS.—Any  
10          amounts appropriated pursuant to the authorization under  
11          this section shall remain available until expended.”.

12          (d) CLERICAL AMENDMENTS.—The table of contents  
13          of such Act, as amended by section 1031(c), 1044(b), sec-  
14          tion 1101(c), section 1102(c), section 1103(a), section  
15          1104(c), section 1201(c), and section 1301(a), is amend-  
16          ed—

17                 (1) by adding at the end of the items relating  
18          to subtitle D of title II the following:

“PART 7—PAYMENTS TO REIMBURSE STATES FOR COSTS INCURRED IN ES-  
ESTABLISHING PROGRAM TO TRACK AND CONFIRM RECEIPT OF ABSENTEE  
BALLOTS

“Sec. 297. Payments to States.

“Sec. 297A. Authorization of appropriations.”;

19                 (2) by redesignating the items relating to sec-  
20          tions 312 and 313 as relating to sections 313 and  
21          314, respectively; and

1           (3) by inserting after the item relating to sec-  
2           tion 311 the following new item:

“Sec. 312. Ballot materials tracking program.”.

3 **SEC. 1303. ELECTION MAIL AND DELIVERY IMPROVE-**  
4 **MENTS.**

5           (a) POSTMARK REQUIRED FOR BALLOTS.—

6           (1) IN GENERAL.—Chapter 34 of title 39,  
7           United States Code, as amended by section 1301(b),  
8           is amended by adding at the end the following:

9 **“§ 3408. Postmark required for ballots**

10          “(a) IN GENERAL.—In the case of any absentee bal-  
11 lot carried by the Postal Service, the Postal Service shall  
12 indicate on the ballot envelope, using a postmark or other-  
13 wise—

14           “(1) the fact that the ballot was carried by the  
15           Postal Service; and

16           “(2) the date on which the ballot was mailed.

17          “(b) DEFINITIONS.—As used in this section—

18           “(1) the term ‘absentee ballot’ means any ballot  
19           transmitted by a voter by mail in an election for  
20           Federal office, but does not include any ballot cov-  
21           ered by section 3406; and

22           “(2) the term ‘election for Federal office’ means  
23           a general, special, primary, or runoff election for the  
24           office of President or Vice President, or of Senator

1 or Representative in, or Delegate or Resident Com-  
2 missioner to, the Congress.”.

3 (2) TECHNICAL AND CONFORMING AMEND-  
4 MENT.—The table of sections for chapter 34 of title  
5 39, United States Code, as amended by section  
6 1301(b), is amended by adding at the end the fol-  
7 lowing:

“3408. Postmark required for ballots.”.

8 (3) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendments made  
9 by this subsection shall apply to absentee ballots re-  
10 lating to an election for Federal office occurring on  
11 or after January 1, 2024.

12 (b) GREATER VISIBILITY FOR BALLOTS.—

13 (1) IN GENERAL.—Subtitle A of title III of the  
14 Help America Vote Act of 2002 (52 U.S.C. 21081  
15 et seq.), as amended by section 1031(a), section  
16 1044(a), section 1101(a), section 1102(a), section  
17 1103(a), section 1104(a), section 1201(a), section  
18 1301(a), and section 1302(a), is amended—

19 (A) by redesignating sections 313 and 314  
20 as sections 314 and 315, respectively; and

21 (B) by inserting after section 312 the fol-  
22 lowing new section:

23 **“SEC. 313. BALLOT VISIBILITY.**

24 “(a) IN GENERAL.—Each State or local election offi-  
25 cial shall—

1           “(1) affix Tag 191, Domestic and International  
2 Mail-In Ballots (or any successor tag designated by  
3 the United States Postal Service), to any tray or  
4 sack of official ballots relating to an election for  
5 Federal office that is destined for a domestic or  
6 international address;

7           “(2) use the Official Election Mail logo to des-  
8 ignate official ballots relating to an election for Fed-  
9 eral office that is destined for a domestic or inter-  
10 national address; and

11           “(3) if an intelligent mail barcode is utilized for  
12 any official ballot relating to an election for Federal  
13 office that is destined for a domestic or international  
14 address, ensure the specific ballot service type identi-  
15 fier for such mail is visible.

16           “(b) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The requirements of this  
17 section shall apply to elections for Federal office occurring  
18 on and after January 1, 2024.”.

19           (2) VOLUNTARY GUIDANCE.—Section 321(b)(4)  
20 of such Act (52 U.S.C. 21101(b)), as added and re-  
21 designated by section 1101(b) and as amended by  
22 sections 1102, 1103 and 1104, is amended by strik-  
23 ing “and 309” and inserting “309, and 313”.

24           (3) CLERICAL AMENDMENTS.—The table of  
25 contents of such Act, as amended by section

1 1031(c), section 1044(b), section 1101(c), section  
 2 1102(c), section 1103(a), section 1104(c), section  
 3 1201(c), section 1301(a), and section 1302(a), is  
 4 amended—

5 (A) by redesignating the items relating to  
 6 sections 313 and 314 as relating to sections  
 7 314 and 315; and

8 (B) by inserting after the item relating to  
 9 section 312 the following new item:

“Sec. 313. Ballot visibility.”.

10 **SEC. 1304. CARRIAGE OF ELECTION MAIL.**

11 (a) TREATMENT OF ELECTION MAIL.—

12 (1) TREATMENT AS FIRST-CLASS MAIL; FREE  
 13 POSTAGE.—Chapter 34 of title 39, United States  
 14 Code, as amended by section 1301(b) and section  
 15 1303(a), is amended by adding at the end the fol-  
 16 lowing:

17 **“§ 3409. Domestic election mail; restriction of oper-  
 18 ational changes prior to elections**

19 “(a) DEFINITION.—In this section, the term ‘election  
 20 mail’ means—

21 “(1) a blank or completed voter registration ap-  
 22 plication form, voter registration card, or similar  
 23 materials, relating to an election for Federal office;

24 “(2) a blank or completed absentee and other  
 25 mail-in ballot application form, and a blank or com-



1       pleted absentee or other mail-in ballot, relating to an  
2       election for Federal office, and

3           “(3) other materials relating to an election for  
4       Federal office that are mailed by a State or local  
5       election official to an individual who is registered to  
6       vote.

7       “(b) CARRIAGE OF ELECTION MAIL.—Election mail  
8       (other than balloting materials covered under section 3406  
9       (relating to the Uniformed and Overseas Absentee Voting  
10      Act)), individually or in bulk, shall be carried in accord-  
11      ance with the service standards established for first-class  
12      mail under section 3691.

13       “(c) NO POSTAGE REQUIRED FOR COMPLETED BAL-  
14      LOTS.—Completed absentee or other mail-in ballots (other  
15      than balloting materials covered under section 3406 (relat-  
16      ing to the Uniformed and Overseas Absentee Voting Act))  
17      shall be carried free of postage.

18       “(d) RESTRICTION OF OPERATIONAL CHANGES.—  
19      During the 120-day period that ends on the date of an  
20      election for Federal office, the Postal Service may not  
21      carry out any new operational change that would restrict  
22      the prompt and reliable delivery of election mail. This sub-  
23      section applies to operational changes which include—

24           “(1) removing or eliminating any mail collection  
25      box without immediately replacing it; and

1           “(2) removing, decommissioning, or any other  
2           form of stopping the operation of mail sorting ma-  
3           chines, other than for routine maintenance.

4           “(e) ELECTION MAIL COORDINATOR.—The Postal  
5           Service shall appoint an Election Mail Coordinator at each  
6           area office and district office to facilitate relevant informa-  
7           tion sharing with State, territorial, local, and Tribal elec-  
8           tion officials in regards to the mailing of election mail.”.

9           (2) REIMBURSEMENT OF POSTAL SERVICE FOR  
10          REVENUE FORGONE.—Section 2401(e) of title 39,  
11          United States Code, is amended by striking “sec-  
12          tions 3217 and 3403 through 3406” and inserting  
13          “sections 3217, 3403 through 3406, and 3409”.

14          (b) TECHNICAL AND CONFORMING AMENDMENT.—  
15          The table of sections for chapter 34 of title 39, United  
16          States Code, as amended by section 1301(b) and section  
17          1303(a), is amended by adding at the end the following:

          “3409. Domestic election mail; restriction of operational changes prior to elec-  
          tions.”.

18          (c) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendments made by  
19          this section shall take effect upon the expiration of the  
20          180-day period that begins on the date of enactment of  
21          this section.

1 **SEC. 1305. REQUIRING STATES TO PROVIDE SECURED**  
2 **DROP BOXES FOR VOTED BALLOTS IN ELEC-**  
3 **TIONS FOR FEDERAL OFFICE.**

4 (a) REQUIREMENT.—Subtitle A of title III of the  
5 Help America Vote Act of 2002 (52 U.S.C. 21081 et seq.),  
6 as amended by section 1031(a), section 1044(a), section  
7 1101(a), section 1102(a), section 1103(a), section  
8 1104(a), section 1201(a), section 1301(a), section  
9 1302(a), and section 1303(b) is amended—

10 (1) by redesignating sections 314 and 315 as  
11 sections 315 and 316, respectively; and

12 (2) by inserting after section 313 the following  
13 new section:

14 **“SEC. 314. USE OF SECURED DROP BOXES FOR VOTED BAL-**  
15 **LOTS.**

16 “(a) REQUIREING USE OF DROP BOXES.—Each juris-  
17 diction shall provide in-person, secured, and clearly labeled  
18 drop boxes at which individuals may, at any time during  
19 the period described in subsection (b), drop off voted bal-  
20 lots in an election for Federal office.

21 “(b) MINIMUM PERIOD FOR AVAILABILITY OF DROP  
22 BOXES.—The period described in this subsection is, with  
23 respect to an election, the period that begins on the first  
24 day on which the jurisdiction sends mail-in ballots or ab-  
25 sentee ballots (other than ballots for absent uniformed  
26 overseas voters (as defined in section 107(1) of the Uni-

1 formed and Overseas Citizens Absentee Voting Act (52  
2 U.S.C. 20310(1))) or overseas voters (as defined in section  
3 107(5) of such Act (52 U.S.C. 20310(5))) to voters for  
4 such election and which ends at the time the polls close  
5 for the election in the jurisdiction involved.

6 “(c) ACCESSIBILITY.—

7 “(1) HOURS OF ACCESS.—

8 “(A) IN GENERAL.—Except as provided in  
9 subparagraph (B), each drop box provided  
10 under this section shall be accessible to voters  
11 for a reasonable number of hours each day.

12 “(B) 24-HOUR DROP BOXES.—

13 “(i) IN GENERAL.—Of the number of  
14 drop boxes provided in any jurisdiction,  
15 not less than the required number shall be  
16 accessible for 24 hours per day during the  
17 period described in subsection (b).

18 “(ii) REQUIRED NUMBER.—The re-  
19 quired number is the greater of—

20 “(I) 25 percent of the drop boxes  
21 required under subsection (d); or

22 “(II) 1 drop box.

23 “(2) POPULATION.—

24 “(A) IN GENERAL.—Drop boxes provided  
25 under this section shall be accessible for use—

1           “(i) by individuals with disabilities, as  
2           determined in consultation with the protec-  
3           tion and advocacy systems (as defined in  
4           section 102 of the Developmental Disabil-  
5           ities Assistance and Bill of Rights Act of  
6           2000 (42 U.S.C. 15002)) of the State;

7           “(ii) by individuals with limited pro-  
8           ficiency in the English language; and

9           “(iii) by homeless individuals (as de-  
10          fined in section 103 of the McKinney-  
11          Vento Homeless Assistance Act (42 U.S.C.  
12          11302)) within the State.

13          “(B) DETERMINATION OF ACCESSIBILITY  
14          FOR INDIVIDUALS WITH DISABILITIES.—For  
15          purposes of this paragraph, drop boxes shall be  
16          considered to be accessible for use by individ-  
17          uals with disabilities if the drop boxes meet  
18          such criteria as the Attorney General may es-  
19          tablish for such purposes.

20          “(C) RULE OF CONSTRUCTION.—If a drop  
21          box provided under this section is on the  
22          grounds of or inside a building or facility which  
23          serves as a polling place for an election during  
24          the period described in subsection (b), nothing  
25          in this subsection may be construed to waive

1 any requirements regarding the accessibility of  
2 such polling place for the use of individuals  
3 with disabilities, individuals with limited pro-  
4 ficiency in the English language, or homeless  
5 individuals.

6 “(d) NUMBER OF DROP BOXES.—Each jurisdiction  
7 shall have—

8 “(1) in the case of any election for Federal of-  
9 fice prior to the regularly scheduled general election  
10 for Federal office held in November 2026, not less  
11 than 1 drop box for every 45,000 registered voters  
12 located in the jurisdiction; and

13 “(2) in the case of the regularly scheduled gen-  
14 eral election for Federal office held in November  
15 2026 and each election for Federal office occurring  
16 thereafter, not less than the greater of—

17 “(A) 1 drop box for every 45,000 reg-  
18 istered voters located in the jurisdiction; or

19 “(B) 1 drop box for every 15,000 votes  
20 that were cast by mail in the jurisdiction in the  
21 most recent general election that includes an  
22 election for the office of President.

23 In no case shall a jurisdiction have fewer than 1  
24 drop box for any election for Federal office.

1       “(e) LOCATION OF DROP BOXES.—The State shall  
2 determine the location of drop boxes provided under this  
3 section in a jurisdiction on the basis of criteria which en-  
4 sure that the drop boxes are—

5           “(1) available to all voters on a non-discrimina-  
6 tory basis;

7           “(2) accessible to voters with disabilities (in ac-  
8 cordance with subsection (c));

9           “(3) accessible by public transportation to the  
10 greatest extent possible;

11          “(4) available during all hours of the day;

12          “(5) sufficiently available in all communities in  
13 the jurisdiction, including rural communities and on  
14 Tribal lands within the jurisdiction (subject to sub-  
15 section (f)); and

16          “(6) geographically distributed to provide a rea-  
17 sonable opportunity for voters to submit their voted  
18 ballot in a timely manner.

19       “(f) TIMING OF SCANNING AND PROCESSING OF  
20 BALLOTS.—For purposes of section 311(g) (relating to  
21 the timing of the processing and scanning of ballots for  
22 tabulation), a vote cast using a drop box provided under  
23 this section shall be treated in the same manner as a ballot  
24 cast by mail.

1       “(g) POSTING OF INFORMATION.—On or adjacent to  
2 each drop box provided under this section, the State shall  
3 post information on the requirements that voted absentee  
4 ballots must meet in order to be counted and tabulated  
5 in the election.

6       “(h) REMOTE SURVEILLANCE.—Nothing in this sec-  
7 tion shall prohibit a State from providing for the security  
8 of drop boxes through remote or electronic surveillance.

9       “(i) EFFECTIVE DATE.—This section shall apply  
10 with respect to the regularly scheduled general election for  
11 Federal office held in November 2024 and each succeeding  
12 election for Federal office.”.

13       (b) CLERICAL AMENDMENTS.—The table of contents  
14 of such Act, as amended by section 1031(c), section  
15 1044(b), section 1101(c), section 1102(c), section  
16 1103(a), section 1104(c), section 1201(c), section  
17 1301(c), section 1302(a), and section 1303(b), is amend-  
18 ed—

19               (1) by redesignating the items relating to sec-  
20 tions 314 and 315 as relating to sections 315 and  
21 316, respectively; and

22               (2) by inserting after the item relating to sec-  
23 tion 313 the following new item:

“Sec. 314. Use of secured drop boxes for voted ballots.”.



1 **Subtitle E—Absent Uniformed**  
2 **Services Voters and Overseas**  
3 **Voters**

4 **SEC. 1401. PRE-ELECTION REPORTS ON AVAILABILITY AND**  
5 **TRANSMISSION OF ABSENTEE BALLOTS.**

6 Section 102(c) of the Uniformed and Overseas Citi-  
7 zens Absentee Voting Act (52 U.S.C. 20302(c)) is amend-  
8 ed to read as follows:

9 “(c) REPORTS ON AVAILABILITY, TRANSMISSION,  
10 AND RECEIPT OF ABSENTEE BALLOTS.—

11 “(1) PRE-ELECTION REPORT ON ABSENTEE  
12 BALLOT AVAILABILITY.—Not later than 55 days be-  
13 fore any regularly scheduled general election for  
14 Federal office, each State shall submit a report to  
15 the Attorney General certifying that absentee ballots  
16 for the election are or will be available for trans-  
17 mission to absent uniformed services voters and  
18 overseas voters by not later than 46 days before the  
19 election. The report shall be in a form prescribed by  
20 the Attorney General and shall require the State to  
21 certify specific information about ballot availability  
22 from each unit of local government which will ad-  
23 minister the election.

24 “(2) PRE-ELECTION REPORT ON ABSENTEE  
25 BALLOTS TRANSMITTED.—

1           “(A) IN GENERAL.—Not later than 43  
2 days before any election for Federal office held  
3 in a State, the chief State election official of  
4 such State shall submit a report containing the  
5 information in subparagraph (B) to the Attor-  
6 ney General.

7           “(B) INFORMATION REPORTED.—The re-  
8 port under subparagraph (A) shall consist of  
9 the following:

10           “(i) The total number of absentee bal-  
11 lots validly requested by absent uniformed  
12 services voters and overseas voters whose  
13 requests were received by the 47th day be-  
14 fore the election by each unit of local gov-  
15 ernment within the State that will transmit  
16 absentee ballots.

17           “(ii) The total number of ballots  
18 transmitted to such voters by the 46th day  
19 before the election by each unit of local  
20 government within the State that will ad-  
21 minister the election.

22           “(iii) Specific information about any  
23 late transmitted ballots.

24           “(C) REQUIREMENT TO SUPPLEMENT IN-  
25 COMPLETE INFORMATION.—If the report under

1           subparagraph (A) has incomplete information  
2           on any items required to be included in the re-  
3           port, the chief State election official shall make  
4           all reasonable efforts to expeditiously supple-  
5           ment the report with complete information.

6           “(D) FORMAT.—The report under sub-  
7           paragraph (A) shall be in a format prescribed  
8           by the Attorney General in consultation with  
9           the chief State election officials of each State.

10          “(3) POST-ELECTION REPORT ON NUMBER OF  
11          ABSENTEE BALLOTS TRANSMITTED AND RE-  
12          CEIVED.—Not later than 90 days after the date of  
13          each regularly scheduled general election for Federal  
14          office, each State and unit of local government  
15          which administered the election shall (through the  
16          State, in the case of a unit of local government) sub-  
17          mit a report to the Election Assistance Commission  
18          on the combined number of absentee ballots trans-  
19          mitted to absent uniformed services voters and over-  
20          seas voters for the election and the combined num-  
21          ber of such ballots which were returned by such vot-  
22          ers and cast in the election, and shall make such re-  
23          port available to the general public that same day.”.

1 **SEC. 1402. ENFORCEMENT.**

2 (a) AVAILABILITY OF CIVIL PENALTIES AND PRI-  
3 VATE RIGHTS OF ACTION.—Section 105 of the Uniformed  
4 and Overseas Citizens Absentee Voting Act (52 U.S.C.  
5 20307) is amended to read as follows:

6 **“SEC. 105. ENFORCEMENT.**

7 “(a) ACTION BY ATTORNEY GENERAL.—The Attor-  
8 ney General may bring civil action in an appropriate dis-  
9 trict court for such declaratory or injunctive relief as may  
10 be necessary to carry out this title.

11 “(b) PRIVATE RIGHT OF ACTION.—A person who is  
12 aggrieved by a violation of this title may bring a civil ac-  
13 tion in an appropriate district court for such declaratory  
14 or injunctive relief as may be necessary to carry out this  
15 title.

16 “(c) STATE AS ONLY NECESSARY DEFENDANT.—In  
17 any action brought under this section, the only necessary  
18 party defendant is the State, and it shall not be a defense  
19 to any such action that a local election official or a unit  
20 of local government is not named as a defendant, notwith-  
21 standing that a State has exercised the authority described  
22 in section 576 of the Military and Overseas Voter Em-  
23 powerment Act to delegate to another jurisdiction in the  
24 State any duty or responsibility which is the subject of  
25 an action brought under this section.”.

1 (b) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendments made by  
2 this section shall apply with respect to violations alleged  
3 to have occurred on or after the date of enactment of this  
4 Act.

5 **SEC. 1403. TRANSMISSION REQUIREMENTS; REPEAL OF**  
6 **WAIVER PROVISION.**

7 (a) IN GENERAL.—Paragraph (8) of section 102(a)  
8 of the Uniformed and Overseas Citizens Absentee Voting  
9 Act (52 U.S.C. 20302(a)) is amended to read as follows:

10 “(8) transmit a validly requested absentee bal-  
11 lot to an absent uniformed services voter or overseas  
12 voter by the date and in the manner determined  
13 under subsection (g);”.

14 (b) BALLOT TRANSMISSION REQUIREMENTS AND  
15 REPEAL OF WAIVER PROVISION.—Subsection (g) of sec-  
16 tion 102 of such Act (52 U.S.C. 20302(g)) is amended  
17 to read as follows:

18 “(g) BALLOT TRANSMISSION REQUIREMENTS.—

19 “(1) IN GENERAL.—For purposes of subsection  
20 (a)(8), in the case in which a valid request for an  
21 absentee ballot is received at least 47 days before an  
22 election for Federal office, the following rules shall  
23 apply:

1           “(A) TRANSMISSION DEADLINE.—The  
2 State shall transmit the absentee ballot not  
3 later than 46 days before the election.

4           “(B) SPECIAL RULES IN CASE OF FAILURE  
5 TO TRANSMIT ON TIME.—

6           “(i) IN GENERAL.—If the State fails  
7 to transmit any absentee ballot by the 46th  
8 day before the election as required by sub-  
9 paragraph (A) and the absent uniformed  
10 services voter or overseas voter did not re-  
11 quest electronic ballot transmission pursu-  
12 ant to subsection (f), the State shall trans-  
13 mit such ballot by express delivery.

14           “(ii) EXTENDED FAILURE.—If the  
15 State fails to transmit any absentee ballot  
16 by the 41st day before the election, in ad-  
17 dition to transmitting the ballot as pro-  
18 vided in clause (i), the State shall—

19           “(I) in the case of absentee bal-  
20 lots requested by absent uniformed  
21 services voters with respect to regu-  
22 larly scheduled general elections, no-  
23 tify such voters of the procedures es-  
24 tablished under section 103A for the

1 collection and delivery of marked ab-  
2 sentee ballots; and

3 “(II) in any other case, provide  
4 for the return of such ballot by ex-  
5 press delivery.

6 “(iii) COST OF EXPRESS DELIVERY.—  
7 In any case in which express delivery is re-  
8 quired under this subparagraph, the cost  
9 of such express delivery—

10 “(I) shall not be paid by the  
11 voter; and

12 “(II) if determined appropriate  
13 by the chief State election official,  
14 may be required by the State to be  
15 paid by a local jurisdiction.

16 “(iv) EXCEPTION.—Clause (ii)(II)  
17 shall not apply when an absent uniformed  
18 services voter or overseas voter indicates  
19 the preference to return the late sent ab-  
20 sentee ballot by electronic transmission in  
21 a State that permits return of an absentee  
22 ballot by electronic transmission.

23 “(v) ENFORCEMENT.—A State’s com-  
24 pliance with this subparagraph does not  
25 bar the Attorney General from seeking ad-

1           ditional remedies necessary to fully resolve  
2           or prevent ongoing, future, or systematic  
3           violations of this provision or to effectuate  
4           the purposes of this Act.

5           “(C) SPECIAL PROCEDURE IN EVENT OF  
6           DISASTER.—If a disaster (hurricane, tornado,  
7           earthquake, storm, volcanic eruption, landslide,  
8           fire, flood, or explosion), or an act of terrorism  
9           prevents the State from transmitting any ab-  
10          sentee ballot by the 46th day before the election  
11          as required by subparagraph (A), the chief  
12          State election official shall notify the Attorney  
13          General as soon as practicable and take all ac-  
14          tions necessary, including seeking any necessary  
15          judicial relief, to ensure that affected absent  
16          uniformed services voters and overseas voters  
17          are provided a reasonable opportunity to receive  
18          and return their absentee ballots in time to be  
19          counted.

20          “(2) REQUESTS RECEIVED AFTER 47TH DAY  
21          BEFORE ELECTION.—For purposes of subsection  
22          (a)(8), in the case in which a valid request for an  
23          absentee ballot is received less than 47 days but not  
24          less than 30 days before an election for Federal of-



1            fice, the State shall transmit the absentee ballot  
2            within one business day of receipt of the request.”.

3    **SEC. 1404. USE OF SINGLE ABSENTEE BALLOT APPLICA-**  
4                                    **TION FOR SUBSEQUENT ELECTIONS.**

5            (a) IN GENERAL.—Section 104 of the Uniformed and  
6    Overseas Citizens Absentee Voting Act (52 U.S.C. 20306)  
7    is amended to read as follows:

8    **“SEC. 104. TREATMENT OF BALLOT REQUESTS.**

9            “(a) IN GENERAL.—If a State accepts and processes  
10   an official postcard form (prescribed under section 101)  
11   submitted by an absent uniformed services voter or over-  
12   seas voter for simultaneous voter registration and absen-  
13   tee ballot application (in accordance with section  
14   102(a)(4)) and the voter requests that the application be  
15   considered an application for an absentee ballot for each  
16   subsequent election for Federal office held in the State  
17   through the end of the calendar year following the next  
18   regularly scheduled general election for Federal office, the  
19   State shall provide an absentee ballot to the voter for each  
20   such subsequent election.

21            “(b) EXCEPTION FOR VOTERS CHANGING REGISTRA-  
22   TION.—Subsection (a) shall not apply with respect to a  
23   voter registered to vote in a State for any election held  
24   after the voter notifies the State that the voter no longer  
25   wishes to be registered to vote in the State or after the

1 State determines that the voter has registered to vote in  
2 another State or is otherwise no longer eligible to vote in  
3 the State.

4 “(c) PROHIBITION OF REFUSAL OF APPLICATION ON  
5 GROUNDS OF EARLY SUBMISSION.—A State may not  
6 refuse to accept or to process, with respect to any election  
7 for Federal office, any otherwise valid voter registration  
8 application or absentee ballot application (including the  
9 postcard form prescribed under section 101) submitted by  
10 an absent uniformed services voter or overseas voter on  
11 the grounds that the voter submitted the application be-  
12 fore the first date on which the State otherwise accepts  
13 or processes such applications for that election which are  
14 submitted by absentee voters who are not members of the  
15 uniformed services or overseas citizens.”.

16 (b) REQUIREMENT FOR REVISION TO POSTCARD  
17 FORM.—

18 (1) IN GENERAL.—The Presidential designee  
19 shall ensure that the official postcard form pre-  
20 scribed under section 101(b)(2) of the Uniformed  
21 and Overseas Citizens Absentee Voting Act (52  
22 U.S.C. 20301(b)(2)) enables a voter using the form  
23 to—

24 (A) request an absentee ballot for each  
25 election for Federal office held in a State

1 through the end of the calendar year following  
2 the next regularly scheduled general election for  
3 Federal office; or

4 (B) request an absentee ballot for a spe-  
5 cific election or elections for Federal office held  
6 in a State during the period described in sub-  
7 paragraph (A).

8 (2) **PRESIDENTIAL DESIGNEE.**—For purposes  
9 of this paragraph, the term “Presidential designee”  
10 means the individual designated under section  
11 101(a) of the Uniformed and Overseas Citizens Ab-  
12 sentee Voting Act (52 U.S.C. 20301(a)).

13 (c) **EFFECTIVE DATE.**—The amendment made by  
14 subsection (a) shall apply with respect to voter registration  
15 and absentee ballot applications which are submitted to  
16 a State or local election official on or after the date of  
17 enactment of this Act.

18 **SEC. 1405. EXTENDING GUARANTEE OF RESIDENCY FOR**  
19 **VOTING PURPOSES TO FAMILY MEMBERS OF**  
20 **ABSENT MILITARY PERSONNEL.**

21 Section 102 of the Uniformed and Overseas Citizens  
22 Absentee Voting Act (52 U.S.C. 20302), as amended by  
23 section 1302, is amended by adding at the end the fol-  
24 lowing new subsection:

1       “(i) GUARANTEE OF RESIDENCY FOR SPOUSES AND  
2 DEPENDENTS OF ABSENT MEMBERS OF UNIFORMED  
3 SERVICE.—For the purposes of voting in any election for  
4 any Federal office or any State or local office, a spouse  
5 or dependent of an individual who is an absent uniformed  
6 services voter described in subparagraph (A) or (B) of sec-  
7 tion 107(1) shall not, solely by reason of that individual’s  
8 absence and without regard to whether or not such spouse  
9 or dependent is accompanying that individual—

10               “(1) be deemed to have lost a residence or  
11       domicile in that State, without regard to whether or  
12       not that individual intends to return to that State;

13               “(2) be deemed to have acquired a residence or  
14       domicile in any other State; or

15               “(3) be deemed to have become a resident in or  
16       a resident of any other State.”.

17 **SEC. 1406. TECHNICAL CLARIFICATIONS TO CONFORM TO**  
18                       **MILITARY AND OVERSEAS VOTER EMPOWER-**  
19                       **MENT ACT AMENDMENTS RELATED TO THE**  
20                       **FEDERAL WRITE-IN ABSENTEE BALLOT.**

21       (a) IN GENERAL.—Section 102(a)(3) of the Uni-  
22       formed and Overseas Citizens Absentee Voting Act (52  
23       U.S.C. 20302(a)(3)) is amended by striking “general elec-  
24       tions” and inserting “general, special, primary, and runoff  
25       elections”.

1 (b) CONFORMING AMENDMENT.—Section 103 of  
2 such Act (52 U.S.C. 20303) is amended—

3 (1) in subsection (b)(2)(B), by striking “gen-  
4 eral”; and

5 (2) in the heading thereof, by striking “**GEN-**  
6 **ERAL**”.

7 **SEC. 1407. TREATMENT OF POSTCARD REGISTRATION RE-**  
8 **QUESTS.**

9 Section 102 of the Uniformed and Overseas Citizens  
10 Absentee Voting Act (52 U.S.C. 20302), as amended by  
11 sections 1302 and 1405, is amended by adding at the end  
12 the following new subsection:

13 “(j) TREATMENT OF POSTCARD REGISTRATIONS.—  
14 A State shall not remove any absent uniformed services  
15 voter or overseas voter who has registered to vote using  
16 the official postcard form (prescribed under section 101)  
17 from the official list of registered voters except in accord-  
18 ance with subparagraph (A), (B), or (C) of section 8(a)(3)  
19 of the National Voter Registration Act of 1993 (52 U.S.C.  
20 20507).”.

21 **SEC. 1408. PRESIDENTIAL DESIGNEE REPORT ON VOTER**  
22 **DISENFRANCHISEMENT.**

23 (a) IN GENERAL.—Not later than 1 year after the  
24 date of enactment of this Act, the Presidential designee  
25 shall submit to Congress a report on the impact of wide-

1 spread mail-in voting on the ability of active duty military  
2 service members to vote, how quickly the votes of those  
3 individuals are counted, and whether higher volumes of  
4 mail-in votes makes it harder for such individuals to vote  
5 in elections for Federal elections.

6 (b) **PRESIDENTIAL DESIGNEE.**—For purposes of this  
7 section, the term “Presidential designee” means the indi-  
8 vidual designated under section 101(a) of the Uniformed  
9 and Overseas Citizens Absentee Voting Act (52 U.S.C.  
10 20301(a)).

11 **SEC. 1409. EFFECTIVE DATE.**

12 Except as provided in section 1402(b) and section  
13 1404(c), the amendments made by this subtitle shall apply  
14 with respect to elections occurring on or after January 1,  
15 2024.

16 **Subtitle F—Enhancement of**  
17 **Enforcement**

18 **SEC. 1501. ENHANCEMENT OF ENFORCEMENT OF HELP**

19 **AMERICA VOTE ACT OF 2002.**

20 (a) **COMPLAINTS; AVAILABILITY OF PRIVATE RIGHT**  
21 **OF ACTION.**—Section 401 of the Help America Vote Act  
22 of 2002 (52 U.S.C. 21111) is amended—

23 (1) by striking “The Attorney General” and in-  
24 serting “(a) **IN GENERAL.**—The Attorney General”;  
25 and

1           (2) by adding at the end the following new sub-  
2           sections:

3           “(b) FILING OF COMPLAINTS BY AGGRIEVED PER-  
4           SONS.—A person who is aggrieved by a violation of title  
5           III that impairs their ability to cast a ballot or a provi-  
6           sional ballot, to register or maintain one’s registration to  
7           vote, or to vote on a voting system meeting the require-  
8           ments of such title, which has occurred, is occurring, or  
9           is about to occur may file a written, signed, and notarized  
10          complaint with the Attorney General describing the viola-  
11          tion and requesting the Attorney General to take appro-  
12          priate action under this section. The Attorney General  
13          shall immediately provide a copy of a complaint filed under  
14          the previous sentence to the entity responsible for admin-  
15          istering the State-based administrative complaint proce-  
16          dures described in section 402(a) for the State involved.

17          “(c) AVAILABILITY OF PRIVATE RIGHT OF AC-  
18          TION.—Any person who is authorized to file a complaint  
19          under subsection (b) (including any individual who seeks  
20          to enforce the individual’s right to a voter-verifiable paper  
21          ballot, the right to have the voter-verifiable paper ballot  
22          counted in accordance with this Act, or any other right  
23          under title III) may file an action under section 1979 of  
24          the Revised Statutes of the United States (42 U.S.C.  
25          1983) to enforce the uniform and nondiscriminatory elec-

1 tion technology and administration requirements under  
2 subtitle A of title III.

3 “(d) NO EFFECT ON STATE PROCEDURES.—Nothing  
4 in this section may be construed to affect the availability  
5 of the State-based administrative complaint procedures re-  
6 quired under section 402 to any person filing a complaint  
7 under this subsection.”.

8 (b) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendments made by  
9 this section shall apply with respect to violations occurring  
10 with respect to elections for Federal office held in 2024  
11 or any succeeding year.

12 **Subtitle G—Promoting Voter Ac-**  
13 **cess Through Election Adminis-**  
14 **tration Modernization Improve-**  
15 **ments**

16 **PART 1—PROMOTING VOTER ACCESS**

17 **SEC. 1601. MINIMUM NOTIFICATION REQUIREMENTS FOR**  
18 **VOTERS AFFECTED BY POLLING PLACE**  
19 **CHANGES.**

20 (a) REQUIREMENTS.—Section 302 of the Help Amer-  
21 ica Vote Act of 2002 (52 U.S.C. 21082) is amended—

22 (1) by redesignating subsection (d) as sub-  
23 section (e); and

24 (2) by inserting after subsection (c) the fol-  
25 lowing new subsection:



1       “(d) MINIMUM NOTIFICATION REQUIREMENTS FOR  
2 VOTERS AFFECTED BY POLLING PLACE CHANGES.—

3               “(1) REQUIREMENT FOR PRECINCT-BASED  
4 POLLING.—

5               “(A) IN GENERAL.—If an applicable indi-  
6 vidual has been assigned to a polling place that  
7 is different than the polling place that such in-  
8 dividual was assigned with respect to the most  
9 recent past election for Federal office in which  
10 the individual was eligible to vote—

11               “(i) the appropriate election official  
12 shall, not later than 2 days before the be-  
13 ginning of an early voting period—

14               “(I) notify the individual of the  
15 location of the polling place; and

16               “(II) post a general notice on the  
17 website of the State or jurisdiction, on  
18 social media platforms (if available),  
19 and on signs at the prior polling  
20 place; and

21               “(ii) if such assignment is made after  
22 the date that is 2 days before the begin-  
23 ning of an early voting period and the indi-  
24 vidual appears on the date of the election  
25 at the polling place to which the individual

1           was previously assigned, the jurisdiction  
2           shall make every reasonable effort to en-  
3           able the individual to vote a ballot on the  
4           date of the election without the use of a  
5           provisional ballot.

6           “(B) APPLICABLE INDIVIDUAL.—For pur-  
7           poses of subparagraph (A), the term ‘applicable  
8           individual’ means, with respect to any election  
9           for Federal office, any individual—

10                   “(i) who is registered to vote in a ju-  
11                   risdiction for such election and was reg-  
12                   istered to vote in such jurisdiction for the  
13                   most recent past election for Federal of-  
14                   fice; and

15                   “(ii) whose voter registration address  
16                   has not changed since such most recent  
17                   past election for Federal office.

18           “(C) METHODS OF NOTIFICATION.—The  
19           appropriate election official shall notify an indi-  
20           vidual under clause (i)(I) of subparagraph (A)  
21           by mail, telephone, and (if available) text mes-  
22           sage and electronic mail.

23           “(2) REQUIREMENTS FOR VOTE CENTERS.—In  
24           the case of a jurisdiction in which individuals are  
25           not assigned to specific polling places, not later than

1       2 days before the beginning of an early voting pe-  
2       riod, the appropriate election official shall notify  
3       each individual eligible to vote in such jurisdiction of  
4       the location of all polling places at which the indi-  
5       vidual may vote.

6               “(3) NOTICE WITH RESPECT TO CLOSED POLL-  
7       ING PLACES.—

8               “(A) IN GENERAL.—If a location which  
9       served as a polling place for an election for  
10       Federal office in a State does not serve as a  
11       polling place in the next election for Federal of-  
12       fice held in the State, the State shall ensure  
13       that signs are posted at such location on the  
14       date of the election and during any early voting  
15       period for the election containing the following  
16       information:

17               “(i) A statement that the location is  
18       not serving as a polling place in the elec-  
19       tion.

20               “(ii) The locations serving as polling  
21       places in the election in the jurisdiction in-  
22       volved.

23               “(iii) The name and address of any  
24       substitute polling place serving the same

1 precinct and directions from the former  
2 polling place to the new polling place.

3 “(iv) Contact information, including a  
4 telephone number and website, for the ap-  
5 propriate State or local election official  
6 through which an individual may find the  
7 polling place to which the individual is as-  
8 signed for the election.

9 “(B) INTERNET POSTING.—Each State  
10 which is required to post signs under subpara-  
11 graph (A) shall also provide such information  
12 through a website and through social media (if  
13 available).

14 “(4) LINGUISTIC PREFERENCE.—The notices  
15 required under this subsection shall comply with the  
16 requirements of section 203 of the Voting Rights  
17 Act of 1965 (52 U.S.C. 10503).

18 “(5) EFFECTIVE DATE.—This subsection shall  
19 apply with respect to elections held on or after Janu-  
20 ary 1, 2024.”.

21 (b) CONFORMING AMENDMENT.—Section 302(e) of  
22 such Act (52 U.S.C. 21082(e)), as redesignated by sub-  
23 section (a), is amended by striking “Each State” and in-  
24 serting “Except as provided in subsection (d)(4), each  
25 State”.

1 **SEC. 1602. APPLICABILITY TO COMMONWEALTH OF THE**  
2 **NORTHERN MARIANA ISLANDS.**

3 Paragraphs (6) and (8) of section 107 of the Uni-  
4 formed and Overseas Citizens Absentee Voting Act (52  
5 U.S.C. 20310) are each amended by striking “and Amer-  
6 ican Samoa” and inserting “American Samoa, and the  
7 Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands”.

8 **SEC. 1603. ELIMINATION OF 14-DAY TIME PERIOD BETWEEN**  
9 **GENERAL ELECTION AND RUNOFF ELECTION**  
10 **FOR FEDERAL ELECTIONS IN THE VIRGIN IS-**  
11 **LANDS AND GUAM.**

12 Section 2 of the Act entitled “An Act to provide that  
13 the unincorporated territories of Guam and the Virgin Is-  
14 lands shall each be represented in Congress by a Delegate  
15 to the House of Representatives”, approved April 10,  
16 1972 (48 U.S.C. 1712), is amended—

17 (1) by striking “(a) The Delegate” and insert-  
18 ing “The Delegate”;

19 (2) by striking “on the fourteenth day following  
20 such an election” in the fourth sentence of sub-  
21 section (a); and

22 (3) by striking subsection (b).

1 **SEC. 1604. APPLICATION OF FEDERAL ELECTION ADMINIS-**  
2 **TRATION LAWS TO TERRITORIES OF THE**  
3 **UNITED STATES.**

4 (a) NATIONAL VOTER REGISTRATION ACT OF  
5 1993.—Section 3(4) of the National Voter Registration  
6 Act of 1993 (52 U.S.C. 20502(4)) is amended by striking  
7 “States and the District of Columbia” and inserting  
8 “States, the District of Columbia, the Commonwealth of  
9 Puerto Rico, Guam, American Samoa, the United States  
10 Virgin Islands, and the Commonwealth of the Northern  
11 Mariana Islands”.

12 (b) HELP AMERICA VOTE ACT OF 2002.—

13 (1) COVERAGE OF COMMONWEALTH OF THE  
14 NORTHERN MARIANA ISLANDS.—Section 901 of the  
15 Help America Vote Act of 2002 (52 U.S.C. 21141)  
16 is amended by striking “and the United States Vir-  
17 gin Islands” and inserting “the United States Virgin  
18 Islands, and the Commonwealth of the Northern  
19 Mariana Islands”.

20 (2) CONFORMING AMENDMENTS TO HELP  
21 AMERICA VOTE ACT OF 2002.—Such Act is further  
22 amended as follows:

23 (A) The second sentence of section  
24 213(a)(2) (52 U.S.C. 20943(a)(2)) is amended  
25 by striking “and American Samoa” and insert-

1           ing “American Samoa, and the Commonwealth  
2           of the Northern Mariana Islands”.

3                   (B) Section 252(c)(2) (52 U.S.C.  
4           21002(c)(2)) is amended by striking “or the  
5           United States Virgin Islands” and inserting  
6           “the United States Virgin Islands, or the Com-  
7           monwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands”.

8           (3) CONFORMING AMENDMENT RELATING TO  
9           CONSULTATION OF HELP AMERICA VOTE FOUNDA-  
10          TION WITH LOCAL ELECTION OFFICIALS.—Section  
11          90102(c) of title 36, United States Code, is amend-  
12          ed by striking “and the United States Virgin Is-  
13          lands” and inserting “the United States Virgin Is-  
14          lands, and the Commonwealth of the Northern Mar-  
15          iana Islands”.

16 **SEC. 1605. APPLICATION OF FEDERAL VOTER PROTECTION**  
17                   **LAWS TO TERRITORIES OF THE UNITED**  
18                   **STATES.**

19          (a) INTIMIDATION OF VOTERS.—Section 594 of title  
20          18, United States Code, is amended by striking “Delegate  
21          from the District of Columbia, or Resident Commis-  
22          sioner,” and inserting “or Delegate or Resident Commis-  
23          sioner to the Congress”.

24          (b) INTERFERENCE BY GOVERNMENT EMPLOY-  
25          EES.—Section 595 of title 18, United States Code, is

1 amended by striking “Delegate from the District of Co-  
2 lumbia, or Resident Commissioner,” and inserting “or  
3 Delegate or Resident Commissioner to the Congress”.

4 (c) VOTING BY NONCITIZENS.—Section 611(a) of  
5 title 18, United States Code, is amended by striking “Del-  
6 egate from the District of Columbia, or Resident Commis-  
7 sioner,” and inserting “or Delegate or Resident Commis-  
8 sioner to the Congress”.

9 **SEC. 1606. ENSURING EQUITABLE AND EFFICIENT OPER-**  
10 **ATION OF POLLING PLACES.**

11 (a) IN GENERAL.—

12 (1) REQUIREMENT.—Subtitle A of title III of  
13 the Help America Vote Act of 2002 (52 U.S.C.  
14 21081 et seq.), as amended by section 1031(a), sec-  
15 tion 1044(a), section 1101(a), section 1102(a), sec-  
16 tion 1103(a), section 1104(a), section 1201(a), sec-  
17 tion 1301(a), section 1302(a), section 1303(b), and  
18 section 1305(a), is amended—

19 (A) by redesignating sections 315 and 316  
20 as sections 316 and 317, respectively; and

21 (B) by inserting after section 314 the fol-  
22 lowing new section:



1 **“SEC. 315. ENSURING EQUITABLE AND EFFICIENT OPER-**  
2 **ATION OF POLLING PLACES.**

3 “(a) PREVENTING UNREASONABLE WAITING TIMES  
4 FOR VOTERS.—

5 “(1) IN GENERAL.—Each State or jurisdiction  
6 shall take reasonable efforts to provide a sufficient  
7 number of voting systems, poll workers, and other  
8 election resources (including physical resources) at a  
9 polling place used in any election for Federal office,  
10 including a polling place at which individuals may  
11 cast ballots prior to the date of the election, to en-  
12 sure—

13 “(A) a fair and equitable waiting time for  
14 all voters in the State or jurisdiction; and

15 “(B) that no individual will be required to  
16 wait longer than 30 minutes to cast a ballot at  
17 the polling place.

18 “(2) CRITERIA.—In determining the number of  
19 voting systems, poll workers, and other election re-  
20 sources provided at a polling place for purposes of  
21 paragraph (1), the State or jurisdiction shall take  
22 into account the following factors:

23 “(A) The voting age population.

24 “(B) Voter turnout in past elections.

25 “(C) The number of voters registered.

1           “(D) The number of voters who have reg-  
2 istered since the most recent Federal election.

3           “(E) Census data for the population served  
4 by the polling place, such as the proportion of  
5 the voting-age population who are under 25  
6 years of age or who are naturalized citizens.

7           “(F) The needs and numbers of voters  
8 with disabilities and voters with limited English  
9 proficiency.

10          “(G) The type of voting systems used.

11          “(H) The length and complexity of initia-  
12 tives, referenda, and other questions on the bal-  
13 lot.

14          “(I) Such other factors, including relevant  
15 demographic factors relating to the population  
16 served by the polling place, as the State con-  
17 siders appropriate.

18          “(3) RULE OF CONSTRUCTION.—Nothing in  
19 this subsection may be construed—

20           “(A) to authorize a State or jurisdiction to  
21 meet the requirements of this subsection by  
22 closing any polling place, prohibiting an indi-  
23 vidual from entering a line at a polling place,  
24 or refusing to permit an individual who has ar-

1 rived at a polling place prior to closing time  
2 from voting at the polling place; or

3 “(B) to limit the use of mobile voting cen-  
4 ters.

5 “(b) LIMITING VARIATIONS ON NUMBER OF HOURS  
6 OF OPERATION OF POLLING PLACES WITHIN A STATE.—

7 “(1) LIMITATION.—

8 “(A) IN GENERAL.—Except as provided in  
9 subparagraph (B) and paragraph (2), each  
10 State shall establish hours of operation for all  
11 polling places in the State on the date of any  
12 election for Federal office held in the State  
13 such that the polling place with the greatest  
14 number of hours of operation on such date is  
15 not in operation for more than 2 hours longer  
16 than the polling place with the fewest number  
17 of hours of operation on such date.

18 “(B) PERMITTING VARIANCE ON BASIS OF  
19 POPULATION.—Subparagraph (A) does not  
20 apply to the extent that the State establishes  
21 variations in the hours of operation of polling  
22 places on the basis of the overall population or  
23 the voting age population (as the State may se-  
24 lect) of the unit of local government in which  
25 such polling places are located.

1           “(2) EXCEPTIONS FOR POLLING PLACES WITH  
2 HOURS ESTABLISHED BY UNITS OF LOCAL GOVERN-  
3 MENT.—Paragraph (1) does not apply in the case of  
4 a polling place—

5           “(A) whose hours of operation are estab-  
6 lished, in accordance with State law, by the unit  
7 of local government in which the polling place  
8 is located; or

9           “(B) which is required pursuant to an  
10 order by a court to extend its hours of oper-  
11 ation beyond the hours otherwise established.

12           “(c) ENSURING ACCESS TO POLLING PLACES FOR  
13 VOTERS.—

14           “(1) PROXIMITY TO PUBLIC TRANSPOR-  
15 TATION.—To the greatest extent practicable, each  
16 State and jurisdiction shall ensure that each polling  
17 place used on the date of the election is located with-  
18 in walking distance of a stop on a public transpor-  
19 tation route.

20           “(2) AVAILABILITY IN RURAL AREAS.—In the  
21 case of a jurisdiction that includes a rural area, the  
22 State or jurisdiction shall—

23           “(A) ensure that an appropriate number of  
24 polling places (not less than one) used on the

1 date of the election will be located in such rural  
2 areas; and

3 “(B) ensure that such polling places are lo-  
4 cated in communities which will provide the  
5 greatest opportunity for residents of rural areas  
6 to vote on the date of the election.

7 “(3) **CAMPUSES OF INSTITUTIONS OF HIGHER**  
8 **EDUCATION.**—In the case of a jurisdiction that is  
9 not considered a vote by mail jurisdiction described  
10 in section 310(b)(2) or a small jurisdiction described  
11 in section 310(b)(3) and that includes an institution  
12 of higher education (as defined under section 102 of  
13 the Higher Education Act of 1965 (20 U.S.C.  
14 1002)), including a branch campus of such an insti-  
15 tution, the State or jurisdiction shall—

16 “(A) ensure that an appropriate number of  
17 polling places (not less than one) used on the  
18 date of the election will be located on the phys-  
19 ical campus of each such institution, including  
20 each such branch campus; and

21 “(B) ensure that such polling places pro-  
22 vide the greatest opportunity for residents of  
23 the jurisdiction to vote.

1       “(d) EFFECTIVE DATE.—This section shall take ef-  
2       fect upon the expiration of the 180-day period which be-  
3       gins on the date of enactment of this subsection.”.

4               (2) CONFORMING AMENDMENTS RELATING TO  
5       ISSUANCE OF VOLUNTARY GUIDANCE BY ELECTION  
6       ASSISTANCE COMMISSION.—Section 321(b) of such  
7       Act (52 U.S.C. 21101(b)), as redesignated and  
8       amended by section 1101(b) and as amended by sec-  
9       tions, 1102, 1103, 1104, and 1201, is amended—

10               (A) by striking “and” at the end of para-  
11               graph (4);

12               (B) by redesignating paragraph (5) as  
13               paragraph (6);

14               (C) in paragraph (6), as so redesignated,  
15               by striking “paragraph (4)” and inserting  
16               “paragraph (4) or (5)”; and

17               (D) by inserting after paragraph (4) the  
18               following new paragraph:

19               “(5) in the case of the recommendations with  
20               respect to section 315, 180 days after the date of  
21               enactment of such section; and”.

22               (3) CLERICAL AMENDMENTS.—The table of  
23               contents of such Act, as amended by section  
24               1031(c), section 1044(b), section 1101(c), section  
25               1102(c), section 1103(a), section 1104(c), section

1 1201(c), section 1301(a), section 1302(a), section  
2 1303(b), and section 1305(b), is amended—

3 (A) by redesignating the items relating to  
4 sections 315 and 316 as relating to sections  
5 316 and 317, respectively; and

6 (B) by inserting after the item relating to  
7 section 314 the following new item:

“Sec. 315. Ensuring equitable and efficient operation of polling places.”.

8 (b) STUDY OF METHODS TO ENFORCE FAIR AND  
9 EQUITABLE WAITING TIMES.—

10 (1) STUDY.—The Election Assistance Commis-  
11 sion and the Comptroller General of the United  
12 States shall conduct a joint study of the effective-  
13 ness of various methods of enforcing the require-  
14 ments of section 315(a) of the Help America Vote  
15 Act of 2002, as added by subsection (a), including  
16 methods of best allocating resources to jurisdictions  
17 which have had the most difficulty in providing a  
18 fair and equitable waiting time at polling places to  
19 all voters, and to communities of color in particular.

20 (2) REPORT.—Not later than 18 months after  
21 the date of enactment of this Act, the Election As-  
22 sistance Commission and the Comptroller General of  
23 the United States shall publish and submit to Con-  
24 gress a report on the study conducted under para-  
25 graph (1).

1 **SEC. 1607. PROHIBITING STATES FROM RESTRICTING**  
2 **CURBSIDE VOTING.**

3 (a) REQUIREMENT.—Subtitle A of title III of the  
4 Help America Vote Act of 2002 (52 U.S.C. 21081 et seq.),  
5 as amended by section 1031(a), section 1044(a), section  
6 1101(a), section 1102(a), section 1103(a), section  
7 1104(a), section 1201(a), section 1301(a), section  
8 1302(a), section 1303(b), section 1305(a), and section  
9 1606(a)(1), is amended—

10 (1) by redesignating sections 316 and 317 as  
11 sections 317 and 318, respectively; and

12 (2) by inserting after section 315 the following  
13 new section:

14 **“SEC. 316. PROHIBITING STATES FROM RESTRICTING**  
15 **CURBSIDE VOTING.**

16 “(a) PROHIBITION.—A State may not—

17 “(1) prohibit any jurisdiction administering an  
18 election for Federal office in the State from utilizing  
19 curbside voting as a method by which individuals  
20 may cast ballots in the election; or

21 “(2) impose any restrictions which would ex-  
22 clude any individual who is eligible to vote in such  
23 an election in a jurisdiction which utilizes curbside  
24 voting from casting a ballot in the election by such  
25 method.



1       “(b) EFFECTIVE DATE.—This section shall apply  
2 with respect to the regularly scheduled general election for  
3 Federal office held in November 2024 and each succeeding  
4 election for Federal office.”.

5       (b) CLERICAL AMENDMENTS.—The table of contents  
6 of such Act, as amended by section 1031(c), section  
7 1044(b), section 1101(c), section 1102(c), section  
8 1103(a), section 1104(c), section 1201(c), section  
9 1301(a), section 1302(a), section 1303(b), section  
10 1305(a), and section 1606(a)(3), is amended—

11           (1) by redesignating the items relating to sec-  
12 tions 316 and 317 as relating to sections 317 and  
13 318, respectively; and

14           (2) by inserting after the item relating to sec-  
15 tion 315 the following new item:

“Sec. 316. Prohibiting States from restricting curbside voting.”.

16       **PART 2—IMPROVEMENTS IN OPERATION OF**  
17       **ELECTION ASSISTANCE COMMISSION**

18       **SEC. 1611. REAUTHORIZATION OF ELECTION ASSISTANCE**  
19       **COMMISSION.**

20       Section 210 of the Help America Vote Act of 2002  
21 (52 U.S.C. 20930) is amended—

22           (1) by striking “for each of the fiscal years  
23 2003 through 2005” and inserting “for fiscal year  
24 2024 and each succeeding fiscal year”; and

1           (2) by striking “(but not to exceed \$10,000,000  
2           for each such year)”.

3 **SEC. 1612. RECOMMENDATIONS TO IMPROVE OPERATIONS**  
4 **OF ELECTION ASSISTANCE COMMISSION.**

5           (a) ASSESSMENT OF INFORMATION TECHNOLOGY  
6 AND CYBERSECURITY.—Not later than June 30, 2024,  
7 the Election Assistance Commission shall carry out an as-  
8 sessment of the security and effectiveness of the Commis-  
9 sion’s information technology systems, including the cy-  
10 bersecurity of such systems.

11          (b) IMPROVEMENTS TO ADMINISTRATIVE COMPLAINT  
12 PROCEDURES.—

13           (1) REVIEW OF PROCEDURES.—The Election  
14 Assistance Commission shall carry out a review of  
15 the effectiveness and efficiency of the State-based  
16 administrative complaint procedures established and  
17 maintained under section 402 of the Help America  
18 Vote Act of 2002 (52 U.S.C. 21112) for the inves-  
19 tigation and resolution of allegations of violations of  
20 title III of such Act.

21           (2) RECOMMENDATIONS TO STREAMLINE PRO-  
22 CEDURES.—Not later than June 30, 2024, the Com-  
23 mission shall submit to Congress a report on the re-  
24 view carried out under paragraph (1), and shall in-  
25 clude in the report such recommendations as the

1 Commission considers appropriate to streamline and  
2 improve the procedures which are the subject of the  
3 review.

4 **SEC. 1613. REPEAL OF EXEMPTION OF ELECTION ASSIST-**  
5 **ANCE COMMISSION FROM CERTAIN GOVERN-**  
6 **MENT CONTRACTING REQUIREMENTS.**

7 (a) IN GENERAL.—Section 205 of the Help America  
8 Vote Act of 2002 (52 U.S.C. 20925) is amended by strik-  
9 ing subsection (e).

10 (b) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendment made by  
11 subsection (a) shall apply with respect to contracts entered  
12 into by the Election Assistance Commission on or after  
13 the date of enactment of this Act.

14 **PART 3—MISCELLANEOUS PROVISIONS**

15 **SEC. 1621. DEFINITION OF ELECTION FOR FEDERAL OF-**  
16 **FICE.**

17 (a) DEFINITION.—Title IX of the Help America Vote  
18 Act of 2002 (52 U.S.C. 21141 et seq.) is amended by add-  
19 ing at the end the following new section:

20 **“SEC. 907. ELECTION FOR FEDERAL OFFICE DEFINED.**

21 “For purposes of titles I through III, the term ‘elec-  
22 tion for Federal office’ means a general, special, primary,  
23 or runoff election for the office of President or Vice Presi-  
24 dent, or of Senator or Representative in, or Delegate or  
25 Resident Commissioner to, the Congress.”.

1 (b) CLERICAL AMENDMENT.—The table of contents  
2 of such Act is amended by adding at the end of the items  
3 relating to title IX the following new item:

“Sec. 907. Election for Federal office defined.”.

4 **SEC. 1622. NO EFFECT ON OTHER LAWS.**

5 (a) IN GENERAL.—Except as specifically provided,  
6 nothing in this title may be construed to authorize or re-  
7 quire conduct prohibited under any of the following laws,  
8 or to supersede, restrict, or limit the application of such  
9 laws:

10 (1) The Voting Rights Act of 1965 (52 U.S.C.  
11 10301 et seq.).

12 (2) The Voting Accessibility for the Elderly and  
13 Handicapped Act (52 U.S.C. 20101 et seq.).

14 (3) The Uniformed and Overseas Citizens Ab-  
15 sentee Voting Act (52 U.S.C. 20301 et seq.).

16 (4) The National Voter Registration Act of  
17 1993 (52 U.S.C. 20501 et seq.).

18 (5) The Americans with Disabilities Act of  
19 1990 (42 U.S.C. 12101 et seq.).

20 (6) The Rehabilitation Act of 1973 (29 U.S.C.  
21 701 et seq.).

22 (b) NO EFFECT ON PRECLEARANCE OR OTHER RE-  
23 QUIREMENTS UNDER VOTING RIGHTS ACT.—The ap-  
24 proval by any person of a payment or grant application  
25 under this title, or any other action taken by any person

1 under this title, shall not be considered to have any effect  
2 on requirements for preclearance under section 5 of the  
3 Voting Rights Act of 1965 (52 U.S.C. 10304) or any other  
4 requirements of such Act.

5 (c) NO EFFECT ON AUTHORITY OF STATES TO PRO-  
6 VIDE GREATER OPPORTUNITIES FOR VOTING.—Nothing  
7 in this title or the amendments made by this title may  
8 be construed to prohibit any State from enacting any law  
9 which provides greater opportunities for individuals to reg-  
10 ister to vote and to vote in elections for Federal office than  
11 are provided by this title and the amendments made by  
12 this title.

13 **SEC. 1623. CLARIFICATION OF EXEMPTION FOR STATES**  
14 **WITHOUT VOTER REGISTRATION.**

15 To the extent that any provision of this title or any  
16 amendment made by this title imposes a requirement on  
17 a State relating to registering individuals to vote in elec-  
18 tions for Federal office, such provision shall not apply in  
19 the case of any State in which, under law that is in effect  
20 continuously on and after the date of enactment of this  
21 Act, there is no voter registration requirement for any  
22 voter in the State with respect to an election for Federal  
23 office.

1 **SEC. 1624. CLARIFICATION OF EXEMPTION FOR STATES**  
2 **WHICH DO NOT COLLECT TELEPHONE INFOR-**  
3 **MATION.**

4 (a) AMENDMENT TO HELP AMERICA VOTE ACT OF  
5 2002.—Subtitle A of title III of the Help America Vote  
6 Act of 2002 (52 U.S.C. 21081 et seq.), as amended by  
7 section 1031(a), section 1044(a), section 1101(a), section  
8 1102(a), section 1103(a), section 1104(a), section  
9 1201(a), section 1301(a), section 1302(a), section  
10 1303(b), section 1305(a), section 1606(a)(1), and section  
11 1607(a), is amended—

12 (1) by redesignating sections 317 and 318 as  
13 sections 318 and 319, respectively; and

14 (2) by inserting after section 316 the following  
15 new section:

16 **“SEC. 317. APPLICATION OF CERTAIN PROVISIONS TO**  
17 **STATES WHICH DO NOT COLLECT TELE-**  
18 **PHONE INFORMATION.**

19 “(a) IN GENERAL.—To the extent that any provision  
20 of this title imposes a requirement on a State or jurisdic-  
21 tion relating to contacting voters by telephone, such provi-  
22 sion shall not apply in the case of any State which continu-  
23 ously on and after the date of enactment of this Act, does  
24 not collect telephone numbers for voters as part of voter  
25 registration in the State with respect to an election for  
26 Federal office.

1       “(b) EXCEPTION.—Subsection (a) shall not apply in  
2 any case in which the voter has voluntarily provided tele-  
3 phone information.”.

4       (b) CLERICAL AMENDMENTS.—The table of contents  
5 of such Act, as amended by section 1031(c), section  
6 1044(b), section 1101(c), section 1102(c), section  
7 1103(a), section 1104(c), section 1201(c), section  
8 1301(a), section 1302(a), section 1303(b), section  
9 1305(a), section 1606(a)(3), and section 1607(b), is  
10 amended—

11           (1) by redesignating the items relating to sec-  
12 tions 317 and 318 as relating to sections 318 and  
13 319, respectively; and

14           (2) by inserting after the item relating to sec-  
15 tion 316 the following new item:

“Sec. 317. Application of certain provisions to States which do not collect tele-  
phone information.”.

## 16 **Subtitle H—Democracy Restoration**

### 17 **SEC. 1701. SHORT TITLE.**

18       This subtitle may be cited as the “Democracy Res-  
19 toration Act of 2023”.

### 20 **SEC. 1702. FINDINGS.**

21       Congress makes the following findings:

22           (1) The right to vote is the most basic constitu-  
23 tive act of citizenship. Regaining the right to vote

1 reintegrates individuals with criminal convictions  
2 into free society, helping to enhance public safety.

3 (2) Article I, section 4, of the Constitution  
4 grants Congress ultimate supervisory power over  
5 Federal elections, an authority which has repeatedly  
6 been upheld by the United States Supreme Court.

7 (3) Basic constitutional principles of fairness  
8 and equal protection require an equal opportunity  
9 for citizens of the United States to vote in Federal  
10 elections. The right to vote may not be abridged or  
11 denied by the United States or by any State on ac-  
12 count of race, color, gender, or previous condition of  
13 servitude. The Thirteenth, Fourteenth, Fifteenth,  
14 Nineteenth, Twenty-fourth, and Twenty-sixth  
15 Amendments to the Constitution empower Congress  
16 to enact measures to protect the right to vote in  
17 Federal elections. The Eighth Amendment to the  
18 Constitution provides for no excessive bail to be re-  
19 quired, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel and  
20 unusual punishments inflicted.

21 (4) There are 3 areas in which discrepancies in  
22 State laws regarding criminal convictions lead to un-  
23 fairness in Federal elections—

24 (A) the lack of a uniform standard for vot-  
25 ing in Federal elections leads to an unfair dis-



1 parity and unequal participation in Federal  
2 elections based solely on where a person lives;

3 (B) laws governing the restoration of vot-  
4 ing rights after a criminal conviction vary  
5 throughout the country and persons in some  
6 States can easily regain their voting rights  
7 while in other States persons effectively lose  
8 their right to vote permanently; and

9 (C) State disenfranchisement laws dis-  
10 proportionately impact racial and ethnic minori-  
11 ties.

12 (5) State disenfranchisement laws vary widely.  
13 Two States (Maine and Vermont) and the Common-  
14 wealth of Puerto Rico do not disenfranchise individ-  
15 uals with criminal convictions at all. In 2020, the  
16 District of Columbia re-enfranchised its citizens who  
17 are under the supervision of the Federal Bureau of  
18 Prisons. Twenty-five States disenfranchise certain  
19 individuals on felony probation or parole. During  
20 2023, lawmakers in Minnesota and New Mexico ex-  
21 panded voting rights to citizens on felony probation  
22 and parole. In 11 States, a conviction for certain of-  
23 fenses can result in lifetime disenfranchisement.

24 (6) Several States deny the right to vote to in-  
25 dividuals convicted of certain misdemeanors.

1           (7) In 2022, over 4,600,000 citizens of the  
2           United States, or about 1 in 50 adults in the United  
3           States, could not vote as a result of a felony conviction.  
4           Of the 4,600,000 citizens barred from voting  
5           then, only 23 percent were in prison or jail. By contrast,  
6           75 percent of persons disenfranchised then resided in their  
7           communities while on probation or parole or after having completed  
8           their sentences. Approximately 2,200,000 citizens who had completed  
9           their sentences were disenfranchised due to restrictive State laws.  
10          Over 930,000 Floridians who completed their sentence remain  
11          disenfranchised because of a pay-to-vote requirement that was enacted  
12          by Florida lawmakers in 2019 to undermine the impact of a 2018  
13          ballot initiative that eliminated the lifetime ban for persons with  
14          certain felony convictions. In 3 States—Alabama, Mississippi, and  
15          Tennessee—more than 8 percent of the total population is  
16          disenfranchised.

17           (8) In those States that disenfranchise individuals post-sentence,  
18           the right to vote can be regained in theory, but in practice this  
19           possibility is often granted in a non-uniform and potentially  
20           discriminatory manner. Disenfranchised individuals sometimes  
21           must either obtain a pardon or an order from the

1 Governor or an action by the parole or pardon  
2 board, depending on the offense and State. Financial  
3 restrictions may also inhibit individuals who have  
4 completed their sentences from re-enfranchisement.  
5 Individuals convicted of a Federal offense often have  
6 additional barriers to regaining voting rights.

7 (9) Many felony disenfranchisement laws today  
8 derive directly from post-Civil War efforts to stifle  
9 the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments. Between  
10 1865 and 1880, at least 14 States—Alabama, Ar-  
11 kansas, Colorado, Florida, Georgia, Illinois, Mis-  
12 sissippi, Missouri, Nebraska, New York, North Caro-  
13 lina, South Carolina, Tennessee, and Texas—en-  
14 acted or expanded their felony disenfranchisement  
15 laws. One of the primary goals of these laws was to  
16 prevent African Americans from voting. Of the  
17 States that enacted or expanded their felony dis-  
18 enfranchisement laws during this post-Civil War pe-  
19 riod, at least 11 continue to preclude persons on fel-  
20 ony probation or parole from voting.

21 (10) State disenfranchisement laws dispropor-  
22 tionately impact racial and ethnic minorities. In re-  
23 cent years, African Americans have been imprisoned  
24 at over 5 times the rate of Whites. More than 6 per-  
25 cent of the voting-age African-American population,

1 or 1,800,000 African Americans, are disenfranchised  
2 due to a felony conviction. In 9 States—Alabama  
3 (16 percent), Arizona (13 percent), Florida (15 per-  
4 cent), Kentucky (15 percent), Mississippi (16 per-  
5 cent), South Dakota (14 percent), Tennessee (21  
6 percent), Virginia (16 percent), and Wyoming (36  
7 percent)—more than 1 in 8 African Americans are  
8 unable to vote because of a felony conviction, twice  
9 the national average for African Americans.

10 (11) Latino citizens are also disproportionately  
11 disenfranchised based upon their disproportionate  
12 representation in the criminal justice system. Al-  
13 though data on ethnicity in correctional populations  
14 are unevenly reported and undercounted in some  
15 States, a conservative estimate is that at least  
16 506,000 Latino Americans or 1.7 percent of the vot-  
17 ing-age population are disenfranchised. In 31 States  
18 Latinos are disenfranchised at a higher rate than  
19 the general population. In Arizona and Tennessee  
20 over 6 percent of Latino voters are disenfranchised  
21 due to a felony conviction.

22 (12) Women have been significantly impacted  
23 by mass incarceration since the early 1980s. Ap-  
24 proximately 1,000,000 women were disenfranchised

1 in 2022, comprising over 20 percent of the total  
2 disenfranchised population.

3 (13) Disenfranchising citizens who have been  
4 convicted of a criminal offense and who are living  
5 and working in the community serves no compelling  
6 State interest and hinders their rehabilitation and  
7 reintegration into society. Models of successful re-  
8 entry for persons convicted of a crime emphasize the  
9 importance of community ties, feeling vested and in-  
10 tegrated, and prosocial attitudes. Individuals with  
11 criminal convictions who succeed in avoiding recidi-  
12 vism are typically more likely to see themselves as  
13 law-abiding members of the community. Restoration  
14 of voting rights builds those qualities and facilitates  
15 reintegration into the community. That is why allow-  
16 ing citizens with criminal convictions who are living  
17 in a community to vote is correlated with a lower  
18 likelihood of recidivism. Restoration of voting rights  
19 thus reduces violence and protects public safety.

20 (14) State disenfranchisement laws can sup-  
21 press electoral participation among eligible voters by  
22 discouraging voting among family and community  
23 members of disenfranchised persons. Future elec-  
24 toral participation by the children of disenfranchised  
25 parents may be impacted as well.

1           (15) The United States is one of the only West-  
2           ern democracies that permits the permanent denial  
3           of voting rights for individuals with felony convic-  
4           tions.

5           (16) The Eighth Amendment’s prohibition on  
6           cruel and unusual punishments “guarantees individ-  
7           uals the right not to be subjected to excessive sanc-  
8           tions”. (*Roper v. Simmons*, 543 U.S. 551, 560  
9           (2005)). That right stems from the basic precept of  
10          justice “that punishment for crime should be grad-  
11          uated and proportioned to [the] offense”. *Id.*  
12          (quoting *Weems v. United States*, 217 U.S. 349,  
13          367 (1910)). As the Supreme Court has long recog-  
14          nized, “[t]he concept of proportionality is central to  
15          the Eighth Amendment”. (*Graham v. Florida*, 560  
16          U.S. 48, 59 (2010)). Many State disenfranchisement  
17          laws are grossly disproportional to the offenses that  
18          lead to disenfranchisement and thus violate the bar  
19          on cruel and unusual punishments. For example, a  
20          number of States mandate lifetime disenfranchise-  
21          ment for a single felony conviction or just two felony  
22          convictions, even where the convictions were for non-  
23          violent offenses. In numerous other States, dis-  
24          enfranchisement can last years or even decades while  
25          individuals remain on probation or parole, often only

1 because a person cannot pay their legal financial ob-  
2 ligations. These kinds of extreme voting bans run  
3 afoul of the Eighth Amendment.

4 (17) The Twenty-Fourth Amendment provides  
5 that the right to vote “shall not be denied or  
6 abridged by the United States or any State by rea-  
7 son of failure to pay any poll tax or other tax”. Sec-  
8 tion 2 of the Twenty-Fourth Amendment gives Con-  
9 gress the power to enforce this article by appropriate  
10 legislation. Court fines and fees that individuals  
11 must pay to have their voting rights restored con-  
12 stitute an “other tax” for purposes of the Twenty-  
13 Fourth Amendment. At least five States explicitly  
14 require the payment of fines and fees before individ-  
15 uals with felony convictions can have their voting  
16 rights restored. More than 20 other States effec-  
17 tively tie the right to vote to the payment of fines  
18 and fees, by requiring that individuals complete their  
19 probation or parole before their rights are restored.  
20 In these States, the non-payment of fines and fees  
21 is a basis on which probation or parole can be ex-  
22 tended. Moreover, these States sometimes do not  
23 record the basis on which an individual’s probation  
24 or parole was extended, making it impossible to de-  
25 termine from the State’s records whether non-pay-

1       ment of fines and fees is the reason that an indi-  
2       vidual remains on probation or parole. For these  
3       reasons, the only way to ensure that States do not  
4       deny the right to vote based solely on non-payment  
5       of fines and fees is to prevent States from condi-  
6       tioning voting rights on the completion of probation  
7       or parole.

8       **SEC. 1703. RIGHTS OF CITIZENS.**

9       The right of an individual who is a citizen of the  
10      United States to vote in any election for Federal office  
11      shall not be denied or abridged because that individual has  
12      been convicted of a criminal offense unless such individual  
13      is serving a felony sentence in a correctional institution  
14      or facility at the time of the election.

15      **SEC. 1704. ENFORCEMENT.**

16      (a) ATTORNEY GENERAL.—The Attorney General  
17      may, in a civil action, obtain such declaratory or injunctive  
18      relief as is necessary to remedy a violation of this subtitle.

19      (b) PRIVATE RIGHT OF ACTION.—

20          (1) IN GENERAL.—A person who is aggrieved  
21          by a violation of this subtitle may provide written  
22          notice of the violation to the chief election official of  
23          the State involved.

24          (2) RELIEF.—Except as provided in paragraph

25          (3), if the violation is not corrected within 90 days



1 after receipt of a notice under paragraph (1), or  
2 within 20 days after receipt of the notice if the viola-  
3 tion occurred within 120 days before the date of an  
4 election for Federal office, the aggrieved person  
5 may, in a civil action, obtain declaratory or injunc-  
6 tive relief with respect to the violation.

7 (3) EXCEPTION.—If the violation occurred  
8 within 30 days before the date of an election for  
9 Federal office, the aggrieved person need not provide  
10 notice to the chief election official of the State under  
11 paragraph (1) before bringing a civil action to obtain  
12 declaratory or injunctive relief with respect to the  
13 violation.

14 **SEC. 1705. NOTIFICATION OF RESTORATION OF VOTING**  
15 **RIGHTS.**

16 (a) STATE NOTIFICATION.—

17 (1) NOTIFICATION.—On the date determined  
18 under paragraph (2), each State shall notify in writ-  
19 ing any individual who has been convicted of a  
20 criminal offense under the law of that State that  
21 such individual has the right to vote in an election  
22 for Federal office pursuant to the Democracy Res-  
23 toration Act of 2023 and may register to vote in any  
24 such election and provide such individuals with any

1 materials that are necessary to register to vote in  
2 any such election.

3 (2) DATE OF NOTIFICATION.—

4 (A) FELONY CONVICTION.—In the case of  
5 such an individual who has been convicted of a  
6 felony, the notification required under para-  
7 graph (1) shall be given on the date on which  
8 the individual—

9 (i) is sentenced to serve only a term  
10 of probation; or

11 (ii) is released from the custody of  
12 that State (other than to the custody of  
13 another State or the Federal Government  
14 to serve a term of imprisonment for a fel-  
15 ony conviction).

16 (B) MISDEMEANOR CONVICTION.—In the  
17 case of such an individual who has been con-  
18 victed of a misdemeanor, the notification re-  
19 quired under paragraph (1) shall be given on  
20 the date on which such individual is sentenced  
21 by a State court.

22 (b) FEDERAL NOTIFICATION.—

23 (1) NOTIFICATION.—Any individual who has  
24 been convicted of a criminal offense under Federal  
25 law shall be notified in accordance with paragraph

1 (2) that such individual has the right to vote in an  
2 election for Federal office pursuant to the Democ-  
3 racy Restoration Act of 2023 and may register to  
4 vote in any such election.

5 (2) DATE OF NOTIFICATION.—

6 (A) FELONY CONVICTION.—In the case of  
7 such an individual who has been convicted of a  
8 felony, the notification required under para-  
9 graph (1) shall be given—

10 (i) in the case of an individual who is  
11 sentenced to serve only a term of proba-  
12 tion, by the Assistant Director for the Of-  
13 fice of Probation and Pretrial Services of  
14 the Administrative Office of the United  
15 States Courts on the date on which the in-  
16 dividual is sentenced; or

17 (ii) in the case of any individual com-  
18 mitted to the custody of the Bureau of  
19 Prisons, by the Director of the Bureau of  
20 Prisons, during the period beginning on  
21 the date that is 6 months before such indi-  
22 vidual is released and ending on the date  
23 such individual is released from the cus-  
24 tody of the Bureau of Prisons.

1           (B) MISDEMEANOR CONVICTION.—In the  
2 case of such an individual who has been con-  
3 victed of a misdemeanor, the notification re-  
4 quired under paragraph (1) shall be given on  
5 the date on which such individual is sentenced  
6 by a court established by an Act of Congress.

7 **SEC. 1706. DEFINITIONS.**

8 For purposes of this subtitle:

9           (1) CORRECTIONAL INSTITUTION OR FACIL-  
10 ITY.—The term “correctional institution or facility”  
11 means any prison, penitentiary, jail, or other institu-  
12 tion or facility for the confinement of individuals  
13 convicted of criminal offenses, whether publicly or  
14 privately operated, except that such term does not  
15 include any residential community treatment center  
16 (or similar public or private facility).

17           (2) ELECTION.—The term “election” means—

18               (A) a general, special, primary, or runoff  
19 election;

20               (B) a convention or caucus of a political  
21 party held to nominate a candidate;

22               (C) a primary election held for the selec-  
23 tion of delegates to a national nominating con-  
24 vention of a political party; or

1 (D) a primary election held for the expres-  
2 sion of a preference for the nomination of per-  
3 sons for election to the office of President.

4 (3) FEDERAL OFFICE.—The term “Federal of-  
5 fice” means the office of President or Vice President  
6 of the United States, or of Senator or Representa-  
7 tive in, or Delegate or Resident Commissioner to,  
8 the Congress of the United States.

9 (4) PROBATION.—The term “probation” means  
10 probation, imposed by a Federal, State, or local  
11 court, with or without a condition on the individual  
12 involved concerning—

13 (A) the individual’s freedom of movement;

14 (B) the payment of damages by the indi-  
15 vidual;

16 (C) periodic reporting by the individual to  
17 an officer of the court; or

18 (D) supervision of the individual by an of-  
19 ficer of the court.

20 **SEC. 1707. RELATION TO OTHER LAWS.**

21 (a) STATE LAWS RELATING TO VOTING RIGHTS.—  
22 Nothing in this Act shall be construed to prohibit any  
23 State from enacting any State law which affords the right  
24 to vote in any election for Federal office on terms less  
25 restrictive than those established by this Act.

1 (b) CERTAIN FEDERAL ACTS.—The rights and rem-  
2 edies established by this subtitle are in addition to all  
3 other rights and remedies provided by law, and neither  
4 rights and remedies established by this subtitle shall su-  
5 percede, restrict, or limit the application of the Voting  
6 Rights Act of 1965 (52 U.S.C. 10301 et seq.), the Na-  
7 tional Voter Registration Act (52 U.S.C. 20501), or the  
8 Help America Vote Act of 2002 (52 U.S.C. 20901 et seq.).

9 **SEC. 1708. FEDERAL PRISON FUNDS.**

10 No State, unit of local government, or other person  
11 may receive or use, to construct or otherwise improve a  
12 prison, jail, or other place of incarceration, any Federal  
13 funds unless that State, unit of local government, or per-  
14 son—

15 (1) is in compliance with section 1703; and

16 (2) has in effect a program under which each  
17 individual incarcerated in that person's jurisdiction  
18 who is a citizen of the United States is notified,  
19 upon release from such incarceration, of that indi-  
20 vidual's rights under section 1703.

21 **SEC. 1709. EFFECTIVE DATE.**

22 This subtitle shall apply to citizens of the United  
23 States voting in any election for Federal office held on  
24 or after the date of enactment of this Act.

1 **Subtitle I—Voter Identification and**  
2 **Allowable Alternatives**

3 **SEC. 1801. REQUIREMENTS FOR VOTER IDENTIFICATION.**

4 (a) REQUIREMENT TO PROVIDE IDENTIFICATION AS  
5 CONDITION OF RECEIVING BALLOT.—Section 303 of the  
6 Help America Vote Act of 2002 (52 U.S.C. 21083) is  
7 amended by redesignating subsections (c) and (d) as sub-  
8 sections (d) and (e), respectively, and by inserting after  
9 subsection (b) the following new subsection:

10 “(c) VOTER IDENTIFICATION REQUIREMENTS.—

11 “(1) VOTER IDENTIFICATION REQUIREMENT  
12 DEFINED.—For purposes of this subsection:

13 “(A) IN GENERAL.—The term ‘voter iden-  
14 tification requirement’ means any requirement  
15 that an individual desiring to vote in person in  
16 an election for Federal office present identifica-  
17 tion as a requirement to receive or cast a ballot  
18 in person in such election.

19 “(B) EXCEPTION.—Such term does not in-  
20 clude any requirement described in subsection  
21 (b)(2)(A) as applied with respect to an indi-  
22 vidual described in subsection (b)(1).

23 “(2) IN GENERAL.—If a State or local jurisdic-  
24 tion has a voter identification requirement, the State  
25 or local jurisdiction—

1           “(A) shall treat any applicable identifying  
2 document as meeting such voter identification  
3 requirement;

4           “(B) notwithstanding the failure to present  
5 an applicable identifying document, shall treat  
6 an individual desiring to vote in person in an  
7 election for Federal office as meeting such voter  
8 identification requirement if—

9           “(i) the individual presents the appro-  
10 priate State or local election official with a  
11 sworn written statement, signed in the  
12 presence of the official by an adult who  
13 has known the individual for not less than  
14 6 months under penalty of perjury, attest-  
15 ing to the individual’s identity;

16           “(ii) the official has known the indi-  
17 vidual for at least six months; or

18           “(iii) in the case of a resident of a  
19 State-licensed care facility, an employee of  
20 the facility confirms the individual’s iden-  
21 tity; and

22           “(C) shall permit any individual desiring to  
23 vote in an election for Federal office who does  
24 not present an applicable identifying document  
25 required under subparagraph (A) or qualify for



1 an exception under subparagraph (B) to cast a  
2 provisional ballot with respect to the election  
3 under section 302(a) in accordance with para-  
4 graph (3).

5 “(3) RULES FOR PROVISIONAL BALLOT.—

6 “(A) IN GENERAL.—An individual may  
7 cast a provisional ballot pursuant to paragraph  
8 (2)(C) so long as the individual presents the ap-  
9 propriate State or local election official with a  
10 sworn written statement, signed by the indi-  
11 vidual under penalty of perjury, attesting to the  
12 individual’s identity.

13 “(B) PROHIBITION ON OTHER REQUIRE-  
14 MENTS.—Except as otherwise provided this  
15 paragraph, a State or local jurisdiction may not  
16 impose any other additional requirement or con-  
17 dition with respect to the casting of a provi-  
18 sional ballot by an individual described in para-  
19 graph (2)(C).

20 “(C) COUNTING OF PROVISIONAL BAL-  
21 LOT.—In the case of a provisional ballot cast  
22 pursuant to paragraph (2)(C), the appropriate  
23 State or local election official shall not make a  
24 determination under section 302(a)(4) that the

1 individual is eligible under State law to vote in  
2 the election unless—

3 “(i) the official determines that the  
4 signature on such statement matches the  
5 signature of such individual on the official  
6 list of registered voters in the State or  
7 other official record or document used by  
8 the State to verify the signatures of voters;  
9 or

10 “(ii) not later than 10 days after cast-  
11 ing the provisional ballot, the individual  
12 presents an applicable identifying docu-  
13 ment, either in person or by electronic  
14 methods, to the official and the official  
15 confirms the individual is the person iden-  
16 tified on the applicable identifying docu-  
17 ment.

18 “(D) NOTICE AND OPPORTUNITY TO CURE  
19 DISCREPANCY IN SIGNATURES OR OTHER DE-  
20 FECTS ON PROVISIONAL BALLOTS.—

21 “(i) NOTICE AND OPPORTUNITY TO  
22 CURE DISCREPANCY IN SIGNATURES.—If  
23 an individual casts a provisional ballot  
24 under this paragraph and the appropriate  
25 State or local election official determines

1 that a discrepancy exists between the sig-  
2 nature on such ballot and the signature of  
3 such individual on the official list of reg-  
4 istered voters in the State or other official  
5 record or document used by the State to  
6 verify the signatures of voters, such elec-  
7 tion official, prior to making a final deter-  
8 mination as to the validity of such ballot,  
9 shall—

10 “(I) as soon as practical, but not  
11 later than the next business day after  
12 such determination is made, make a  
13 good faith effort to notify the indi-  
14 vidual by mail, telephone, and (if  
15 available) text message and electronic  
16 mail that—

17 “(aa) a discrepancy exists  
18 between the signature on such  
19 ballot and the signature of the  
20 individual on the official list of  
21 registered voters in the State or  
22 other official record or document  
23 used by the State to verify the  
24 signatures of voters; and

1                   “(bb) if such discrepancy is  
2                   not cured prior to the expiration  
3                   of the third day following the  
4                   State’s deadline for receiving  
5                   mail-in ballots or absentee bal-  
6                   lots, such ballot will not be  
7                   counted; and

8                   “(II) cure such discrepancy and  
9                   count the ballot if, prior to the expira-  
10                  tion of the third day following the  
11                  State’s deadline for receiving mail-in  
12                  ballots or absentee ballots, the indi-  
13                  vidual provides the official with infor-  
14                  mation to cure such discrepancy, ei-  
15                  ther in person, by telephone, or by  
16                  electronic methods.

17                  “(ii) NOTICE AND OPPORTUNITY TO  
18                  CURE OTHER DEFECTS.—If an individual  
19                  casts a provisional ballot under this para-  
20                  graph with a defect which, if left uncured,  
21                  would cause the ballot to not be counted,  
22                  the appropriate State or local election offi-  
23                  cial, prior to making a final determination  
24                  as to the validity of the ballot, shall—

1           “(I) as soon as practical, but not  
2 later than the next business day after  
3 such determination is made, make a  
4 good faith effort to notify the indi-  
5 vidual by mail, telephone, and (if  
6 available) text message and electronic  
7 mail that—

8                   “(aa) the ballot has some  
9 defect; and

10                   “(bb) if the individual does  
11 not cure the other defect prior to  
12 the expiration of the third day  
13 following the State’s deadline for  
14 receiving mail-in ballots or absen-  
15 tee ballots, such ballot will not be  
16 counted; and

17           “(II) count the ballot if, prior to  
18 the expiration of the third day fol-  
19 lowing the State’s deadline for receiv-  
20 ing mail-in ballots or absentee ballots,  
21 the individual cures the defect.

22           “(E) NO EXEMPTION.—Notwithstanding  
23 section 302(a), States described in section 4(b)  
24 of the National Voter Registration Act of 1993

1 shall be required to meet the requirements of  
2 paragraph (2)(C).

3 “(F) RULE OF CONSTRUCTION.—

4 “(i) IN GENERAL.—Nothing in para-  
5 graph (2)(C) or this paragraph shall be  
6 construed to prevent a State from permit-  
7 ting an individual who provides a sworn  
8 statement described in subparagraph (A)  
9 to cast a regular ballot in lieu of a provi-  
10 sional ballot.

11 “(ii) REGULAR BALLOT.—For purpose  
12 of this subparagraph, the term ‘regular  
13 ballot’ means a ballot which is cast and  
14 counted in the same manner as ballots cast  
15 by individuals meeting the voter identifica-  
16 tion requirement (and all other applicable  
17 requirements with respect to voting in the  
18 election).

19 “(4) DEVELOPMENT AND USE OF PRE-PRINTED  
20 VERSION OF STATEMENT BY COMMISSION.—

21 “(A) IN GENERAL.—The Commission shall  
22 develop pre-printed versions of the statements  
23 described in paragraphs (2)(B)(i) and (3)(A)  
24 which include appropriate blank spaces for the  
25 provision of names and signatures.

1           “(B) PROVIDING PRE-PRINTED COPY OF  
2 STATEMENT.—Each State and jurisdiction that  
3 has a voter identification requirement shall  
4 make copies of the pre-printed version of the  
5 statement developed under subparagraph (A)  
6 available at polling places for use by individuals  
7 voting in person.

8           “(5) REQUIRED PROVISION OF IDENTIFYING  
9 DOCUMENTS.—

10           “(A) IN GENERAL.—Each State and juris-  
11 diction that has a voter identification require-  
12 ment shall—

13           “(i) for each individual who, on or  
14 after the applicable date, is registered to  
15 vote in such State or jurisdiction in elec-  
16 tions for Federal office, provide the indi-  
17 vidual with a government-issued identifica-  
18 tion that meets the requirements of this  
19 subsection without charge;

20           “(ii) for each individual who, before  
21 the applicable date, was registered to vote  
22 in such State or jurisdiction in elections  
23 for Federal office but does not otherwise  
24 possess an identifying document, provide  
25 the individual with a government-issued

1 identification that meets the requirements  
2 of this subsection without charge, so long  
3 as the State provides the individual with  
4 reasonable opportunities to obtain such  
5 identification prior to the date of the elec-  
6 tion; and

7 “(iii) for each individual who is pro-  
8 vided with an identification under clause  
9 (i) or clause (ii), provide the individual  
10 with such assistance without charge upon  
11 request as may be necessary to enable the  
12 individual to obtain and process any docu-  
13 mentation necessary to obtain the identi-  
14 fication.

15 “(B) APPLICABLE DATE.—For purposes of  
16 this paragraph, the term ‘applicable date’  
17 means the later of—

18 “(i) January 1, 2024, or

19 “(ii) the first date after the date of  
20 enactment of this subsection for which the  
21 State or local jurisdiction has in effect a  
22 voter identification requirement.

23 “(6) APPLICABLE IDENTIFYING DOCUMENT.—

24 For purposes of this subsection—



1           “(A) IN GENERAL.—The term ‘applicable  
2 identifying document’ means, with respect to  
3 any individual, any document issued to such in-  
4 dividual containing the individual’s name.

5           “(B) INCLUDED DOCUMENTS.—The term  
6 ‘applicable identifying document’ shall include  
7 any of the following (so long as such document  
8 is not expired, as indicated by an expiration  
9 date included on the document):

10           “(i) A valid driver’s license or an  
11 identification card issued by a State, the  
12 Federal Government, or a State or feder-  
13 ally recognized Tribal government.

14           “(ii) A State-issued identification de-  
15 scribed in paragraph (4).

16           “(iii) A valid United States passport  
17 or passport card.

18           “(iv) A valid employee identification  
19 card issued by—

20           “(I) any branch, department,  
21 agency, or entity of the United States  
22 Government or of any State,

23           “(II) any State or federally rec-  
24 ognized Tribal government, or

1                   “(III) any county, municipality,  
2                   board, authority, or other political  
3                   subdivision of a State.

4                   “(v) A valid student identification  
5                   card issued by an institution of higher edu-  
6                   cation, or a valid high school identification  
7                   card issued by a State-accredited high  
8                   school.

9                   “(vi) A valid military identification  
10                  card issued by the United States.

11                  “(vii) A valid gun license or concealed  
12                  carry permit.

13                  “(viii) A valid Medicare card or Social  
14                  Security card.

15                  “(ix) A valid birth certificate.

16                  “(x) A valid voter registration card.

17                  “(xi) A valid hunting or fishing li-  
18                  cense issued by a State.

19                  “(xii) A valid identification card  
20                  issued to the individual by the Supple-  
21                  mental Nutrition Assistance (SNAP) pro-  
22                  gram.

23                  “(xiii) A valid identification card  
24                  issued to the individual by the Temporary

1 Assistance for Needy Families (TANF)  
2 program.

3 “(xiv) A valid identification card  
4 issued to the individual by Medicaid.

5 “(xv) A valid bank card or valid debit  
6 card.

7 “(xvi) A valid utility bill issued within  
8 six months of the date of the election.

9 “(xvii) A valid lease or mortgage doc-  
10 ument issued within six months of the date  
11 of the election.

12 “(xviii) A valid bank statement issued  
13 within six months of the date of the elec-  
14 tion.

15 “(xix) A valid health insurance card  
16 issued to the voter.

17 “(xx) Any other document containing  
18 the individual’s name issued by—

19 “(I) any branch, department,  
20 agency, or entity of the United States  
21 Government or of any State;

22 “(II) any State or federally rec-  
23 ognized tribal government; or

1                   “(III) any county, municipality,  
2                   board, authority, or other political  
3                   subdivision of a State.

4                   “(C) COPIES AND ELECTRONIC DOCU-  
5                   MENTS ACCEPTED.—The term ‘applicable iden-  
6                   tifying document’ includes—

7                   “(i) any copy of a document described  
8                   in subparagraph (A) or (B); and

9                   “(ii) any document described in sub-  
10                  paragraph (A) or (B) which is presented in  
11                  electronic format.”.

12                  (b) PAYMENTS TO STATES TO COVER COSTS OF RE-  
13                  QUIRED IDENTIFICATION DOCUMENTS.—

14                  (1) IN GENERAL.—The Election Assistance  
15                  Commission shall make payments to States to cover  
16                  the costs incurred in providing identifications under  
17                  section 303(c)(5) of the Help America Vote Act of  
18                  2002, as amended by this section.

19                  (2) AMOUNT OF PAYMENT.—The amount of the  
20                  payment made to a State under this subsection for  
21                  any year shall be equal to the amount of fees which  
22                  would have been collected by the State during the  
23                  year in providing the identifications required under  
24                  section 303(c)(5) of such Act if the State had  
25                  charged the usual and customary rates for such

1 identifications, as determined on the basis of infor-  
2 mation furnished to the Commission by the State at  
3 such time and in such form as the Commission may  
4 require.

5 (3) AUTHORIZATION OF APPROPRIATIONS.—  
6 There are authorized to be appropriated for pay-  
7 ments under this subsection an aggregate amount of  
8 \$5,000,000 for fiscal year 2024 and each of the 4  
9 succeeding fiscal years.

10 (c) CONFORMING AMENDMENTS.—Section  
11 303(b)(2)(A) of the Help America Vote Act of 2002 (52  
12 U.S.C. 21083(b)(2)(A)) is amended—

13 (1) in clause (i), by striking “in person” and all  
14 that follows and inserting “in person, presents to the  
15 appropriate State or local election official an applica-  
16 ble identifying document (as defined in subsection  
17 (c)(6)); or”; and

18 (2) in clause (ii), by striking “by mail” and all  
19 that follows and inserting “by mail, submits with the  
20 ballot an applicable identifying document (as so de-  
21 fined).”.

22 (d) DEFINITION.—For the purposes of this section,  
23 the term “State” means each of the several States, the  
24 District of Columbia, the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico,  
25 Guam, American Samoa, the United States Virgin Is-

1 lands, and the Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana  
2 Islands.

3 (e) EFFECTIVE DATE.—Section 303(e) of such Act  
4 (52 U.S.C. 21083(d)(2)), as redesignated by subsection  
5 (a), is amended by adding at the end the following new  
6 paragraph:

7 “(3) VOTER IDENTIFICATION REQUIRE-  
8 MENTS.—Each State and jurisdiction shall be re-  
9 quired to comply with the requirements of subsection  
10 (c) with respect to elections for Federal office held  
11 on or after January 1, 2024.”.

## 12 **Subtitle J—Voter List Maintenance** 13 **Procedures**

### 14 **PART 1—VOTER CAGING PROHIBITED**

#### 15 **SEC. 1901. VOTER CAGING PROHIBITED.**

16 (a) DEFINITIONS.—In this section—

17 (1) the term “voter caging document” means—

18 (A) a non-forwardable document sent by  
19 any person other than a State or local election  
20 official that is returned to the sender or a third  
21 party as undelivered or undeliverable despite an  
22 attempt to deliver such document to the address  
23 of a registered voter or applicant; or

24 (B) any document sent by any person  
25 other than a State or local election official with

1 instructions to an addressee that the document  
2 be returned to the sender or a third party but  
3 is not so returned, despite an attempt to deliver  
4 such document to the address of a registered  
5 voter or applicant;

6 (2) the term “voter caging list” means a list of  
7 individuals compiled from voter caging documents;  
8 and

9 (3) the term “unverified match list” means any  
10 list produced by matching the information of reg-  
11 istered voters or applicants for voter registration to  
12 a list of individuals who are ineligible to vote in the  
13 registrar’s jurisdiction, by virtue of death, convic-  
14 tion, change of address, or otherwise, unless one of  
15 the pieces of information matched includes a signa-  
16 ture, photograph, or unique identifying number en-  
17 suring that the information from each source refers  
18 to the same individual.

19 (b) PROHIBITION AGAINST VOTER CAGING.—No  
20 State or local election official shall prevent an individual  
21 from registering or voting in any election for Federal of-  
22 fice, or permit in connection with any election for Federal  
23 office a formal challenge under State law to an individual’s  
24 registration status or eligibility to vote, if the basis for  
25 such decision is evidence consisting of—

1           (1) a voter caging document or voter caging  
2 list;

3           (2) an unverified match list;

4           (3) an error or omission on any record or paper  
5 relating to any application, registration, or other act  
6 requisite to voting, if such error or omission is not  
7 material to an individual's eligibility to vote under  
8 section 2004(a)(2)(B) of the Revised Statutes (52  
9 U.S.C. 10101(a)(2)(B)); or

10           (4) any other evidence so designated for pur-  
11 poses of this section by the Election Assistance Com-  
12 mission,

13 except that the election official may use such evidence if  
14 it is corroborated by independent evidence of the individ-  
15 ual's ineligibility to register or vote.

16       (c) ENFORCEMENT.—

17           (1) CIVIL ENFORCEMENT.—

18           (A) IN GENERAL.—The Attorney General  
19 may bring a civil action in an appropriate dis-  
20 trict court for such declaratory or injunctive re-  
21 lief as is necessary to carry out this section.

22           (B) PRIVATE RIGHT OF ACTION.—

23           (i) IN GENERAL.—A person who is ag-  
24 grieved by a violation of this section may  
25 provide written notice of the violation to



1 the chief election official of the State in-  
2 volved.

3 (ii) RELIEF.—Except as provided in  
4 clause (iii), if the violation is not corrected  
5 within 90 days after receipt of a notice  
6 under clause (i), or within 20 days after  
7 receipt of the notice if the violation oc-  
8 curred within 120 days before the date of  
9 an election for Federal office, the ag-  
10 grievéd person may, in a civil action, ob-  
11 tain declaratory or injunctive relief with re-  
12 spect to the violation.

13 (iii) EXCEPTION.—If the violation oc-  
14 curred within 30 days before the date of  
15 an election for Federal office, on the date  
16 of the election, or after the date of the  
17 election but prior to the completion of the  
18 canvass, the aggrieved person need not  
19 provide notice under clause (i) before  
20 bringing a civil action to obtain declaratory  
21 or injunctive relief with respect to the vio-  
22 lation.

23 (2) CRIMINAL PENALTY.—Whoever knowingly  
24 challenges the eligibility of one or more individuals  
25 to register or vote or knowingly causes the eligibility

1 of such individuals to be challenged in violation of  
2 this section with the intent that one or more eligible  
3 voters be disqualified, shall be fined under title 18,  
4 United States Code, or imprisoned not more than 1  
5 year, or both, for each such violation. Each violation  
6 shall be a separate offense.

7 (d) NO EFFECT ON RELATED LAWS.—Nothing in  
8 this section is intended to override the protections of the  
9 National Voter Registration Act of 1993 (52 U.S.C.  
10 20501 et seq.) or to affect the Voting Rights Act of 1965  
11 (52 U.S.C. 10301 et seq.).

12 **PART 2—SAVING ELIGIBLE VOTERS FROM VOTER**  
13 **PURGING**

14 **SEC. 1911. CONDITIONS FOR REMOVAL OF VOTERS FROM**  
15 **LIST OF REGISTERED VOTERS.**

16 (a) CONDITIONS DESCRIBED.—The National Voter  
17 Registration Act of 1993 (52 U.S.C. 20501 et seq.) is  
18 amended by inserting after section 8 the following new  
19 section:

20 **“SEC. 8A. CONDITIONS FOR REMOVAL OF VOTERS FROM**  
21 **OFFICIAL LIST OF REGISTERED VOTERS.**

22 **“(a) VERIFICATION ON BASIS OF OBJECTIVE AND**  
23 **RELIABLE EVIDENCE OF INELIGIBILITY.—**

24 **“(1) REQUIRING VERIFICATION.—**Notwith-  
25 standing any other provision of this Act, a State

1 may not remove the name of any registrant from the  
2 official list of voters eligible to vote in elections for  
3 Federal office in the State unless the State verifies,  
4 on the basis of objective and reliable evidence, that  
5 the registrant is ineligible to vote in such elections.

6 “(2) FACTORS NOT CONSIDERED AS OBJECTIVE  
7 AND RELIABLE EVIDENCE OF INELIGIBILITY.—For  
8 purposes of paragraph (1), except as permitted  
9 under section 8(d) after a notice described in para-  
10 graph (2) of such section has been sent, the fol-  
11 lowing factors, or any combination thereof, shall not  
12 be treated as objective and reliable evidence of a reg-  
13 istrant’s ineligibility to vote:

14 “(A) The failure of the registrant to vote  
15 in any election.

16 “(B) The failure of the registrant to re-  
17 spond to any election mail, unless the election  
18 mail has been returned as undeliverable.

19 “(C) The failure of the registrant to take  
20 any other action with respect to voting in any  
21 election or with respect to the registrant’s sta-  
22 tus as a registrant.

23 “(3) REMOVAL BASED ON OFFICIAL  
24 RECORDS.—

1           “(A) IN GENERAL.—Nothing in this sec-  
2           tion shall prohibit a State from removing a reg-  
3           istrant from the official list of eligible voters in  
4           elections for Federal office if, on the basis of of-  
5           ficial records maintained by the State, a State  
6           or local election official knows, on the basis of  
7           objective and reliable evidence, that the reg-  
8           istrant has—

9                   “(i) died; or

10                   “(ii) permanently moved out of the  
11           State and is no longer eligible to vote in  
12           the State.

13           “(B) OPPORTUNITY TO DEMONSTRATE  
14           ELIGIBILITY.—The State shall provide a voter  
15           removed from the official list of eligible voters  
16           in elections for Federal office under this para-  
17           graph an opportunity to demonstrate that the  
18           registrant is eligible to vote and be reinstated  
19           on the official list of eligible voters in elections  
20           for Federal office in the State.

21           “(b) NOTICE AFTER REMOVAL.—

22                   “(1) NOTICE TO INDIVIDUAL REMOVED.—

23                   “(A) IN GENERAL.—Not later than 48  
24           hours after a State removes the name of a reg-  
25           istrant from the official list of eligible voters,

1 the State shall send notice of the removal to the  
2 former registrant, and shall include in the no-  
3 tice the grounds for the removal and informa-  
4 tion on how the former registrant may contest  
5 the removal or be reinstated, including a tele-  
6 phone number for the appropriate election offi-  
7 cial.

8 “(B) EXCEPTIONS.—Subparagraph (A)  
9 does not apply in the case of a registrant—

10 “(i) who sends written confirmation to  
11 the State that the registrant is no longer  
12 eligible to vote in the registrar’s jurisdic-  
13 tion in which the registrant was registered;  
14 or

15 “(ii) who is removed from the official  
16 list of eligible voters by reason of the death  
17 of the registrant.

18 “(2) PUBLIC NOTICE.—Not later than 48 hours  
19 after conducting any general program to remove the  
20 names of ineligible voters from the official list of eli-  
21 gible voters (as described in section 8(a)(4)), the  
22 State shall disseminate a public notice through such  
23 methods as may be reasonable to reach the general  
24 public (including by publishing the notice in a news-  
25 paper of wide circulation and posting the notice on

1 the websites of the appropriate election officials)  
2 that list maintenance is taking place and that reg-  
3 istrants should check their registration status to en-  
4 sure no errors or mistakes have been made. The  
5 State shall ensure that the public notice dissemi-  
6 nated under this paragraph is in a format that is  
7 reasonably convenient and accessible to voters with  
8 disabilities, including voters who have low vision or  
9 are blind.”.

10 (b) CONDITIONS FOR TRANSMISSION OF NOTICES OF  
11 REMOVAL.—Section 8(d) of such Act (52 U.S.C.  
12 20507(d)) is amended by adding at the end the following  
13 new paragraph:

14 “(4) A State may not transmit a notice to a  
15 registrant under this subsection unless the State ob-  
16 tains objective and reliable evidence (in accordance  
17 with the standards for such evidence which are de-  
18 scribed in section 8A(a)(2)) that the registrant has  
19 changed residence to a place outside the registrar’s  
20 jurisdiction in which the registrant is registered.”.

21 (c) CONFORMING AMENDMENTS.—

22 (1) NATIONAL VOTER REGISTRATION ACT OF  
23 1993.—Section 8(a) of such Act (52 U.S.C.  
24 20507(a)) is amended—

1 (A) in paragraph (3), by striking “pro-  
2 vide” and inserting “subject to section 8A, pro-  
3 vide”; and

4 (B) in paragraph (4), by striking “con-  
5 duct” and inserting “subject to section 8A, con-  
6 duct”.

7 (2) HELP AMERICA VOTE ACT OF 2002.—Section  
8 303(a)(4)(A) of the Help America Vote Act of 2002  
9 (52 U.S.C. 21083(a)(4)(A)) is amended by striking  
10 “registrants” the second place it appears and insert-  
11 ing “and subject to section 8A of such Act, reg-  
12 istrants”.

13 (d) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendments made by  
14 this section shall take effect on the date of enactment of  
15 this Act.

## 16 **Subtitle K—Severability**

### 17 **SEC. 1921. SEVERABILITY.**

18 If any provision of this title or any amendment made  
19 by this title, or the application of any such provision or  
20 amendment to any person or circumstance, is held to be  
21 unconstitutional, the remainder of this title, and the appli-  
22 cation of such provision or amendment to any other person  
23 or circumstance, shall not be affected by the holding.

1                   **DIVISION B—ELECTION**  
2                   **INTEGRITY**  
3 **TITLE II—PROHIBITING INTER-**  
4 **REFERENCE WITH VOTER REG-**  
5 **ISTRATION**

6 **SEC. 2001. PROHIBITING HINDERING, INTERFERING WITH,**  
7                   **OR PREVENTING VOTER REGISTRATION.**

8           (a) **IN GENERAL.**—Chapter 29 of title 18, United  
9 States Code, is amended by adding at the end the fol-  
10 lowing new section:

11 **“§ 612. Hindering, interfering with, or preventing**  
12                   **registering to vote**

13           “(a) **PROHIBITION.**—It shall be unlawful for any per-  
14 son, whether acting under color of law or otherwise, to  
15 corruptly hinder, interfere with, or prevent another person  
16 from registering to vote or to corruptly hinder, interfere  
17 with, or prevent another person from aiding another per-  
18 son in registering to vote.

19           “(b) **ATTEMPT.**—Any person who attempts to commit  
20 any offense described in subsection (a) shall be subject to  
21 the same penalties as those prescribed for the offense that  
22 the person attempted to commit.

23           “(c) **PENALTY.**—Any person who violates subsection  
24 (a) shall be fined under this title, imprisoned not more  
25 than 5 years, or both.”.



1 (b) CLERICAL AMENDMENT.—The table of sections  
2 for chapter 29 of title 18, United States Code, is amended  
3 by adding at the end the following new item:

“612. Hindering, interfering with, or preventing registering to vote.”.

4 (c) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendments made by  
5 this section shall apply with respect to elections held on  
6 or after the date of the enactment of this Act, except that  
7 no person may be found to have violated section 612 of  
8 title 18, United States Code (as added by subsection (a)),  
9 on the basis of any act occurring prior to the date of the  
10 enactment of this Act.

11 **SEC. 2002. ESTABLISHMENT OF BEST PRACTICES.**

12 (a) BEST PRACTICES.—Not later than 180 days after  
13 the date of the enactment of this Act, the Attorney Gen-  
14 eral shall develop and publish recommendations for best  
15 practices for States to use to deter and prevent violations  
16 of section 612 of title 18, United States Code (as added  
17 by section 2001), and section 12 of the National Voter  
18 Registration Act of 1993 (52 U.S.C. 20511) (relating to  
19 the unlawful interference with registering to vote, or vot-  
20 ing, or attempting to register to vote or vote), including  
21 practices to provide for the posting of relevant information  
22 at polling places and voter registration agencies under  
23 such Act, the training of poll workers and election offi-  
24 cials, and relevant educational materials. For purposes of  
25 this subsection, the term “State” includes the District of

1 Columbia, the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico, Guam,  
2 American Samoa, the United States Virgin Islands, and  
3 the Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands.

4 (b) INCLUSION IN VOTER INFORMATION REQUIRE-  
5 MENTS.—Section 302(b)(2) of the Help America Vote Act  
6 of 2002 (52 U.S.C. 21082(b)(2)) is amended—

7 (1) by striking “and” at the end of subpara-  
8 graph (E);

9 (2) by striking the period at the end of sub-  
10 paragraph (F) and inserting “; and”; and

11 (3) by adding at the end the following new sub-  
12 paragraph:

13 “(G) information relating to the prohibi-  
14 tions of section 612 of title 18, United States  
15 Code, and section 12 of the National Voter  
16 Registration Act of 1993 (52 U.S.C. 20511)  
17 (relating to the unlawful interference with reg-  
18 istering to vote, or voting, or attempting to reg-  
19 ister to vote or vote), including information on  
20 how individuals may report allegations of viola-  
21 tions of such prohibitions.”.

1           **TITLE III—PREVENTING**  
2           **ELECTION SUBVERSION**  
3 **Subtitle A—Restrictions on Re-**  
4 **moval of Election Administra-**  
5 **tors**

6 **SEC. 3001. RESTRICTIONS ON REMOVAL OF LOCAL ELEC-**  
7                   **TION ADMINISTRATORS IN ADMINISTRATION**  
8                   **OF ELECTIONS FOR FEDERAL OFFICE.**

9           (a) FINDINGS.—Congress makes the following find-  
10 ings:

11                   (1) Congress has explicit and broad authority to  
12 regulate the time, place, and manner of Federal elec-  
13 tions under the Elections Clause under article I, sec-  
14 tion 4, clause 1 of the Constitution, including by es-  
15 tablishing standards for the fair, impartial, and uni-  
16 form administration of Federal elections by State  
17 and local officials.

18                   (2) The Elections Clause was understood from  
19 the framing of the Constitution to contain “words of  
20 great latitude”, granting Congress broad power over  
21 Federal elections and a plenary right to preempt  
22 State regulation in this area. As made clear at the  
23 Constitutional Convention and the State ratification  
24 debates that followed, this grant of congressional au-  
25 thority was meant to “insure free and fair elec-

1 tions”, promote the uniform administration of Fed-  
2 eral elections, and “preserve and restore to the peo-  
3 ple their equal and sacred rights of election”.

4 (3) In the founding debates on the Elections  
5 Clause, many delegates also argued that a broad  
6 grant of authority to Congress over Federal elections  
7 was necessary to check any “abuses that might be  
8 made of the discretionary power” to regulate the  
9 time, place, and manner of elections granted the  
10 States, including attempts at partisan entrenchment,  
11 malapportionment, and the exclusion of political mi-  
12 norities. As the Supreme Court has recognized, the  
13 Elections Clause empowers Congress to “protect the  
14 elections on which its existence depends”, *Ex parte*  
15 *Yarbrough*, 110 U.S. 651, 658 (1884), and “protect  
16 the citizen in the exercise of rights conferred by the  
17 Constitution of the United States essential to the  
18 healthy organization of the government itself”, *id.* at  
19 666.

20 (4) The Elections Clause grants Congress “ple-  
21 nary and paramount jurisdiction over the whole sub-  
22 ject” of Federal elections, *Ex parte Siebold*, 100  
23 U.S. 371, 388 (1879), allowing Congress to imple-  
24 ment “a complete code for congressional elections”.  
25 *Smiley v. Holm*, 285 U.S. 355, 366 (1932). The

1 Elections Clause, unlike, for example, the Commerce  
2 Clause, has been found to grant Congress the au-  
3 thority to compel States to alter their regulations as  
4 to Federal elections, *id.* at 366–67, even if these al-  
5 terations would impose additional costs on the  
6 States to execute or enforce. *Association of Commu-  
7 nity Organizations for Reform Now v. Miller*, 129  
8 F.3d 833 (6th Cir. 1997).

9 (5) The phrase “manner of holding elections”  
10 in the Elections Clause has been interpreted by the  
11 Supreme Court to authorize Congress to regulate all  
12 aspects of the Federal election process, including  
13 “notices, registration, supervision of voting, protec-  
14 tion of voters, prevention of fraud and corrupt prac-  
15 tices, counting of votes, duties of inspectors and can-  
16 vassers, and the making and publication of election  
17 returns”. *Smiley v. Holm*, 285 U.S. 355, 366  
18 (1932).

19 (6) The Supreme Court has recognized the  
20 broad “substantive scope” of the Elections Clause  
21 and upheld Federal laws promulgated thereunder  
22 regulating redistricting, voter registration, campaign  
23 finance, primary elections, recounts, party affiliation  
24 rules, and balloting.

1           (7) The authority of Congress under the Elec-  
2           tions Clause also entails the power to ensure en-  
3           forcement of its laws regulating Federal elections.  
4           “[I]f Congress has the power to make regulations, it  
5           must have the power to enforce them.”. *Ex parte*  
6           *Siebold*, 100 U.S. 371, 387 (1879). The Supreme  
7           Court has noted that there can be no question that  
8           Congress may impose additional penalties for of-  
9           fenses committed by State officers in connection  
10          with Federal elections even if they differ from the  
11          penalties prescribed by State law for the same acts.  
12          *Id.* at 387–88.

13          (8) The fair and impartial administration of  
14          Federal elections by State and local officials is cen-  
15          tral to “the successful working of this government”,  
16          *Ex parte Yarbrough*, 110 U.S. 651, 666 (1884), and  
17          to “protect the act of voting . . . and the election  
18          itself from corruption or fraud”, *id.* at 661–62.

19          (9) The Elections Clause thus grants Congress  
20          the authority to ensure that the administration of  
21          Federal elections is free of political bias or discrimi-  
22          nation and that election officials are insulated from  
23          political influence or other forms of coercion in dis-  
24          charging their duties in connection with Federal  
25          elections.

1           (10) In some States, oversight of local election  
2 administrators has been allocated to State Election  
3 Boards, or special commissions formed by those  
4 boards, that are appointed by the prevailing political  
5 party in a State, as opposed to nonpartisan or elect-  
6 ed office holders.

7           (11) In certain newly enacted State policies,  
8 these appointed statewide election administrators  
9 have been granted wide latitude to suspend or re-  
10 move local election administrators in cases where the  
11 statewide election administrators identify whatever  
12 the State deems to be a violation. There is no re-  
13 quirement that there be a finding of intent by the  
14 local election administrator to commit the violation.

15           (12) Local election administrators across the  
16 country can be suspended or removed according to  
17 different standards, potentially exposing them to dif-  
18 ferent political pressures or biases that could result  
19 in uneven administration of Federal elections.

20           (13) The Elections Clause grants Congress the  
21 ultimate authority to ensure that oversight of State  
22 and local election administrators is fair and impar-  
23 tial in order to ensure equitable and uniform admin-  
24 istration of Federal elections.

25           (b) RESTRICTION.—

1           (1) STANDARD FOR REMOVAL OF A LOCAL  
2 ELECTION ADMINISTRATOR.—A statewide election  
3 administrator may only suspend, remove, or relieve  
4 the duties of a local election administrator in the  
5 State with respect to the administration of an elec-  
6 tion for Federal office for inefficiency, neglect of  
7 duty, or malfeasance in office.

8           (2) PRIVATE RIGHT OF ACTION.—

9           (A) IN GENERAL.—Any local election ad-  
10 ministrator suspended, removed, or otherwise  
11 relieved of duties in violation of paragraph (1)  
12 with respect to the administration of an election  
13 for Federal office or against whom any pro-  
14 ceeding for suspension, removal, or relief from  
15 duty in violation of paragraph (1) with respect  
16 to the administration of an election for Federal  
17 office may be pending, may bring an action in  
18 an appropriate district court of the United  
19 States for declaratory or injunctive relief with  
20 respect to the violation. Any such action shall  
21 name as the defendant the statewide election  
22 administrator responsible for the adverse ac-  
23 tion. The district court shall, to the extent prac-  
24 ticable, expedite any such proceeding.



1 (B) STATUTE OF LIMITATIONS.—Any ac-  
2 tion brought under this subsection must be  
3 commenced not later than one year after the  
4 date of the suspension, removal, relief from du-  
5 ties, or commencement of the proceeding to re-  
6 move, suspend, or relieve the duties of a local  
7 election administrator with respect to the ad-  
8 ministration of an election for Federal office.

9 (3) ATTORNEY’S FEES.—In any action or pro-  
10 ceeding under this subsection, the court may allow  
11 a prevailing plaintiff, other than the United States,  
12 reasonable attorney’s fees as part of the costs, and  
13 may include expert fees as part of the attorney’s fee.  
14 The term “prevailing plaintiff” means a plaintiff  
15 that substantially prevails pursuant to a judicial or  
16 administrative judgment or order, or an enforceable  
17 written agreement.

18 (4) REMOVAL OF STATE PROCEEDINGS TO FED-  
19 ERAL COURT.—A local election administrator who is  
20 subject to an administrative or judicial proceeding  
21 for suspension, removal, or relief from duty by a  
22 statewide election administrator with respect to the  
23 administration of an election for Federal office may  
24 remove the proceeding to an appropriate district  
25 court of the United States. Any order remanding a

1 case to the State court or agency from which it was  
2 removed under this subsection shall be reviewable by  
3 appeal or otherwise.

4 (5) RIGHT OF UNITED STATES TO INTER-  
5 VENE.—

6 (A) NOTICE TO ATTORNEY GENERAL.—

7 Whenever any administrative or judicial pro-  
8 ceeding is brought to suspend, remove, or re-  
9 lieve the duties of any local election adminis-  
10 trator by a statewide election administrator  
11 with respect to the administration of an election  
12 for Federal office, the statewide election admin-  
13 istrator who initiated such proceeding shall de-  
14 liver a copy of the pleadings instituting the pro-  
15 ceeding to the Assistant Attorney General for  
16 the Civil Rights Division of the Department of  
17 Justice. The local election administrator against  
18 whom such proceeding is brought may also de-  
19 liver such pleadings to the Assistant Attorney  
20 General.

21 (B) RIGHT TO INTERVENE.—The United  
22 States may intervene in any administrative or  
23 judicial proceeding brought to suspend, remove,  
24 or relieve the duties of any local election admin-  
25 istrator by a statewide election administrator

1 with respect to the administration of an election  
2 for Federal office and in any action initiated  
3 pursuant to paragraph (2) or in any removal  
4 pursuant to paragraph (4).

5 (6) REVIEW.—In reviewing any action brought  
6 under this section, a court of the United States shall  
7 not afford any deference to any State official, ad-  
8 ministrator, or tribunal that initiated, approved, ad-  
9 judicated, or reviewed any administrative or judicial  
10 proceeding to suspend, remove, or otherwise relieve  
11 the duties of a local election administrator.

12 (c) REPORTS TO THE DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE.—

13 (1) IN GENERAL.—Not later than 30 days after  
14 the suspension, removal, or relief of the duties of a  
15 local election administrator by a statewide election  
16 administrator, the statewide election administrator  
17 shall submit to the Assistant Attorney General for  
18 the Civil Rights Divisions of the Department of Jus-  
19 tice a report that includes the following information:

20 (A) A statement that a local election ad-  
21 ministrator was suspended, removed, or relieved  
22 of their duties.

23 (B) Information on whether the local elec-  
24 tion administrator was determined to be ineffi-

1           cient or to have engaged in neglect of duty or  
2           malfeasance in office.

3           (C) A description of the effect that the  
4           suspension, removal, or relief of the duties of  
5           the local election administrator will have on—

6                   (i) the administration of elections and  
7                   voters in the election jurisdictions for  
8                   which the local election official provided  
9                   such duties; and

10                   (ii) the administration of elections and  
11                   voters in the State at large.

12           (D) Demographic information about the  
13           local election official suspended, removed, or re-  
14           lieved and the jurisdictions for which such elec-  
15           tion official was providing the duties suspended,  
16           removed, or relieved.

17           (E) Such other information as requested  
18           by the Assistant Attorney General for the pur-  
19           poses of determining—

20                   (i) whether such suspension, removal,  
21                   or relief of duties was based on unlawful  
22                   discrimination; and

23                   (ii) whether such suspension, removal,  
24                   or relief of duties was due to inefficiency,  
25                   neglect of duty, or malfeasance in office.

1           (2) EXPEDITED REPORTING FOR ACTIONS  
2 WITHIN 30 DAYS OF AN ELECTION.—

3           (A) IN GENERAL.—If a suspension, re-  
4 moval, or relief of duties of a local adminis-  
5 trator described in paragraph (1) occurs during  
6 the period described in subparagraph (B), the  
7 report required under paragraph (1) shall be  
8 submitted not later than 48 hours after such  
9 suspension, removal, or relief of duties.

10           (B) PERIOD DESCRIBED.—The period de-  
11 scribed in this subparagraph is any period  
12 which begins 60 days before the date of an elec-  
13 tion for Federal office and which ends 60 days  
14 after such election.

15           (d) DEFINITIONS.—In this section, the following defi-  
16 nitions apply:

17           (1) ELECTION.—The term “election” has the  
18 meaning given the term in section 301(1) of the  
19 Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 (52 U.S.C.  
20 30101(1)).

21           (2) FEDERAL OFFICE.—The term “Federal of-  
22 fice” has the meaning given the term in section  
23 301(3) of the Federal Election Campaign Act of  
24 1971 (52 U.S.C. 30101(3)).

1           (3) LOCAL ELECTION ADMINISTRATOR.—The  
 2 term “local election administrator” means, with re-  
 3 spect to a local jurisdiction in a State, the individual  
 4 or entity responsible for the administration of elec-  
 5 tions for Federal office in the local jurisdiction.

6           (4) STATEWIDE ELECTION ADMINISTRATOR.—  
 7 The term “statewide election administrator” means,  
 8 with respect to a State—

9           (A) the individual or entity, including a  
 10 State elections board, responsible for the ad-  
 11 ministration of elections for Federal office in  
 12 the State on a statewide basis; or

13           (B) a statewide legislative or executive en-  
 14 tity with the authority to suspend, remove, or  
 15 relieve a local election administrator.

16           (e) RULE OF CONSTRUCTION.—Nothing in this sec-  
 17 tion shall be construed to grant any additional authority  
 18 to remove a local elections administrator beyond any au-  
 19 thority provided under the law of the State.

20       **Subtitle B—Increased Protections**  
 21               **for Election Workers**

22       **SEC. 3101. HARASSMENT OF ELECTION WORKERS PROHIB-**  
 23               **ITED.**

24           (a) IN GENERAL.—Section 594 of title 18, United 6  
 25 States Code, is amended—

1           (1) by striking “Whoever intimidates” and in-  
2           serting the following:

3           “(a) IN GENERAL.—Whoever intimidates”; and

4           (2) by adding at the end the following new sub-  
5           section:

6           “(b) INTIMIDATION OF ELECTION WORKERS.—

7           “(1) IN GENERAL.—Whoever intimidates,  
8           threatens, coerces, or attempts to intimidate, threat-  
9           en, or coerce, any election worker with intent to im-  
10          pede, intimidate, or interfere with such election  
11          worker while engaged in the performance of official  
12          duties, or with intent to retaliate against such elec-  
13          tion worker on account of the performance of official  
14          duties shall be fined under this title or imprisoned  
15          not more than one year, or both.

16          “(2) ELECTION WORKER.—For purposes of  
17          paragraph (1), the term ‘election worker’ means any  
18          individual who is an election official, poll worker, or  
19          an election volunteer in connection with an election  
20          for a Federal office.”.

21          (b) CONFORMING AMENDMENTS.—

22          (1) The heading of section 594 of title 18,  
23          United States Code, is amended by inserting “**and**  
24          **election workers**” after “**voters**”.

1           (2) The item relating to section 594 in the table  
2 of sections for chapter 29 of title 18, United States  
3 Code, is amended by inserting “and election work-  
4 ers” after “voters”.

5 **SEC. 3102. PROTECTION OF ELECTION WORKERS.**

6           (a) IN GENERAL.—Section 594(b) of title 18, United  
7 States Code, as amended by section 3101, is amended—

8           (1) by redesignating paragraph (2) as para-  
9 graph (3); and

10           (2) by inserting after paragraph (1) the fol-  
11 lowing new paragraph:

12           “(2) PROHIBITION ON PUBLICATION OF PER-  
13 SONAL INFORMATION.—Whoever knowingly makes  
14 restricted personal information about an election  
15 worker, or a member of the immediate family of that  
16 election worker, publicly available in connection with  
17 such election worker’s official duties—

18           “(A) with the intent to threaten, intimi-  
19 date, or incite the commission of a crime of vio-  
20 lence against that election worker, or a member  
21 of the immediate family of that election worker;  
22 or

23           “(B) with the intent and knowledge that  
24 the restricted personal information will be used  
25 to threaten, intimidate, or facilitate the com-



1 mission of a crime of violence against that elec-  
2 tion worker, or a member of the immediate  
3 family of that election worker,  
4 shall be fined under this title, imprisoned not more  
5 than 1 year, or both.”.

6 (b) DEFINITIONS.—Paragraph (3) of section 594(b)  
7 of title 18, United States Code, as amended by section  
8 3101 and redesignated by subsection (a), is amended—  
9 (1) by striking all that precedes “term” and in-  
10 serting the following:

11 “(3) DEFINITIONS.—For purposes of this sub-  
12 section—

13 “(A) ELECTION WORKER.—The”; and

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

15 “(B) OTHER TERMS.—The terms ‘re-  
16 stricted personal information’, ‘crime of vio-  
17 lence’, and ‘immediate family’ have the respec-  
18 tive meanings given such terms under section  
19 119.”.

20 **Subtitle C—Prohibiting Deceptive**  
21 **Practices and Preventing Voter**  
22 **Intimidation**

23 **SEC. 3201. SHORT TITLE.**

24 This subtitle may be cited as the “Deceptive Prac-  
25 tices and Voter Intimidation Prevention Act of 2023”.

1 **SEC. 3202. PROHIBITION ON DECEPTIVE PRACTICES IN**  
2 **FEDERAL ELECTIONS.**

3 (a) PROHIBITION.—Subsection (b) of section 2004 of  
4 the Revised Statutes (52 U.S.C. 10101(b)) is amended—

5 (1) by striking “No person” and inserting the  
6 following:

7 “(1) IN GENERAL.—No person”; and

8 (2) by inserting at the end the following new  
9 paragraphs:

10 “(2) FALSE STATEMENTS REGARDING FEDERAL  
11 ELECTIONS.—

12 “(A) PROHIBITION.—No person, whether  
13 acting under color of law or otherwise, shall,  
14 within 60 days before an election described in  
15 paragraph (5), by any means, including by  
16 means of written, electronic, or telephonic com-  
17 munications, communicate or cause to be com-  
18 municated information described in subpara-  
19 graph (B), or produce information described in  
20 subparagraph (B) with the intent that such in-  
21 formation be communicated, if such person—

22 “(i) knows such information to be ma-  
23 terially false; and

24 “(ii) has the intent to impede or pre-  
25 vent another person from exercising the

1 right to vote in an election described in  
2 paragraph (5).

3 “(B) INFORMATION DESCRIBED.—Infor-  
4 mation is described in this subparagraph if such  
5 information is regarding—

6 “(i) the time, place, or manner of  
7 holding any election described in para-  
8 graph (5); or

9 “(ii) the qualifications for or restric-  
10 tions on voter eligibility for any such elec-  
11 tion, including—

12 “(I) any criminal, civil, or other  
13 legal penalties associated with voting  
14 in any such election; or

15 “(II) information regarding a  
16 voter’s registration status or eligi-  
17 bility.

18 “(3) FALSE STATEMENTS REGARDING PUBLIC  
19 ENDORSEMENTS.—

20 “(A) PROHIBITION.—No person, whether  
21 acting under color of law or otherwise, shall,  
22 within 60 days before an election described in  
23 paragraph (5), by any means, including by  
24 means of written, electronic, or telephonic com-  
25 munications, communicate, or cause to be com-

1           municated, a materially false statement about  
2           an endorsement, if such person—

3                   “(i) knows such statement to be false;

4                   and

5                   “(ii) has the intent to impede or pre-  
6                   vent another person from exercising the  
7                   right to vote in an election described in  
8                   paragraph (5).

9                   “(B) DEFINITION OF ‘MATERIALLY  
10                   FALSE’.—For purposes of subparagraph (A), a  
11                   statement about an endorsement is ‘materially  
12                   false’ if, with respect to an upcoming election  
13                   described in paragraph (5)—

14                   “(i) the statement states that a spe-  
15                   cifically named person, political party, or  
16                   organization has endorsed the election of a  
17                   specific candidate for a Federal office de-  
18                   scribed in such paragraph; and

19                   “(ii) such person, political party, or  
20                   organization has not endorsed the election  
21                   of such candidate.

22                   “(4) HINDERING, INTERFERING WITH, OR PRE-  
23                   VENTING VOTING OR REGISTERING TO VOTE.—No  
24                   person, whether acting under color of law or other-  
25                   wise, shall intentionally hinder, interfere with, or

1 prevent another person from voting, registering to  
2 vote, or aiding another person to vote or register to  
3 vote in an election described in paragraph (5), in-  
4 cluding by operating a polling place or ballot box  
5 that falsely purports to be an official location estab-  
6 lished for such an election by a unit of government.

7 “(5) ELECTION DESCRIBED.—An election de-  
8 scribed in this paragraph is any general, primary,  
9 runoff, or special election held solely or in part for  
10 the purpose of nominating or electing a candidate  
11 for the office of President, Vice President, Presi-  
12 dential elector, Member of the Senate, Member of  
13 the House of Representatives, or Delegate or Com-  
14 missioner from a Territory or possession.”

15 (b) PRIVATE RIGHT OF ACTION.—

16 (1) IN GENERAL.—Subsection (c) of section  
17 2004 of the Revised Statutes (52 U.S.C. 10101(e))  
18 is amended—

19 (A) by striking “Whenever any person”  
20 and inserting the following:

21 “(1) IN GENERAL.—Whenever any person”; and

22 (B) by adding at the end the following new  
23 paragraph:

24 “(2) CIVIL ACTION.—Any person aggrieved by a  
25 violation of this section may institute a civil action

1 for preventive relief, including an application in a  
2 United States district court for a permanent or tem-  
3 porary injunction, restraining order, or other order.  
4 In any such action, the court, in its discretion, may  
5 allow the prevailing party a reasonable attorney’s fee  
6 as part of the costs.”.

7 (2) CONFORMING AMENDMENTS.—Section 2004  
8 of the Revised Statutes (52 U.S.C. 10101) is  
9 amended—

10 (A) in subsection (e), by striking “sub-  
11 section (c)” and inserting “subsection (c)(1)”;  
12 and

13 (B) in subsection (g), by striking “sub-  
14 section (e)” and inserting “subsection (c)(1)”.

15 (c) CRIMINAL PENALTIES.—

16 (1) DECEPTIVE ACTS.—Section 594 of title 18,  
17 United States Code, as amended by sections 3101  
18 and 3102, is amended—

19 (A) in subsection (a), by striking “at any  
20 election” and inserting “at any general, pri-  
21 mary, runoff, or special election”; and

22 (B) by adding at the end the following new  
23 subsections:

24 “(c) DECEPTIVE ACTS.—

1           “(1) FALSE STATEMENTS REGARDING FEDERAL  
2 ELECTIONS.—

3           “(A) PROHIBITION.—It shall be unlawful  
4 for any person, whether acting under color of  
5 law or otherwise, within 60 days before an elec-  
6 tion described in subsection (f), by any means,  
7 including by means of written, electronic, or tel-  
8 ephonic communications, to communicate or  
9 cause to be communicated information de-  
10 scribed in subparagraph (B), or produce infor-  
11 mation described in subparagraph (B) with the  
12 intent that such information be communicated,  
13 if such person—

14           “(i) knows such information to be ma-  
15 terially false; and

16           “(ii) has the intent to impede or pre-  
17 vent another person from exercising the  
18 right to vote in an election described in  
19 subsection (f).

20           “(B) INFORMATION DESCRIBED.—Infor-  
21 mation is described in this subparagraph if such  
22 information is regarding—

23           “(i) the time or place of holding any  
24 election described in subsection (e); or

1                   “(ii) the qualifications for or restric-  
2                   tions on voter eligibility for any such elec-  
3                   tion, including—

4                                 “(I) any criminal, civil, or other  
5                                 legal penalties associated with voting  
6                                 in any such election; or

7                                 “(II) information regarding a  
8                                 voter’s registration status or eligi-  
9                                 bility.

10                   “(2) PENALTY.—Any person who violates para-  
11                   graph (1) shall be fined not more than \$100,000,  
12                   imprisoned for not more than 5 years, or both.

13                   “(d) HINDERING, INTERFERING WITH, OR PRE-  
14                   VENTING VOTING OR REGISTERING TO VOTE.—

15                                 “(1) PROHIBITION.—It shall be unlawful for  
16                                 any person, whether acting under color of law or  
17                                 otherwise, to corruptly hinder, interfere with, or pre-  
18                                 vent another person from voting, registering to vote,  
19                                 or aiding another person to vote or register to vote  
20                                 in an election described in subsection (f).

21                                 “(2) PENALTY.—Any person who violates para-  
22                                 graph (1) shall be fined not more than \$100,000,  
23                                 imprisoned for not more than 5 years, or both.

24                   “(e) ATTEMPT.—Any person who attempts to commit  
25                   any offense described in subsection (c)(1) or (d)(1) shall



1 be subject to the same penalties as those prescribed for  
2 the offense that the person attempted to commit.

3 “(f) ELECTION DESCRIBED.—An election described  
4 in this subsection is any general, primary, runoff, or spe-  
5 cial election held solely or in part for the purpose of nomi-  
6 nating or electing a candidate for the office of President,  
7 Vice President, Presidential elector, Senator, Member of  
8 the House of Representatives, or Delegate or Resident  
9 Commissioner to the Congress.”.

10 (2) MODIFICATIONS TO PENALTY FOR VOTER  
11 AND ELECTION WORKER INTIMIDATION.—Section  
12 594(a) of title 18, United States Code, as amended  
13 by this Act, is amended by striking “fined under this  
14 title or imprisoned not more than one year” and in-  
15 serting “fined not more than \$100,000, imprisoned  
16 for not more than 5 years”.

17 (3) SENTENCING GUIDELINES.—

18 (A) REVIEW AND AMENDMENT.—Not later  
19 than 180 days after the date of enactment of  
20 this Act, the United States Sentencing Commis-  
21 sion, pursuant to its authority under section  
22 994 of title 28, United States Code, and in ac-  
23 cordance with this section, shall review and, if  
24 appropriate, amend the Federal sentencing  
25 guidelines and policy statements applicable to

1 persons convicted of any offense under section  
2 594 of title 18, United States Code, as amend-  
3 ed by this section.

4 (B) AUTHORIZATION.—The United States  
5 Sentencing Commission may amend the Federal  
6 Sentencing Guidelines in accordance with the  
7 procedures set forth in section 21(a) of the Sen-  
8 tencing Act of 1987 (28 U.S.C. 994 note) as  
9 though the authority under that section had not  
10 expired.

11 (4) PAYMENTS FOR REFRAINING FROM VOT-  
12 ING.—Subsection (c) of section 11 of the Voting  
13 Rights Act of 1965 (52 U.S.C. 10307) is amended  
14 by striking “either for registration to vote or for vot-  
15 ing” and inserting “for registration to vote, for vot-  
16 ing, or for not voting”.

17 **SEC. 3203. CORRECTIVE ACTION.**

18 (a) CORRECTIVE ACTION.—

19 (1) IN GENERAL.—If the Attorney General re-  
20 ceives a credible report that materially false informa-  
21 tion has been or is being communicated in violation  
22 of paragraphs (2) and (3) of section 2004(b) of the  
23 Revised Statutes (52 U.S.C. 10101(b)), as added by  
24 section 3202(a), and if the Attorney General deter-  
25 mines that State and local election officials have not

1 taken adequate steps to promptly communicate accu-  
2 rate information to correct the materially false infor-  
3 mation, the Attorney General shall, pursuant to the  
4 written procedures and standards under subsection  
5 (b), communicate to the public, by any means, in-  
6 cluding by means of written, electronic, or telephonic  
7 communications, accurate information designed to  
8 correct the materially false information.

9 (2) COMMUNICATION OF CORRECTIVE INFORMA-  
10 TION.—Any information communicated by the Attor-  
11 ney General under paragraph (1)—

12 (A) shall—

13 (i) be accurate and objective;

14 (ii) consist of only the information  
15 necessary to correct the materially false in-  
16 formation that has been or is being com-  
17 municated; and

18 (iii) to the extent practicable, be by a  
19 means that the Attorney General deter-  
20 mines will reach the persons to whom the  
21 materially false information has been or is  
22 being communicated; and

23 (B) shall not be designed to favor or dis-  
24 favor any particular candidate, organization, or  
25 political party.

1 (b) WRITTEN PROCEDURES AND STANDARDS FOR  
2 TAKING CORRECTIVE ACTION.—

3 (1) IN GENERAL.—Not later than 180 days  
4 after the date of enactment of this Act, the Attorney  
5 General shall publish written procedures and stand-  
6 ards for determining when and how corrective action  
7 will be taken under this section.

8 (2) INCLUSION OF APPROPRIATE DEADLINES.—  
9 The procedures and standards under paragraph (1)  
10 shall include appropriate deadlines, based in part on  
11 the number of days remaining before the upcoming  
12 election.

13 (3) CONSULTATION.—In developing the proce-  
14 dures and standards under paragraph (1), the Attor-  
15 ney General shall consult with the Election Assist-  
16 ance Commission, State and local election officials,  
17 civil rights organizations, voting rights groups, voter  
18 protection groups, and other interested community  
19 organizations.

20 (c) AUTHORIZATION OF APPROPRIATIONS.—There  
21 are authorized to be appropriated to the Attorney General  
22 such sums as may be necessary to carry out this subtitle.

23 **SEC. 3204. REPORTS TO CONGRESS.**

24 (a) IN GENERAL.—Not later than 180 days after  
25 each general election for Federal office, the Attorney Gen-

1 eral shall submit to Congress a report compiling all allega-  
2 tions received by the Attorney General of deceptive prac-  
3 tices described in paragraphs (2), (3), and (4) of section  
4 2004(b) of the Revised Statutes (52 U.S.C. 10101(b)), as  
5 added by section 3202(a), relating to the general election  
6 for Federal office and any primary, runoff, or a special  
7 election for Federal office held in the 2 years preceding  
8 the general election.

9 (b) CONTENTS.—

10 (1) IN GENERAL.—Each report submitted  
11 under subsection (a) shall include—

12 (A) a description of each allegation of a  
13 deceptive practice described in subsection (a),  
14 including the geographic location, racial and  
15 ethnic composition, and language minority-  
16 group membership of the persons toward whom  
17 the alleged deceptive practice was directed;

18 (B) the status of the investigation of each  
19 allegation described in subparagraph (A);

20 (C) a description of each corrective action  
21 taken by the Attorney General under section  
22 3203(a) in response to an allegation described  
23 in subparagraph (A);

1 (D) a description of each referral of an al-  
2 legation described in subparagraph (A) to other  
3 Federal, State, or local agencies;

4 (E) to the extent information is available,  
5 a description of any civil action instituted under  
6 section 2004(c)(2) of the Revised Statutes (52  
7 U.S.C. 10101(c)(2)), as added by section  
8 3202(b), in connection with an allegation de-  
9 scribed in subparagraph (A); and

10 (F) a description of any criminal prosecu-  
11 tion instituted under subsection (c) or (d) of  
12 section 594 of title 18, United States Code, as  
13 amended by section 3202(c), in connection with  
14 the receipt of an allegation described in sub-  
15 paragraph (A) by the Attorney General.

16 (2) EXCLUSION OF CERTAIN INFORMATION.—

17 (A) IN GENERAL.—The Attorney General  
18 shall not include in a report submitted under  
19 subsection (a) any information protected from  
20 disclosure by rule 6(e) of the Federal Rules of  
21 Criminal Procedure or any Federal criminal  
22 statute.

23 (B) EXCLUSION OF CERTAIN OTHER IN-  
24 FORMATION.—The Attorney General may deter-  
25 mine that the following information shall not be

1 included in a report submitted under subsection

2 (a):

3 (i) Any information that is privileged.

4 (ii) Any information concerning an  
5 ongoing investigation.

6 (iii) Any information concerning a  
7 criminal or civil proceeding conducted  
8 under seal.

9 (iv) Any other nonpublic information  
10 that the Attorney General determines the  
11 disclosure of which could reasonably be ex-  
12 pected to infringe on the rights of any in-  
13 dividual or adversely affect the integrity of  
14 a pending or future criminal investigation.

15 (c) REPORT MADE PUBLIC.—On the date that the  
16 Attorney General submits the report under subsection (a),  
17 the Attorney General shall also make the report publicly  
18 available through the internet and other appropriate  
19 means.

20 **SEC. 3205. PRIVATE RIGHTS OF ACTION BY ELECTION OFFI-**  
21 **CIALS.**

22 Subsection (c)(2) of section 2004 of the Revised Stat-  
23 utes (52 U.S.C. 10101(b)), as added by section 3202(b),  
24 is amended—

1           (1) by striking “Any person” and inserting the  
2 following:

3                   “(A) IN GENERAL.—Any person”; and

4           (2) by adding at the end the following new sub-  
5 paragraph:

6                   “(B) INTIMIDATION, ETC.—

7                           “(i) IN GENERAL.—A person ag-  
8 grieved by a violation of subsection (b)(1)  
9 shall include, without limitation, an officer  
10 responsible for maintaining order and pre-  
11 venting intimidation, threats, or coercion  
12 in or around a location at which voters  
13 may cast their votes.

14                           “(ii) CORRECTIVE ACTION.—If the At-  
15 torney General receives a credible report  
16 that conduct that violates or would be rea-  
17 sonably likely to violate subsection (b)(1)  
18 has occurred or is likely to occur, and if  
19 the Attorney General determines that  
20 State and local officials have not taken  
21 adequate steps to promptly communicate  
22 that such conduct would violate subsection  
23 (b)(1) or applicable State or local laws, the  
24 Attorney General shall communicate to the  
25 public, by any means, including by means



1 of written, electronic, or telephonic commu-  
2 nications, accurate information designed to  
3 convey the unlawfulness of proscribed con-  
4 duct under subsection (b)(1) and the re-  
5 sponsibilities of and resources available to  
6 State and local officials to prevent or cor-  
7 rect such violations.”.

8 **SEC. 3206. MAKING INTIMIDATION OF TABULATION, CAN-**  
9 **VASS, AND CERTIFICATION EFFORTS A**  
10 **CRIME.**

11 Section 12(1) of the National Voter Registration Act  
12 (52 U.S.C. 20511) is amended—

13 (1) in subparagraph (B), by striking “or” at  
14 the end; and

15 (2) by adding at the end the following new sub-  
16 paragraph:

17 “(D) processing or scanning ballots, or  
18 tabulating, canvassing, or certifying voting re-  
19 sults; or”.

1 **Subtitle D—Protection of Election**  
2 **Records and Election Infra-**  
3 **structure**

4 **SEC. 3301. STRENGTHEN PROTECTIONS FOR FEDERAL**  
5 **ELECTION RECORDS.**

6 (a) FINDING OF CONSTITUTIONAL AUTHORITY.—

7 Congress finds as follows:

8 (1) Congress has explicit and broad authority to  
9 regulate the time, place, and manner of Federal elec-  
10 tions under the Elections Clause under article I, sec-  
11 tion 4, clause 1 of the Constitution, including by es-  
12 tablishing standards for the fair, impartial, and uni-  
13 form administration of Federal elections by State  
14 and local officials.

15 (2) The Elections Clause grants Congress “ple-  
16 nary and paramount jurisdiction over the whole sub-  
17 ject” of Federal elections, *Ex parte Siebold*, 100  
18 U.S. 371, 388 (1879), allowing Congress to imple-  
19 ment “a complete code for congressional elections”.  
20 *Smiley v. Holm*, 285 U.S. 355, 366 (1932).

21 (3) The fair and impartial administration of  
22 Federal elections by State and local officials is cen-  
23 tral to “the successful working of this government”,  
24 *Ex parte Yarbrough*, 110 U.S. 651, 666 (1884), and

1 to “protect the act of voting . . . and the election  
2 itself from corruption or fraud”, *id.* at 661–62.

3 (4) The Elections Clause thus grants Congress  
4 the authority to strengthen the protections for Fed-  
5 eral election records.

6 (5) Congress has intervened in the electoral  
7 process to protect the health and legitimacy of fed-  
8 eral elections, including for example, Congress’ en-  
9 actment of the Help America Vote Act of 2002 as  
10 a response to several issues that occurred during the  
11 2000 Presidential election. See “The Elections  
12 Clause: Constitutional Interpretation and Congres-  
13 sional Exercise”, Hearing Before Comm. on House  
14 Administration, 117th Cong. (2021), written testi-  
15 mony of Vice Dean Franita Tolson at 3.

16 (b) STRENGTHENING OF PROTECTIONS.—Section  
17 301 of the Civil Rights Act of 1960 (52 U.S.C. 20701)  
18 is amended—

19 (1) by striking “Every officer” and inserting  
20 the following:

21 “(a) IN GENERAL.—Every officer”;

22 (2) by striking “records and papers” and in-  
23 sserting “records (including electronic records), pa-  
24 pers, and election equipment” each place the term  
25 appears;

1           (3) by striking “record or paper” and inserting  
2           “record (including electronic record), paper, or elec-  
3           tion equipment”;

4           (4) by inserting “(but only under the direct ad-  
5           ministrative supervision of an election officer). Not-  
6           withstanding any other provision of this section, the  
7           paper record of a voter’s cast ballot shall remain the  
8           official record of the cast ballot for purposes of this  
9           title” after “upon such custodian”;

10          (5) by inserting “, or acts in reckless disregard  
11          of,” after “fails to comply with”; and

12          (6) by inserting after subsection (a) the fol-  
13          lowing:

14          “(b) ELECTION EQUIPMENT.—The requirement in  
15          subsection (a) to preserve election equipment shall not be  
16          construed to prevent the reuse of such equipment in any  
17          election that takes place within twenty-two months of a  
18          Federal election described in subsection (a), provided that  
19          all electronic records, files, and data from such equipment  
20          related to such Federal election are retained and pre-  
21          served.

22          “(c) GUIDANCE.—Not later than 1 year after the  
23          date of enactment of this subsection, the Director of the  
24          Cybersecurity and Infrastructure Security Agency of the  
25          Department of Homeland Security, in consultation with

1 the Election Assistance Commission and the Attorney  
2 General, shall issue guidance regarding compliance with  
3 subsections (a) and (b), including minimum standards and  
4 best practices for retaining and preserving records and pa-  
5 pers in compliance with subsection (a). Such guidance  
6 shall also include protocols for enabling the observation  
7 of the preservation, security, and transfer of records and  
8 papers described in subsection (a) by the Attorney General  
9 and by a representative of each party, as defined by the  
10 Attorney General.”.

11 (c) PROTECTING THE INTEGRITY OF PAPER BAL-  
12 LOTS IN FEDERAL ELECTIONS.—

13 (1) PROTOCOLS AND CONDITIONS FOR INSPEC-  
14 TION OF BALLOTS.—Not later than 60 days after  
15 the date of the enactment of this Act, the Attorney  
16 General, in consultation with the Director of the Cy-  
17 bersecurity and Infrastructure Security Agency of  
18 the Department of Homeland Security and the Elec-  
19 tion Assistance Commission, shall promulgate regu-  
20 lations establishing the election security protocols  
21 and conditions, including appropriate chain of cus-  
22 tody and proper preservation practices, which will  
23 apply to the inspection of the paper ballots which  
24 are required to be retained and preserved under sec-

1       tion 301 of the Civil Rights Act of 1960 (52 U.S.C.  
2       20701).

3               (2) CAUSE OF ACTION FOR INJUNCTIVE AND  
4       DECLARATORY RELIEF.—The Attorney General may  
5       bring an action in an appropriate district court of  
6       the United States for such declaratory or injunctive  
7       relief as may be necessary to ensure compliance with  
8       the regulations promulgated under subsection (a).

9       **SEC. 3302. PENALTIES; INSPECTION; NONDISCLOSURE; JU-**  
10               **RISDICTION.**

11       (a) EXPANSION OF SCOPE OF PENALTIES FOR IN-  
12       TERFERENCE.—Section 302 of the Civil Rights Act of  
13       1960 (52 U.S.C. 20702) is amended—

14               (1) by inserting “, or whose reckless disregard  
15       of section 301 results in the theft, destruction, con-  
16       cealment, mutilation, or alteration of,” after “or al-  
17       ters”; and

18               (2) by striking “record or paper” and inserting  
19       “record (including electronic record), paper, or elec-  
20       tion equipment”.

21       (b) INSPECTION, REPRODUCTION, AND COPYING.—  
22       Section 303 of such Act (52 U.S.C. 20703) is amended  
23       by striking “record or paper” each place it appears and  
24       inserting “record (including electronic record), paper, or  
25       election equipment”.

1 (c) NONDISCLOSURE.—Section 304 of such Act (52  
2 U.S.C. 20704) is amended by striking “record or paper”  
3 and inserting “record (including electronic record), paper,  
4 or election equipment”.

5 (d) JURISDICTION TO COMPEL PRODUCTION.—Sec-  
6 tion 305 of such Act (52 U.S.C. 20705) is amended by  
7 striking “record or paper” each place it appears and in-  
8 serting “record (including electronic record), paper, or  
9 election equipment”.

10 **SEC. 3303. JUDICIAL REVIEW TO ENSURE COMPLIANCE.**

11 Title III of the Civil Rights Act of 1960 (52 U.S.C.  
12 20701 et seq.) is amended by adding at the end the fol-  
13 lowing:

14 **“SEC. 307. JUDICIAL REVIEW TO ENSURE COMPLIANCE.**

15 “(a) CAUSE OF ACTION.—The Attorney General, a  
16 representative of the Attorney General, or a candidate in  
17 a Federal election described in section 301 may bring an  
18 action in the district court of the United States for the  
19 judicial district in which a record or paper is located, or  
20 in the United States District Court for the District of Co-  
21 lumbia, to compel compliance with the requirements of  
22 section 301.

23 “(b) DUTY TO EXPEDITE.—It shall be the duty of  
24 the court to advance on the docket, and to expedite to

1 the greatest possible extent the disposition of, the action  
2 and any appeal under this section.”.

3 **Subtitle E—Judicial Protection of**  
4 **the Right To Vote and Non-Par-**  
5 **tisan Vote Tabulation**

6 **PART 1—RIGHT TO VOTE ACT**

7 **SEC. 3401. SHORT TITLE.**

8 This part may be cited as the “Right to Vote Act”.

9 **SEC. 3402. UNDUE BURDENS ON THE ABILITY TO VOTE IN**  
10 **ELECTIONS FOR FEDERAL OFFICE PROHIB-**  
11 **ITED.**

12 (a) **IN GENERAL.**—Every citizen of legal voting age  
13 shall have the right to vote and have one’s vote counted  
14 in elections for Federal office free from any burden on  
15 the time, place, or manner of voting, as set forth in sub-  
16 sections (b) and (c).

17 (b) **RETROGRESSION.**—A government may not dimin-  
18 ish the ability to vote or to have one’s vote counted in  
19 an election for Federal office unless the law, rule, stand-  
20 ard, practice, procedure, or other governmental action  
21 causing the diminishment is the least restrictive means of  
22 significantly furthering an important, particularized gov-  
23 ernment interest.

24 (c) **SUBSTANTIAL IMPAIRMENT.**—



1           (1) IN GENERAL.—A government may not sub-  
2           stantially impair the ability of an individual to vote  
3           or to have one’s vote counted in an election for Fed-  
4           eral office unless the law, rule, standard, practice,  
5           procedure, or other governmental action causing the  
6           impairment significantly furthers an important, par-  
7           ticularized governmental interest.

8           (2) SUBSTANTIAL IMPAIRMENT.—For purposes  
9           of this section, a substantial impairment is a non-  
10          trivial impairment that makes it more difficult to  
11          vote or to have one’s vote counted than if the law,  
12          rule, standard, practice, procedure, or other govern-  
13          mental action had not been adopted or implemented.  
14          An impairment may be substantial even if the voter  
15          or other similarly situated voters are able to vote or  
16          to have one’s vote counted notwithstanding the im-  
17          pairment.

18 **SEC. 3403. JUDICIAL REVIEW.**

19          (a) CIVIL ACTION.—An action challenging a violation  
20          of this part may be brought by any aggrieved person or  
21          the Attorney General in the district court for the District  
22          of Columbia, or the district court for the district in which  
23          the violation took place or where any defendant resides  
24          or does business, at the selection of the plaintiff, to obtain  
25          all appropriate relief, whether declaratory or injunctive, or

1 facial or as-applied. Process may be served in any district  
2 where a defendant resides, does business, or may be found.

3 (b) STANDARDS TO BE APPLIED.—A court adjudi-  
4 cating an action brought under this part shall apply the  
5 following standards:

6 (1) RETROGRESSION.—

7 (A) A plaintiff establishes a prima facie  
8 case of retrogression by demonstrating by a  
9 preponderance of the evidence that a rule,  
10 standard, practice, procedure, or other govern-  
11 mental action diminishes the ability, or other-  
12 wise makes it more difficult, to vote, or have  
13 one's vote counted.

14 (B) If a plaintiff establishes a prima facie  
15 case as described in subparagraph (A), the gov-  
16 ernment shall be provided an opportunity to  
17 demonstrate by clear and convincing evidence  
18 that the diminishment is necessary to signifi-  
19 cantly further an important, particularized gov-  
20 ernmental interest.

21 (C) If the government meets its burden  
22 under subparagraph (B), the challenged rule,  
23 standard, practice, procedure, or other govern-  
24 mental action shall nonetheless be deemed in-  
25 valid if the plaintiff demonstrates by a prepon-

1 derance of the evidence that the government  
2 could adopt or implement a less-restrictive  
3 means of furthering the particularized impor-  
4 tant governmental interest.

5 (2) SUBSTANTIAL IMPAIRMENT.—

6 (A) A plaintiff establishes a prima facie  
7 case of substantial impairment by dem-  
8 onstrating by a preponderance of the evidence  
9 that a rule, standard, practice, procedure, or  
10 other governmental action is a non-trivial im-  
11 pairment of the ability to vote or to have one's  
12 vote counted.

13 (B) If a plaintiff establishes a prima facie  
14 case as described in subparagraph (A), the gov-  
15 ernment shall be provided an opportunity to  
16 demonstrate by clear and convincing evidence  
17 that the impairment significantly furthers an  
18 important, particularized governmental interest.

19 (c) DUTY TO EXPEDITE.—It shall be the duty of the  
20 court to advance on the docket and to expedite to the  
21 greatest reasonable extent the disposition of the action  
22 and appeal under this section.

23 (d) ATTORNEY'S FEES.—Section 722(b) of the Re-  
24 vised Statutes (42 U.S.C. 1988(b)) is amended—

1           (1) by striking “or section 40302” and insert-  
2           ing “section 40302”; and

3           (2) by striking “, the court” and inserting “, or  
4           section 3402(a) of the Freedom to Vote Act, the  
5           court”.

6 **SEC. 3404. DEFINITIONS.**

7           In this part—

8           (1) the term “covered entity” means the Dis-  
9           trict of Columbia, the Commonwealth of Puerto  
10          Rico, Guam, American Samoa, the United States  
11          Virgin Islands, and the Commonwealth of the North-  
12          ern Mariana Islands;

13          (2) the terms “election” and “Federal office”  
14          have the meanings given such terms in section 301  
15          of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 (52  
16          U.S.C. 30101);

17          (3) the term “have one’s vote counted” means  
18          all actions necessary to have a vote included in the  
19          appropriate totals of votes cast with respect to can-  
20          didates for public office for which votes are received  
21          in an election and reflected in the certified vote to-  
22          tals by any government responsible for tallying or  
23          certifying the results of elections for Federal office;

24          (4) the term “government” includes a branch,  
25          department, agency, instrumentality, and official (or

1 other person acting under color of law) of the  
2 United States, of any State, of any covered entity,  
3 or of any political subdivision of any State or cov-  
4 ered entity; and

5 (5) the term “vote” means all actions necessary  
6 to make a vote effective, including registration or  
7 other action required by law as a prerequisite to vot-  
8 ing, casting a ballot.

9 **SEC. 3405. RULES OF CONSTRUCTION.**

10 (a) **BURDENS NOT AUTHORIZED.**—Nothing in this  
11 part may be construed to authorize a government to bur-  
12 den the right to vote in elections for Federal office.

13 (b) **OTHER RIGHTS AND REMEDIES.**—Nothing in  
14 this part shall be construed to alter any rights existing  
15 under a State constitution or the Constitution of the  
16 United States, or to limit any remedies for any other viola-  
17 tions of Federal, State, or local law.

18 (c) **OTHER PROVISIONS OF THIS ACT.**—Nothing in  
19 this subtitle shall be construed as affecting section 1703  
20 of this Act (relating to rights of citizens).

21 (d) **OTHER DEFINITIONS.**—The definitions set forth  
22 in section 3404 shall apply only to this part and shall not  
23 be construed to amend or interpret any other provision  
24 of law.

1 **SEC. 3406. SEVERABILITY.**

2       If any provision of this part or the application of such  
3 provision to any citizen or circumstance is held to be un-  
4 constitutional, the remainder of this part and the applica-  
5 tion of the provisions of such to any citizen or cir-  
6 cumstance shall not be affected thereby.

7 **SEC. 3407. EFFECTIVE DATE.**

8       (a) ACTIONS BROUGHT FOR RETROGRESSION.—Sub-  
9 section (b) of section 3402 shall apply to any law, rule,  
10 standard, practice, procedure, or other governmental ac-  
11 tion that was not in effect during the November 2022 gen-  
12 eral election for Federal office but that will be in effect  
13 with respect to elections for Federal office occurring on  
14 or after January 1, 2024, even if such law, rule, standard,  
15 practice, procedure, or other governmental action is al-  
16 ready in effect as of the date of the enactment of this  
17 Act.

18       (b) ACTIONS BROUGHT FOR SUBSTANTIAL IMPAIR-  
19 MENT.—Subsection (c) of section 3402 shall apply to any  
20 law, rule, standard, practice, procedure, or other govern-  
21 mental action in effect with respect to elections for Fed-  
22 eral office occurring on or after January 1, 2024.

1       **PART 2—CLARIFYING JURISDICTION OVER**  
2                                   **ELECTION DISPUTES**

3   **SEC. 3411. FINDINGS.**

4       In addition to providing for the statutory rights de-  
5 scribed in part 1, including judicial review under section  
6 3403, Congress makes the following findings regarding en-  
7 forcement of constitutional provisions protecting the right  
8 to vote:

9           (1) It is a priority of Congress to ensure that  
10       pending and future disputes arising under the Fif-  
11       teenth Amendment or any other constitutional provi-  
12       sions protecting the right to vote may be heard in  
13       Federal court.

14          (2) The Fifth Circuit has misconstrued section  
15       1344 of title 28, United States Code, to deprive  
16       Federal courts of subject matter jurisdiction in cer-  
17       tain classes of cases that implicate voters' constitu-  
18       tional rights, see, e.g., *Keyes v. Gunn*, 890 F.3d 232  
19       (5th Cir. 2018), cert. denied, 139 S. Ct. 434 (2018);  
20       *Johnson v. Stevenson*, 170 F.2d 108 (5th Cir.  
21       1948).

22          (3) Section 1344 of such title is also super-  
23       fluous in light of other broad grants of Federal ju-  
24       risdiction. See, e.g., section 1331, section  
25       1343(a)(3), and section 1343(a)(4) of title 28,  
26       United States Code.

1           (4) Congress therefore finds that a repeal of  
2           section 1344 is appropriate and that such repeal will  
3           ensure that Federal courts nationwide are empow-  
4           ered to enforce voters' constitutional rights in Fed-  
5           eral elections and State legislative elections.

6 **SEC. 3412. CLARIFYING AUTHORITY OF UNITED STATES**  
7                                   **DISTRICT COURTS TO HEAR CASES.**

8           (a) **IN GENERAL.**—Section 1344 of title 28, United  
9           States Code, is repealed.

10          (b) **CONTINUING AUTHORITY OF COURTS TO HEAR**  
11 **CASES UNDER OTHER EXISTING AUTHORITY.**—Nothing  
12 in this part may be construed to affect the authority of  
13 district courts of the United States to exercise jurisdiction  
14 pursuant to existing provisions of law, including sections  
15 1331, 1343(a)(3), and 1343(a)(4) of title 28, United  
16 States Code, in any cases arising under the Constitution,  
17 laws, or treaties of the United States concerning the ad-  
18 ministration, conduct, or results of an election for Federal  
19 office or state legislative office.

20          (c) **CLERICAL AMENDMENT.**—The table of sections  
21 for chapter 85 of title 28, United States Code, is amended  
22 by striking the item relating to section 1344.

23 **SEC. 3413. EFFECTIVE DATE.**

24          This part and the amendments made by this part  
25 shall apply to actions brought on or after the date of the



1 enactment of this Act and to actions brought before the  
2 date of enactment of this Act which are pending as of such  
3 date.

## 4                   **Subtitle F—Poll Worker** 5                   **Recruitment and Training**

6 **SEC. 3501. GRANTS TO STATES FOR POLL WORKER RE-**  
7                   **CRUITMENT AND TRAINING.**

8           (a) GRANTS BY ELECTION ASSISTANCE COMMIS-  
9 SION.—

10           (1) IN GENERAL.—The Election Assistance  
11 Commission (hereafter referred to as the “Commis-  
12 sion”) shall, subject to the availability of appropria-  
13 tions provided to carry out this section, make a  
14 grant to each eligible State for recruiting and train-  
15 ing individuals to serve as poll workers on dates of  
16 elections for public office.

17           (2) USE OF COMMISSION MATERIALS.—In car-  
18 rying out activities with a grant provided under this  
19 section, the recipient of the grant shall use the man-  
20 ual prepared by the Commission on successful prac-  
21 tices for poll worker recruiting, training, and reten-  
22 tion as an interactive training tool, and shall develop  
23 training programs with the participation and input  
24 of experts in adult learning.

1           (3) ACCESS AND CULTURAL CONSIDER-  
2           ATIONS.—The Commission shall ensure that the  
3           manual described in paragraph (2) provides training  
4           in methods that will enable poll workers to provide  
5           access and delivery of services in a culturally com-  
6           petent manner to all voters who use their services,  
7           including those with limited English proficiency, di-  
8           verse cultural and ethnic backgrounds, disabilities,  
9           and regardless of gender, sexual orientation, or gen-  
10          der identity. These methods must ensure that each  
11          voter will have access to poll worker services that are  
12          delivered in a manner that meets the unique needs  
13          of the voter.

14          (b) REQUIREMENTS FOR ELIGIBILITY.—

15               (1) APPLICATION.—Each State that desires to  
16               receive a payment under this section shall submit an  
17               application for the payment to the Commission at  
18               such time and in such manner and containing such  
19               information as the Commission shall require.

20               (2) CONTENTS OF APPLICATION.—Each appli-  
21               cation submitted under paragraph (1) shall—

22                     (A) describe the activities for which assist-  
23                     ance under this section is sought;

24                     (B) provide assurances that the funds pro-  
25                     vided under this section will be used to supple-

1           ment and not supplant other funds used to  
2           carry out the activities;

3           (C) provide assurances that the State will  
4           furnish the Commission with information on the  
5           number of individuals who served as poll work-  
6           ers after recruitment and training with the  
7           funds provided under this section;

8           (D) provide assurances that the State will  
9           dedicate poll worker recruitment efforts with re-  
10          spect to—

11           (i) youth and minors, including by re-  
12           cruiting at institutions of higher education  
13           and secondary education; and

14           (ii) diversity, including with respect to  
15           race, ethnicity, and disability; and

16           (E) provide such additional information  
17           and certifications as the Commission deter-  
18           mines to be essential to ensure compliance with  
19           the requirements of this section.

20          (c) AMOUNT OF GRANT.—

21           (1) IN GENERAL.—The amount of a grant  
22           made to a State under this section shall be equal to  
23           the product of—

24           (A) the aggregate amount made available  
25           for grants to States under this section; and

1 (B) the voting age population percentage  
2 for the State.

3 (2) VOTING AGE POPULATION PERCENTAGE DE-  
4 FINED.—In paragraph (1), the “voting age popu-  
5 lation percentage” for a State is the quotient of—

6 (A) the voting age population of the State  
7 (as determined on the basis of the most recent  
8 information available from the Bureau of the  
9 Census); and

10 (B) the total voting age population of all  
11 States (as determined on the basis of the most  
12 recent information available from the Bureau of  
13 the Census).

14 (d) REPORTS TO CONGRESS.—

15 (1) REPORTS BY RECIPIENTS OF GRANTS.—Not  
16 later than 6 months after the date on which the  
17 final grant is made under this section, each recipient  
18 of a grant shall submit a report to the Commission  
19 on the activities conducted with the funds provided  
20 by the grant.

21 (2) REPORTS BY COMMISSION.—Not later than  
22 1 year after the date on which the final grant is  
23 made under this section, the Commission shall sub-  
24 mit a report to Congress on the grants made under  
25 this section and the activities carried out by recipi-

1       ents with the grants, and shall include in the report  
2       such recommendations as the Commission considers  
3       appropriate.

4       (e) FUNDING.—

5           (1) CONTINUING AVAILABILITY OF AMOUNT AP-  
6       PROPRIATED.—Any amount appropriated to carry  
7       out this section shall remain available without fiscal  
8       year limitation until expended.

9           (2) ADMINISTRATIVE EXPENSES.—Of the  
10      amount appropriated for any fiscal year to carry out  
11      this section, not more than 3 percent shall be avail-  
12      able for administrative expenses of the Commission.

13   **SEC. 3502. STATE DEFINED.**

14      In this subtitle, the term “State” includes the Dis-  
15      trict of Columbia, the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico,  
16      Guam, American Samoa, the United States Virgin Is-  
17      lands, and the Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana  
18      Islands.

19           **Subtitle G—Preventing Poll**  
20           **Observer Interference**

21   **SEC. 3601. PROTECTIONS FOR VOTERS ON ELECTION DAY.**

22      (a) REQUIREMENTS.—Subtitle A of title III of the  
23      Help America Vote Act of 2002 (52 U.S.C. 21081 et seq.)  
24      is amended by inserting after section 303 the following  
25      new section:

1 **“SEC. 303A. VOTER PROTECTION REQUIREMENTS.**

2       “(a) REQUIREMENTS FOR CHALLENGES BY PERSONS  
3 OTHER THAN ELECTION OFFICIALS.—

4               “(1) REQUIREMENTS FOR CHALLENGES.—No  
5 person, other than a State or local election official,  
6 shall submit a formal challenge to an individual’s eli-  
7 gibility to register to vote in an election for Federal  
8 office or to vote in an election for Federal office un-  
9 less that challenge is supported by personal knowl-  
10 edge with respect to each individual challenged re-  
11 garding the grounds for ineligibility which is—

12                       “(A) documented in writing; and

13                       “(B) subject to an oath or attestation  
14 under penalty of perjury that the challenger has  
15 a good faith factual basis to believe that the in-  
16 dividual who is the subject of the challenge is  
17 ineligible to register to vote or vote in that elec-  
18 tion, except a challenge which is based on the  
19 race, ethnicity, or national origin of the indi-  
20 vidual who is the subject of the challenge may  
21 not be considered to have a good faith factual  
22 basis for purposes of this paragraph.

23               “(2) PROHIBITION ON CHALLENGES ON OR  
24 NEAR DATE OF ELECTION.—No person, other than  
25 a State or local election official, shall be permitted—

1           “(A) to challenge an individual’s eligibility  
2 to vote in an election for Federal office on the  
3 date of the election on grounds that could have  
4 been made in advance of such date; or

5           “(B) to challenge an individual’s eligibility  
6 to register to vote in an election for Federal of-  
7 fice or to vote in an election for Federal office  
8 less than 10 days before the election unless the  
9 individual registered to vote less than 20 days  
10 before the election.

11       “(b) BUFFER RULE.—

12           “(1) IN GENERAL.—A person who is serving as  
13 a poll observer with respect to an election for Fed-  
14 eral office may not come within 8 feet of—

15           “(A) a voter or ballot at a polling location  
16 during any period of voting (including any pe-  
17 riod of early voting) in such election; or

18           “(B) a ballot at any time during which the  
19 processing, scanning, tabulating, canvassing, or  
20 certifying voting results is occurring.

21       “(2) RULE OF CONSTRUCTION.—Nothing in  
22 paragraph (1) may be construed to limit the ability  
23 of a State or local election official to require poll ob-  
24 servers to maintain a distance greater than 8 feet.

1       “(c) EFFECTIVE DATE.—This section shall apply  
2 with respect to elections for Federal office occurring on  
3 and after January 1, 2024.”.

4       (b) CONFORMING AMENDMENT RELATING TO VOL-  
5 UNTARY GUIDANCE.—Section 321(b)(4) of such Act (52  
6 U.S.C. 21101(b)), as added and redesignated by section  
7 1101(b) and as amended by sections 1102, 1103, 1104,  
8 and 1303, is amended by striking “and 313” and inserting  
9 “313, and 303A”.

10       (c) CLERICAL AMENDMENT.—The table of contents  
11 of such Act is amended by inserting after the item relating  
12 to section 303 the following:

“Sec. 303A. Voter protection requirements.”.

13 **Subtitle H—Preventing Restric-**  
14 **tions on Food and Beverages**

15 **SEC. 3701. SHORT TITLE; FINDINGS.**

16       (a) SHORT TITLE.—This subtitle may be cited as the  
17 “Voters’ Access to Water Act”.

18       (b) FINDINGS.—Congress finds the following:

19           (1) States have a legitimate interest in prohib-  
20 iting electioneering at or near polling places, and  
21 each State has some form of restriction on political  
22 activities near polling places when voting is taking  
23 place.

24           (2) In recent elections, voters have waited in  
25 unacceptably long lines to cast their ballot. During



1 the 2018 midterm election, more than 3,000,000  
2 voters were made to wait longer than the acceptable  
3 threshold for wait times set by the Presidential  
4 Commission on Election Administration, including  
5 many well-documented cases where voters were made  
6 to wait for several hours. A disproportionate number  
7 of those who had to wait long periods were Black or  
8 Latino voters, who were more likely than White vot-  
9 ers to wait in the longest lines on Election Day.

10 (3) Allowing volunteers to donate food and  
11 water to all people waiting in line at a polling place,  
12 regardless of the voters' political preference and  
13 without engaging in electioneering activities or par-  
14 tisan advocacy, helps ensure Americans who face  
15 long lines at their polling place can still exercise  
16 their constitutional right to vote, without risk of de-  
17 hydration, inadequate food, discomfort, and risks to  
18 health.

19 **SEC. 3702. PROHIBITING RESTRICTIONS ON DONATIONS OF**  
20 **FOOD AND BEVERAGES AT POLLING STA-**  
21 **TIONS.**

22 (a) REQUIREMENT.—Subtitle A of title III of the  
23 Help America Vote Act of 2002 (52 U.S.C. 21081 et seq.),  
24 as amended by section 1031(a), section 1044(a), section  
25 1101(a), section 1102(a), section 1103(a), section

1 1104(a), section 1201(a), section 1301(a), section  
2 1302(a), section 1303(b), section 1305(a), section  
3 1606(a)(1), section 1607(a), and section 1624(a) is  
4 amended—

5 (1) by redesignating sections 318 and 319 as  
6 sections 319 and 320, respectively; and

7 (2) by inserting after section 317 the following  
8 new section:

9 **“SEC. 318. PROHIBITING STATES FROM RESTRICTING DO-**  
10 **NATIONS OF FOOD AND BEVERAGES AT**  
11 **POLLING STATIONS.**

12 “(a) PROHIBITION.—Subject to the exception in sub-  
13 section (b), a State may not impose any restriction on the  
14 donation of food and nonalcoholic beverages to persons  
15 outside of the entrance to the building where a polling  
16 place for a Federal election is located, provided that such  
17 food and nonalcoholic beverages are distributed without  
18 regard to the electoral participation or political pref-  
19 erences of the recipients.

20 “(b) EXCEPTION.—A State may require persons dis-  
21 tributing food and nonalcoholic beverages outside the en-  
22 trance to the building where a polling place for a Federal  
23 election is located to refrain from political or election-  
24 eering activity.

1       “(c) EFFECTIVE DATE.—This section shall apply  
2 with respect to elections for Federal office occurring on  
3 and after January 1, 2024.”.

4       (b) VOLUNTARY GUIDANCE.—Section 321(b)(4) of  
5 such Act (52 U.S.C. 21101(b)), as added and redesignated  
6 by section 1101(b) and as amended by sections 1102,  
7 1103, 1104, 1303, and 3601(b), is amended by striking  
8 “and 303A” and inserting “303A, and 317”.

9       (c) CLERICAL AMENDMENTS.—The table of contents  
10 of such Act, as amended by section 1031(c), section  
11 1044(b), section 1101(c), section 1102(c), section  
12 1103(a), section 1104(c), section 1201(c), section  
13 1301(a), section 1302(a), section 1303(b), section  
14 1305(a), section 1606(a)(3), section 1607(b), and section  
15 1624(b) is amended—

16           (1) by redesignating the items relating to sec-  
17 tions 318 and 319 as relating to sections 319 and  
18 320, respectively; and

19           (2) by inserting after the item relating to sec-  
20 tion 317 the following new item:

“Sec. 318. Prohibiting States from restricting donations of food and beverages  
at polling stations.”.

1 **Subtitle I—Establishing Duty To**  
2 **Report Foreign Election Inter-**  
3 **ference**

4 **SEC. 3801. FINDINGS RELATING TO ILLICIT MONEY UNDER-**  
5 **MINING OUR DEMOCRACY.**

6 Congress finds the following:

7 (1) Criminals, terrorists, and corrupt govern-  
8 ment officials frequently abuse anonymously held  
9 Limited Liability Companies (LLCs), also known as  
10 “shell companies”, to hide, move, and launder the  
11 dirty money derived from illicit activities such as  
12 trafficking, bribery, exploitation, and embezzlement.  
13 Ownership and control of the finances that run  
14 through shell companies are obscured to regulators  
15 and law enforcement because little information is re-  
16 quired and collected when establishing these entities.

17 (2) The public release of the “Panama Papers”  
18 in 2016 and the “Paradise Papers” in 2017 revealed  
19 that these shell companies often purchase and sell  
20 United States real estate. United States anti-money  
21 laundering laws do not apply to cash transactions in-  
22 volving real estate, effectively concealing the bene-  
23 ficiaries and transactions from regulators and law  
24 enforcement.

1           (3) Since the Supreme Court’s decisions in Citi-  
2           zens United v. Federal Election Commission, 558  
3           U.S. 310 (2010), billions of dollars have flowed into  
4           super PACs through LLCs whose funders are anon-  
5           ymous or intentionally obscured. Criminal investiga-  
6           tions have uncovered LLCs that were used to hide  
7           illegal campaign contributions from foreign criminal  
8           fugitives, to advance international influence-buying  
9           schemes, and to conceal contributions from donors  
10          who were already under investigation for bribery and  
11          racketeering. Voters have no way to know the true  
12          sources of the money being routed through these  
13          LLCs to influence elections, including whether any  
14          of the funds come from foreign or other illicit  
15          sources.

16          (4) Congress should curb the use of anonymous  
17          shell companies for illicit purposes by requiring  
18          United States companies to disclose their beneficial  
19          owners, strengthening anti-money laundering and  
20          counter-terrorism finance laws.

21          (5) Congress should examine the money laun-  
22          dering and terrorist financing risks in the real estate  
23          market, including the role of anonymous parties, and  
24          review legislation to address any vulnerabilities iden-  
25          tified in this sector.

1           (6) Congress should examine the methods by  
2           which corruption flourishes and the means to detect  
3           and deter the financial misconduct that fuels this  
4           driver of global instability. Congress should monitor  
5           government efforts to enforce United States  
6           anticorruption laws and regulations.

7 **SEC. 3802. FEDERAL CAMPAIGN REPORTING OF FOREIGN**  
8           **CONTACTS.**

9           (a) INITIAL NOTICE.—

10           (1) IN GENERAL.—Section 304 of the Federal  
11           Election Campaign Act of 1971 (52 U.S.C. 30104)  
12           is amended by adding at the end the following new  
13           subsection:

14           “(j) DISCLOSURE OF REPORTABLE FOREIGN CON-  
15           TACTS.—

16           “(1) COMMITTEE OBLIGATION TO NOTIFY.—

17           Not later than 1 week after a reportable foreign con-  
18           tact, each political committee shall notify the Fed-  
19           eral Bureau of Investigation and the Commission of  
20           the reportable foreign contact and provide a sum-  
21           mary of the circumstances with respect to such re-  
22           portable foreign contact. The Federal Bureau of In-  
23           vestigation, not later than 1 week after receiving a  
24           notification from a political committee under this  
25           paragraph, shall submit to the political committee,

1 the Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence of  
2 the House of Representatives, and the Select Com-  
3 mittee on Intelligence of the Senate written or elec-  
4 tronic confirmation of receipt of the notification.

5 “(2) INDIVIDUAL OBLIGATION TO NOTIFY.—  
6 Not later than 3 days after a reportable foreign con-  
7 tact—

8 “(A) each candidate and each immediate  
9 family member of a candidate shall notify the  
10 treasurer or other designated official of the  
11 principal campaign committee of such candidate  
12 of the reportable foreign contact and provide a  
13 summary of the circumstances with respect to  
14 such reportable foreign contact; and

15 “(B) each official, employee, or agent of a  
16 political committee shall notify the treasurer or  
17 other designated official of the committee of the  
18 reportable foreign contact and provide a sum-  
19 mary of the circumstances with respect to such  
20 reportable foreign contact.

21 “(3) REPORTABLE FOREIGN CONTACT.—In this  
22 subsection:

23 “(A) IN GENERAL.—The term ‘reportable  
24 foreign contact’ means any direct or indirect  
25 contact or communication that—

1 “(i) is between—

2 “(I) a candidate, an immediate  
3 family member of the candidate, a po-  
4 litical committee, or any official, em-  
5 ployee, or agent of such committee;  
6 and

7 “(II) an individual that the per-  
8 son described in subclause (I) knows,  
9 has reason to know, or reasonably be-  
10 lieves is a covered foreign national;  
11 and

12 “(ii) the person described in clause  
13 (i)(I) knows, has reason to know, or rea-  
14 sonably believes involves—

15 “(I) an offer or other proposal  
16 for a contribution, donation, expendi-  
17 ture, disbursement, or solicitation de-  
18 scribed in section 319; or

19 “(II) direct or indirect coordina-  
20 tion or collaboration with, or a direct  
21 or indirect offer or provision of infor-  
22 mation or services to or from, a cov-  
23 ered foreign national in connection  
24 with an election.

25 “(B) EXCEPTIONS.—



1           “(i) CONTACTS IN OFFICIAL CAPACITY  
2 AS ELECTED OFFICIAL.—The term ‘report-  
3 able foreign contact’ shall not include any  
4 contact or communication with a covered  
5 foreign national by an elected official or an  
6 employee of an elected official solely in an  
7 official capacity as such an official or em-  
8 ployee.

9           “(ii) CONTACTS FOR PURPOSES OF  
10 ENABLING OBSERVATION OF ELECTIONS  
11 BY INTERNATIONAL OBSERVERS.—The  
12 term ‘reportable foreign contact’ shall not  
13 include any contact or communication with  
14 a covered foreign national by any person  
15 which is made for purposes of enabling the  
16 observation of elections in the United  
17 States by a foreign national or the obser-  
18 vation of elections outside of the United  
19 States by a candidate, political committee,  
20 or any official, employee, or agent of such  
21 committee.

22           “(iii) EXCEPTIONS NOT APPLICABLE  
23 IF CONTACTS OR COMMUNICATIONS IN-  
24 VOLVE PROHIBITED DISBURSEMENTS.—A  
25 contact or communication by an elected of-

1           ficial or an employee of an elected official  
2           shall not be considered to be made solely  
3           in an official capacity for purposes of  
4           clause (i), and a contact or communication  
5           shall not be considered to be made for pur-  
6           poses of enabling the observation of elec-  
7           tions for purposes of clause (ii), if the con-  
8           tact or communication involves a contribu-  
9           tion, donation, expenditure, disbursement,  
10          or solicitation described in section 319.

11           “(C) COVERED FOREIGN NATIONAL DE-  
12          FINED.—

13                   “(i) IN GENERAL.—In this paragraph,  
14           the term ‘covered foreign national’  
15           means—

16                           “(I) a foreign principal (as de-  
17                           fined in section 1(b) of the Foreign  
18                           Agents Registration Act of 1938 (22  
19                           U.S.C. 611(b)) that is a government  
20                           of a foreign country or a foreign polit-  
21                           ical party;

22                           “(II) any person who acts as an  
23                           agent, representative, employee, or  
24                           servant, or any person who acts in  
25                           any other capacity at the order, re-

1                   quest, or under the direction or con-  
2                   trol, of a foreign principal described in  
3                   subclause (I) or of a person any of  
4                   whose activities are directly or indi-  
5                   rectly supervised, directed, controlled,  
6                   financed, or subsidized in whole or in  
7                   major part by a foreign principal de-  
8                   scribed in subclause (I); or

9                   “(III) any person included in the  
10                  list of specially designated nationals  
11                  and blocked persons maintained by  
12                  the Office of Foreign Assets Control  
13                  of the Department of the Treasury  
14                  pursuant to authorities relating to the  
15                  imposition of sanctions relating to the  
16                  conduct of a foreign principal de-  
17                  scribed in subclause (I).

18                  “(ii) CLARIFICATION REGARDING AP-  
19                  PLICATION TO CITIZENS OF THE UNITED  
20                  STATES.—In the case of a citizen of the  
21                  United States, subclause (II) of clause (i)  
22                  applies only to the extent that the person  
23                  involved acts within the scope of that per-  
24                  son’s status as the agent of a foreign prin-

1                   cipal described in subclause (I) of clause  
2                   (i).

3                   “(4) IMMEDIATE FAMILY MEMBER.—In this  
4                   subsection, the term ‘immediate family member’  
5                   means, with respect to a candidate, a parent, parent-  
6                   in-law, spouse, adult child, or sibling.”.

7                   (2) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendment made  
8                   by paragraph (1) shall apply with respect to report-  
9                   able foreign contacts which occur on or after the  
10                  date of the enactment of this Act.

11                 (b) INFORMATION INCLUDED ON REPORT.—

12                   (1) IN GENERAL.—Section 304(b) of such Act  
13                   (52 U.S.C. 30104(b)) is amended—

14                   (A) by striking “and” at the end of para-  
15                   graph (7);

16                   (B) by striking the period at the end of  
17                   paragraph (8) and inserting “; and”; and

18                   (C) by adding at the end the following new  
19                   paragraph:

20                   “(9) for any reportable foreign contact (as de-  
21                   fined in subsection (j)(3))—

22                   “(A) the date, time, and location of the  
23                   contact;

1           “(B) the date and time of when a des-  
2           gnated official of the committee was notified of  
3           the contact;

4           “(C) the identity of individuals involved;  
5           and

6           “(D) a description of the contact, including  
7           the nature of any contribution, donation, ex-  
8           penditure, disbursement, or solicitation involved  
9           and the nature of any activity described in sub-  
10          section (j)(3)(A)(ii)(II) involved.”.

11          (2) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendments made  
12          by paragraph (1) shall apply with respect to reports  
13          filed on or after the expiration of the 60-day period  
14          which begins on the date of the enactment of this  
15          Act.

16 **SEC. 3803. FEDERAL CAMPAIGN FOREIGN CONTACT RE-**  
17 **PORTING COMPLIANCE SYSTEM.**

18          (a) IN GENERAL.—Section 302 of the Federal Elec-  
19          tion Campaign Act of 1971 (52 U.S.C. 30102) is amended  
20          by adding at the end the following new subsection:

21          “(j) REPORTABLE FOREIGN CONTACTS COMPLIANCE  
22          POLICY.—

23                 “(1) REPORTING.—Each political committee  
24                 shall establish a policy that requires all officials, em-  
25                 ployees, and agents of such committee (and, in the

1 case of an authorized committee, the candidate and  
2 each immediate family member of the candidate) to  
3 notify the treasurer or other appropriate designated  
4 official of the committee of any reportable foreign  
5 contact (as defined in section 304(j)) not later than  
6 3 days after such contact was made.

7 “(2) RETENTION AND PRESERVATION OF  
8 RECORDS.—Each political committee shall establish  
9 a policy that provides for the retention and preserva-  
10 tion of records and information related to reportable  
11 foreign contacts (as so defined) for a period of not  
12 less than 3 years.

13 “(3) CERTIFICATION.—

14 “(A) IN GENERAL.—Upon filing its state-  
15 ment of organization under section 303(a), and  
16 with each report filed under section 304(a), the  
17 treasurer of each political committee (other  
18 than an authorized committee) shall certify  
19 that—

20 “(i) the committee has in place poli-  
21 cies that meet the requirements of para-  
22 graphs (1) and (2);

23 “(ii) the committee has designated an  
24 official to monitor compliance with such  
25 policies; and

1           “(iii) not later than 1 week after the  
2           beginning of any formal or informal affili-  
3           ation with the committee, all officials, em-  
4           ployees, and agents of such committee  
5           will—

6                   “(I) receive notice of such poli-  
7                   cies;

8                   “(II) be informed of the prohibi-  
9                   tions under section 319; and

10                   “(III) sign a certification affirm-  
11                   ing their understanding of such poli-  
12                   cies and prohibitions.

13                   “(B) AUTHORIZED COMMITTEES.—With  
14                   respect to an authorized committee, the can-  
15                   didate shall make the certification required  
16                   under subparagraph (A).”.

17           (b) EFFECTIVE DATE.—

18                   (1) IN GENERAL.—The amendment made by  
19                   subsection (a) shall apply with respect to political  
20                   committees which file a statement of organization  
21                   under section 303(a) of the Federal Election Cam-  
22                   paign Act of 1971 (52 U.S.C. 30103(a)) on or after  
23                   the date of the enactment of this Act.

24                   (2) TRANSITION RULE FOR EXISTING COMMIT-  
25                   TEES.—Not later than 30 days after the date of the

1 enactment of this Act, each political committee  
2 under the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971  
3 shall file a certification with the Federal Election  
4 Commission that the committee is in compliance  
5 with the requirements of section 302(j) of such Act  
6 (as added by subsection (a)).

7 **SEC. 3804. CRIMINAL PENALTIES.**

8 Section 309(d)(1) of the Federal Election Campaign  
9 Act of 1971 (52 U.S.C. 30109(d)(1)) is amended by add-  
10 ing at the end the following new subparagraphs:

11 “(E) Any person who knowingly and willfully com-  
12 mits a violation of subsection (j) or (b)(9) of section 304  
13 or section 302(j) shall be fined not more than \$500,000,  
14 imprisoned not more than 5 years, or both.

15 “(F) Any person who knowingly and willfully conceals  
16 or destroys any materials relating to a reportable foreign  
17 contact (as defined in section 304(j)) shall be fined not  
18 more than \$1,000,000, imprisoned not more than 5 years,  
19 or both.”.

20 **SEC. 3805. REPORT TO CONGRESSIONAL INTELLIGENCE**  
21 **COMMITTEES.**

22 (a) IN GENERAL.—Not later than 1 year after the  
23 date of enactment of this Act, and annually thereafter,  
24 the Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation shall  
25 submit to the congressional intelligence committees a re-



1 port relating to notifications received by the Federal Bu-  
2 reau of Investigation under section 304(j)(1) of the Fed-  
3 eral Election Campaign Act of 1971 (as added by section  
4 4902(a) of this Act).

5 (b) ELEMENTS.—Each report under subsection (a)  
6 shall include, at a minimum, the following with respect  
7 to notifications described in subsection (a):

8 (1) The number of such notifications received  
9 from political committees during the year covered by  
10 the report.

11 (2) A description of protocols and procedures  
12 developed by the Federal Bureau of Investigation re-  
13 lating to receipt and maintenance of records relating  
14 to such notifications.

15 (3) With respect to such notifications received  
16 during the year covered by the report, a description  
17 of any subsequent actions taken by the Director re-  
18 sulting from the receipt of such notifications.

19 (c) CONGRESSIONAL INTELLIGENCE COMMITTEES  
20 DEFINED.—In this section, the term “congressional intel-  
21 ligence committees” has the meaning given that term in  
22 section 3 of the National Security Act of 1947 (50 U.S.C.  
23 3003).

1 **SEC. 3806. RULE OF CONSTRUCTION.**

2 Nothing in this subtitle or the amendments made by  
3 this subtitle shall be construed—

4 (1) to impede legitimate journalistic activities;

5 or

6 (2) to impose any additional limitation on the  
7 right to express political views or to participate in  
8 public discourse of any individual who—

9 (A) resides in the United States;

10 (B) is not a citizen of the United States or  
11 a national of the United States, as defined in  
12 section 101(a)(22) of the Immigration and Na-  
13 tionality Act (8 U.S.C. 1101(a)(22)); and

14 (C) is not lawfully admitted for permanent  
15 residence, as defined by section 101(a)(20) of  
16 the Immigration and Nationality Act (8 U.S.C.  
17 1101(a)(20)).

18 **Subtitle J—Promoting Accuracy,**  
19 **Integrity, and Security Through**  
20 **Voter-Verifiable Permanent**  
21 **Paper Ballot**

22 **SEC. 3901. SHORT TITLE.**

23 This subtitle may be cited as the “Voter Confidence  
24 and Increased Accessibility Act of 2023”.

1 **SEC. 3902. PAPER BALLOT AND MANUAL COUNTING RE-**  
2 **QUIREMENTS.**

3 (a) IN GENERAL.—Section 301(a)(2) of the Help  
4 America Vote Act of 2002 (52 U.S.C. 21081(a)(2)) is  
5 amended to read as follows:

6 “(2) PAPER BALLOT REQUIREMENT.—

7 “(A) VOTER-VERIFIABLE PAPER BAL-  
8 LOTS.—

9 “(i) The voting system shall require  
10 the use of an individual, durable, voter-  
11 verifiable paper ballot of the voter’s vote  
12 selections that shall be marked by the  
13 voter and presented to the voter for  
14 verification before the voter’s ballot is pre-  
15 served in accordance with subparagraph  
16 (B), and which shall be counted by hand or  
17 other counting device or read by a ballot  
18 tabulation device. For purposes of this sub-  
19 clause, the term ‘individual, durable, voter-  
20 verifiable paper ballot’ means a paper bal-  
21 lot marked by the voter by hand or a paper  
22 ballot marked through the use of a nontab-  
23 ulating ballot marking device or system, so  
24 long as the voter shall have the option at  
25 every in-person voting location to mark by

1 hand a printed ballot that includes all rel-  
2 evant contests and candidates.

3 “(ii) The voting system shall provide  
4 the voter with an opportunity to correct  
5 any error on the paper ballot before the  
6 permanent voter-verifiable paper ballot is  
7 preserved in accordance with subparagraph  
8 (B).

9 “(iii) The voting system shall not pre-  
10 serve the voter-verifiable paper ballots in  
11 any manner that makes it possible, at any  
12 time after the ballot has been cast, to asso-  
13 ciate a voter with the record of the voter’s  
14 vote selections.

15 “(iv) The voting system shall prevent,  
16 through mechanical means or through  
17 independently verified protections, the  
18 modification or addition of vote selections  
19 on a printed or marked ballot at any time  
20 after the voter has been provided an oppor-  
21 tunity to correct errors on the ballot pur-  
22 suant to clause (ii).

23 “(B) PRESERVATION AS OFFICIAL  
24 RECORD.—The individual, durable, voter-  
25 verifiable paper ballot used in accordance with

1           subparagraph (A) shall constitute the official  
2           ballot and shall be preserved and used as the  
3           official ballot for purposes of any recount or  
4           audit conducted with respect to any election for  
5           Federal office in which the voting system is  
6           used.

7           “(C) MANUAL COUNTING REQUIREMENTS  
8           FOR RECOUNTS AND AUDITS.—

9           “(i) Each paper ballot used pursuant  
10          to subparagraph (A) shall be suitable for a  
11          manual audit, and such ballots, or at least  
12          those ballots the machine could not count,  
13          shall be counted by hand in any recount or  
14          audit conducted with respect to any elec-  
15          tion for Federal office.

16          “(ii) In the event of any inconsis-  
17          tencies or irregularities between any elec-  
18          tronic vote tallies and the vote tallies de-  
19          termined by counting by hand the indi-  
20          vidual, durable, voter-verifiable paper bal-  
21          lots used pursuant to subparagraph (A),  
22          the individual, durable, voter-verifiable  
23          paper ballots shall be the true and correct  
24          record of the votes cast.

1           “(D) SENSE OF CONGRESS.—It is the  
2           sense of Congress that as innovation occurs in  
3           the election infrastructure sector, Congress  
4           should ensure that this Act and other Federal  
5           requirements for voting systems are updated to  
6           keep pace with best practices and recommenda-  
7           tions for security and accessibility.”.

8           (b) CONFORMING AMENDMENT CLARIFYING APPLI-  
9           CABILITY OF ALTERNATIVE LANGUAGE ACCESSIBILITY.—  
10          Section 301(a)(4) of such Act (52 U.S.C. 21081(a)(4))  
11          is amended by inserting “(including the paper ballots re-  
12          quired to be used under paragraph (2))” after “voting sys-  
13          tem”.

14          (c) OTHER CONFORMING AMENDMENTS.—Section  
15          301(a)(1) of such Act (52 U.S.C. 21081(a)(1)) is amend-  
16          ed—

17                 (1) in subparagraph (A)(i), by striking “count-  
18                 ed” and inserting “counted, in accordance with  
19                 paragraphs (2) and (3)”;

20                 (2) in subparagraph (A)(ii), by striking “count-  
21                 ed” and inserting “counted, in accordance with  
22                 paragraphs (2) and (3)”;

23                 (3) in subparagraph (A)(iii), by striking “count-  
24                 ed” each place it appears and inserting “counted, in  
25                 accordance with paragraphs (2) and (3)”;

1           (4) in subparagraph (B)(ii), by striking “count-  
2           ed” and inserting “counted, in accordance with  
3           paragraphs (2) and (3)”.

4 **SEC. 3903. ACCESSIBILITY AND BALLOT VERIFICATION FOR**  
5 **INDIVIDUALS WITH DISABILITIES.**

6           (a) IN GENERAL.—Paragraph (3) of section 301(a)  
7 of the Help America Vote Act of 2002 (52 U.S.C.  
8 21081(a)(3)) is amended to read as follows:

9           “(3) ACCESSIBILITY FOR INDIVIDUALS WITH  
10          DISABILITIES.—

11           “(A) IN GENERAL.—The voting system  
12          shall—

13                   “(i) be accessible for individuals with  
14                   disabilities, including nonvisual accessi-  
15                   bility for the blind and visually impaired,  
16                   in a manner that provides the same oppor-  
17                   tunity for access and participation (includ-  
18                   ing privacy and independence) as for other  
19                   voters;

20                   “(ii)(I) ensure that individuals with  
21                   disabilities and others are given an equiva-  
22                   lent opportunity to vote, including with pri-  
23                   vacy and independence, in a manner that  
24                   produces a voter-verifiable paper ballot;  
25                   and

1           “(II) satisfy the requirement of clause  
2           (i) through the use at in-person polling lo-  
3           cations of a sufficient number (not less  
4           than one) of voting systems equipped to  
5           serve individuals with and without disabili-  
6           ties, including nonvisual and enhanced vis-  
7           ual accessibility for the blind and visually  
8           impaired, and nonmanual and enhanced  
9           manual accessibility for the mobility and  
10          dexterity impaired; and

11           “(iii) if purchased with funds made  
12          available under title II on or after January  
13          1, 2007, meet the voting system standards  
14          for disability access (as outlined in this  
15          paragraph).

16          “(B) MEANS OF MEETING REQUIRE-  
17          MENTS.—A voting system may meet the re-  
18          quirements of subparagraph (A)(i) and para-  
19          graph (2) by—

20           “(i) allowing the voter to privately  
21           and independently verify the permanent  
22           paper ballot through the presentation, in  
23           accessible form, of the printed or marked  
24           vote selections from the same printed or



1 marked information that would be used for  
2 any vote tabulation or auditing;

3 “(ii) allowing the voter to privately  
4 and independently verify and cast the per-  
5 manent paper ballot without requiring the  
6 voter to manually handle the paper ballot;

7 “(iii) marking ballots that are iden-  
8 tical in size, ink, and paper stock to those  
9 ballots that would either be marked by  
10 hand or be marked by a ballot marking de-  
11 vice made generally available to voters; or

12 “(iv) combining ballots produced by  
13 any ballot marking devices reserved for in-  
14 dividuals with disabilities with ballots that  
15 have either been marked by voters by hand  
16 or marked by ballot marking devices made  
17 generally available to voters, in a way that  
18 prevents identification of the ballots that  
19 were cast using any ballot marking device  
20 that was reserved for individuals with dis-  
21 abilities.

22 “(C) SUFFICIENT NUMBER.—For purposes  
23 of subparagraph (A)(ii)(II), the sufficient num-  
24 ber of voting systems for any in-person polling  
25 location shall be determined based on guidance

1 from the Attorney General, in consultation with  
2 the Architectural and Transportation Barriers  
3 Compliance Board established under section  
4 502(a)(1) of the Rehabilitation Act of 1973 (29  
5 U.S.C. 792(a)(1)) (commonly referred to as the  
6 United States Access Board) and the Commis-  
7 sion.”.

8 (b) SPECIFIC REQUIREMENT OF STUDY, TESTING,  
9 AND DEVELOPMENT OF ACCESSIBLE VOTING OPTIONS.—

10 (1) STUDY AND REPORTING.—Subtitle C of  
11 title II of such Act (52 U.S.C. 21081 et seq.) is  
12 amended—

13 (A) by redesignating section 247 as section  
14 248; and

15 (B) by inserting after section 246 the fol-  
16 lowing new section:

17 **“SEC. 247. STUDY AND REPORT ON ACCESSIBLE VOTING**  
18 **OPTIONS.**

19 “(a) GRANTS TO STUDY AND REPORT.—The Com-  
20 mission, in coordination with the Access Board and the  
21 Cybersecurity and Infrastructure Security Agency, shall  
22 make grants to not fewer than 2 eligible entities to study,  
23 test, and develop—

24 “(1) accessible and secure remote voting sys-  
25 tems;

1           “(2) voting, verification, and casting devices to  
2           enhance the accessibility of voting and verification  
3           for individuals with disabilities; or

4           “(3) both of the matters described in paragraph  
5           (1) and (2).

6           “(b) ELIGIBILITY.—An entity is eligible to receive a  
7           grant under this part if it submits to the Commission (at  
8           such time and in such form as the Commission may re-  
9           quire) an application containing—

10           “(1) a certification that the entity shall com-  
11           plete the activities carried out with the grant not  
12           later than January 1, 2026; and

13           “(2) such other information and certifications  
14           as the Commission may require.

15           “(c) AVAILABILITY OF TECHNOLOGY.—Any tech-  
16           nology developed with the grants made under this section  
17           shall be treated as non-proprietary and shall be made  
18           available to the public, including to manufacturers of vot-  
19           ing systems.

20           “(d) COORDINATION WITH GRANTS FOR TECH-  
21           NOLOGY IMPROVEMENTS.—The Commission shall carry  
22           out this section so that the activities carried out with the  
23           grants made under subsection (a) are coordinated with the  
24           research conducted under the grant program carried out  
25           by the Commission under section 271, to the extent that

1 the Commission determine necessary to provide for the ad-  
2 vancement of accessible voting technology.

3 “(e) AUTHORIZATION OF APPROPRIATIONS.—There  
4 is authorized to be appropriated to carry out subsection  
5 (a) \$10,000,000, to remain available until expended.”.

6 (2) CLERICAL AMENDMENT.—The table of con-  
7 tents of such Act is amended—

8 (A) by redesignating the item relating to  
9 section 247 as relating to section 248; and

10 (B) by inserting after the item relating to  
11 section 246 the following new item:

“Sec. 247. Study and report on accessible voting options.”.

12 (c) CLARIFICATION OF ACCESSIBILITY STANDARDS  
13 UNDER VOLUNTARY VOTING SYSTEM GUIDANCE.—In  
14 adopting any voluntary guidance under subtitle B of title  
15 III of the Help America Vote Act with respect to the ac-  
16 cessibility of the paper ballot verification requirements for  
17 individuals with disabilities, the Election Assistance Com-  
18 mission shall include and apply the same accessibility  
19 standards applicable under the voluntary guidance adopt-  
20 ed for accessible voting systems under such subtitle.

21 (d) PERMITTING USE OF FUNDS FOR PROTECTION  
22 AND ADVOCACY SYSTEMS TO SUPPORT ACTIONS TO EN-  
23 FORCE ELECTION-RELATED DISABILITY ACCESS.—Sec-  
24 tion 292(a) of the Help America Vote Act of 2002 (52

1 U.S.C. 21062(a)) is amended by striking “; except that”  
2 and all that follows and inserting a period.

3 **SEC. 3904. DURABILITY AND READABILITY REQUIREMENTS**  
4 **FOR BALLOTS.**

5 Section 301(a) of the Help America Vote Act of 2002  
6 (52 U.S.C. 21081(a)) is amended by adding at the end  
7 the following new paragraph:

8 “(7) DURABILITY AND READABILITY REQUIRE-  
9 MENTS FOR BALLOTS.—

10 “(A) DURABILITY REQUIREMENTS FOR  
11 PAPER BALLOTS.—

12 “(i) IN GENERAL.—All voter-verifiable  
13 paper ballots required to be used under  
14 this Act shall be marked or printed on du-  
15 rable paper.

16 “(ii) DEFINITION.—For purposes of  
17 this Act, paper is ‘durable’ if it is capable  
18 of withstanding multiple counts and re-  
19 counts by hand without compromising the  
20 fundamental integrity of the ballots, and  
21 capable of retaining the information  
22 marked or printed on them for the full du-  
23 ration of a retention and preservation pe-  
24 riod of 22 months.

1           “(B) READABILITY REQUIREMENTS FOR  
2 PAPER BALLOTS MARKED BY BALLOT MARKING  
3 DEVICE.—All voter-verifiable paper ballots com-  
4 pleted by the voter through the use of a ballot  
5 marking device shall be clearly readable by the  
6 voter without assistance (other than eyeglasses  
7 or other personal vision-enhancing devices) and  
8 by a ballot tabulation device or other device  
9 equipped for individuals with disabilities.”.

10 **SEC. 3905. STUDY AND REPORT ON OPTIMAL BALLOT DE-**  
11 **SIGN.**

12       (a) STUDY.—The Election Assistance Commission  
13 shall conduct a study of the best ways to design ballots  
14 used in elections for public office, including paper ballots  
15 and electronic or digital ballots, to minimize confusion and  
16 user errors.

17       (b) REPORT.—Not later than one year after the date  
18 of the enactment of this Act, the Election Assistance Com-  
19 mission shall submit to Congress a report on the study  
20 conducted under subsection (a).

21 **SEC. 3906. BALLOT MARKING DEVICE CYBERSECURITY RE-**  
22 **QUIREMENTS.**

23       Section 301(a) of the Help America Vote Act of 2002  
24 (52 U.S.C. 21081(a)), as amended by section 3904, is fur-

1 ther amended by adding at the end the following new para-  
2 graphs:

3           “(8) PROHIBITION OF USE OF WIRELESS COM-  
4           MUNICATIONS DEVICES IN SYSTEMS OR DEVICES.—  
5           No system or device upon which ballot marking de-  
6           vices or ballot tabulation devices are configured,  
7           upon which ballots are marked by voters at a polling  
8           place (except as necessary for individuals with dis-  
9           abilities to use ballot marking devices that meet the  
10          accessibility requirements of paragraph (3)), or upon  
11          which votes are cast, tabulated, or aggregated shall  
12          contain, use, or be accessible by any wireless, power-  
13          line, or concealed communication device.

14          “(9) PROHIBITING CONNECTION OF SYSTEM TO  
15          THE INTERNET.—No system or device upon which  
16          ballot marking devices or ballot tabulation devices  
17          are configured, upon which ballots are marked by  
18          voters at a voting place, or upon which votes are  
19          cast, tabulated, or aggregated shall be connected to  
20          the internet or any non-local computer system via  
21          telephone or other communication network at any  
22          time.”.

23 **SEC. 3907. EFFECTIVE DATE FOR NEW REQUIREMENTS.**

24          Section 301(d) of the Help America Vote Act of 2002  
25 (52 U.S.C. 21081(d)) is amended to read as follows:

1 “(d) EFFECTIVE DATE.—

2 “(1) IN GENERAL.—Except as provided in para-  
3 graph (2), each State and jurisdiction shall be re-  
4 quired to comply with the requirements of this sec-  
5 tion on and after January 1, 2006.

6 “(2) SPECIAL RULE FOR CERTAIN REQUIRE-  
7 MENTS.—

8 “(A) IN GENERAL.—Except as provided in  
9 subparagraphs (B) and (C), the requirements of  
10 this section which are first imposed on a State  
11 or jurisdiction pursuant to the amendments  
12 made by the Voter Confidence and Increased  
13 Accessibility Act of 2023 shall apply with re-  
14 spect to voting systems used for any election for  
15 Federal office held in 2024 or any succeeding  
16 year.

17 “(B) SPECIAL RULE FOR JURISDICTIONS  
18 USING CERTAIN PAPER RECORD PRINTERS OR  
19 CERTAIN SYSTEMS USING OR PRODUCING  
20 VOTER-VERIFIABLE PAPER RECORDS IN 2022.—

21 “(i) IN GENERAL.—In the case of a  
22 jurisdiction described in clause (ii), the re-  
23 quirements of paragraphs (2)(A)(i) and (7)  
24 of subsection (a) (as amended or added by  
25 the Voter Confidence and Increased Acces-



1 sibility Act of 2023) shall not apply before  
2 the date on which the jurisdiction replaces  
3 the printers or systems described in clause  
4 (ii)(I) for use in the administration of elec-  
5 tions for Federal office.

6 “(ii) JURISDICTIONS DESCRIBED.—A  
7 jurisdiction described in this clause is a ju-  
8 risdiction—

9 “(I) which used voter-verifiable  
10 paper record printers attached to di-  
11 rect recording electronic voting ma-  
12 chines, or which used other voting  
13 systems that used or produced paper  
14 records of the vote verifiable by voters  
15 but that are not in compliance with  
16 paragraphs (2)(A)(i) and (7) of sub-  
17 section (a) (as amended or added by  
18 the Voter Confidence and Increased  
19 Accessibility Act of 2023), for the ad-  
20 ministration of the regularly sched-  
21 uled general election for Federal office  
22 held in November 2022; and

23 “(II) which will continue to use  
24 such printers or systems for the ad-  
25 ministration of elections for Federal

1 office held in years before the applica-  
2 ble year.

3 “(iii) MANDATORY AVAILABILITY OF  
4 PAPER BALLOTS AT POLLING PLACES  
5 USING GRANDFATHERED PRINTERS AND  
6 SYSTEMS.—

7 “(I) REQUIRING BALLOTS TO BE  
8 OFFERED AND PROVIDED.—The ap-  
9 propriate election official at each poll-  
10 ing place that uses a printer or sys-  
11 tem described in clause (ii)(I) for the  
12 administration of elections for Federal  
13 office shall offer each individual who  
14 is eligible to cast a vote in the election  
15 at the polling place the opportunity to  
16 cast the vote using a blank printed  
17 paper ballot which the individual may  
18 mark by hand and which is not pro-  
19 duced by the direct recording elec-  
20 tronic voting machine or other such  
21 system. The official shall provide the  
22 individual with the ballot and the sup-  
23 plies necessary to mark the ballot, and  
24 shall ensure (to the greatest extent  
25 practicable) that the waiting period

1 for the individual to cast a vote is the  
2 lesser of 30 minutes or the average  
3 waiting period for an individual who  
4 does not agree to cast the vote using  
5 such a paper ballot under this clause.

6 “(II) TREATMENT OF BALLOT.—

7 Any paper ballot which is cast by an  
8 individual under this clause shall be  
9 counted and otherwise treated as a  
10 regular ballot for all purposes (includ-  
11 ing by incorporating it into the final  
12 unofficial vote count (as defined by  
13 the State) for the precinct) and not as  
14 a provisional ballot, unless the indi-  
15 vidual casting the ballot would have  
16 otherwise been required to cast a pro-  
17 visional ballot.

18 “(III) POSTING OF NOTICE.—

19 The appropriate election official shall  
20 ensure there is prominently displayed  
21 at each polling place a notice that de-  
22 scribes the obligation of the official to  
23 offer individuals the opportunity to  
24 cast votes using a printed blank paper  
25 ballot. The notice shall comply with

1 the requirements of section 203 of the  
2 Voting Rights Act of 1965 (52 U.S.C.  
3 10503).

4 “(IV) TRAINING OF ELECTION  
5 OFFICIALS.—The chief State election  
6 official shall ensure that election offi-  
7 cials at polling places in the State are  
8 aware of the requirements of this  
9 clause, including the requirement to  
10 display a notice under subclause (III),  
11 and are aware that it is a violation of  
12 the requirements of this title for an  
13 election official to fail to offer an indi-  
14 vidual the opportunity to cast a vote  
15 using a blank printed paper ballot.

16 “(V) PERIOD OF APPLICA-  
17 BILITY.—The requirements of this  
18 clause apply only during the period  
19 beginning on January 1, 2024, and  
20 ending on the date on which the juris-  
21 diction replaces the printers or sys-  
22 tems described in clause (ii)(I) for use  
23 in the administration of elections for  
24 Federal office.

1           “(C) DELAY FOR CERTAIN JURISDICTIONS  
2 USING VOTING SYSTEMS WITH WIRELESS COM-  
3 MUNICATION DEVICES OR INTERNET CONNEC-  
4 TIONS.—

5           “(i) DELAY.—In the case of a juris-  
6 diction described in clause (ii), subpara-  
7 graph (A) shall apply to a voting system in  
8 the jurisdiction as if the reference in such  
9 subparagraph to ‘2024’ were a reference to  
10 ‘the applicable year’, but only with respect  
11 to the following requirements of this sec-  
12 tion:

13           “(I) Paragraph (8) of subsection  
14 (a) (relating to prohibition of wireless  
15 communication devices).

16           “(II) Paragraph (9) of subsection  
17 (a) (relating to prohibition of con-  
18 necting systems to the internet).

19           “(ii) JURISDICTIONS DESCRIBED.—A  
20 jurisdiction described in this clause is a ju-  
21 risdiction—

22           “(I) which used a voting system  
23 which is not in compliance with para-  
24 graphs (8) or (9) of subsection (a) (as  
25 amended or added by the Voter Con-

1            fidence and Increased Accessibility  
2            Act of 2023) for the administration of  
3            the regularly scheduled general elec-  
4            tion for Federal office held in Novem-  
5            ber 2022;

6            “(II) which was not able, to all  
7            extent practicable, to comply with  
8            paragraph (8) and (9) of subsection  
9            (a) before January 1, 2024; and

10           “(III) which will continue to use  
11           such printers or systems for the ad-  
12           ministration of elections for Federal  
13           office held in years before the applica-  
14           ble year.

15           “(iii) APPLICABLE YEAR.—

16           “(I) IN GENERAL.—Except as  
17           provided in subclause (II), the term  
18           ‘applicable year’ means 2028.

19           “(II) EXTENSION.—If a State or  
20           jurisdiction certifies to the Commis-  
21           sion not later than January 1, 2028,  
22           that the State or jurisdiction will not  
23           meet the requirements described in  
24           subclauses (I) and (II) of clause (i) by  
25           such date because it would be imprac-

1                   tical to do so and includes in the cer-  
 2                   tification the reasons for the failure to  
 3                   meet the deadline, the term ‘applica-  
 4                   ble year’ means 2032.”.

5 **SEC. 3908. GRANTS FOR OBTAINING COMPLIANT PAPER**  
 6                   **BALLOT VOTING SYSTEMS AND CARRYING**  
 7                   **OUT VOTING SYSTEM SECURITY IMPROVE-**  
 8                   **MENTS.**

9           (a) AVAILABILITY OF GRANTS.—

10           (1) IN GENERAL.—Subtitle D of title II of the  
 11           Help America Vote Act of 2002 (52 U.S.C. 21001  
 12           et seq.), as amended by section 1302(c), is amended  
 13           by adding at the end the following new part:

14 **“PART 8—GRANTS FOR OBTAINING COMPLIANT**  
 15           **PAPER BALLOT VOTING SYSTEMS AND CAR-**  
 16           **RYING OUT VOTING SYSTEM SECURITY IM-**  
 17           **PROVEMENTS**

18 **“SEC. 298. GRANTS FOR OBTAINING COMPLIANT PAPER**  
 19           **BALLOT VOTING SYSTEMS AND CARRYING**  
 20           **OUT VOTING SYSTEM SECURITY IMPROVE-**  
 21           **MENTS.**

22           “(a) AVAILABILITY AND USE OF GRANT.—

23           “(1) IN GENERAL.—The Commission shall  
 24           make a grant to each eligible State—

25                   “(A) to replace a voting system—

1           “(i) which does not meet the require-  
2           ments which are first imposed on the State  
3           pursuant to the amendments made by the  
4           Voter Confidence and Increased Accessi-  
5           bility Act of 2023 with a voting system  
6           which—

7                   “(I) does meet such require-  
8                   ments; and

9                   “(II) in the case of a grand-  
10                  fathered voting system (as defined in  
11                  paragraph (2)), is in compliance with  
12                  the most recent voluntary voting sys-  
13                  tem guidelines; or

14           “(ii) which does meet such require-  
15           ments but which is not in compliance with  
16           the most recent voluntary voting system  
17           guidelines with another system which does  
18           meet such requirements and is in compli-  
19           ance with such guidelines;

20           “(B) to carry out voting system security  
21           improvements described in section 298A with  
22           respect to the regularly scheduled general elec-  
23           tion for Federal office held in November 2024  
24           and each succeeding election for Federal office;



1           “(C) to implement and model best prac-  
2           tices for ballot design, ballot instructions, and  
3           the testing of ballots; and

4           “(D) to purchase or acquire accessible vot-  
5           ing systems that meet the requirements of  
6           paragraph (2) and paragraph (3)(A)(i) of sec-  
7           tion 301(a) by the means described in para-  
8           graph (3)(B) of such section.

9           “(2) DEFINITION OF GRANDFATHERED VOTING  
10          SYSTEM.—In this subsection, the term ‘grand-  
11          fathered voting system’ means a voting system that  
12          is used by a jurisdiction described in subparagraph  
13          (B)(ii) or (C)(ii) of section 301(d)(2).

14          “(b) AMOUNT OF PAYMENT.—

15                 “(1) IN GENERAL.—The amount of payment  
16                 made to an eligible State under this section shall be  
17                 the minimum payment amount described in para-  
18                 graph (2) plus the voting age population proportion  
19                 amount described in paragraph (3).

20                 “(2) MINIMUM PAYMENT AMOUNT.—The min-  
21                 imum payment amount described in this paragraph  
22                 is—

23                         “(A) in the case of any of the several  
24                         States or the District of Columbia, one-half of

1           1 percent of the aggregate amount made avail-  
2           able for payments under this section; and

3           “(B) in the case of the Commonwealth of  
4           Puerto Rico, Guam, American Samoa, the  
5           United States Virgin Islands, or the Common-  
6           wealth of the Northern Mariana Islands, one-  
7           tenth of 1 percent of such aggregate amount.

8           “(3) VOTING AGE POPULATION PROPORTION  
9           AMOUNT.—The voting age population proportion  
10          amount described in this paragraph is the product  
11          of—

12           “(A) the aggregate amount made available  
13           for payments under this section minus the total  
14           of all of the minimum payment amounts deter-  
15           mined under paragraph (2); and

16           “(B) the voting age population proportion  
17           for the State (as defined in paragraph (4)).

18           “(4) VOTING AGE POPULATION PROPORTION  
19           DEFINED.—The term ‘voting age population propor-  
20           tion’ means, with respect to a State, the amount  
21           equal to the quotient of—

22           “(A) the voting age population of the State  
23           (as reported in the most recent decennial cen-  
24           sus); and

1           “(B) the total voting age population of all  
2           States (as reported in the most recent decennial  
3           census).

4           “(5) REQUIREMENT RELATING TO PURCHASE  
5           OF ACCESSIBLE VOTING SYSTEMS.—An eligible State  
6           shall use not less than 10 percent of funds received  
7           by the State under this section to purchase acces-  
8           sible voting systems described in subsection  
9           (a)(1)(D).

10 **“SEC. 298A. VOTING SYSTEM SECURITY IMPROVEMENTS**  
11 **DESCRIBED.**

12           “(a) PERMITTED USES.—A voting system security  
13 improvement described in this section is any of the fol-  
14 lowing:

15           “(1) The acquisition of goods and services from  
16 qualified election infrastructure vendors by purchase,  
17 lease, or such other arrangements as may be appro-  
18 priate.

19           “(2) Cyber and risk mitigation training.

20           “(3) A security risk and vulnerability assess-  
21 ment of the State’s election infrastructure (as de-  
22 fined in section 3908(b) of the Voter Confidence and  
23 Increased Accessibility Act of 2023) which is carried  
24 out by a provider of cybersecurity services under a

1 contract entered into between the chief State elec-  
2 tion official and the provider.

3 “(4) The maintenance of infrastructure used  
4 for elections, including addressing risks and  
5 vulnerabilities which are identified under either of  
6 the security risk and vulnerability assessments de-  
7 scribed in paragraph (3), except that none of the  
8 funds provided under this part may be used to ren-  
9 ovate or replace a building or facility which is not  
10 a primary provider of information technology serv-  
11 ices for the administration of elections, and which is  
12 used primarily for purposes other than the adminis-  
13 tration of elections for public office.

14 “(5) Providing increased technical support for  
15 any information technology infrastructure that the  
16 chief State election official deems to be part of the  
17 State’s election infrastructure (as so defined) or des-  
18 ignates as critical to the operation of the State’s  
19 election infrastructure (as so defined).

20 “(6) Enhancing the cybersecurity and oper-  
21 ations of the information technology infrastructure  
22 described in paragraph (4).

23 “(7) Enhancing the cybersecurity of voter reg-  
24 istration systems.

1       “(b) QUALIFIED ELECTION INFRASTRUCTURE VEN-  
2 DORS DESCRIBED.—For purposes of this part, a ‘qualified  
3 election infrastructure vendor’ is any person who provides,  
4 supports, or maintains, or who seeks to provide, support,  
5 or maintain, election infrastructure (as defined in section  
6 3908(b) of the Voter Confidence and Increased Accessi-  
7 bility Act of 2023) on behalf of a State, unit of local gov-  
8 ernment, or election agency (as defined in section 3908(b)  
9 of such Act) who meets the criteria described in section  
10 3908(b) of such Act.

11 **“SEC. 298B. ELIGIBILITY OF STATES.**

12       “A State is eligible to receive a grant under this part  
13 if the State submits to the Commission, at such time and  
14 in such form as the Commission may require, an applica-  
15 tion containing—

16           “(1) a description of how the State will use the  
17 grant to carry out the activities authorized under  
18 this part;

19           “(2) a certification and assurance that, not  
20 later than 5 years after receiving the grant, the  
21 State will carry out voting system security improve-  
22 ments, as described in section 298A; and

23           “(3) such other information and assurances as  
24 the Commission may require.

1 **“SEC. 298C. REPORTS TO CONGRESS.**

2 “Not later than 90 days after the end of each fiscal  
3 year, the Commission shall submit a report to the Com-  
4 mittees on Homeland Security, House Administration, and  
5 the Judiciary of the House of Representatives and the  
6 Committees on Homeland Security and Governmental Af-  
7 fairs, the Judiciary, and Rules and Administration of the  
8 Senate, on the activities carried out with the funds pro-  
9 vided under this part.

10 **“SEC. 298D. AUTHORIZATION OF APPROPRIATIONS.**

11 “(a) AUTHORIZATION.—There are authorized to be  
12 appropriated for grants under this part—

13 “(1) \$2,400,000,000 for fiscal year 2024; and

14 “(2) \$175,000,000 for each of the fiscal years  
15 2026, 2028, 2030, and 2032.

16 “(b) CONTINUING AVAILABILITY OF AMOUNTS.—Any  
17 amounts appropriated pursuant to the authorization of  
18 this section shall remain available until expended.”.

19 (2) CLERICAL AMENDMENT.—The table of con-  
20 tents of such Act, as amended by section 1402(c),  
21 is amended by adding at the end of the items relat-  
22 ing to subtitle D of title II the following:

“PART 8—GRANTS FOR OBTAINING COMPLIANT PAPER BALLOT VOTING  
SYSTEMS AND CARRYING OUT VOTING SYSTEM SECURITY IMPROVEMENTS

“Sec. 298. Grants for obtaining compliant paper ballot voting systems and  
carrying out voting system security improvements.

“Sec. 298A. Voting system security improvements described.

“Sec. 298B. Eligibility of States.

“Sec. 298C. Reports to Congress.

“Sec. 298D. Authorization of appropriations.

1 (b) QUALIFIED ELECTION INFRASTRUCTURE VEN-  
2 DORS.—

3 (1) IN GENERAL.—The Secretary, in consulta-  
4 tion with the Chair, shall establish and publish cri-  
5 teria for qualified election infrastructure vendors for  
6 purposes of section 298A of the Help America Vote  
7 Act of 2002 (as added by this Act).

8 (2) CRITERIA.—The criteria established under  
9 paragraph (1) shall include each of the following re-  
10 quirements:

11 (A) The vendor shall—

12 (i) be owned and controlled by a cit-  
13 izen or permanent resident of the United  
14 States or a member of the Five Eyes intel-  
15 ligence-sharing alliance; and

16 (ii) in the case of any election infra-  
17 structure which is a voting machine, en-  
18 sure that such voting machine is assembled  
19 in the United States.

20 (B) The vendor shall disclose to the Sec-  
21 retary and the Chair, and to the chief State  
22 election official of any State to which the ven-  
23 dor provides any goods and services with funds  
24 provided under part 8 of subtitle D of title II

1 of the Help America Vote Act of 2002 (as  
2 added by this Act), of any sourcing outside the  
3 United States for parts of the election infra-  
4 structure.

5 (C) The vendor shall disclose to the Sec-  
6 retary and the Chair, and to the chief State  
7 election official of any State to which the ven-  
8 dor provides any goods and services with funds  
9 provided under such part 8, the identification of  
10 any entity or individual with a more than 5 per-  
11 cent ownership interest in the vendor.

12 (D) The vendor agrees to ensure that the  
13 election infrastructure will be developed and  
14 maintained in a manner that is consistent with  
15 the cybersecurity best practices issued by the  
16 Cybersecurity and Infrastructure Security  
17 Agency of the Department of Homeland Secu-  
18 rity.

19 (E) The vendor agrees to maintain its in-  
20 formation technology infrastructure in a man-  
21 ner that is consistent with the cybersecurity  
22 best practices issued by the Cybersecurity and  
23 Infrastructure Security Agency of the Depart-  
24 ment of Homeland Security.



1           (F) The vendor agrees to ensure that the  
2 election infrastructure will be developed and  
3 maintained in a manner that is consistent with  
4 the supply chain best practices issued by the  
5 Cybersecurity and Infrastructure Security  
6 Agency of the Department of Homeland Secu-  
7 rity.

8           (G) The vendor agrees to ensure that it  
9 has personnel policies and practices in place  
10 that are consistent with personnel best prac-  
11 tices, including cybersecurity training and back-  
12 ground checks, issued by the Cybersecurity and  
13 Infrastructure Security Agency of the Depart-  
14 ment of Homeland Security.

15           (H) The vendor agrees to ensure that the  
16 election infrastructure will be developed and  
17 maintained in a manner that is consistent with  
18 data integrity best practices, including require-  
19 ments for encrypted transfers and validation,  
20 testing and checking printed materials for accu-  
21 racy, and disclosure of quality control incidents,  
22 issued by the Cybersecurity and Infrastructure  
23 Security Agency of the Department of Home-  
24 land Security.

1 (I) The vendor agrees to meet the require-  
2 ments of paragraph (3) with respect to any  
3 known or suspected cybersecurity incidents in-  
4 volving any of the goods and services provided  
5 by the vendor pursuant to a grant under part  
6 8 of subtitle D of title II of the Help America  
7 Vote Act of 2002 (as added by this Act).

8 (J) The vendor agrees to permit inde-  
9 pendent security testing by the Election Assist-  
10 ance Commission (in accordance with section  
11 231(a) of the Help America Vote Act of 2002  
12 (52 U.S.C. 20971)) and by the Secretary of the  
13 goods and services provided by the vendor pur-  
14 suant to a grant under part 8 of subtitle D of  
15 title II of the Help America Vote Act of 2002  
16 (as added by this Act).

17 (3) CYBERSECURITY INCIDENT REPORTING RE-  
18 QUIREMENTS.—

19 (A) IN GENERAL.—A vendor meets the re-  
20 quirements of this paragraph if, upon becoming  
21 aware of the possibility that an election cyberse-  
22 curity incident has occurred involving any of  
23 the goods and services provided by the vendor  
24 pursuant to a grant under part 8 of subtitle D

1 of title II of the Help America Vote Act of  
2 2002 (as added by this Act)—

3 (i) the vendor promptly assesses  
4 whether or not such an incident occurred,  
5 and submits a notification meeting the re-  
6 quirements of subparagraph (B) to the  
7 Secretary and the Chair of the assessment  
8 as soon as practicable (but in no case later  
9 than 3 days after the vendor first becomes  
10 aware of the possibility that the incident  
11 occurred);

12 (ii) if the incident involves goods or  
13 services provided to an election agency, the  
14 vendor submits a notification meeting the  
15 requirements of subparagraph (B) to the  
16 agency as soon as practicable (but in no  
17 case later than 3 days after the vendor  
18 first becomes aware of the possibility that  
19 the incident occurred), and cooperates with  
20 the agency in providing any other nec-  
21 essary notifications relating to the inci-  
22 dent; and

23 (iii) the vendor provides all necessary  
24 updates to any notification submitted  
25 under clause (i) or clause (ii).

1 (B) CONTENTS OF NOTIFICATIONS.—Each  
2 notification submitted under clause (i) or clause  
3 (ii) of subparagraph (A) shall contain the fol-  
4 lowing information with respect to any election  
5 cybersecurity incident covered by the notifica-  
6 tion:

7 (i) The date, time, and time zone  
8 when the election cybersecurity incident  
9 began, if known.

10 (ii) The date, time, and time zone  
11 when the election cybersecurity incident  
12 was detected.

13 (iii) The date, time, and duration of  
14 the election cybersecurity incident.

15 (iv) The circumstances of the election  
16 cybersecurity incident, including the spe-  
17 cific election infrastructure systems be-  
18 lieved to have been accessed and informa-  
19 tion acquired, if any.

20 (v) Any planned and implemented  
21 technical measures to respond to and re-  
22 cover from the incident.

23 (vi) In the case of any notification  
24 which is an update to a prior notification,  
25 any additional material information relat-

1           ing to the incident, including technical  
2           data, as it becomes available.

3           (C) DEVELOPMENT OF CRITERIA FOR RE-  
4           PORTING.—Not later than 1 year after the date  
5           of enactment of this Act, the Director of the  
6           Cybersecurity and Infrastructure Security  
7           Agency shall, in consultation with the Election  
8           Infrastructure Sector Coordinating Council, de-  
9           velop criteria for incidents which are required to  
10          be reported in accordance with subparagraph  
11          (A).

12          (4) DEFINITIONS.—In this subsection:

13           (A) CHAIR.—The term “Chair” means the  
14           Chair of the Election Assistance Commission.

15           (B) CHIEF STATE ELECTION OFFICIAL.—  
16           The term “chief State election official” means,  
17           with respect to a State, the individual des-  
18           ignated by the State under section 10 of the  
19           National Voter Registration Act of 1993 (52  
20           U.S.C. 20509) to be responsible for coordina-  
21           tion of the State’s responsibilities under such  
22           Act.

23           (C) ELECTION AGENCY.—The term “elec-  
24           tion agency” means any component of a State,  
25           or any component of a unit of local government

1 in a State, which is responsible for the adminis-  
2 tration of elections for Federal office in the  
3 State.

4 (D) ELECTION INFRASTRUCTURE.—The  
5 term “election infrastructure” means storage  
6 facilities, polling places, and centralized vote  
7 tabulation locations used to support the admin-  
8 istration of elections for public office, as well as  
9 related information and communications tech-  
10 nology, including voter registration databases,  
11 voting machines, electronic mail and other com-  
12 munications systems (including electronic mail  
13 and other systems of vendors who have entered  
14 into contracts with election agencies to support  
15 the administration of elections, manage the  
16 election process, and report and display election  
17 results), and other systems used to manage the  
18 election process and to report and display elec-  
19 tion results on behalf of an election agency.

20 (E) SECRETARY.—The term “Secretary”  
21 means the Secretary of Homeland Security.

22 (F) STATE.—The term “State” has the  
23 meaning given such term in section 901 of the  
24 Help America Vote Act of 2002 (52 U.S.C.  
25 21141).

## 1       **Subtitle K—Provisional Ballots**

### 2       **SEC. 3911. REQUIREMENTS FOR COUNTING PROVISIONAL** 3                       **BALLOTS; ESTABLISHMENT OF UNIFORM AND** 4                       **NONDISCRIMINATORY STANDARDS.**

5           (a) IN GENERAL.—Section 302 of the Help America  
6       Vote Act of 2002 (52 U.S.C. 21082), as amended by sec-  
7       tion 1601(a), is amended—

8           (1) by redesignating subsection (e) as sub-  
9       section (h); and

10          (2) by inserting after subsection (d) the fol-  
11       lowing new subsections:

12       “(e) COUNTING OF PROVISIONAL BALLOTS.—

13           “(1) IN GENERAL.—

14           “(A) For purposes of subsection (a)(4), if  
15       a provisional ballot is cast within the same  
16       county in which the voter is registered or other-  
17       wise eligible to vote, then notwithstanding the  
18       precinct or polling place at which a provisional  
19       ballot is cast within the county, the appropriate  
20       election official of the jurisdiction in which the  
21       individual is registered or otherwise eligible to  
22       vote shall count each vote on such ballot for  
23       each election in which the individual who cast  
24       such ballot is eligible to vote.

1           “(B) In addition to the requirements under  
2 subsection (a), for each State or political sub-  
3 division that provides voters provisional ballots,  
4 challenge ballots, or affidavit ballots under the  
5 State’s applicable law governing the voting  
6 processes for those voters whose eligibility to  
7 vote is determined to be uncertain by election  
8 officials, election officials shall—

9           “(i) provide clear written instructions  
10 indicating the reason the voter was given a  
11 provisional ballot, the information or docu-  
12 ments the voter needs to prove eligibility,  
13 the location at which the voter must ap-  
14 pear to submit these materials or alter-  
15 native methods, including email or fac-  
16 simile, that the voter may use to submit  
17 these materials, and the deadline for sub-  
18 mitting these materials;

19           “(ii) provide a verbal translation of  
20 any written instructions to the voter if nec-  
21 essary;

22           “(iii) permit any voter who votes pro-  
23 visionally at any polling place on Indian  
24 lands to appear at any polling place or at  
25 a central location for the election board to



1 submit the documentation or information  
2 to prove eligibility; and

3 “(iv) notify the voter as to whether  
4 the voter’s provisional ballot was counted  
5 or rejected and provide the reason for re-  
6 jection if the voter’s provisional ballot was  
7 rejected after the voter provided the re-  
8 quired information or documentation on  
9 eligibility.

10 “(2) RULE OF CONSTRUCTION.—Nothing in  
11 this subsection shall prohibit a State or jurisdiction  
12 from counting a provisional ballot which is cast in  
13 a different county within the State than the county  
14 in which the voter is registered or otherwise eligible  
15 to vote.

16 “(f) DUE PROCESS REQUIREMENTS FOR STATES RE-  
17 QUIRING SIGNATURE VERIFICATION.—

18 “(1) REQUIREMENT.—

19 “(A) IN GENERAL.—A State may not im-  
20 pose a signature verification requirement as a  
21 condition of accepting and counting a provi-  
22 sional ballot submitted by any individual with  
23 respect to an election for Federal office unless  
24 the State meets the due process requirements  
25 described in paragraph (2).

1           “(B) SIGNATURE VERIFICATION REQUIRE-  
2           MENT DESCRIBED.—In this subsection, a ‘sig-  
3           nature verification requirement’ is a require-  
4           ment that an election official verify the identi-  
5           fication of an individual by comparing the indi-  
6           vidual’s signature on the provisional ballot with  
7           the individual’s signature on the official list of  
8           registered voters in the State or another official  
9           record or other document used by the State to  
10          verify the signatures of voters.

11          “(2) DUE PROCESS REQUIREMENTS.—

12                 “(A) NOTICE AND OPPORTUNITY TO CURE  
13                 DISCREPANCY IN SIGNATURES.—If an indi-  
14                 vidual submits a provisional ballot and the ap-  
15                 propriate State or local election official deter-  
16                 mines that a discrepancy exists between the sig-  
17                 nature on such ballot and the signature of such  
18                 individual on the official list of registered voters  
19                 in the State or other official record or document  
20                 used by the State to verify the signatures of  
21                 voters, such election official, prior to making a  
22                 final determination as to the validity of such  
23                 ballot, shall—

24                         “(i) as soon as practical, but no later  
25                         than the next business day after such de-

1            termination is made, make a good faith ef-  
2            fort to notify the individual by mail, tele-  
3            phone, and (if available) text message and  
4            electronic mail that—

5                    “(I) a discrepancy exists between  
6                    the signature on such ballot and the  
7                    signature of the individual on the offi-  
8                    cial list of registered voters in the  
9                    State or other official record or docu-  
10                  ment used by the State to verify the  
11                  signatures of voters; and

12                   “(II) if such discrepancy is not  
13                   cured prior to the expiration of the  
14                   third day following the State’s dead-  
15                   line for receiving mail-in ballots or ab-  
16                   sentee ballots, such ballot will not be  
17                   counted; and

18                   “(ii) cure such discrepancy and count  
19                   the ballot if, prior to the expiration of the  
20                   third day following the State’s deadline for  
21                   receiving mail-in ballots or absentee bal-  
22                   lots, the individual provides the official  
23                   with information to cure such discrepancy,  
24                   either in person, by telephone, or by elec-  
25                   tronic methods.

1           “(B) NOTICE AND OPPORTUNITY TO CURE  
2 MISSING SIGNATURE OR OTHER DEFECT.—If an  
3 individual submits a provisional ballot without a  
4 signature or submits a provisional ballot with  
5 another defect which, if left uncured, would  
6 cause the ballot to not be counted, the appro-  
7 priate State or local election official, prior to  
8 making a final determination as to the validity  
9 of the ballot, shall—

10           “(i) as soon as practical, but no later  
11 than the next business day after such de-  
12 termination is made, make a good faith ef-  
13 fort to notify the individual by mail, tele-  
14 phone, and (if available) text message and  
15 electronic mail that—

16           “(I) the ballot did not include a  
17 signature or has some other defect;  
18 and

19           “(II) if the individual does not  
20 provide the missing signature or cure  
21 the other defect prior to the expira-  
22 tion of the third day following the  
23 State’s deadline for receiving mail-in  
24 ballots or absentee ballots, such ballot  
25 will not be counted; and

1           “(ii) count the ballot if, prior to the  
2           expiration of the third day following the  
3           State’s deadline for receiving mail-in bal-  
4           lots or absentee ballots, the individual pro-  
5           vides the official with the missing signa-  
6           ture on a form proscribed by the State or  
7           cures the other defect.

8           “(C) OTHER REQUIREMENTS.—

9           “(i) IN GENERAL.—An election official  
10          may not make a determination that a dis-  
11          crepancy exists between the signature on a  
12          provisional ballot and the signature of the  
13          individual on the official list of registered  
14          voters in the State or other official record  
15          or other document used by the State to  
16          verify the signatures of voters unless—

17               “(I) at least 2 election officials  
18               make the determination;

19               “(II) each official who makes the  
20               determination has received training in  
21               procedures used to verify signatures;  
22               and

23               “(III) of the officials who make  
24               the determination, at least one is af-  
25               filiated with the political party whose

1 candidate received the most votes in  
2 the most recent statewide election for  
3 Federal office held in the State and at  
4 least one is affiliated with the political  
5 party whose candidate received the  
6 second most votes in the most recent  
7 statewide election for Federal office  
8 held in the State.

9 “(ii) EXCEPTION.—Clause (i)(III)  
10 shall not apply to any State in which,  
11 under a law that is in effect continuously  
12 on and after the date of enactment of this  
13 section, determinations regarding signature  
14 discrepancies are made by election officials  
15 who are not affiliated with a political  
16 party.

17 “(3) REPORT.—

18 “(A) IN GENERAL.—Not later than 120  
19 days after the end of a Federal election cycle,  
20 each chief State election official shall submit to  
21 the Commission a report containing the fol-  
22 lowing information for the applicable Federal  
23 election cycle in the State:

1           “(i) The number of provisional ballots  
2           invalidated due to a discrepancy under this  
3           subsection.

4           “(ii) Description of attempts to con-  
5           tact voters to provide notice as required by  
6           this subsection.

7           “(iii) Description of the cure process  
8           developed by such State pursuant to this  
9           subsection, including the number of provi-  
10          sional ballots determined valid as a result  
11          of such process.

12          “(B) SUBMISSION TO CONGRESS.—Not  
13          later than 10 days after receiving a report  
14          under subparagraph (A), the Commission shall  
15          transmit such report to Congress.

16          “(C) FEDERAL ELECTION CYCLE DE-  
17          FINED.—For purposes of this subsection, the  
18          term ‘Federal election cycle’ means, with re-  
19          spect to any regularly scheduled election for  
20          Federal office, the period beginning on the day  
21          after the date of the preceding regularly sched-  
22          uled general election for Federal office and end-  
23          ing on the date of such regularly scheduled gen-  
24          eral election.

1           “(4) RULE OF CONSTRUCTION.—Nothing in  
2 this subsection shall be construed—

3           “(A) to prohibit a State from rejecting a  
4 ballot attempted to be cast in an election for  
5 Federal office by an individual who is not eligi-  
6 ble to vote in the election; or

7           “(B) to prohibit a State from providing an  
8 individual with more time and more methods  
9 for curing a discrepancy in the individual’s sig-  
10 nature, providing a missing signature, or curing  
11 any other defect than the State is required to  
12 provide under this subsection.

13           “(5) EFFECTIVE DATE.—This subsection shall  
14 apply with respect to elections held on or after Janu-  
15 ary 1, 2024.

16           “(g) UNIFORM AND NONDISCRIMINATORY STAND-  
17 ARDS.—

18           “(1) IN GENERAL.—Consistent with the re-  
19 quirements of this section, each State shall establish  
20 uniform and nondiscriminatory standards for the  
21 issuance, handling, and counting of provisional bal-  
22 lots.

23           “(2) EFFECTIVE DATE.—This subsection shall  
24 apply with respect to elections held on or after Janu-  
25 ary 1, 2024.



1       “(h) **ADDITIONAL CONDITIONS PROHIBITED.**—If an  
2 individual in a State is eligible to cast a provisional ballot  
3 as provided under this section, the State may not impose  
4 any additional conditions or requirements (including con-  
5 ditions or requirements regarding the timeframe in which  
6 a provisional ballot may be cast) on the eligibility of the  
7 individual to cast such provisional ballot.”.

8       (b) **CONFORMING AMENDMENT.**—Section 302(h) of  
9 such Act (52 U.S.C. 21082(g)), as amended by section  
10 1601(a) and redesignated by subsection (a), is amended  
11 by striking “subsection (d)(4)” and inserting “subsections  
12 (d)(4), (e)(3), and (f)(2)”.

13                   **TITLE IV—VOTING SYSTEM**  
14                                   **SECURITY**

15 **SEC. 4001. POST-ELECTION AUDIT REQUIREMENT.**

16       (a) **IN GENERAL.**—Title III of the Help America  
17 Vote Act of 2002 (52 U.S.C. 21081 et seq.), as amended  
18 by section 3601, is amended by inserting after section  
19 303A the following new section:

20 **“SEC. 303B. POST-ELECTION AUDITS.**

21       “(a) **DEFINITIONS.**—In this section:

22               “(1) **POST-ELECTION AUDIT.**—Except as pro-  
23 vided in subsection (c)(1)(B), the term ‘post-election  
24 audit’ means, with respect to any election contest, a  
25 post-election process that—

1           “(A) has a probability of at least 95 per-  
2 cent of correcting the reported outcome if the  
3 reported outcome is not the correct outcome;

4           “(B) will not change the outcome if the re-  
5 ported outcome is the correct outcome; and

6           “(C) involves a manual adjudication of  
7 voter intent from some or all of the ballots val-  
8 idly cast in the election contest.

9           “(2) REPORTED OUTCOME; CORRECT OUTCOME;  
10 OUTCOME.—

11           “(A) REPORTED OUTCOME.—The term ‘re-  
12 ported outcome’ means the outcome of an elec-  
13 tion contest which is determined according to  
14 the canvass and which will become the official,  
15 certified outcome unless it is revised by an  
16 audit, recount, or other legal process.

17           “(B) CORRECT OUTCOME.—The term ‘cor-  
18 rect outcome’ means the outcome that would be  
19 determined by a manual adjudication of voter  
20 intent for all votes validly cast in the election  
21 contest.

22           “(C) OUTCOME.—The term ‘outcome’  
23 means the winner or set of winners of an elec-  
24 tion contest.

1           “(3) MANUAL ADJUDICATION OF VOTER IN-  
2           TENT.—The term ‘manual adjudication of voter in-  
3           tent’ means direct inspection and determination by  
4           humans, without assistance from electronic or me-  
5           chanical tabulation devices, of the ballot choices  
6           marked by voters on each voter-verifiable paper  
7           record.

8           “(4) BALLOT MANIFEST.—The term ‘ballot  
9           manifest’ means a record maintained by each juris-  
10          diction that—

11                 “(A) is created without reliance on any  
12                 part of the voting system used to tabulate  
13                 votes;

14                 “(B) functions as a sampling frame for  
15                 conducting a post-election audit; and

16                 “(C) accounts for all ballots validly cast re-  
17                 gardless of how they were tabulated and in-  
18                 cludes a precise description of the manner in  
19                 which the ballots are physically stored, includ-  
20                 ing the total number of physical groups of bal-  
21                 lots, the numbering system for each group, a  
22                 unique label for each group, and the number of  
23                 ballots in each such group.

24          “(b) REQUIREMENTS.—

25                 “(1) IN GENERAL.—

1           “(A) AUDITS.—

2                   “(i) IN GENERAL.—Each State and  
3 jurisdiction shall administer post-election  
4 audits of the results of all election contests  
5 for Federal office held in the State in ac-  
6 cordance with the requirements of para-  
7 graph (2).

8                   “(ii) EXCEPTION.—Clause (i) shall  
9 not apply to any election contest for which  
10 the State or jurisdiction conducts a full re-  
11 count through a manual adjudication of  
12 voter intent.

13           “(B) FULL MANUAL TABULATION.—If a  
14 post-election audit conducted under subpara-  
15 graph (A) corrects the reported outcome of an  
16 election contest, the State or jurisdiction shall  
17 use the results of the manual adjudication of  
18 voter intent conducted as part of the post-elec-  
19 tion audit as the official results of the election  
20 contest.

21           “(2) AUDIT REQUIREMENTS.—

22                   “(A) RULES AND PROCEDURES.—

23                   “(i) IN GENERAL.—Not later than 6  
24 years after the date of the enactment of  
25 this section, the chief State election official

1 of the State shall establish rules and proce-  
2 dures for conducting post-election audits.

3 “(ii) MATTERS INCLUDED.—The rules  
4 and procedures established under clause (i)  
5 shall include the following:

6 “(I) Rules and procedures for en-  
7 suring the security of ballots and doc-  
8 umenting that prescribed procedures  
9 were followed.

10 “(II) Rules and procedures for  
11 ensuring the accuracy of ballot mani-  
12 fests produced by jurisdictions.

13 “(III) Rules and procedures for  
14 governing the format of ballot mani-  
15 fests and other data involved in post-  
16 election audits.

17 “(IV) Methods to ensure that  
18 any cast vote records used in a post-  
19 election audit are those used by the  
20 voting system to tally the results of  
21 the election contest sent to the chief  
22 State election official of the State and  
23 made public.

1                   “(V) Rules and procedures for  
2                   the random selection of ballots to be  
3                   inspected manually during each audit.

4                   “(VI) Rules and procedures for  
5                   the calculations and other methods to  
6                   be used in the audit and to determine  
7                   whether and when the audit of each  
8                   election contest is complete.

9                   “(VII) Rules and procedures for  
10                  testing any software used to conduct  
11                  post-election audits.

12                 “(B) PUBLIC REPORT.—

13                   “(i) IN GENERAL.—After the comple-  
14                   tion of the post-election audit and at least  
15                   5 days before the election contest is cer-  
16                   tified by the State, the State shall make  
17                   public and submit to the Commission a re-  
18                   port on the results of the audit, together  
19                   with such information as necessary to con-  
20                   firm that the audit was conducted prop-  
21                   erly.

22                   “(ii) FORMAT OF DATA.—All data  
23                   published with the report under clause (i)  
24                   shall be published in machine-readable,  
25                   open data formats.

1                   “(iii) PROTECTION OF ANONYMITY OF  
2                   VOTES.—Information and data published  
3                   by the State under this subparagraph shall  
4                   not compromise the anonymity of votes.

5                   “(iv) REPORT MADE AVAILABLE BY  
6                   COMMISSION.—After receiving any report  
7                   submitted under clause (i), the Commis-  
8                   sion shall make such report available on its  
9                   website.

10                  “(3) EFFECTIVE DATE; WAIVER.—

11                   “(A) IN GENERAL.—Except as provided in  
12                   subparagraphs (B) and (C), each State and ju-  
13                   risdiction shall be required to comply with the  
14                   requirements of this subsection for the first reg-  
15                   ularly scheduled election for Federal office oc-  
16                   curring in 2034 and for each subsequent elec-  
17                   tion for Federal office.

18                   “(B) WAIVER.—Except as provided in sub-  
19                   paragraph (C), if a State certifies to the Elec-  
20                   tion Assistance Commission not later than the  
21                   first regularly scheduled election for Federal of-  
22                   fice occurring in 2034, that the State will not  
23                   meet the deadline described in subparagraph  
24                   (A) because it would be impracticable to do so  
25                   and includes in the certification the reasons for

1 the failure to meet such deadline, subparagraph  
2 (A) and subsection (c)(2) shall be applied to the  
3 State by substituting ‘2036’ for ‘2034’.

4 “(C) ADDITIONAL WAIVER PERIOD.—If a  
5 State certifies to the Election Assistance Com-  
6 mission not later than the first regularly sched-  
7 uled election for Federal office occurring in  
8 2036, that the State will not meet the deadline  
9 described in subparagraph (A) (after applica-  
10 tion of subparagraph (B)) because it would be  
11 impracticable to do so and includes in the cer-  
12 tification the reasons for the failure to meet  
13 such deadline, subparagraph (A) and subsection  
14 (c)(2) shall be applied to the State by sub-  
15 stituting ‘2038’ for ‘2034’.

16 “(c) PHASED IMPLEMENTATION.—

17 “(1) POST-ELECTION AUDITS.—

18 “(A) IN GENERAL.—For the regularly  
19 scheduled elections for Federal office occurring  
20 in 2026 and 2028, each State shall administer  
21 a post-election audit of the result of at least one  
22 statewide election contest for Federal office held  
23 in the State, or if no such statewide contest is  
24 on the ballot, one election contest for Federal  
25 office chosen at random.



1           “(B) POST-ELECTION AUDIT DEFINED.—

2           In this subsection, the term ‘post-election audit’  
3           means a post-election process that involves a  
4           manual adjudication of voter intent from a  
5           sample of ballots validly cast in the election  
6           contest.

7           “(2) POST-ELECTION AUDITS FOR SELECT CON-  
8           TESTS.—Subject to subparagraphs (B) and (C) of  
9           subsection (b)(3), for the regularly scheduled elec-  
10          tions for Federal office occurring in 2030 and for  
11          each subsequent election for Federal office that oc-  
12          curs prior to the first regularly scheduled election  
13          for Federal office occurring in 2034, each State  
14          shall administer a post-election audit of the result of  
15          at least one statewide election contest for Federal of-  
16          fice held in the State, or if no such statewide contest  
17          is on the ballot, one election contest for Federal of-  
18          fice chosen at random.

19          “(3) STATES THAT ADMINISTER POST-ELEC-  
20          TION AUDITS FOR ALL CONTESTS.—A State shall be  
21          exempt from the requirements of this subsection for  
22          any regularly scheduled election for Federal office in  
23          which the State meets the requirements of sub-  
24          section (b).”.

1 (b) CLERICAL AMENDMENT.—The table of contents  
2 for such Act, as amended by section 3601, is amended  
3 by inserting after the item relating to section 303A the  
4 following new item:

“Sec. 303B. Post-election audits.”.

5 (c) STUDY ON POST-ELECTION AUDIT BEST PRAC-  
6 TICES.—

7 (1) IN GENERAL.—The Director of the National  
8 Institute of Standards and Technology shall estab-  
9 lish an advisory committee to study post-election au-  
10 dits and establish best practices for post-election  
11 audit methodologies and procedures.

12 (2) ADVISORY COMMITTEE.—The Director of  
13 the National Institute of Standards and Technology  
14 shall appoint individuals to the advisory committee  
15 and secure the representation of—

16 (A) State and local election officials;

17 (B) individuals with experience and exper-  
18 tise in election security;

19 (C) individuals with experience and exper-  
20 tise in post-election audit procedures; and

21 (D) individuals with experience and exper-  
22 tise in statistical methods.

23 (3) AUTHORIZATION OF APPROPRIATIONS.—

24 There are authorized to be appropriated such sums

1 as are necessary to carry out the purposes of this  
2 subsection.

3 **SEC. 4002. ELECTION INFRASTRUCTURE DESIGNATION.**

4 Subparagraph (J) of section 2001(3) of the Home-  
5 land Security Act of 2002 (6 U.S.C. 601(3)) is amended  
6 by inserting “, including election infrastructure” before  
7 the period at the end.

8 **SEC. 4003. GUIDELINES AND CERTIFICATION FOR ELEC-**  
9 **TRONIC POLL BOOKS AND REMOTE BALLOT**  
10 **MARKING SYSTEMS.**

11 (a) INCLUSION UNDER VOLUNTARY VOTING SYSTEM  
12 GUIDELINES.—Section 222 of the Help America Vote Act  
13 of 2002 (52 U.S.C. 20962) is amended—

14 (1) by redesignating subsections (a), (b), (c),  
15 (d), and (e) as subsections (b), (c), (d), (e), and (f);

16 (2) by inserting after the section heading the  
17 following:

18 “(a) VOLUNTARY VOTING SYSTEM GUIDELINES.—  
19 The Commission shall adopt voluntary voting system  
20 guidelines that describe functionality, accessibility, and se-  
21 curity principles for the design, development, and oper-  
22 ation of voting systems, electronic poll books, and remote  
23 ballot marking systems.”; and

24 (3) by adding at the end the following new sub-  
25 sections:

1       “(g) INITIAL GUIDELINES FOR ELECTRONIC POLL  
2 BOOKS AND REMOTE BALLOT MARKING SYSTEMS.—

3               “(1) ADOPTION DATE.—The Commission shall  
4 adopt initial voluntary voting system guidelines for  
5 electronic poll books and remote ballot marking sys-  
6 tems not later than 1 year after the date of the en-  
7 actment of the Freedom to Vote Act.

8               “(2) SPECIAL RULE FOR INITIAL GUIDE-  
9 LINES.—The Commission may adopt initial vol-  
10 untary voting system guidelines for electronic poll  
11 books and remote ballot marking systems without  
12 modifying the most recently adopted voluntary vot-  
13 ing system guidelines for voting systems.

14       “(h) DEFINITIONS.—In this section:

15               “(1) ELECTRONIC POLL BOOK.—The term ‘elec-  
16 tronic poll book’ means the total combination of me-  
17 chanical, electromechanical, or electronic equipment  
18 (including the software, firmware, and documenta-  
19 tion required to program, control, and support the  
20 equipment) that is used—

21                       “(A) to retain the list of registered voters  
22 at a polling location, or vote center, or other lo-  
23 cation at which voters cast votes in an election  
24 for Federal office; and

1           “(B) to identify registered voters who are  
2           eligible to vote in an election.

3           “(2) REMOTE BALLOT MARKING SYSTEM.—The  
4           term ‘remote ballot marking system’ means an elec-  
5           tion system that—

6                   “(A) is used by a voter to mark their bal-  
7                   lots outside of a voting center or polling place;  
8                   and

9                   “(B) allows a voter to receive a blank bal-  
10                  lot to mark electronically, print, and then cast  
11                  by returning the printed ballot to the elections  
12                  office or other designated location.”.

13           (b) PROVIDING FOR CERTIFICATION OF ELECTRONIC  
14           POLL BOOKS AND REMOTE BALLOT MARKING SYSTEM.—  
15           Section 231(a) of the Help America Vote Act of 2002 (52  
16           U.S.C. 20971(a)) is amended, in each of paragraphs (1)  
17           and (2), by inserting “, electronic poll books, and remote  
18           ballot marking systems” after “software”.

19           **SEC. 4004. PRE-ELECTION REPORTS ON VOTING SYSTEM**  
20                                   **USAGE.**

21           (a) REQUIRING STATES TO SUBMIT REPORTS.—Title  
22           III of the Help America Vote Act of 2002 (52 U.S.C.  
23           21081 et seq.) is amended by inserting after section 301  
24           the following new section:

1 **“SEC. 301A. PRE-ELECTION REPORTS ON VOTING SYSTEM**  
2 **USAGE.**

3 “(a) **REQUIRING STATES TO SUBMIT REPORTS.—**  
4 Not later than 120 days before the date of each regularly  
5 scheduled general election for Federal office, the chief  
6 State election official of a State shall submit a report to  
7 the Commission containing a detailed voting system usage  
8 plan for each jurisdiction in the State which will admin-  
9 ister the election, including a detailed plan for the usage  
10 of electronic poll books and other equipment and compo-  
11 nents of such system. If a jurisdiction acquires and imple-  
12 ments a new voting system within the 120 days before the  
13 date of the election, it shall notify the chief State election  
14 official of the State, who shall submit to the Commission  
15 in a timely manner an updated report under the preceding  
16 sentence.

17 “(b) **EFFECTIVE DATE.—**Subsection (a) shall apply  
18 with respect to the regularly scheduled general election for  
19 Federal office held in November 2024 and each succeeding  
20 regularly scheduled general election for Federal office”.

21 (b) **CLERICAL AMENDMENT.—**The table of contents  
22 of such Act is amended by inserting after the item relating  
23 to section 301 the following new item:

“Sec. 301A. Pre-election reports on voting system usage.”.

1 **SEC. 4005. USE OF VOTING MACHINES MANUFACTURED IN**  
2 **THE UNITED STATES.**

3 (a) REQUIREMENT.—Section 301(a) of the Help  
4 America Vote Act of 2002 (52 U.S.C. 21081(a)), as  
5 amended by section 3904 and section 3906, is further  
6 amended by adding at the end the following new para-  
7 graph:

8 “(10) VOTING MACHINE REQUIREMENTS.—

9 “(A) MANUFACTURING REQUIREMENTS.—

10 By not later than the date of the regularly  
11 scheduled general election for Federal office oc-  
12 ccurring in November 2026, each State shall  
13 seek to ensure to the extent practicable that  
14 any voting machine used in such election and in  
15 any subsequent election for Federal office is  
16 manufactured in the United States.

17 “(B) ASSEMBLY REQUIREMENTS.—By not  
18 later than the date of the regularly scheduled  
19 general election for Federal office occurring in  
20 November 2026, each State shall seek to ensure  
21 that any voting machine purchased or acquired  
22 for such election and in any subsequent election  
23 for Federal office is assembled in the United  
24 States.

25 “(C) SOFTWARE AND CODE REQUIRE-  
26 MENTS.—By not later than the date of the reg-

1           ularly scheduled general election for Federal of-  
2           fice occurring in November 2026, each State  
3           shall seek to ensure that any software or code  
4           developed for any voting system purchased or  
5           acquired for such election and in any subse-  
6           quent election for Federal office is developed  
7           and stored in the United States.”.

8           (b) CONFORMING AMENDMENT RELATING TO EF-  
9           FECTIVE DATE.—Section 301(d)(1) of such Act (52  
10          U.S.C. 21081(d)(1)), as amended by section 3907, is  
11          amended by striking “paragraph (2)” and inserting “sub-  
12          section (a)(10) and paragraph (2)”.

13          **SEC. 4006. USE OF POLITICAL PARTY HEADQUARTERS**  
14                          **BUILDING FUND FOR TECHNOLOGY OR CY-**  
15                          **BERSECURITY-RELATED PURPOSES.**

16          (a) PERMITTING USE OF FUND.—Section  
17          315(a)(9)(B) of the Federal Election Campaign Act of  
18          1971 (52 U.S.C. 30116(a)(9)(B)) is amended by striking  
19          the period at the end and inserting the following: “, and  
20          to defray technology or cybersecurity-related expenses.”.

21          (b) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendment made by  
22          subsection (a) shall apply with respect to calendar year  
23          2024 and each succeeding calendar year.



1 **SEC. 4007. SEVERABILITY.**

2 If any provision of this title or any amendment made  
3 by this title, or the application of any such provision or  
4 amendment to any person or circumstance, is held to be  
5 unconstitutional, the remainder of this title, and the appli-  
6 cation of such provision or amendment to any other person  
7 or circumstance, shall not be affected by the holding.

8 **DIVISION C—CIVIC PARTICIPA-**  
9 **TION AND EMPOWERMENT**  
10 **TITLE V—NONPARTISAN**  
11 **REDISTRICTING REFORM**

12 **SEC. 5001. FINDING OF CONSTITUTIONAL AUTHORITY.**

13 Congress finds that it has the authority to establish  
14 the terms and conditions States must follow in carrying  
15 out congressional redistricting after an apportionment of  
16 Members of the House of Representatives because—

17 (1) the authority granted to Congress under ar-  
18 ticle I, section 4 of the Constitution of the United  
19 States gives Congress the power to enact laws gov-  
20 erning the time, place, and manner of elections for  
21 Members of the House of Representatives;

22 (2) the authority granted to Congress under  
23 section 5 of the Fourteenth Amendment to the Con-  
24 stitution gives Congress the power to enact laws to  
25 enforce section 2 of such amendment, which requires

1 Representatives to be apportioned among the several  
2 States according to their number;

3 (3) the authority granted to Congress under  
4 section 5 of the Fourteenth Amendment to the Con-  
5 stitution gives Congress the power to enact laws to  
6 enforce section 1 of such amendment, including pro-  
7 tections against excessive partisan gerrymandering  
8 that Federal courts have not enforced because they  
9 understand such enforcement to be committed to  
10 Congress by the Constitution;

11 (4) of the authority granted to Congress to en-  
12 force article IV, section 4, of the Constitution, and  
13 the guarantee of a Republican Form of Government  
14 to every State, which Federal courts have not en-  
15 forced because they understand such enforcement to  
16 be committed to Congress by the Constitution;

17 (5) requiring States to use uniform redistricting  
18 criteria is an appropriate and important exercise of  
19 such authority; and

20 (6) partisan gerrymandering dilutes citizens'  
21 votes because partisan gerrymandering injures vot-  
22 ers and political parties by infringing on their First  
23 Amendment right to associate freely and their Four-  
24 teenth Amendment right to equal protection of the  
25 laws.

1 **SEC. 5002. BAN ON MID-DECADE REDISTRICTING.**

2 A State that has been redistricted in accordance with  
3 this title may not be redistricted again until after the next  
4 apportionment of Representatives under section 22(a) of  
5 the Act entitled “An Act to provide for the fifteenth and  
6 subsequent decennial censuses and to provide for an ap-  
7 portionment of Representatives in Congress”, approved  
8 June 18, 1929 (2 U.S.C. 2a), unless a court requires the  
9 State to conduct such subsequent redistricting to comply  
10 with the Constitution of the United States, the Voting  
11 Rights Act of 1965 (52 U.S.C. 10301 et seq.), the terms  
12 or conditions of this title, or applicable State law.

13 **SEC. 5003. CRITERIA FOR REDISTRICTING.**

14 (a) **REQUIRING PLANS TO MEET CRITERIA.**—A  
15 State may not use a congressional redistricting plan en-  
16 acted following the notice of apportionment transmitted  
17 to the President on April 26, 2021, or any subsequent no-  
18 tice of apportionment, if such plan is not in compliance  
19 with this section, without regard to whether or not the  
20 plan was enacted by the State before, on, or after the ef-  
21 fective date of this title.

22 (b) **RANKED CRITERIA.**—Under the redistricting plan  
23 of a State, there shall be established single-member con-  
24 gressional districts using the following criteria as set forth  
25 in the following order of priority:

1           (1) Districts shall comply with the United  
2 States Constitution, including the requirement that  
3 they substantially equalize total population, without  
4 regard to age, citizenship status, or immigration sta-  
5 tus.

6           (2) Districts shall comply with the Voting  
7 Rights Act of 1965 (52 U.S.C. 10301 et seq.), in-  
8 cluding by creating any districts where, if based  
9 upon the totality of the circumstances, 2 or more po-  
10 litically cohesive groups protected by such Act are  
11 able to elect representatives of choice in coalition  
12 with one another, and all applicable Federal laws.

13           (3)(A) Districts shall be drawn, to the extent  
14 that the totality of the circumstances warrant, to en-  
15 sure the practical ability of a group protected under  
16 the Voting Rights Act of 1965 (52 U.S.C. 10301 et  
17 seq.) to participate in the political process and to  
18 nominate candidates and to elect representatives of  
19 choice is not diluted or diminished, regardless of  
20 whether or not such protected group constitutes a  
21 majority of a district's population, voting age popu-  
22 lation, or citizen voting age population.

23           (B) For purposes of subparagraph (A), the as-  
24 sessment of whether a protected group has the prac-  
25 tical ability to nominate candidates and to elect rep-

1        representatives of choice shall require the consideration  
2        of the following factors:

3                (i) Whether the group is politically cohe-  
4                sive.

5                (ii) Whether there is racially polarized vot-  
6                ing in the relevant geographic region.

7                (iii) If there is racially polarized voting in  
8                the relevant geographic region, whether the pre-  
9                ferred candidates of the group nevertheless re-  
10              ceive a sufficient amount of consistent crossover  
11              support from other voters such that the group  
12              is a functional majority with the ability to both  
13              nominate candidates and elect representatives  
14              of choice.

15              (4)(A) Districts shall be drawn to represent  
16              communities of interest and neighborhoods to the  
17              extent practicable after compliance with the require-  
18              ments of paragraphs (1) through (3). A community  
19              of interest is defined as an area for which the record  
20              before the entity responsible for developing and  
21              adopting the redistricting plan demonstrates the ex-  
22              istence of broadly shared interests and representa-  
23              tional needs, including shared interests and rep-  
24              resentational needs rooted in common ethnic, racial,  
25              economic, Indian, social, cultural, geographic, or his-

1        toric identities, or arising from similar socioeconomic  
2        conditions. The term communities of interest may, if  
3        the record warrants, include political subdivisions  
4        such as counties, municipalities, Indian lands, or  
5        school districts, but shall not include common rela-  
6        tionships with political parties or political can-  
7        didates.

8            (B) For purposes of subparagraph (A), in con-  
9        sidering the needs of multiple, overlapping commu-  
10       nities of interest, the entity responsible for devel-  
11       oping and adopting the redistricting plan shall give  
12       greater weight to those communities of interest  
13       whose representational needs would most benefit  
14       from the community's inclusion in a single congres-  
15       sional district.

16        (c) NO FAVORING OR DISFAVORING OF POLITICAL  
17       PARTIES.—

18            (1) PROHIBITION.—A State may not use a re-  
19       districting plan to conduct an election if the plan's  
20       congressional districts, when considered cumulatively  
21       on a statewide basis, have been drawn with the in-  
22       tent or have the effect of materially favoring or  
23       disfavoring any political party.

24            (2) DETERMINATION OF EFFECT.—The deter-  
25       mination of whether a redistricting plan has the ef-

1       fect of materially favoring or disfavoring a political  
2       party shall be based on an evaluation of the totality  
3       of circumstances which, at a minimum, shall involve  
4       consideration of each of the following factors:

5               (A) Computer modeling based on relevant  
6               statewide general elections for Federal office  
7               held over the 8 years preceding the adoption of  
8               the redistricting plan setting forth the probable  
9               electoral outcomes for the plan under a range  
10              of reasonably foreseeable conditions.

11             (B) An analysis of whether the redistricting  
12             plan is statistically likely to result in  
13             partisan advantage or disadvantage on a state-  
14             wide basis, the degree of any such advantage or  
15             disadvantage, and whether such advantage or  
16             disadvantage is likely to be present under a  
17             range of reasonably foreseeable electoral condi-  
18             tions.

19             (C) A comparison of the modeled electoral  
20             outcomes for the redistricting plan to the mod-  
21             eled electoral outcomes for alternative plans  
22             that demonstrably comply with the require-  
23             ments of paragraphs (1), (2), and (3) of sub-  
24             section (b) in order to determine whether rea-  
25             sonable alternatives exist that would result in

1 materially lower levels of partisan advantage or  
2 disadvantage on a statewide basis. For purposes  
3 of this subparagraph, alternative plans consid-  
4 ered may include both actual plans proposed  
5 during the redistricting process and other plans  
6 prepared for purposes of comparison.

7 (D) Any other relevant information, includ-  
8 ing how broad support for the redistricting plan  
9 was among members of the entity responsible  
10 for developing and adopting the plan and  
11 whether the processes leading to the develop-  
12 ment and adoption of the plan were transparent  
13 and equally open to all members of the entity  
14 and to the public.

15 (3) REBUTTABLE PRESUMPTION.—

16 (A) TRIGGER.—In any civil action brought  
17 under section 5006 in which a party asserts a  
18 claim that a State has enacted a redistricting  
19 plan which is in violation of this subsection, a  
20 party may file a motion not later than 30 days  
21 after the enactment of the plan (or, in the case  
22 of a plan enacted before the effective date of  
23 this Act, not later than 30 days after the effec-  
24 tive date of this Act) requesting that the court  
25 determine whether a presumption of such a vio-



1           lation exists. If such a motion is timely filed,  
2           the court shall hold a hearing not later than 15  
3           days after the date the motion is filed to assess  
4           whether a presumption of such a violation ex-  
5           ists.

6           (B) ASSESSMENT.—To conduct the assess-  
7           ment required under subparagraph (A), the  
8           court shall do the following:

9           (i) Determine the number of congress-  
10          sional districts under the plan that would  
11          have been carried by each political party’s  
12          candidates for the office of President and  
13          the office of Senator in the 2 most recent  
14          general elections for the office of President  
15          and the 2 most recent general elections for  
16          the office of Senator (other than special  
17          general elections) immediately preceding  
18          the enactment of the plan, except that if a  
19          State conducts a primary election for the  
20          office of Senator which is open to can-  
21          didates of all political parties, the primary  
22          election shall be used instead of the gen-  
23          eral election and the number of districts  
24          carried by a party’s candidates for the of-  
25          fice of Senator shall be determined on the

1 basis of the combined vote share of all can-  
2 didates in the election who are affiliated  
3 with such party.

4 (ii) Determine, for each of the 4 elec-  
5 tions assessed under clause (i), whether  
6 the number of districts that would have  
7 been carried by any party's candidate as  
8 determined under clause (i) results in par-  
9 tisan advantage or disadvantage in excess  
10 of the applicable threshold described in  
11 subparagraph (C). The degree of partisan  
12 advantage or disadvantage shall be deter-  
13 mined by one or more standard quan-  
14 titative measures of partisan fairness  
15 that—

16 (I) use a party's share of the  
17 statewide vote to calculate a cor-  
18 responding benchmark share of seats;  
19 and

20 (II) measure the amount by  
21 which the share of seats the party's  
22 candidate would have won in the elec-  
23 tion involved exceeds the benchmark  
24 share of seats.

1           (C) APPLICABLE THRESHOLD DE-  
2           SCRIBED.—The applicable threshold described  
3           in this subparagraph is, with respect to a State  
4           and a number of seats, the greater of—

5                   (i) an amount equal to 7 percent of  
6                   the number of congressional districts in  
7                   the State; or

8                   (ii) one congressional district.

9           (D) DESCRIPTION OF QUANTITATIVE  
10           MEASURES; PROHIBITING ROUNDING.—In car-  
11           rying out this subsection—

12                   (i) the standard quantitative measures  
13                   of partisan fairness used by the court may  
14                   include the simplified efficiency gap but  
15                   may not include strict proportionality; and

16                   (ii) the court may not round any num-  
17                   ber.

18           (E) PRESUMPTION OF VIOLATION.—A plan  
19           is presumed to violate paragraph (1) if, on the  
20           basis of at least one standard quantitative  
21           measure of partisan fairness, it exceeds the ap-  
22           plicable threshold described in subparagraph  
23           (C) with respect to 2 or more of the 4 elections  
24           assessed under subparagraph (B).

1           (F) STAY OF USE OF PLAN.—Notwith-  
2 standing any other provision of this title, in any  
3 action under this paragraph, the following rules  
4 shall apply:

5           (i) Upon filing of a motion under sub-  
6 paragraph (A), a State’s use of the plan  
7 which is the subject of the motion shall be  
8 automatically stayed pending resolution of  
9 such motion.

10          (ii) If after considering the motion,  
11 the court rules that the plan is presumed  
12 under subparagraph (E) to violate para-  
13 graph (1), a State may not use such plan  
14 until and unless the court which is car-  
15 rying out the determination of the effect of  
16 the plan under paragraph (2) determines  
17 that, notwithstanding the presumptive vio-  
18 lation, the plan does not violate paragraph  
19 (1).

20          (G) NO EFFECT ON OTHER ASSESS-  
21 MENTS.—The absence of a presumption of a  
22 violation with respect to a redistricting plan as  
23 determined under this paragraph shall not af-  
24 fect the determination of the effect or intent of  
25 the plan under this section.

1           (4) DETERMINATION OF INTENT.—A court may  
2           rely on all available evidence when determining  
3           whether a redistricting plan was drawn with the in-  
4           tent to materially favor or disfavor a political party,  
5           including evidence of the partisan effects of a plan,  
6           the degree of support the plan received from mem-  
7           bers of the entity responsible for developing and  
8           adopting the plan, and whether the processes leading  
9           to development and adoption of the plan were trans-  
10          parent and equally open to all members of the entity  
11          and to the public.

12          (5) NO VIOLATION BASED ON CERTAIN CRI-  
13          TERIA.—No redistricting plan shall be found to be  
14          in violation of paragraph (1) because of the proper  
15          application of the criteria set forth in paragraphs  
16          (1), (2), or (3) of subsection (b), unless one or more  
17          alternative plans could have complied with such  
18          paragraphs without having the effect of materially  
19          favoring or disfavoring a political party.

20          (d) FACTORS PROHIBITED FROM CONSIDERATION.—  
21          In developing the redistricting plan for the State, the  
22          State may not take into consideration any of the following  
23          factors, except as necessary to comply with the criteria  
24          described in paragraphs (1) through (3) of subsection (b),  
25          to achieve partisan fairness and comply with subsection

1 (b), and to enable the redistricting plan to be measured  
2 against the external metrics described in section 5004(c):

3 (1) The residence of any Member of the House  
4 of Representatives or candidate.

5 (2) The political party affiliation or voting his-  
6 tory of the population of a district.

7 (e) ADDITIONAL CRITERIA.—A State may not rely  
8 upon criteria, districting principles, or other policies of the  
9 State which are not set forth in this section to justify non-  
10 compliance with the requirements of this section.

11 (f) APPLICABILITY.—

12 (1) IN GENERAL.—This section applies to any  
13 authority, whether appointed, elected, judicial, or  
14 otherwise, responsible for enacting the congressional  
15 redistricting plan of a State.

16 (2) DATE OF ENACTMENT.—This section ap-  
17 plies to any congressional redistricting plan enacted  
18 following the notice of apportionment transmitted to  
19 the President on April 26, 2021, regardless of the  
20 date of enactment by the State of the congressional  
21 redistricting plan.

22 (g) SEVERABILITY OF CRITERIA.—If any provision of  
23 this section, or the application of any such provision to  
24 any person or circumstance, is held to be unconstitutional,  
25 the remainder of this section, and the application of such

1 provision to any other person or circumstance, shall not  
2 be affected by the holding.

3 **SEC. 5004. DEVELOPMENT OF PLAN.**

4 (a) PUBLIC NOTICE AND INPUT.—

5 (1) USE OF OPEN AND TRANSPARENT PROC-  
6 ESS.—The entity responsible for developing and  
7 adopting the congressional redistricting plan of a  
8 State shall solicit and take into consideration com-  
9 ments from the public throughout the process of de-  
10 veloping the plan, and shall carry out its duties in  
11 an open and transparent manner which provides for  
12 the widest public dissemination reasonably possible  
13 of its proposed and final redistricting plans.

14 (2) WEBSITE.—

15 (A) FEATURES.—The entity shall maintain  
16 a public internet site which is not affiliated with  
17 or maintained by the office of any elected offi-  
18 cial and which includes the following features:

19 (i) All proposed redistricting plans  
20 and the final redistricting plan, including  
21 the accompanying written evaluation under  
22 subsection (c).

23 (ii) All comments received from the  
24 public submitted under paragraph (1).

1 (iii) Access in an easily usable format  
2 to the demographic and other data used by  
3 the entity to develop and analyze the pro-  
4 posed redistricting plans, together with any  
5 reports analyzing and evaluating such  
6 plans and access to software that members  
7 of the public may use to draw maps of pro-  
8 posed districts.

9 (iv) A method by which members of  
10 the public may submit comments directly  
11 to the entity.

12 (B) SEARCHABLE FORMAT.—The entity  
13 shall ensure that all information posted and  
14 maintained on the site under this paragraph,  
15 including information and proposed maps sub-  
16 mitted by the public, shall be maintained in an  
17 easily searchable format.

18 (3) MULTIPLE LANGUAGE REQUIREMENTS FOR  
19 ALL NOTICES.—The entity responsible for developing  
20 and adopting the plan shall make each notice which  
21 is required to be posted and published under this  
22 section available in any language in which the State  
23 (or any jurisdiction in the State) is required to pro-  
24 vide election materials under section 203 of the Vot-  
25 ing Rights Act of 1965 (52 U.S.C. 10503).



1 (b) DEVELOPMENT OF PLAN.—

2 (1) HEARINGS.—The entity responsible for de-  
3 veloping and adopting the congressional redistricting  
4 plan shall hold hearings both before and after releas-  
5 ing proposed plans in order to solicit public input on  
6 the content of such plans. These hearings shall—

7 (A) be held in different regions of the  
8 State and streamed live on the public internet  
9 site maintained under subsection (a)(2);

10 (B) be sufficient in number, scheduled at  
11 times and places, and noticed and conducted in  
12 a manner to ensure that all members of the  
13 public, including members of racial, ethnic, and  
14 language minorities protected under the Voting  
15 Rights Act of 1965, have a meaningful oppor-  
16 tunity to attend and provide input both before  
17 and after the entity releases proposed plans.

18 (2) POSTING OF MAPS.—The entity responsible  
19 for developing and adopting the congressional redis-  
20 tricting plan shall make proposed plans, amend-  
21 ments to proposed plans, and the data needed to  
22 analyze such plans for compliance with the criteria  
23 of this title available for public review, including on  
24 the public internet site required under subsection  
25 (a)(2), for a period of not less than 5 days before

1 any vote or hearing is held on any such plan or any  
2 amendment to such a plan.

3 (c) RELEASE OF WRITTEN EVALUATION OF PLAN  
4 AGAINST EXTERNAL METRICS REQUIRED PRIOR TO  
5 VOTE.—The entity responsible for developing and adopt-  
6 ing the congressional redistricting plan for a State may  
7 not hold a vote on a proposed redistricting plan, including  
8 a vote in a committee, unless at least 48 hours prior to  
9 holding the vote the State has released a written evalua-  
10 tion that measures each such plan against external metrics  
11 which cover the criteria set forth in section 5003(b), in-  
12 cluding the impact of the plan on the ability of members  
13 of a class of citizens protected by the Voting Rights Act  
14 of 1965 (52 U.S.C. 10301 et seq.) to elect candidates of  
15 choice, the degree to which the plan preserves or divides  
16 communities of interest, and any analysis used by the  
17 State to assess compliance with the requirements of sec-  
18 tion 5003(b) and (c).

19 (d) PUBLIC INPUT AND COMMENTS.—The entity re-  
20 sponsible for developing and adopting the congressional  
21 redistricting plan for a State shall make all public com-  
22 ments received about potential plans, including alternative  
23 plans, available to the public on the internet site required  
24 under subsection (a)(2), at no cost, not later than 24  
25 hours prior to holding a vote on final adoption of a plan.

1 **SEC. 5005. FAILURE BY STATE TO ENACT PLAN.**

2 (a) **DEADLINE FOR ENACTMENT OF PLAN.—**

3 (1) **IN GENERAL.—**Except as provided in para-  
4 graph (2), each State shall enact a final congress-  
5 sional redistricting plan following transmission of a  
6 notice of apportionment to the President by the ear-  
7 liest of—

8 (A) the deadline set forth in State law, in-  
9 cluding any extension to the deadline provided  
10 in accordance with State law;

11 (B) February 15 of the year in which reg-  
12 ularly scheduled general elections for Federal  
13 office are held in the State; or

14 (C) 90 days before the date of the next  
15 regularly scheduled primary election for Federal  
16 office held in the State.

17 (2) **SPECIAL RULE FOR PLANS ENACTED PRIOR**  
18 **TO EFFECTIVE DATE OF TITLE.—**If a State enacted  
19 a final congressional redistricting plan prior to the  
20 effective date of this title and the plan is not in com-  
21 pliance with the requirements of this title, the State  
22 shall enact a final redistricting plan which is in com-  
23 pliance with the requirements of this title not later  
24 than 45 days after the effective date of this title.

25 (b) **DEVELOPMENT OF PLAN BY COURT IN CASE OF**  
26 **MISSED DEADLINE.—**If a State has not enacted a final

1 congressional redistricting plan by the applicable deadline  
2 under subsection (a), or it appears reasonably likely that  
3 a State will fail to enact a final congressional redistricting  
4 plan by such deadline—

5           (1) any citizen of the State may file an action  
6           in the United States district court for the applicable  
7           venue asking the district court to assume jurisdic-  
8           tion;

9           (2) the United States district court for the ap-  
10          plicable venue, acting through a 3-judge court con-  
11          vened pursuant to section 2284 of title 28, United  
12          States Code, shall have the exclusive authority to de-  
13          velop and publish the congressional redistricting  
14          plan for the State; and

15          (3) the final congressional redistricting plan de-  
16          veloped and published by the court under this sec-  
17          tion shall be deemed to be enacted on the date on  
18          which the court publishes the final congressional re-  
19          districting plan, as described in subsection (e).

20          (c) APPLICABLE VENUE.—For purposes of this sec-  
21          tion, the “applicable venue” with respect to a State is the  
22          District of Columbia or the judicial district in which the  
23          capital of the State is located, as selected by the first party  
24          to file with the court sufficient evidence that a State has  
25          failed to, or is reasonably likely to fail to, enact a final

1 redistricting plan for the State prior to the expiration of  
2 the applicable deadline set forth in subsection (a).

3 (d) PROCEDURES FOR DEVELOPMENT OF PLAN.—

4 (1) CRITERIA.—In developing a redistricting  
5 plan for a State under this section, the court shall  
6 adhere to the same terms and conditions that ap-  
7 plied (or that would have applied, as the case may  
8 be) to the development of a plan by the State under  
9 section 5003.

10 (2) ACCESS TO INFORMATION AND RECORDS.—

11 The court shall have access to any information,  
12 data, software, or other records and material that  
13 was used (or that would have been used, as the case  
14 may be) by the State in carrying out its duties  
15 under this title.

16 (3) HEARING; PUBLIC PARTICIPATION.—In de-  
17 veloping a redistricting plan for a State, the court  
18 shall—

19 (A) hold one or more evidentiary hearings  
20 at which interested members of the public may  
21 appear and be heard and present testimony, in-  
22 cluding expert testimony, in accordance with  
23 the rules of the court; and

24 (B) consider other submissions and com-  
25 ments by the public, including proposals for re-

1           districting plans to cover the entire State or  
2           any portion of the State.

3           (4) USE OF SPECIAL MASTER.—To assist in the  
4           development and publication of a redistricting plan  
5           for a State under this section, the court may appoint  
6           a special master to make recommendations to the  
7           court on possible plans for the State.

8           (e) PUBLICATION OF PLAN.—

9           (1) PUBLIC AVAILABILITY OF INITIAL PLAN.—  
10          Upon completing the development of one or more  
11          initial redistricting plans, the court shall make the  
12          plans available to the public at no cost, and shall  
13          also make available the underlying data used to de-  
14          velop the plans and a written evaluation of the plans  
15          against external metrics (as described in section  
16          5004(e)).

17          (2) PUBLICATION OF FINAL PLAN.—At any  
18          time after the expiration of the 14-day period which  
19          begins on the date the court makes the plans avail-  
20          able to the public under paragraph (1), and taking  
21          into consideration any submissions and comments by  
22          the public which are received during such period, the  
23          court shall develop and publish the final redistricting  
24          plan for the State.

1           (f) USE OF INTERIM PLAN.—In the event that the  
2 court is not able to develop and publish a final redistricting  
3 plan for the State with sufficient time for an upcoming  
4 election to proceed, the court may develop and  
5 publish an interim redistricting plan which shall serve as  
6 the redistricting plan for the State until the court develops  
7 and publishes a final plan in accordance with this section.  
8 Nothing in this subsection may be construed to limit or  
9 otherwise affect the authority or discretion of the court  
10 to develop and publish the final redistricting plan, including  
11 the discretion to make any changes the court deems  
12 necessary to an interim redistricting plan.

13           (g) APPEALS.—Review on appeal of any final or interim  
14 plan adopted by the court in accordance with this  
15 section shall be governed by the appellate process in section  
16 5006.

17           (h) STAY OF STATE PROCEEDINGS.—The filing of an  
18 action under this section shall act as a stay of any proceedings  
19 in State court with respect to the State's congressional  
20 redistricting plan unless otherwise ordered by the  
21 court.

22 **SEC. 5006. CIVIL ENFORCEMENT.**

23           (a) CIVIL ENFORCEMENT.—

1           (1) ACTIONS BY ATTORNEY GENERAL.—The At-  
2           torney General may bring a civil action for such re-  
3           lief as may be appropriate to carry out this title.

4           (2) AVAILABILITY OF PRIVATE RIGHT OF AC-  
5           TION.—

6           (A) IN GENERAL.—Any person residing or  
7           domiciled in a State who is aggrieved by the  
8           failure of the State to meet the requirements of  
9           the Constitution or Federal law, including this  
10          title, with respect to the State’s congressional  
11          redistricting, may bring a civil action in the  
12          United States district court for the applicable  
13          venue for such relief as may be appropriate to  
14          remedy the failure.

15          (B) SPECIAL RULE FOR CLAIMS RELATING  
16          TO PARTISAN ADVANTAGE.—For purposes of  
17          subparagraph (A), a person who is aggrieved by  
18          the failure of a State to meet the requirements  
19          of section 5003(c) may include—

20                 (i) any political party or committee in  
21                 the State; and

22                 (ii) any registered voter in the State  
23                 who resides in a congressional district that  
24                 the voter alleges was drawn in a manner



1           that contributes to a violation of such sec-  
2           tion.

3           (C) NO AWARDING OF DAMAGES TO PRE-  
4           VAILING PARTY.—Except for an award of attor-  
5           ney’s fees under subsection (d), a court in a  
6           civil action under this section shall not award  
7           the prevailing party any monetary damages,  
8           compensatory, punitive, or otherwise.

9           (3) DELIVERY OF COMPLAINT TO HOUSE AND  
10          SENATE.—In any action brought under this section,  
11          a copy of the complaint shall be delivered promptly  
12          to the Clerk of the House of Representatives and the  
13          Secretary of the Senate.

14          (4) EXCLUSIVE JURISDICTION AND APPLICABLE  
15          VENUE.—The district courts of the United States  
16          shall have exclusive jurisdiction to hear and deter-  
17          mine claims asserting that a congressional redistricting  
18          plan violates the requirements of the Con-  
19          stitution or Federal law, including this title. The ap-  
20          plicable venue for such an action shall be the United  
21          States District Court for the District of Columbia or  
22          for the judicial district in which the capital of the  
23          State is located, as selected by the person bringing  
24          the action. In a civil action that includes a claim  
25          that a redistricting plan is in violation of subsection

1 (b) or (c) of section 5003, the United States District  
2 Court for the District of Columbia shall have juris-  
3 diction over any defendant who has been served in  
4 any United States judicial district in which the de-  
5 fendant resides, is found, or has an agent, or in the  
6 United States judicial district in which the capital of  
7 the State is located. Process may be served in any  
8 United States judicial district where a defendant re-  
9 sides, is found, or has an agent, or in the United  
10 States judicial district in which the capital of the  
11 State is located.

12 (5) USE OF 3-JUDGE COURT.—If an action  
13 under this section raises statewide claims under the  
14 Constitution or this title, the action shall be heard  
15 by a 3-judge court convened pursuant to section  
16 2284 of title 28, United States Code.

17 (6) REVIEW OF FINAL DECISION.—A final deci-  
18 sion in an action brought under this section shall be  
19 reviewable on appeal by the United States Court of  
20 Appeals for the District of Columbia Circuit, which  
21 shall hear the matter sitting en banc. There shall be  
22 no right of appeal in such proceedings to any other  
23 court of appeals. Such appeal shall be taken by the  
24 filing of a notice of appeal within 10 days of the  
25 entry of the final decision. A final decision by the

1 Court of Appeals may be reviewed by the Supreme  
2 Court of the United States by writ of certiorari.

3 (b) EXPEDITED CONSIDERATION.—In any action  
4 brought under this section, it shall be the duty of the dis-  
5 trict court, the United States Court of Appeals for the  
6 District of Columbia Circuit, and the Supreme Court of  
7 the United States (if it chooses to hear the action) to ad-  
8 vance on the docket and to expedite to the greatest pos-  
9 sible extent the disposition of the action and appeal.

10 (c) REMEDIES.—

11 (1) ADOPTION OF REPLACEMENT PLAN.—

12 (A) IN GENERAL.—If the district court in  
13 an action under this section finds that the con-  
14 gressional redistricting plan of a State violates,  
15 in whole or in part, the requirements of this  
16 title—

17 (i) the court shall adopt a replacement  
18 congressional redistricting plan for the  
19 State in accordance with the process set  
20 forth in section 5005; or

21 (ii) if circumstances warrant and no  
22 delay to an upcoming regularly scheduled  
23 election for the House of Representatives  
24 in the State would result, the district  
25 court, in its discretion, may allow a State

1 to develop and propose a remedial congress-  
2 sional redistricting plan for review by the  
3 court to determine whether the plan is in  
4 compliance with this title, except that—

5 (I) the State may not develop  
6 and propose a remedial plan under  
7 this clause if the court determines  
8 that the congressional redistricting  
9 plan of the State was enacted with  
10 discriminatory intent in violation of  
11 the Constitution or section 5003(b);  
12 and

13 (II) nothing in this clause may be  
14 construed to permit a State to use  
15 such a remedial plan which has not  
16 been approved by the court.

17 (B) PROHIBITING USE OF PLANS IN VIOLA-  
18 TION OF REQUIREMENTS.—No court shall order  
19 a State to use a congressional redistricting plan  
20 which violates, in whole or in part, the require-  
21 ments of this title, or to conduct an election  
22 under terms and conditions which violate, in  
23 whole or in part, the requirements of this title.

1 (C) SPECIAL RULE IN CASE FINAL ADJU-  
2 DICATION NOT EXPECTED WITHIN 3 MONTHS  
3 OF ELECTION.—

4 (i) DUTY OF COURT.—If final adju-  
5 dication of an action under this section is  
6 not reasonably expected to be completed at  
7 least 3 months prior to the next regularly  
8 scheduled primary election for the House  
9 of Representatives in the State, the district  
10 court shall—

11 (I) develop, adopt, and order the  
12 use of an interim congressional redistricting  
13 plan in accordance with section 5005(f) to address any claims  
14 under this title for which a party  
15 seeking relief has demonstrated a sub-  
16 stantial likelihood of success; or

17 (II) order adjustments to the  
18 timing of primary elections for the  
19 House of Representatives and other  
20 related deadlines, as needed, to allow  
21 sufficient opportunity for adjudication  
22 of the matter and adoption of a reme-  
23 dial or replacement plan for use in the  
24 next regularly scheduled general elec-  
25

1                   tions for the House of Representa-  
2                   tives.

3                   (ii) PROHIBITING FAILURE TO ACT ON  
4                   GROUNDS OF PENDENCY OF ELECTION.—

5                   The court may not refuse to take any ac-  
6                   tion described in clause (i) on the grounds  
7                   of the pendency of the next election held in  
8                   the State or the potential for disruption,  
9                   confusion, or additional burdens with re-  
10                  spect to the administration of the election  
11                  in the State.

12               (2) NO STAY PENDING APPEAL.—Notwith-  
13               standing the appeal of an order finding that a con-  
14               gressional redistricting plan of a State violates, in  
15               whole or in part, the requirements of this title, no  
16               stay shall issue which shall bar the development or  
17               adoption of a replacement or remedial plan under  
18               this subsection, as may be directed by the district  
19               court, pending such appeal. If such a replacement or  
20               remedial plan has been adopted, no appellate court  
21               may stay or otherwise enjoin the use of such plan  
22               during the pendency of an appeal, except upon an  
23               order holding, based on the record, that adoption of  
24               such plan was an abuse of discretion.

1           (3) SPECIAL AUTHORITY OF COURT OF AP-  
2 PEALS.—

3           (A) ORDERING OF NEW REMEDIAL  
4 PLAN.—If, upon consideration of an appeal  
5 under this title, the Court of Appeals deter-  
6 mines that a plan does not comply with the re-  
7 quirements of this title, it shall direct that the  
8 District Court promptly develop a new remedial  
9 plan with assistance of a special master for con-  
10 sideration by the Court of Appeals.

11           (B) FAILURE OF DISTRICT COURT TO  
12 TAKE TIMELY ACTION.—If, at any point during  
13 the pendency of an action under this section,  
14 the District Court fails to take action necessary  
15 to permit resolution of the case prior to the  
16 next regularly scheduled election for the House  
17 of Representatives in the State or fails to grant  
18 the relief described in paragraph (1)(C), any  
19 party may seek a writ of mandamus from the  
20 Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia  
21 Circuit. The Court of Appeals shall have juris-  
22 diction over the motion for a writ of mandamus  
23 and shall establish an expedited briefing and  
24 hearing schedule for resolution of the motion. If  
25 the Court of Appeals determines that a writ

1           should be granted, the Court of Appeals shall  
2           take any action necessary, including developing  
3           a congressional redistricting plan with assist-  
4           ance of a special master to ensure that a reme-  
5           dial plan is adopted in time for use in the next  
6           regularly scheduled election for the House of  
7           Representatives in the State.

8           (4) EFFECT OF ENACTMENT OF REPLACEMENT  
9           PLAN.—A State’s enactment of a redistricting plan  
10          which replaces a plan which is the subject of an ac-  
11          tion under this section shall not be construed to  
12          limit or otherwise affect the authority of the court  
13          to adjudicate or grant relief with respect to any  
14          claims or issues not addressed by the replacement  
15          plan, including claims that the plan which is the  
16          subject of the action was enacted, in whole or in  
17          part, with discriminatory intent, or claims to con-  
18          sider whether relief should be granted under section  
19          3(c) of the Voting Rights Act of 1965 (52 U.S.C.  
20          10302(c)) based on the plan which is the subject of  
21          the action.

22          (d) ATTORNEY’S FEES.—In a civil action under this  
23          section, the court may allow the prevailing party (other  
24          than the United States) reasonable attorney fees, includ-  
25          ing litigation expenses, and costs.



1 (e) RELATION TO OTHER LAWS.—

2 (1) RIGHTS AND REMEDIES ADDITIONAL TO  
3 OTHER RIGHTS AND REMEDIES.—The rights and  
4 remedies established by this section are in addition  
5 to all other rights and remedies provided by law, and  
6 neither the rights and remedies established by this  
7 section nor any other provision of this title shall su-  
8 persede, restrict, or limit the application of the Vot-  
9 ing Rights Act of 1965 (52 U.S.C. 10301 et seq.).

10 (2) VOTING RIGHTS ACT OF 1965.—Nothing in  
11 this title authorizes or requires conduct that is pro-  
12 hibited by the Voting Rights Act of 1965 (52 U.S.C.  
13 10301 et seq.).

14 (f) LEGISLATIVE PRIVILEGE.—No person, legisla-  
15 ture, or State may claim legislative privilege under either  
16 State or Federal law in a civil action brought under this  
17 section or in any other legal challenge, under either State  
18 or Federal law, to a redistricting plan enacted under this  
19 title.

20 (g) REMOVAL.—

21 (1) IN GENERAL.—At any time, a civil action  
22 brought in a State court which asserts a claim for  
23 which the district courts of the United States have  
24 exclusive jurisdiction under this title may be re-  
25 moved by any party in the case, including an inter-

1       venor, by filing, in the district court for an applica-  
2       ble venue under this section, a notice of removal  
3       signed pursuant to Rule 11 of the Federal Rules of  
4       Civil Procedure containing a short and plain state-  
5       ment of the grounds for removal. Consent of parties  
6       shall not be required for removal.

7               (2) CLAIMS NOT WITHIN THE ORIGINAL OR  
8       SUPPLEMENTAL JURISDICTION.—If a civil action re-  
9       moved in accordance with paragraph (1) contains  
10      claims not within the original or supplemental juris-  
11      diction of the district court, the district court shall  
12      sever all such claims and remand them to the State  
13      court from which the action was removed.

14 **SEC. 5007. NO EFFECT ON ELECTIONS FOR STATE AND**  
15                                   **LOCAL OFFICE.**

16      Nothing in this title or in any amendment made by  
17      this title may be construed to affect the manner in which  
18      a State carries out elections for State or local office, in-  
19      cluding the process by which a State establishes the dis-  
20      tricts used in such elections.

21 **SEC. 5008. EFFECTIVE DATE.**

22      (a) IN GENERAL.—This title and the amendments  
23      made by this title shall apply on the date of enactment  
24      of this title.

1 (b) APPLICATION TO CONGRESSIONAL REDIS-  
2 TRICTING PLANS RESULTING FROM 2020 DECENNIAL  
3 CENSUS.—Notwithstanding subsection (a), this title and  
4 the amendments made by this title, other than section  
5 5004, shall apply with respect to each congressional redis-  
6 tricting plan enacted pursuant to the notice of apporportion-  
7 ment transmitted to the President on April 26, 2021,  
8 without regard to whether or not a State enacted such  
9 a plan prior to the date of the enactment of this Act.

10 **TITLE VI—CAMPAIGN FINANCE**  
11 **TRANSPARENCY**

12 **Subtitle A—DISCLOSE Act**

13 **SEC. 6001. SHORT TITLE.**

14 This subtitle may be cited as the “Democracy Is  
15 Strengthened by Casting Light On Spending in Elections  
16 Act of 2023” or the “DISCLOSE Act of 2023”.

17 **SEC. 6002. FINDINGS.**

18 Congress finds the following:

19 (1) Campaign finance disclosure is a narrowly  
20 tailored and minimally restrictive means to advance  
21 substantial government interests, including fostering  
22 an informed electorate capable of engaging in self-  
23 government and holding their elected officials ac-  
24 countable, detecting and deterring quid pro quo cor-  
25 ruption, and identifying information necessary to en-

1 force other campaign finance laws, including cam-  
2 paign contribution limits and the prohibition on for-  
3 eign money in U.S. campaigns. To further these  
4 substantial interests, campaign finance disclosure  
5 must be timely and complete, and must disclose the  
6 true and original source of money given, transferred,  
7 and spent to influence Federal elections. Current law  
8 does not meet this objective because corporations  
9 and other entities that the Supreme Court has per-  
10 mitted to spend money to influence Federal elections  
11 are subject to few if any transparency requirements.

12 (2) As the Supreme Court recognized in its per-  
13 curiam opinion in *Buckley v. Valeo*, 424 U.S. 1,  
14 (1976), “disclosure requirements certainly in most  
15 applications appear to be the least restrictive means  
16 of curbing the evils of campaign ignorance and cor-  
17 ruption that Congress found to exist”. *Buckley*, 424  
18 U.S. at 68. In *Citizens United v. FEC*, the Court re-  
19 iterated that “disclosure is a less restrictive alter-  
20 native to more comprehensive regulations of speech”.  
21 558 U.S. 310, 369 (2010).

22 (3) No subsequent decision has called these  
23 holdings into question, including the Court’s decision  
24 in *Americans for Prosperity Foundation v. Bonta*,  
25 141 S. Ct. 2373 (2021). That case did not involve

1 campaign finance disclosure, and the Court did not  
2 overturn its longstanding recognition of the substan-  
3 tial interests furthered by such disclosure.

4 (4) Campaign finance disclosure is also essen-  
5 tial to enforce the Federal Election Campaign Act's  
6 prohibition on contributions by and solicitations of  
7 foreign nationals. See section 319 of the Federal  
8 Election Campaign Act of 1971 (52 U.S.C. 30121).

9 (5) Congress should close loopholes allowing  
10 spending by foreign nationals in domestic elections.  
11 For example, in 2021, the Federal Election Commis-  
12 sion, the independent Federal agency charged with  
13 protecting the integrity of the Federal campaign fi-  
14 nance process, found reason to believe and concil-  
15 iated a matter where an experienced political con-  
16 sultant knowingly and willfully violated Federal law  
17 by soliciting a contribution from a foreign national  
18 by offering to transmit a \$2,000,000 contribution to  
19 a super PAC through his company and two  
20 501(c)(4) organizations, to conceal the origin of the  
21 funds. This scheme was only unveiled after appear-  
22 ing in a The Telegraph UK article and video cap-  
23 turing the solicitation. See Conciliation Agreement,  
24 MURs 7165 & 7196 (Great America PAC, et al.),  
25 date June 28, 2021; Factual and Legal Analysis,

1 MURs 7165 & 7196 (Jesse Benton), dated Mar. 2,  
2 2021.

3 **PART 1—CLOSING LOOPHOLES ALLOWING**  
4 **SPENDING BY FOREIGN NATIONALS IN ELEC-**  
5 **TIONS**

6 **SEC. 6003. CLARIFICATION OF APPLICATION OF FOREIGN**  
7 **MONEY BAN TO CERTAIN DISBURSEMENTS**  
8 **AND ACTIVITIES.**

9 Section 319(b) of the Federal Election Campaign Act  
10 of 1971 (52 U.S.C. 30121(b)) is amended—

11 (1) by redesignating paragraphs (1) and (2) as  
12 subparagraphs (A) and (B), respectively, and by  
13 moving such subparagraphs 2 ems to the right;

14 (2) by striking “As used in this section, the  
15 term” and inserting the following: “DEFINITIONS.—  
16 For purposes of this section—

17 “(1) FOREIGN NATIONAL.—The term”;

18 (3) by moving paragraphs (1) and (2) two ems  
19 to the right and redesignating them as subpara-  
20 graphs (A) and (B), respectively; and

21 (4) by adding at the end the following new  
22 paragraph:

23 “(2) CONTRIBUTION AND DONATION.—For pur-  
24 poses of paragraphs (1) and (2) of subsection (a),  
25 the term ‘contribution or donation’ includes any dis-

1       bursement to a political committee which accepts do-  
2       nations or contributions that do not comply with any  
3       of the limitations, prohibitions, and reporting re-  
4       quirements of this Act (or any disbursement to or on  
5       behalf of any account of a political committee which  
6       is established for the purpose of accepting such do-  
7       nations or contributions), or to any other person for  
8       the purpose of funding an expenditure, independent  
9       expenditure, or electioneering communication (as de-  
10      fined in section 304(f)(3)).”.

11 **SEC. 6004. STUDY AND REPORT ON ILLICIT FOREIGN**  
12 **MONEY IN FEDERAL ELECTIONS.**

13       (a) **STUDY.**—For each 4-year election cycle (begin-  
14      ning with the 4-year election cycle ending in 2020), the  
15      Comptroller General shall conduct a study on the inci-  
16      dence of illicit foreign money in all elections for Federal  
17      office held during the preceding 4-year election cycle, in-  
18      cluding what information is known about the presence of  
19      such money in elections for Federal office.

20       (b) **REPORT.**—

21           (1) **IN GENERAL.**—Not later than the applicable  
22      date with respect to any 4-year election cycle, the  
23      Comptroller General shall submit to the appropriate  
24      congressional committees a report on the study con-  
25      ducted under subsection (a).

1           (2) MATTERS INCLUDED.—The report sub-  
2           mitted under paragraph (1) shall include a descrip-  
3           tion of the extent to which illicit foreign money was  
4           used to target particular groups, including rural  
5           communities, African-American and other minority  
6           communities, and military and veteran communities,  
7           based on such targeting information as is available  
8           and accessible to the Comptroller General.

9           (3) APPLICABLE DATE.—For purposes of para-  
10          graph (1), the term “applicable date” means—

11                   (A) in the case of the 4-year election cycle  
12                   ending in 2020, the date that is 1 year after  
13                   the date of the enactment of this Act; and

14                   (B) in the case of any other 4-year election  
15                   cycle, the date that is 1 year after the date on  
16                   which such 4-year election cycle ends.

17          (c) DEFINITIONS.—As used in this section:

18                   (1) 4-YEAR ELECTION CYCLE.—The term “4-  
19                   year election cycle” means the 4-year period ending  
20                   on the date of the general election for the offices of  
21                   President and Vice President.

22                   (2) ILLICIT FOREIGN MONEY.—The term “illicit  
23                   foreign money” means any contribution, donation,  
24                   expenditure, or disbursement by a foreign national  
25                   (as defined in section 319(b) of the Federal Election



1 Campaign Act of 1971 (52 U.S.C. 30121(b))) pro-  
2 hibited under such section.

3 (3) ELECTION; FEDERAL OFFICE.—The terms  
4 “election” and “Federal office” have the meanings  
5 given such terms under section 301 of the Federal  
6 Election Campaign Act of 1971 (52 U.S.C. 30101).

7 (4) APPROPRIATE CONGRESSIONAL COMMIT-  
8 TEES.—The term “appropriate congressional com-  
9 mittees” means—

10 (A) the Committee on House Administra-  
11 tion of the House of Representatives;

12 (B) the Committee on Rules and Adminis-  
13 tration of the Senate;

14 (C) the Committee on the Judiciary of the  
15 House of Representatives; and

16 (D) the Committee on the Judiciary of the  
17 Senate.

18 (d) SUNSET.—This section shall not apply to any 4-  
19 year election cycle beginning after the election for the of-  
20 fices of President and Vice President in 2032.

1 **SEC. 6005. PROHIBITION ON CONTRIBUTIONS AND DONA-**  
2 **TIONS BY FOREIGN NATIONALS IN CONNEC-**  
3 **TION WITH BALLOT INITIATIVES AND**  
4 **REFERENDA.**

5 (a) IN GENERAL.—Section 319(b) of the Federal  
6 Election Campaign Act of 1971 (52 U.S.C. 30121(b)), as  
7 amended by section 6003, is amended by adding at the  
8 end the following new paragraph:

9 “(3) FEDERAL, STATE, OR LOCAL ELECTION.—  
10 The term ‘Federal, State, or local election’ includes  
11 a State or local ballot initiative or referendum, but  
12 only in the case of—

13 “(A) a covered foreign national described  
14 in section 304(j)(3)(C); or

15 “(B) a foreign principal described in sec-  
16 tion 1(b)(2) or 1(b)(3) of the Foreign Agent  
17 Registration Act of 1938, as amended (22  
18 U.S.C. 611(b)(2) or (b)(3)) or an agent of such  
19 a foreign principal under such Act.”.

20 (b) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendment made by  
21 this section shall apply with respect to elections held in  
22 2024 or any succeeding year.

1 **SEC. 6006. DISBURSEMENTS AND ACTIVITIES SUBJECT TO**  
2 **FOREIGN MONEY BAN.**

3 (a) DISBURSEMENTS DESCRIBED.—Section  
4 319(a)(1) of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971  
5 (52 U.S.C. 30121(a)(1)) is amended—

6 (1) by striking “or” at the end of subparagraph  
7 (B); and

8 (2) by striking subparagraph (C) and inserting  
9 the following:

10 “(C) an expenditure;

11 “(D) an independent expenditure;

12 “(E) a disbursement for an electioneering  
13 communication (within the meaning of section  
14 304(f)(3));

15 “(F) a disbursement for a communication  
16 which is placed or promoted for a fee on a  
17 website, web application, or digital application  
18 that refers to a clearly identified candidate for  
19 election for Federal office and is disseminated  
20 within 60 days before a general, special or run-  
21 off election for the office sought by the can-  
22 didate or 30 days before a primary or pref-  
23 erence election, or a convention or caucus of a  
24 political party that has authority to nominate a  
25 candidate for the office sought by the can-  
26 didate;

1           “(G) a disbursement by a covered foreign  
2 national described in section 304(j)(3)(C) for a  
3 broadcast, cable or satellite communication, or  
4 for a communication which is placed or pro-  
5 moted for a fee on a website, web application,  
6 or digital application, that promotes, supports,  
7 attacks or opposes the election of a clearly iden-  
8 tified candidate for Federal, State, or local of-  
9 fice (regardless of whether the communication  
10 contains express advocacy or the functional  
11 equivalent of express advocacy);

12           “(H) a disbursement for a broadcast,  
13 cable, or satellite communication, or for any  
14 communication which is placed or promoted for  
15 a fee on an online platform (as defined in sec-  
16 tion 304(k)(3)), that discusses a national legis-  
17 lative issue of public importance in a year in  
18 which a regularly scheduled general election for  
19 Federal office is held, but only if the disburse-  
20 ment is made by a covered foreign national de-  
21 scribed in section 304(j)(3)(C);

22           “(I) a disbursement by a covered foreign  
23 national described in section 304(j)(3)(C) to  
24 compensate any person for internet activity that  
25 promotes, supports, attacks or opposes the elec-

1           tion of a clearly identified candidate for Fed-  
 2           eral, State, or local office (regardless of whether  
 3           the activity contains express advocacy or the  
 4           functional equivalent of express advocacy); or

5           “(J) a disbursement by a covered foreign  
 6           national described in section 304(j)(3)(C) for a  
 7           Federal judicial nomination communication (as  
 8           defined in section 324(g)(2));”.

9           (b) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendments made by  
 10          this section shall apply with respect to disbursements  
 11          made on or after the date of the enactment of this Act.

12       **SEC. 6007. PROHIBITING ESTABLISHMENT OF CORPORA-**  
 13                               **TION TO CONCEAL ELECTION CONTRIBU-**  
 14                               **TIONS AND DONATIONS BY FOREIGN NATION-**  
 15                               **ALS.**

16          (a) PROHIBITION.—Chapter 29 of title 18, United  
 17          States Code, as amended by section 2001(a), is amended  
 18          by adding at the end the following:

19       **“§ 613. Establishment of corporation to conceal elec-**  
 20                               **tion contributions and donations by for-**  
 21                               **eign nationals**

22          “(a) OFFENSE.—It shall be unlawful for an owner,  
 23          officer, attorney, or incorporation agent of a corporation,  
 24          company, or other entity to establish or use the corpora-  
 25          tion, company, or other entity with the intent to conceal

1 an activity of a foreign national (as defined in section 319  
2 of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 (52 U.S.C.  
3 30121)) prohibited under such section 319.

4 “(b) PENALTY.—Any person who violates subsection  
5 (a) shall be imprisoned for not more than 5 years, fined  
6 under this title, or both.”.

7 (b) TABLE OF SECTIONS.—The table of sections for  
8 chapter 29 of title 18, United States Code, as amended  
9 by section 2001(b), is amended by inserting after the item  
10 relating to section 612 the following:

“613. Establishment of corporation to conceal election contributions and dona-  
tions by foreign nationals.”.

11 **PART 2—REPORTING OF CAMPAIGN-RELATED**  
12 **DISBURSEMENTS**

13 **SEC. 6011. REPORTING OF CAMPAIGN-RELATED DISBURSE-**  
14 **MENTS.**

15 (a) IN GENERAL.—Section 324 of the Federal Elec-  
16 tion Campaign Act of 1971 (52 U.S.C. 30126) is amended  
17 to read as follows:

18 **“SEC. 324. DISCLOSURE OF CAMPAIGN-RELATED DISBURSE-**  
19 **MENTS BY COVERED ORGANIZATIONS.**

20 “(a) DISCLOSURE STATEMENT.—

21 “(1) IN GENERAL.—Any covered organization  
22 that makes campaign-related disbursements aggre-  
23 gating more than \$10,000 in an election reporting  
24 cycle shall, not later than 24 hours after each disclo-

1       sure date, file a statement with the Commission  
2       made under penalty of perjury that contains the in-  
3       formation described in paragraph (2)—

4               “(A) in the case of the first statement filed  
5               under this subsection, for the period beginning  
6               on the first day of the election reporting cycle  
7               (or, if earlier, the period beginning one year be-  
8               fore the first such disclosure date) and ending  
9               on the first such disclosure date; and

10              “(B) in the case of any subsequent state-  
11              ment filed under this subsection, for the period  
12              beginning on the previous disclosure date and  
13              ending on such disclosure date.

14              “(2) INFORMATION DESCRIBED.—The informa-  
15              tion described in this paragraph is as follows:

16              “(A) The name of the covered organization  
17              and the principal place of business of such or-  
18              ganization and, in the case of a covered organi-  
19              zation that is a corporation (other than a busi-  
20              ness concern that is an issuer of a class of secu-  
21              rities registered under section 12 of the Securi-  
22              ties Exchange Act of 1934 (15 U.S.C. 78l) or  
23              that is required to file reports under section  
24              15(d) of that Act (15 U.S.C. 78o(d))) or an en-  
25              tity described in subsection (e)(2), a list of the

1           beneficial owners (as defined in paragraph  
2           (4)(A)) of the entity that—

3                   “(i) identifies each beneficial owner by  
4                   name and current residential or business  
5                   street address; and

6                   “(ii) if any beneficial owner exercises  
7                   control over the entity through another  
8                   legal entity, such as a corporation, partner-  
9                   ship, limited liability company, or trust,  
10                  identifies each such other legal entity and  
11                  each such beneficial owner who will use  
12                  that other entity to exercise control over  
13                  the entity.

14                  “(B) The amount of each campaign-related  
15                  disbursement made by such organization during  
16                  the period covered by the statement of more  
17                  than \$1,000, and the name and address of the  
18                  person to whom the disbursement was made.

19                  “(C) In the case of a campaign-related dis-  
20                  bursement that is not a covered transfer, the  
21                  election to which the campaign-related disburse-  
22                  ment pertains and if the disbursement is made  
23                  for a public communication, the name of any  
24                  candidate identified in such communication and



1 if such communication is in support of or in op-  
2 position to the identified candidate.

3 “(D) A certification by the chief executive  
4 officer or person who is the head of the covered  
5 organization that the campaign-related dis-  
6 bursement is not made in cooperation, consulta-  
7 tion, or concert with or at the request or sug-  
8 gession of a candidate, authorized committee, or  
9 agent of a candidate, political party, or agent of  
10 a political party.

11 “(E)(i) If the covered organization makes  
12 campaign-related disbursements using exclu-  
13 sively funds in a campaign-related disbursement  
14 segregated fund, for each payment made to the  
15 account by a person other than the covered or-  
16 ganization—

17 “(I) the name and address of each  
18 person who made such payment to the ac-  
19 count during the period covered by the  
20 statement;

21 “(II) the date and amount of such  
22 payment; and

23 “(III) the aggregate amount of all  
24 such payments made by the person during  
25 the period beginning on the first day of the

1 election reporting cycle (or, if earlier, the  
2 period beginning one year before the dis-  
3 closure date) and ending on the disclosure  
4 date,  
5 but only if such payment was made by a person  
6 who made payments to the account in an aggre-  
7 gate amount of \$10,000 or more during the pe-  
8 riod beginning on the first day of the election  
9 reporting cycle (or, if earlier, the period begin-  
10 ning one year before the disclosure date) and  
11 ending on the disclosure date.

12 “(ii) In any calendar year after 2024, sec-  
13 tion 315(e)(1)(B) shall apply to the amount de-  
14 scribed in clause (i) in the same manner as  
15 such section applies to the limitations estab-  
16 lished under subsections (a)(1)(A), (a)(1)(B),  
17 (a)(3), and (h) of such section, except that for  
18 purposes of applying such section to the  
19 amounts described in subsection (b), the ‘base  
20 period’ shall be calendar year 2024.

21 “(F)(i) If the covered organization makes  
22 campaign-related disbursements using funds  
23 other than funds in a campaign-related dis-  
24 bursement segregated fund, for each payment  
25 to the covered organization—

1           “(I) the name and address of each  
2           person who made such payment during the  
3           period covered by the statement;

4           “(II) the date and amount of such  
5           payment; and

6           “(III) the aggregate amount of all  
7           such payments made by the person during  
8           the period beginning on the first day of the  
9           election reporting cycle (or, if earlier, the  
10          period beginning one year before the dis-  
11          closure date) and ending on the disclosure  
12          date,

13          but only if such payment was made by a person  
14          who made payments to the covered organization  
15          in an aggregate amount of \$10,000 or more  
16          during the period beginning on the first day of  
17          the election reporting cycle (or, if earlier, the  
18          period beginning one year before the disclosure  
19          date) and ending on the disclosure date.

20          “(ii) In any calendar year after 2024, sec-  
21          tion 315(c)(1)(B) shall apply to the amount de-  
22          scribed in clause (i) in the same manner as  
23          such section applies to the limitations estab-  
24          lished under subsections (a)(1)(A), (a)(1)(B),  
25          (a)(3), and (h) of such section, except that for

1 purposes of applying such section to the  
2 amounts described in subsection (b), the ‘base  
3 period’ shall be calendar year 2024.

4 “(G) Such other information as required in  
5 rules established by the Commission to promote  
6 the purposes of this section.

7 “(3) EXCEPTIONS.—

8 “(A) AMOUNTS RECEIVED IN ORDINARY  
9 COURSE OF BUSINESS.—The requirement to in-  
10 clude in a statement filed under paragraph (1)  
11 the information described in paragraph (2)  
12 shall not apply to amounts received by the cov-  
13 ered organization in commercial transactions in  
14 the ordinary course of any trade or business  
15 conducted by the covered organization or in the  
16 form of investments (other than investments by  
17 the principal shareholder in a limited liability  
18 corporation) in the covered organization. For  
19 purposes of this subparagraph, amounts re-  
20 ceived by a covered organization as remittances  
21 from an employee to the employee’s collective  
22 bargaining representative shall be treated as  
23 amounts received in commercial transactions in  
24 the ordinary course of the business conducted  
25 by the covered organization.

1           “(B) DONOR RESTRICTION ON USE OF  
2 FUNDS.—The requirement to include in a state-  
3 ment submitted under paragraph (1) the infor-  
4 mation described in subparagraph (F) of para-  
5 graph (2) shall not apply if—

6                   “(i) the person described in such sub-  
7 paragraph prohibited, in writing, the use of  
8 the payment made by such person for cam-  
9 paign-related disbursements; and

10                   “(ii) the covered organization agreed  
11 to follow the prohibition and deposited the  
12 payment in an account which is segregated  
13 from a campaign-related disbursement seg-  
14 regated fund and any other account used  
15 to make campaign-related disbursements.

16           “(C) THREAT OF HARASSMENT OR RE-  
17 PRISAL.—The requirement to include any infor-  
18 mation relating to the name or address of any  
19 person (other than a candidate) in a statement  
20 submitted under paragraph (1) shall not apply  
21 if the inclusion of the information would subject  
22 the person to serious threats, harassment, or  
23 reprisals.

24           “(4) OTHER DEFINITIONS.—For purposes of  
25 this section:

1 “(A) BENEFICIAL OWNER DEFINED.—

2 “(i) IN GENERAL.—Except as pro-  
3 vided in clause (ii), the term ‘beneficial  
4 owner’ means, with respect to any entity,  
5 a natural person who, directly or indi-  
6 rectly—

7 “(I) exercises substantial control  
8 over an entity through ownership, vot-  
9 ing rights, agreement, or otherwise; or

10 “(II) has a substantial interest in  
11 or receives substantial economic bene-  
12 fits from the assets of an entity.

13 “(ii) EXCEPTIONS.—The term ‘bene-  
14 ficial owner’ shall not include—

15 “(I) a minor child;

16 “(II) a person acting as a nomi-  
17 nee, intermediary, custodian, or agent  
18 on behalf of another person;

19 “(III) a person acting solely as  
20 an employee of an entity and whose  
21 control over or economic benefits from  
22 the entity derives solely from the em-  
23 ployment status of the person;

24 “(IV) a person whose only inter-  
25 est in an entity is through a right of

1 inheritance, unless the person also  
2 meets the requirements of clause (i);  
3 or

4 “(V) a creditor of an entity, un-  
5 less the creditor also meets the re-  
6 quirements of clause (i).

7 “(iii) ANTI-ABUSE RULE.—The excep-  
8 tions under clause (ii) shall not apply if  
9 used for the purpose of evading, circum-  
10 venting, or abusing the provisions of clause  
11 (i) or paragraph (2)(A).

12 “(B) CAMPAIGN-RELATED DISBURSEMENT  
13 SEGREGATED FUND.—The term ‘campaign-re-  
14 lated disbursement segregated fund’ means a  
15 segregated bank account consisting of funds  
16 that were paid directly to such account by per-  
17 sons other than the covered organization that  
18 controls the account.

19 “(C) DISCLOSURE DATE.—The term ‘dis-  
20 closure date’ means—

21 “(i) the first date during any election  
22 reporting cycle by which a person has  
23 made campaign-related disbursements ag-  
24 gregating more than \$10,000; and

1           “(ii) any other date during such elec-  
2           tion reporting cycle by which a person has  
3           made campaign-related disbursements ag-  
4           gregating more than \$10,000 since the  
5           most recent disclosure date for such elec-  
6           tion reporting cycle.

7           “(D) ELECTION REPORTING CYCLE.—The  
8           term ‘election reporting cycle’ means the 2-year  
9           period beginning on the date of the most recent  
10          general election for Federal office.

11          “(E) PAYMENT.—The term ‘payment’ in-  
12          cludes any contribution, donation, transfer, pay-  
13          ment of dues, or other payment.

14          “(b) COORDINATION WITH OTHER PROVISIONS.—In-  
15          formation included in a statement filed under this section  
16          may be excluded from statements and reports filed under  
17          section 304.

18          “(c) FILING.—Statements required to be filed under  
19          subsection (a) shall be subject to the requirements of sec-  
20          tion 304(d) to the same extent and in the same manner  
21          as if such reports had been required under subsection (c)  
22          or (g) of section 304.

23          “(d) CAMPAIGN-RELATED DISBURSEMENT DE-  
24          FINED.—



1           “(1) IN GENERAL.—In this section, the term  
2           ‘campaign-related disbursement’ means a disburse-  
3           ment by a covered organization for any of the fol-  
4           lowing:

5                   “(A) An independent expenditure which ex-  
6                   pressly advocates the election or defeat of a  
7                   clearly identified candidate for election for Fed-  
8                   eral office, or is the functional equivalent of ex-  
9                   press advocacy because, when taken as a whole,  
10                  it can be interpreted by a reasonable person  
11                  only as advocating the election or defeat of a  
12                  candidate for election for Federal office.

13                  “(B) An applicable public communication.

14                  “(C) An electioneering communication, as  
15                  defined in section 304(f)(3).

16                  “(D) A covered transfer.

17           “(2) APPLICABLE PUBLIC COMMUNICATIONS.—

18                   “(A) IN GENERAL.—The term ‘applicable  
19                   public communication’ means any public com-  
20                   munication that refers to a clearly identified  
21                   candidate for election for Federal office and  
22                   which promotes or supports the election of a  
23                   candidate for that office, or attacks or opposes  
24                   the election of a candidate for that office, with-  
25                   out regard to whether the communication ex-

1           pressly advocates a vote for or against a can-  
2           didate for that office.

3           “(B) EXCEPTION.—Such term shall not in-  
4           clude any news story, commentary, or editorial  
5           distributed through the facilities of any broad-  
6           casting station or any print, online, or digital  
7           newspaper, magazine, publication, or periodical,  
8           unless such facilities are owned or controlled by  
9           any political party, political committee, or can-  
10          didate.

11          “(e) COVERED ORGANIZATION DEFINED.—In this  
12          section, the term ‘covered organization’ means any of the  
13          following:

14               “(1) A corporation (other than an organization  
15               described in section 501(c)(3) of the Internal Rev-  
16               enue Code of 1986).

17               “(2) A limited liability corporation that is not  
18               otherwise treated as a corporation for purposes of  
19               this Act (other than an organization described in  
20               section 501(c)(3) of the Internal Revenue Code of  
21               1986).

22               “(3) An organization described in section  
23               501(c) of such Code and exempt from taxation  
24               under section 501(a) of such Code (other than an

1 organization described in section 501(c)(3) of such  
2 Code).

3 “(4) A labor organization (as defined in section  
4 316(b)).

5 “(5) Any political organization under section  
6 527 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986, other  
7 than a political committee under this Act (except as  
8 provided in paragraph (6)).

9 “(6) A political committee with an account that  
10 accepts donations or contributions that do not com-  
11 ply with the contribution limits or source prohibi-  
12 tions under this Act, but only with respect to such  
13 accounts.

14 “(f) COVERED TRANSFER DEFINED.—

15 “(1) IN GENERAL.—In this section, the term  
16 ‘covered transfer’ means any transfer or payment of  
17 funds by a covered organization to another person if  
18 the covered organization—

19 “(A) designates, requests, or suggests that  
20 the amounts be used for—

21 “(i) campaign-related disbursements  
22 (other than covered transfers); or

23 “(ii) making a transfer to another  
24 person for the purpose of making or pay-

1           ing for such campaign-related disburse-  
2           ments;

3           “(B) made such transfer or payment in re-  
4           sponse to a solicitation or other request for a  
5           donation or payment for—

6                 “(i) the making of or paying for cam-  
7                 paign-related disbursements (other than  
8                 covered transfers); or

9                 “(ii) making a transfer to another  
10                person for the purpose of making or pay-  
11                ing for such campaign-related disburse-  
12                ments;

13           “(C) engaged in discussions with the re-  
14           cipient of the transfer or payment regarding—

15                 “(i) the making of or paying for cam-  
16                 paign-related disbursements (other than  
17                 covered transfers); or

18                 “(ii) donating or transferring any  
19                 amount of such transfer or payment to an-  
20                 other person for the purpose of making or  
21                 paying for such campaign-related disburse-  
22                 ments; or

23           “(D) knew or had reason to know that the  
24           person receiving the transfer or payment would  
25           make campaign-related disbursements in an ag-

1           gregate amount of \$50,000 or more during the  
2           2-year period beginning on the date of the  
3           transfer or payment.

4           “(2) EXCLUSIONS.—The term ‘covered transfer’  
5           does not include any of the following:

6                   “(A) A disbursement made by a covered  
7                   organization in a commercial transaction in the  
8                   ordinary course of any trade or business con-  
9                   ducted by the covered organization or in the  
10                  form of investments made by the covered orga-  
11                  nization.

12                  “(B) A disbursement made by a covered  
13                  organization if—

14                          “(i) the covered organization prohib-  
15                          ited, in writing, the use of such disburse-  
16                          ment for campaign-related disbursements;  
17                          and

18                          “(ii) the recipient of the disbursement  
19                          agreed to follow the prohibition and depos-  
20                          ited the disbursement in an account which  
21                          is segregated from a campaign-related dis-  
22                          bursement segregated fund and any other  
23                          account used to make campaign-related  
24                          disbursements.

1           “(3) SPECIAL RULE REGARDING TRANSFERS  
2           AMONG AFFILIATES.—

3           “(A) SPECIAL RULE.—A transfer of an  
4           amount by one covered organization to another  
5           covered organization which is treated as a  
6           transfer between affiliates under subparagraph  
7           (C) shall be considered a covered transfer by  
8           the covered organization which transfers the  
9           amount only if the aggregate amount trans-  
10          ferred during the year by such covered organi-  
11          zation to that same covered organization is  
12          equal to or greater than \$50,000.

13          “(B) DETERMINATION OF AMOUNT OF  
14          CERTAIN PAYMENTS AMONG AFFILIATES.—In  
15          determining the amount of a transfer between  
16          affiliates for purposes of subparagraph (A), to  
17          the extent that the transfer consists of funds  
18          attributable to dues, fees, or assessments which  
19          are paid by individuals on a regular, periodic  
20          basis in accordance with a per-individual cal-  
21          culation which is made on a regular basis, the  
22          transfer shall be attributed to the individuals  
23          paying the dues, fees, or assessments and shall  
24          not be attributed to the covered organization.

1           “(C) DESCRIPTION OF TRANSFERS BE-  
2           TWEEN AFFILIATES.—A transfer of amounts  
3           from one covered organization to another cov-  
4           ered organization shall be treated as a transfer  
5           between affiliates if—

6                     “(i) one of the organizations is an af-  
7                     filiate of the other organization; or

8                     “(ii) each of the organizations is an  
9                     affiliate of the same organization,  
10           except that the transfer shall not be treated as  
11           a transfer between affiliates if one of the orga-  
12           nizations is established for the purpose of mak-  
13           ing campaign-related disbursements.

14           “(D) DETERMINATION OF AFFILIATE STA-  
15           TUS.—For purposes of subparagraph (C), a  
16           covered organization is an affiliate of another  
17           covered organization if—

18                     “(i) the governing instrument of the  
19                     organization requires it to be bound by de-  
20                     cisions of the other organization;

21                     “(ii) the governing board of the orga-  
22                     nization includes persons who are specifi-  
23                     cally designated representatives of the  
24                     other organization or are members of the  
25                     governing board, officers, or paid executive

1           staff members of the other organization, or  
2           whose service on the governing board is  
3           contingent upon the approval of the other  
4           organization; or

5                   “(iii) the organization is chartered by  
6           the other organization.

7                   “(E) COVERAGE OF TRANSFERS TO AF-  
8           FILATED SECTION 501(c)(3) ORGANIZATIONS.—  
9           This paragraph shall apply with respect to an  
10          amount transferred by a covered organization  
11          to an organization described in paragraph (3)  
12          of section 501(c) of the Internal Revenue Code  
13          of 1986 and exempt from tax under section  
14          501(a) of such Code in the same manner as  
15          this paragraph applies to an amount trans-  
16          ferred by a covered organization to another cov-  
17          ered organization.

18                   “(g) NO EFFECT ON OTHER REPORTING REQUIRE-  
19          MENTS.—Except as provided in subsection (b)(1), nothing  
20          in this section shall be construed to waive or otherwise  
21          affect any other requirement of this Act which relates to  
22          the reporting of campaign-related disbursements.”.

23                   “(b) CONFORMING AMENDMENT.—Section 304(f)(6)  
24          of such Act (52 U.S.C. 30104) is amended by striking



1 “Any requirement” and inserting “Except as provided in  
2 section 324(b), any requirement”.

3 (c) REGULATIONS.—Not later than 6 months after  
4 the date of the enactment of this Act, the Federal Election  
5 Commission shall promulgate regulations relating the ap-  
6 plication of the exemption under section 324(a)(3)(C) of  
7 the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 (as added by  
8 subsection (a)). Such regulations—

9 (1) shall require that the legal burden of estab-  
10 lishing eligibility for such exemption is upon the or-  
11 ganization required to make the report required  
12 under section 324(a)(1) of such Act (as added by  
13 subsection (a)), and

14 (2) shall be consistent with the principles ap-  
15 plied in *Citizens United v. Federal Election Commis-*  
16 *sion*, 558 U.S. 310 (2010).

17 **SEC. 6012. REPORTING OF FEDERAL JUDICIAL NOMINA-**  
18 **TION DISBURSEMENTS.**

19 (a) FINDINGS.—Congress makes the following find-  
20 ings:

21 (1) A fair and impartial judiciary is critical for  
22 our democracy and crucial to maintain the faith of  
23 the people of the United States in the justice sys-  
24 tem. As the Supreme Court held in *Caperton v.*  
25 *Massey*, “there is a serious risk of actual bias—

1 based on objective and reasonable perceptions—  
2 when a person with a personal stake in a particular  
3 case had a significant and disproportionate influence  
4 in placing the judge on the case”. (Caperton v. A.  
5 T. Massey Coal Co., 556 U.S. 868, 884 (2009)).

6 (2) Public trust in government is at a historic  
7 low. According to polling, most Americans believe  
8 that corporations have too much power and influence  
9 in politics and the courts.

10 (3) The prevalence and pervasiveness of dark  
11 money drives public concern about corruption in pol-  
12 itics and the courts. Dark money is funding for or-  
13 ganizations and political activities that cannot be  
14 traced to actual donors. It is made possible by loop-  
15 holes in our tax laws and regulations, weak oversight  
16 by the Internal Revenue Service, and donor-friendly  
17 court decisions.

18 (4) Under current law, “social welfare” organi-  
19 zations and business leagues can use funds to influ-  
20 ence elections so long as political activity is not their  
21 “primary” activity. Super PACs can accept and  
22 spend unlimited contributions from any non-foreign  
23 source. These groups can spend tens of millions of  
24 dollars on political activities. Such dark money

1 groups spent an estimated \$1,050,000,000 in the  
2 2020 election cycle.

3 (5) Dark money is used to shape judicial deci-  
4 sion making. This can take many forms, akin to  
5 agency capture: influencing judicial selection by con-  
6 trolling who gets nominated and funding candidate  
7 advertisements; creating public relations campaigns  
8 aimed at mobilizing the judiciary around particular  
9 issues; and drafting law review articles, amicus  
10 briefs, and other products which tell judges how to  
11 decide a given case and provide ready-made argu-  
12 ments for willing judges to adopt.

13 (6) Over the past decade, nonprofit organiza-  
14 tions that do not disclose their donors have spent  
15 hundreds of millions of dollars to influence the nomi-  
16 nation and confirmation process for Federal judges.  
17 One organization alone has spent nearly  
18 \$40,000,000 on advertisements supporting or oppos-  
19 ing Supreme Court nominees since 2016.

20 (7) Anonymous money spent on judicial nomi-  
21 nations is not subject to any disclosure require-  
22 ments. Federal election laws only regulate contribu-  
23 tions and expenditures relating to electoral politics;  
24 thus, expenditures, contributions, and advocacy ef-  
25 forts for Federal judgeships are not covered under

1 the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971. With-  
2 out more disclosure, the public has no way of know-  
3 ing whether the people spending money supporting  
4 or opposing judicial nominations have business be-  
5 fore the courts.

6 (8) Congress and the American people have a  
7 compelling interest in knowing who is funding these  
8 campaigns to select and confirm judges to lifetime  
9 appointments on the Federal bench.

10 (b) REPORTING.—Section 324 of the Federal Elec-  
11 tion Campaign Act of 1971 (52 U.S.C. 30126), as amend-  
12 ed by section 6011, is amended by redesignating sub-  
13 section (g) as subsection (h) and by inserting after sub-  
14 section (f) the following new subsection:

15 “(g) APPLICATION TO FEDERAL JUDICIAL NOMINA-  
16 TIONS.—

17 “(1) IN GENERAL.—For purposes of this sec-  
18 tion—

19 “(A) a disbursement by a covered organi-  
20 zation for a Federal judicial nomination com-  
21 munication shall be treated as a campaign-re-  
22 lated disbursement; and

23 “(B) in the case of campaign-related dis-  
24 bursements which are for Federal judicial nomi-  
25 nation communications—

1 “(i) the dollar amounts in paragraphs  
2 (1) and (2) of subsection (a) shall be ap-  
3 plied separately with respect to such dis-  
4 bursements and other campaign-related  
5 disbursements;

6 “(ii) the election reporting cycle shall  
7 be the calendar year in which the disburse-  
8 ment for the Federal judicial nomination  
9 communication is made;

10 “(iii) references to a candidate in sub-  
11 sections (a)(2)(C), (a)(2)(D), and  
12 (a)(3)(C) shall be treated as references to  
13 a nominee for a Federal judge or justice;  
14 and

15 “(iv) the reference to an election in  
16 subsection (a)(2)(C) shall be treated as a  
17 reference to the nomination of such nomi-  
18 nee.

19 “(2) FEDERAL JUDICIAL NOMINATION COMMU-  
20 NICATION.—

21 “(A) IN GENERAL.—The term ‘Federal ju-  
22 dicial nomination communication’ means any  
23 communication—

24 “(i) that is by means of any broad-  
25 cast, cable, or satellite, paid internet, or

1           paid digital communication, paid pro-  
2           motion, newspaper, magazine, outdoor ad-  
3           vertising facility, mass mailing, telephone  
4           bank, telephone messaging effort of more  
5           than 500 substantially similar calls or elec-  
6           tronic messages within a 30-day period, or  
7           any other form of general public political  
8           advertising; and

9           “(ii) which promotes, supports, at-  
10          tacks, or opposes the nomination or Senate  
11          confirmation of an individual as a Federal  
12          judge or justice.

13          “(B) EXCEPTION.—Such term shall not in-  
14          clude any news story, commentary, or editorial  
15          distributed through the facilities of any broad-  
16          casting station or any print, online, or digital  
17          newspaper, magazine, publication, or periodical,  
18          unless such facilities are owned or controlled by  
19          any political party, political committee, or can-  
20          didate.

21          “(C) INTENT NOT REQUIRED.—A disburse-  
22          ment for an item described in subparagraph (A)  
23          shall be treated as a disbursement for a Federal  
24          judicial nomination communication regardless

1           of the intent of the person making the disburse-  
2           ment.”.

3 **SEC. 6013. COORDINATION WITH FINCEN.**

4           (a) IN GENERAL.—The Director of the Financial  
5 Crimes Enforcement Network of the Department of the  
6 Treasury shall provide the Federal Election Commission  
7 with such information as necessary to assist in admin-  
8 istering and enforcing section 324 of the Federal Election  
9 Campaign Act of 1971, as amended by this part.

10          (b) REPORT.—Not later than 6 months after the date  
11 of the enactment of this Act, the Chairman of the Federal  
12 Election Commission, in consultation with the Director of  
13 the Financial Crimes Enforcement Network of the De-  
14 partment of the Treasury, shall submit to Congress a re-  
15 port with recommendations for providing further legisla-  
16 tive authority to assist in the administration and enforce-  
17 ment of such section 324.

18 **SEC. 6014. APPLICATION OF FOREIGN MONEY BAN TO DIS-**  
19 **BURSEMENTS FOR CAMPAIGN-RELATED DIS-**  
20 **BURSEMENTS CONSISTING OF COVERED**  
21 **TRANSFERS.**

22          Section 319(b)(2) of the Federal Election Campaign  
23 Act of 1971 (52 U.S.C. 30121(a)(1)(A)), as amended by  
24 section 6003, is amended—

1 (1) by striking “includes any disbursement”  
2 and inserting “includes—

3 “(A) any disbursement”;

4 (2) by striking the period at the end and insert-  
5 ing “; and”, and

6 (3) by adding at the end the following new sub-  
7 paragraph:

8 “(B) any disbursement, other than a dis-  
9 bursement described in section 324(a)(3)(A), to  
10 another person who made a campaign-related  
11 disbursement consisting of a covered transfer  
12 (as described in section 324) during the 2-year  
13 period ending on the date of the disburse-  
14 ment.”.

15 **SEC. 6015. SENSE OF CONGRESS REGARDING IMPLEMENTA-**  
16 **TION.**

17 It is the sense of Congress that the Federal Election  
18 Commission should simplify the process for filing any dis-  
19 closure required under the provisions of, and amendments  
20 made by, this part in order to ensure that such process  
21 is as easy and accessible as possible.

22 **SEC. 6016. EFFECTIVE DATE.**

23 The amendments made by this part shall apply with  
24 respect to disbursements made on or after January 1,  
25 2024, and shall take effect without regard to whether or



1 not the Federal Election Commission has promulgated  
2 regulations to carry out such amendments.

3 **PART 3—OTHER ADMINISTRATIVE REFORMS**

4 **SEC. 6021. PETITION FOR CERTIORARI.**

5 Section 307(a)(6) of the Federal Election Campaign  
6 Act of 1971 (52 U.S.C. 30107(a)(6)) is amended by in-  
7 serting “(including a proceeding before the Supreme  
8 Court on certiorari)” after “appeal”.

9 **SEC. 6022. JUDICIAL REVIEW OF ACTIONS RELATED TO**  
10 **CAMPAIGN FINANCE LAWS.**

11 (a) IN GENERAL.—Title IV of the Federal Election  
12 Campaign Act of 1971 (52 U.S.C. 30141 et seq.) is  
13 amended by inserting after section 406 the following new  
14 section:

15 **“SEC. 407. JUDICIAL REVIEW.**

16 “(a) IN GENERAL.—If any action is brought for de-  
17 claratory or injunctive relief to challenge, whether facially  
18 or as-applied, the constitutionality or lawfulness of any  
19 provision of this Act, including title V, or of chapter 95  
20 or 96 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986, or is brought  
21 to with respect to any action of the Commission under  
22 chapter 95 or 96 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986,  
23 the following rules shall apply:

24 “(1) The action shall be filed in the United  
25 States District Court for the District of Columbia

1 and an appeal from the decision of the district court  
2 may be taken to the Court of Appeals for the Dis-  
3 trict of Columbia Circuit.

4 “(2) In the case of an action relating to declar-  
5 atory or injunctive relief to challenge the constitu-  
6 tionality of a provision, the party filing the action  
7 shall concurrently deliver a copy of the complaint to  
8 the Clerk of the House of Representatives and the  
9 Secretary of the Senate.

10 “(3) It shall be the duty of the United States  
11 District Court for the District of Columbia and the  
12 Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia Cir-  
13 cuit to advance on the docket and to expedite to the  
14 greatest possible extent the disposition of the action  
15 and appeal.

16 “(b) CLARIFYING SCOPE OF JURISDICTION.—If an  
17 action at the time of its commencement is not subject to  
18 subsection (a), but an amendment, counterclaim, cross-  
19 claim, affirmative defense, or any other pleading or motion  
20 is filed challenging, whether facially or as-applied, the con-  
21 stitutionality or lawfulness of this Act or of chapter 95  
22 or 96 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986, or is brought  
23 to with respect to any action of the Commission under  
24 chapter 95 or 96 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986,  
25 the district court shall transfer the action to the District

1 Court for the District of Columbia, and the action shall  
2 thereafter be conducted pursuant to subsection (a).

3 “(c) INTERVENTION BY MEMBERS OF CONGRESS.—

4 In any action described in subsection (a) relating to de-  
5 claratory or injunctive relief to challenge the constitu-  
6 tionality of a provision, any Member of the House of Rep-  
7 resentatives (including a Delegate or Resident Commis-  
8 sioner to the Congress) or Senate shall have the right to  
9 intervene either in support of or opposition to the position  
10 of a party to the case regarding the constitutionality of  
11 the provision. To avoid duplication of efforts and reduce  
12 the burdens placed on the parties to the action, the court  
13 in any such action may make such orders as it considers  
14 necessary, including orders to require interveners taking  
15 similar positions to file joint papers or to be represented  
16 by a single attorney at oral argument.

17 “(d) CHALLENGE BY MEMBERS OF CONGRESS.—Any  
18 Member of Congress may bring an action, subject to the  
19 special rules described in subsection (a), for declaratory  
20 or injunctive relief to challenge, whether facially or as-ap-  
21 plied, the constitutionality of any provision of this Act or  
22 chapter 95 or 96 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986.”.

23 (b) CONFORMING AMENDMENTS.—

24 (1) Section 9011 of the Internal Revenue Code  
25 of 1986 is amended to read as follows:

1 **“SEC. 9011. JUDICIAL REVIEW.**

2 “For provisions relating to judicial review of certifi-  
3 cations, determinations, and actions by the Commission  
4 under this chapter, see section 407 of the Federal Election  
5 Campaign Act of 1971.”.

6 (2) Section 9041 of the Internal Revenue Code  
7 of 1986 is amended to read as follows:

8 **“SEC. 9041. JUDICIAL REVIEW.**

9 “For provisions relating to judicial review of actions  
10 by the Commission under this chapter, see section 407 of  
11 the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971.”.

12 (3) Section 310 of the Federal Election Cam-  
13 paign Act of 1971 (52 U.S.C. 30110) is repealed.

14 (4) Section 403 of the Bipartisan Campaign  
15 Reform Act of 2002 (52 U.S.C. 30110 note) is re-  
16 pealed.

17 **SEC. 6023. EFFECTIVE DATE.**

18 The amendments made by this subtitle shall take ef-  
19 fect and apply on the date of the enactment of this Act,  
20 without regard to whether or not the Federal Election  
21 Commission has promulgated regulations to carry out this  
22 subtitle and the amendments made by this subtitle.

23 **Subtitle B—Honest Ads**

24 **SEC. 6101. SHORT TITLE.**

25 This subtitle may be cited as the “Honest Ads Act”.

1 **SEC. 6102. PURPOSE.**

2       The purpose of this subtitle is to enhance the integ-  
3 rity of American democracy and national security by im-  
4 proving disclosure requirements for online political adver-  
5 tisements in order to uphold the Supreme Court’s well-  
6 established standard that the electorate bears the right to  
7 be fully informed.

8 **SEC. 6103. FINDINGS.**

9       Congress makes the following findings:

10           (1) In 2002, the Bipartisan Campaign Reform  
11 Act of 2002 (Public Law 107–155) became law, es-  
12 tablishing disclosure requirements for political adver-  
13 tisements distributed from a television or radio  
14 broadcast station or provider of cable or satellite tel-  
15 evision. In 2003, the Supreme Court upheld regula-  
16 tions on electioneering communications established  
17 under the Act, noting that such requirements “pro-  
18 vide the electorate with information and insure that  
19 the voters are fully informed about the person or  
20 group who is speaking”. The Court reaffirmed this  
21 conclusion in 2010 by an 8–1 vote.

22           (2) In its 2006 rulemaking, the Federal Elec-  
23 tion Commission, the independent Federal agency  
24 charged with protecting the integrity of the Federal  
25 campaign finance process, noted that 18 percent of  
26 all Americans cited the internet as their leading

1 source of news about the 2004 Presidential election.  
2 By contrast, Gallup and the Knight Foundation  
3 found in 2020 that the majority of Americans, 58  
4 percent, got most of their news about elections on-  
5 line.

6 (3) According to studies from AdImpact and  
7 Borrell Associates, in 2020, an estimated  
8 \$1,700,000,000 was spent on online political adver-  
9 tising, more than 10 times the amount spent in  
10 2012.

11 (4) In order to enhance transparency of all po-  
12 litical advertisement funding, it is prudent to extend  
13 to online internet platforms the same types of polit-  
14 ical advertisement disclosure requirements applicable  
15 to broadcast television and radio stations, and pro-  
16 viders of cable and satellite television.

17 (5) Effective and complete transparency for vot-  
18 ers must include information about the true and  
19 original source of money given, transferred, and  
20 spent on political advertisements made online.

21 (6) Requiring the disclosure of this information  
22 is a necessary and narrowly tailored means to in-  
23 form the voting public of who is behind digital ad-  
24 vertising disseminated to influence their votes and to  
25 enable the Federal Election Commission and the De-

1       partment of Justice to detect and prosecute illegal  
2       foreign spending on local, State, and Federal elec-  
3       tions and other campaign finance violations.

4               (7) Paid advertising on large online platforms is  
5       different from advertising placed on other common  
6       media in terms of the comparatively low cost of  
7       reaching large numbers of people, the availability of  
8       sophisticated microtargeting, and the ease with  
9       which online advertisers, particularly those located  
10       outside the United States, can evade disclosure re-  
11       quirements. Requiring large online platforms to  
12       maintain public files of information about the online  
13       political ads they disseminate is the best and least  
14       restrictive means to ensure the voting public has  
15       complete information about who is trying to influ-  
16       ence their votes and to aid enforcement of other  
17       laws, including the prohibition on foreign money in  
18       domestic campaigns.

19               (8) The reach of a few large internet plat-  
20       forms—larger than any broadcast, satellite, or cable  
21       provider—has greatly facilitated the scope and effec-  
22       tiveness of disinformation campaigns. For instance,  
23       the largest platform has over 247,000,000 American  
24       users—over 153,000,000 of them on a daily basis.  
25       By contrast, the largest cable television provider has

1 16,142,000 subscribers, while the largest satellite  
2 television provider has 13,300,000 subscribers. And  
3 the most-watched television broadcast in United  
4 States history had 118,000,000 viewers.

5 (9) The public nature of broadcast television,  
6 radio, and satellite ensures a level of publicity for  
7 any political advertisement. These communications  
8 are accessible to the press, fact-checkers, and polit-  
9 ical opponents. This creates strong disincentives for  
10 a candidate to disseminate materially false, inflam-  
11 matory, or contradictory messages to the public. So-  
12 cial media platforms, in contrast, can target portions  
13 of the electorate with direct, ephemeral advertise-  
14 ments often on the basis of private information the  
15 platform has on individuals, enabling political adver-  
16 tisements that are contradictory, racially or socially  
17 inflammatory, or materially false.

18 (10) Large social media platforms are the only  
19 entities in possession of certain key data related to  
20 paid online ads, including the exact audience tar-  
21 geted by those ads and their number of impressions.  
22 Such information, which cannot be reliably disclosed  
23 by the purchasers of ads, is extremely useful for in-  
24 forming the electorate, guarding against corruption,



1 and aiding in the enforcement of existing campaign  
2 finance regulations.

3 (11) Paid advertisements on social media plat-  
4 forms have served as critical tools for foreign online  
5 influence campaigns—even those that rely on large  
6 amounts of unpaid content—because such ads allow  
7 foreign actors to test the effectiveness of different  
8 messages, expose their messages to audiences who  
9 have not sought out such content, and recruit audi-  
10 ences for future campaigns and posts.

11 (12) In a 2019 Senate Select Committee on In-  
12 telligence report on Russian Active Measures Cam-  
13 paigns and Interference in the 2016 U.S. Election,  
14 Volume II: Russia’s Use of Social Media with Addi-  
15 tional Views, the Committee recommended “that  
16 Congress examine legislative approaches to ensuring  
17 Americans know the sources of online political ad-  
18 vertisements. The Federal Election Campaign Act of  
19 1971 requires political advertisements on television,  
20 radio and satellite to disclose the sponsor of the ad-  
21 vertisement. The same requirements should apply  
22 online. This will also help to ensure that the IRA or  
23 any similarly situated actors cannot use paid adver-  
24 tisements for purposes of foreign interference.”.

1           (13) On March 16, 2021, the Office of the Di-  
2           rector of National Intelligence released the declas-  
3           sified Intelligence Community assessment of foreign  
4           threats to the 2020 U.S. Federal elections. The de-  
5           classified report found: “Throughout the election  
6           cycle, Russia’s online influence actors sought to af-  
7           fect US public perceptions of the candidates, as well  
8           as advance Moscow’s longstanding goals of under-  
9           mining confidence in US election processes and in-  
10          creasing sociopolitical divisions among the American  
11          people.”. The report also determined that Iran  
12          sought to influence the election by “creating and  
13          amplifying social media content that criticized [can-  
14          didates]”.

15          (14) According to a Wall Street Journal report  
16          in April 2021, voluntary ad libraries operated by  
17          major platforms rely on foreign governments to self-  
18          report political ad purchases. These ad buys, includ-  
19          ing those diminishing major human rights violations  
20          like the Uighur genocide, are under-reported by for-  
21          eign government purchasers, with no substantial  
22          oversight or repercussions from the platforms.

23          (15) Multiple reports have indicated that online  
24          ads have become a key vector for strategic influence  
25          by the People’s Republic of China. An April 2021

1 Wall Street Journal report noted that the Chinese  
2 government and Chinese State-owned enterprises are  
3 major purchasers of ads on the U.S.'s largest social  
4 media platform, including to advance Chinese propa-  
5 ganda.

6 (16) Large online platforms have made changes  
7 to their policies intended to make it harder for for-  
8 eign actors to purchase political ads. However, these  
9 private actions have not been taken by all platforms,  
10 have not been reliably enforced, and are subject to  
11 immediate change at the discretion of the platforms.

12 (17) The Federal Election Commission's cur-  
13 rent regulations on political advertisements do not  
14 provide sufficient transparency to uphold the  
15 public's right to be fully informed about political ad-  
16 vertisements made online.

17 **SEC. 6104. SENSE OF CONGRESS.**

18 It is the sense of Congress that—

19 (1) the dramatic increase in digital political ad-  
20 vertisements, and the growing centrality of online  
21 platforms in the lives of Americans, requires the  
22 Congress and the Federal Election Commission to  
23 take meaningful action to ensure that laws and reg-  
24 ulations provide the accountability and transparency  
25 that is fundamental to our democracy;

1           (2) free and fair elections require both trans-  
2           parency and accountability which give the public a  
3           right to know the true sources of funding for polit-  
4           ical advertisements, be they foreign or domestic, in  
5           order to make informed political choices and hold  
6           elected officials accountable; and

7           (3) transparency of funding for political adver-  
8           tisements is essential to enforce other campaign fi-  
9           nance laws, including the prohibition on campaign  
10          spending by foreign nationals.

11 **SEC. 6105. EXPANSION OF DEFINITION OF PUBLIC COMMU-**  
12 **NICATION.**

13          (a) IN GENERAL.—Paragraph (22) of section 301 of  
14 the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 (52 U.S.C.  
15 30101(22)) is amended by striking “or satellite commu-  
16 nication” and inserting “satellite, paid internet, or paid  
17 digital communication”.

18          (b) TREATMENT OF CONTRIBUTIONS AND EXPENDI-  
19 TURES.—Section 301 of such Act (52 U.S.C. 30101) is  
20 amended—

21           (1) in paragraph (8)(B)(v), by striking “on  
22           broadcasting stations, or in newspapers, magazines,  
23           or similar types of general public political adver-  
24           tising” and inserting “in any public communica-  
25           tion”; and

1 (2) in paragraph (9)(B)—

2 (A) by amending clause (i) to read as fol-  
3 lows:

4 “(i) any news story, commentary, or  
5 editorial distributed through the facilities  
6 of any broadcasting station or any print,  
7 online, or digital newspaper, magazine,  
8 publication, periodical, blog, or platform,  
9 unless such broadcasting, print, online, or  
10 digital facilities are owned or controlled by  
11 any political party, political committee, or  
12 candidate;” and

13 (B) in clause (iv), by striking “on broad-  
14 casting stations, or in newspapers, magazines,  
15 or similar types of general public political ad-  
16 vertising” and inserting “in any public commu-  
17 nication”.

18 (c) DISCLOSURE AND DISCLAIMER STATEMENTS.—  
19 Subsection (a) of section 318 of such Act (52 U.S.C.  
20 30120) is amended—

21 (1) by striking “financing any communication  
22 through any broadcasting station, newspaper, maga-  
23 zine, outdoor advertising facility, mailing, or any  
24 other type of general public political advertising”

1 and inserting “financing any public communication”;  
2 and

3 (2) by striking “solicits any contribution  
4 through any broadcasting station, newspaper, maga-  
5 zine, outdoor advertising facility, mailing, or any  
6 other type of general public political advertising”  
7 and inserting “solicits any contribution through any  
8 public communication”.

9 (d) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendments made by  
10 this section shall take effect on the date of the enactment  
11 of this Act and shall take effect without regard to whether  
12 or not the Federal Election Commission has promulgated  
13 the final regulations necessary to carry out this part and  
14 the amendments made by this part by the deadline set  
15 forth in subsection (e).

16 (e) REGULATION.—Not later than 1 year after the  
17 date of the enactment of this Act, the Federal Election  
18 Commission shall promulgate regulations on what con-  
19 stitutes a paid internet or paid digital communication for  
20 purposes of paragraph (22) of section 301 of the Federal  
21 Election Campaign Act of 1971 (52 U.S.C. 30101(22)),  
22 as amended by subsection (a), except that such regulation  
23 shall not define a paid internet or paid digital communica-  
24 tion to include communications for which the only pay-

1 ment consists of internal resources, such as employee com-  
2 pensation, of the entity paying for the communication.

3 **SEC. 6106. EXPANSION OF DEFINITION OF ELECTION-**  
4 **EERING COMMUNICATION.**

5 (a) EXPANSION TO ONLINE COMMUNICATIONS.—

6 (1) APPLICATION TO QUALIFIED INTERNET AND  
7 DIGITAL COMMUNICATIONS.—

8 (A) IN GENERAL.—Subparagraph (A) of  
9 section 304(f)(3) of the Federal Election Cam-  
10 paign Act of 1971 (52 U.S.C. 30104(f)(3)(A))  
11 is amended by striking “or satellite communica-  
12 tion” each place it appears in clauses (i) and  
13 (ii) and inserting “satellite, or qualified internet  
14 or digital communication”.

15 (B) QUALIFIED INTERNET OR DIGITAL  
16 COMMUNICATION.—Paragraph (3) of section  
17 304(f) of such Act (52 U.S.C. 30104(f)) is  
18 amended by adding at the end the following  
19 new subparagraph:

20 “(D) QUALIFIED INTERNET OR DIGITAL  
21 COMMUNICATION.—The term ‘qualified internet  
22 or digital communication’ means any commu-  
23 nication which is placed or promoted for a fee  
24 on an online platform (as defined in subsection  
25 (k)(3)).”.

1           (2) NONAPPLICATION OF RELEVANT ELEC-  
2           TORATE TO ONLINE COMMUNICATIONS.—Section  
3           304(f)(3)(A)(i)(III) of such Act (52 U.S.C.  
4           30104(f)(3)(A)(i)(III)) is amended by inserting “any  
5           broadcast, cable, or satellite” before “communica-  
6           tion”.

7           (3) NEWS EXEMPTION.—Section  
8           304(f)(3)(B)(i) of such Act (52 U.S.C.  
9           30104(f)(3)(B)(i)) is amended to read as follows:

10                   “(i) a communication appearing in a  
11                   news story, commentary, or editorial dis-  
12                   tributed through the facilities of any  
13                   broadcasting station or any online or dig-  
14                   ital newspaper, magazine, publication, peri-  
15                   odical, blog, or platform, unless such  
16                   broadcasting, online, or digital facilities are  
17                   owned or controlled by any political party,  
18                   political committee, or candidate;”.

19           (b) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendments made by  
20           this section shall apply with respect to communications  
21           made on or after January 1, 2024, and shall take effect  
22           without regard to whether or not the Federal Election  
23           Commission has promulgated regulations to carry out  
24           such amendments.



1 **SEC. 6107. APPLICATION OF DISCLAIMER STATEMENTS TO**  
2 **ONLINE COMMUNICATIONS.**

3 (a) CLEAR AND CONSPICUOUS MANNER REQUIRE-  
4 MENT.—Subsection (a) of section 318 of the Federal Elec-  
5 tion Campaign Act of 1971 (52 U.S.C. 30120(a)) is  
6 amended—

7 (1) by striking “shall clearly state” each place  
8 it appears in paragraphs (1), (2), and (3) and in-  
9 serting “shall state in a clear and conspicuous man-  
10 ner”; and

11 (2) by adding at the end the following flush  
12 sentence: “For purposes of this section, a commu-  
13 nication does not make a statement in a clear and  
14 conspicuous manner if it is difficult to read or hear  
15 or if the placement is easily overlooked.”.

16 (b) SPECIAL RULES FOR QUALIFIED INTERNET OR  
17 DIGITAL COMMUNICATIONS.—

18 (1) IN GENERAL.—Section 318 of such Act (52  
19 U.S.C. 30120) is amended by adding at the end the  
20 following new subsection:

21 “(e) SPECIAL RULES FOR QUALIFIED INTERNET OR  
22 DIGITAL COMMUNICATIONS.—

23 “(1) SPECIAL RULES WITH RESPECT TO STATE-  
24 MENTS.—In the case of any qualified internet or  
25 digital communication (as defined in section  
26 304(f)(3)(D)) which is disseminated through a me-

1 dium in which the provision of all of the information  
2 specified in this section is not possible, the commu-  
3 nication shall, in a clear and conspicuous manner—

4 “(A) state the name of the person who  
5 paid for the communication; and

6 “(B) provide a means for the recipient of  
7 the communication to obtain the remainder of  
8 the information required under this section with  
9 minimal effort and without receiving or viewing  
10 any additional material other than such re-  
11 quired information.

12 “(2) SAFE HARBOR FOR DETERMINING CLEAR  
13 AND CONSPICUOUS MANNER.—A statement in quali-  
14 fied internet or digital communication (as defined in  
15 section 304(f)(3)(D)) shall be considered to be made  
16 in a clear and conspicuous manner as provided in  
17 subsection (a) if the communication meets the fol-  
18 lowing requirements:

19 “(A) TEXT OR GRAPHIC COMMUNICA-  
20 TIONS.—In the case of a text or graphic com-  
21 munication, the statement—

22 “(i) appears in letters at least as large  
23 as the majority of the text in the commu-  
24 nication; and

1           “(ii) meets the requirements of para-  
2           graphs (2) and (3) of subsection (c).

3           “(B) AUDIO COMMUNICATIONS.—In the  
4           case of an audio communication, the statement  
5           is spoken in a clearly audible and intelligible  
6           manner at the beginning or end of the commu-  
7           nication and lasts at least 3 seconds.

8           “(C) VIDEO COMMUNICATIONS.—In the  
9           case of a video communication which also in-  
10          cludes audio, the statement—

11           “(i) is included at either the beginning  
12           or the end of the communication; and

13           “(ii) is made both in—

14           “(I) a written format that meets  
15           the requirements of subparagraph (A)  
16           and appears for at least 4 seconds;  
17           and

18           “(II) an audible format that  
19           meets the requirements of subpara-  
20           graph (B).

21          “(D) OTHER COMMUNICATIONS.—In the  
22          case of any other type of communication, the  
23          statement is at least as clear and conspicuous  
24          as the statement specified in subparagraph (A),  
25          (B), or (C).”.

1           (2) NONAPPLICATION OF CERTAIN EXCEP-  
2           TIONS.—The exceptions provided in section  
3           110.11(f)(1)(i) and (ii) of title 11, Code of Federal  
4           Regulations, or any successor to such rules, shall  
5           have no application to qualified internet or digital  
6           communications (as defined in section 304(f)(3)(D)  
7           of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971).

8           (c) MODIFICATION OF ADDITIONAL REQUIREMENTS  
9           FOR CERTAIN COMMUNICATIONS.—Section 318(d) of such  
10          Act (52 U.S.C. 30120(d)) is amended—

11           (1) in paragraph (1)(A)—

12           (A) by striking “which is transmitted  
13           through radio” and inserting “which is in an  
14           audio format”; and

15           (B) by striking “BY RADIO” in the heading  
16           and inserting “AUDIO FORMAT”;

17           (2) in paragraph (1)(B)—

18           (A) by striking “which is transmitted  
19           through television” and inserting “which is in  
20           video format”; and

21           (B) by striking “BY TELEVISION” in the  
22           heading and inserting “VIDEO FORMAT”; and

23           (3) in paragraph (2)—

1 (A) by striking “transmitted through radio  
2 or television” and inserting “made in audio or  
3 video format”; and

4 (B) by striking “through television” in the  
5 second sentence and inserting “in video for-  
6 mat”.

7 (d) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendment made by  
8 subsection (a) shall take effect on the date of the enact-  
9 ment of this Act and shall take effect without regard to  
10 whether or not the Federal Election Commission has pro-  
11 mulgated regulations to carry out such amendments.

12 **SEC. 6108. POLITICAL RECORD REQUIREMENTS FOR ON-**  
13 **LINE PLATFORMS.**

14 (a) IN GENERAL.—Section 304 of the Federal Elec-  
15 tion Campaign Act of 1971 (52 U.S.C. 30104), as amend-  
16 ed by section 3802, is amended by adding at the end the  
17 following new subsection:

18 “(k) DISCLOSURE OF CERTAIN ONLINE ADVERTISE-  
19 MENTS.—

20 “(1) IN GENERAL.—

21 “(A) REQUIREMENTS FOR ONLINE PLAT-  
22 FORMS.—

23 “(i) IN GENERAL.—An online plat-  
24 form shall maintain, and make available  
25 for online public inspection in machine-

1 readable format, a complete record of any  
2 qualified political advertisement which is  
3 purchased by a person whose aggregate  
4 purchases of qualified political advertise-  
5 ments on such online platform during the  
6 calendar year exceeds \$500.

7 “(ii) REQUIREMENT RELATING TO PO-  
8 LITICAL ADS SOLD BY THIRD-PARTY AD-  
9 VERTISING VENDORS.—An online platform  
10 that displays a qualified political advertise-  
11 ment sold by a third-party advertising ven-  
12 dor shall include on its own platform—

13 “(I) an easily accessible and  
14 identifiable link to the records main-  
15 tained by the third-party advertising  
16 vendor under clause (i) regarding  
17 such qualified political advertisement;  
18 or

19 “(II) in any case in which the  
20 third-party advertising vendor does  
21 not make such records available, a  
22 statement that no records from the  
23 third-party advertising vendor’s  
24 records are available.

1           “(B) REQUIREMENTS FOR ADVER-  
2           TISERS.—Any person who requests to purchase  
3           a qualified political advertisement on an online  
4           platform shall provide the online platform with  
5           such information as is necessary for the online  
6           platform to comply with the requirements of  
7           subparagraph (A).

8           “(2) CONTENTS OF RECORD.—A record main-  
9           tained under paragraph (1)(A) shall contain—

10           “(A) a digital copy of the qualified political  
11           advertisement;

12           “(B) a description of the audience that re-  
13           ceived the advertisement, the number of views  
14           generated from the advertisement, and the date  
15           and time that the advertisement is first dis-  
16           played and last displayed; and

17           “(C) information regarding—

18           “(i) the total cost of the advertise-  
19           ment (which may be rounded to the near-  
20           est \$100);

21           “(ii) the name of the candidate to  
22           which the advertisement refers and the of-  
23           fice to which the candidate is seeking elec-  
24           tion, the election to which the advertise-  
25           ment refers, or the national legislative

1 issue to which the advertisement refers (as  
2 applicable);

3 “(iii) in the case of a request made  
4 by, or on behalf of, a candidate, the name  
5 of the candidate, the authorized committee  
6 of the candidate, and the treasurer of such  
7 committee; and

8 “(iv) in the case of any request not  
9 described in clause (iii), the name of the  
10 person purchasing the advertisement, the  
11 name and address of a contact person for  
12 such person, and a list of the chief execu-  
13 tive officers or members of the executive  
14 committee or of the board of directors of  
15 such person.

16 “(3) ONLINE PLATFORM.—

17 “(A) IN GENERAL.—For purposes of this  
18 subsection, subject to subparagraph (B), the  
19 term ‘online platform’ means any public-facing  
20 website, web application, or digital application  
21 (including a social network, ad network, or  
22 search engine) which—

23 “(i)(I) sells qualified political adver-  
24 tisements; and



1           “(II) has 50,000,000 or more unique  
2           monthly United States visitors or users for  
3           a majority of months during the preceding  
4           12 months; or

5           “(ii) is a third-party advertising ven-  
6           dor that has 50,000,000 or more unique  
7           monthly United States visitors in the ag-  
8           gregate on any advertisement space that it  
9           has sold or bought for a majority of  
10          months during the preceding 12 months,  
11          as measured by an independent digital rat-  
12          ings service accredited by the Media Rat-  
13          ings Council (or its successor).

14          “(B) EXEMPTION.—Such term shall not  
15          include any online platform that is a distribu-  
16          tion facility of any broadcasting station or  
17          newspaper, magazine, blog, publication, or peri-  
18          odical.

19          “(C) THIRD-PARTY ADVERTISING VENDOR  
20          DEFINED.—For purposes of this subsection, the  
21          term ‘third-party advertising vendor’ includes  
22          any third-party advertising vendor network, ad-  
23          vertising agency, advertiser, or third-party ad-  
24          vertisement serving company that buys and  
25          sells advertisement space on behalf of unaffili-

1           ated third-party websites, search engines, dig-  
2           ital applications, or social media sites.

3           “(4) QUALIFIED POLITICAL ADVERTISEMENT.—

4           For purposes of this subsection, the term ‘qualified  
5           political advertisement’ means any advertisement  
6           (including search engine marketing, display adver-  
7           tisements, video advertisements, native advertise-  
8           ments, and sponsorships) that—

9                   “(A) is made by or on behalf of a can-  
10                  didate; or

11                   “(B) communicates a message relating to  
12                  any political matter of national importance, in-  
13                  cluding—

14                           “(i) a candidate;

15                           “(ii) any election to Federal office; or

16                           “(iii) a national legislative issue of  
17                  public importance.

18           “(5) TIME TO MAINTAIN FILE.—The informa-  
19           tion required under this subsection shall be made  
20           available as soon as possible and shall be retained by  
21           the online platform for a period of not less than 4  
22           years.

23           “(6) SPECIAL RULE.—For purposes of this sub-  
24           section, multiple versions of an advertisement that  
25           contain no material differences (such as versions

1 that differ only because they contain a recipient's  
2 name, or differ only in size, color, font, or layout)  
3 may be treated as a single qualified political adver-  
4 tisement.

5 “(7) PENALTIES.—For penalties for failure by  
6 online platforms, and persons requesting to purchase  
7 a qualified political advertisement on online plat-  
8 forms, to comply with the requirements of this sub-  
9 section, see section 309.”.

10 (b) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendments made by  
11 this section shall take effect on the date of the enactment  
12 of this Act and shall take effect without regard to whether  
13 or not the Federal Election Commission has promulgated  
14 the final regulations necessary to carry out this part and  
15 the amendments made by this part by the deadline set  
16 forth in subsection (c).

17 (c) RULEMAKING.—Not later than 120 days after the  
18 date of the enactment of this Act, the Federal Election  
19 Commission shall establish rules—

20 (1) for determining whether an advertisement  
21 communicates a national legislative issue for pur-  
22 poses of section 304(k) of the Federal Election Cam-  
23 paign Act of 1971 (as added by subsection (a));

24 (2) requiring common data formats for the  
25 record required to be maintained under such section

1 304(k) so that all online platforms submit and main-  
2 tain data online in a common, machine-readable and  
3 publicly accessible format; and

4 (3) establishing search interface requirements  
5 relating to such record, including searches by can-  
6 didate name, issue, purchaser, and date.

7 (d) REPORTING.—Not later than 2 years after the  
8 date of the enactment of this Act, and biannually there-  
9 after, the Chairman of the Federal Election Commission  
10 shall submit a report to Congress on—

11 (1) matters relating to compliance with and the  
12 enforcement of the requirements of section 304(k) of  
13 the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, as  
14 added by subsection (a);

15 (2) recommendations for any modifications to  
16 such section to assist in carrying out its purposes;  
17 and

18 (3) identifying ways to bring transparency and  
19 accountability to political advertisements distributed  
20 online for free.

1 **SEC. 6109. PREVENTING CONTRIBUTIONS, EXPENDITURES,**  
2 **INDEPENDENT EXPENDITURES, AND DIS-**  
3 **BURSEMENTS FOR ELECTIONEERING COM-**  
4 **MUNICATIONS BY FOREIGN NATIONALS IN**  
5 **THE FORM OF ONLINE ADVERTISING.**

6 Section 319 of the Federal Election Campaign Act  
7 of 1971 (52 U.S.C. 30121) is amended by adding at the  
8 end the following new subsection:

9 “(c) RESPONSIBILITIES OF BROADCAST STATIONS,  
10 PROVIDERS OF CABLE AND SATELLITE TELEVISION, AND  
11 ONLINE PLATFORMS.—

12 “(1) IN GENERAL.—Each television or radio  
13 broadcast station, provider of cable or satellite tele-  
14 vision, or online platform (as defined in section  
15 304(k)(3)) shall make reasonable efforts to ensure  
16 that communications described in section 318(a) and  
17 made available by such station, provider, or platform  
18 are not purchased by a foreign national, directly or  
19 indirectly.

20 “(2) REGULATIONS.—Not later than 1 year  
21 after the date of the enactment of this subsection,  
22 the Commission shall promulgate regulations on  
23 what constitutes reasonable efforts under paragraph  
24 (1).”.

1 **SEC. 6110. REQUIRING ONLINE PLATFORMS TO DISPLAY**  
2 **NOTICES IDENTIFYING SPONSORS OF POLIT-**  
3 **ICAL ADVERTISEMENTS AND TO ENSURE NO-**  
4 **TICES CONTINUE TO BE PRESENT WHEN AD-**  
5 **VERTISEMENTS ARE SHARED.**

6 (a) IN GENERAL.—Section 304 of the Federal Elec-  
7 tion Campaign Act of 1971 (52 U.S.C. 30104), as amend-  
8 ed by section 3802 and section 6108(a), is amended by  
9 adding at the end the following new subsection:

10 “(1) ENSURING DISPLAY AND SHARING OF SPONSOR  
11 IDENTIFICATION IN ONLINE POLITICAL ADVERTISE-  
12 MENTS.—

13 “(1) REQUIREMENT.—Any online platform that  
14 displays a qualified political advertisement (regard-  
15 less of whether such qualified political advertisement  
16 was purchased directly from the online platform)  
17 shall—

18 “(A) display with the advertisement a visi-  
19 ble notice identifying the sponsor of the adver-  
20 tisement (or, if it is not practical for the plat-  
21 form to display such a notice, a notice that the  
22 advertisement is sponsored by a person other  
23 than the platform); and

24 “(B) ensure that the notice will continue to  
25 be displayed if a viewer of the advertisement

1 shares the advertisement with others on that  
2 platform.

3 “(2) SAFE HARBOR.—An online platform shall  
4 not be treated as having failed to comply with the  
5 requirements of paragraph (1)(A) for the  
6 misidentification of a person as the sponsor of an  
7 advertisement if—

8 “(A) the person placing the online adver-  
9 tisement designated the person displayed in the  
10 advertisement as the sponsor; and

11 “(B) the online platform relied on such  
12 designation in good faith.

13 “(3) DEFINITIONS.—In this subsection—

14 “(A) the term ‘online platform’ has the  
15 meaning given such term in subsection (k)(3);

16 “(B) the term “qualified political adver-  
17 tisement’ has the meaning given such term in  
18 subsection (k)(4); and

19 “(C) the term ‘sponsor’ means the person  
20 purchasing the advertisement.”.

21 (b) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendment made by  
22 subsection (a) shall apply with respect to advertisements  
23 displayed on or after the 120-day period which begins on  
24 the date of the enactment of this Act and shall take effect  
25 without regard to whether or not the Federal Election

1 Commission has promulgated regulations to carry out  
2 such amendments.

### 3 **Subtitle C—Spotlight Act**

#### 4 **SEC. 6201. SHORT TITLE.**

5 This subtitle may be cited as the “Spotlight Act”.

#### 6 **SEC. 6202. INCLUSION OF CONTRIBUTOR INFORMATION ON** 7 **ANNUAL RETURNS OF CERTAIN ORGANIZA-** 8 **TIONS.**

9 (a) REPEAL OF REGULATIONS.—The final regula-  
10 tions of the Department of the Treasury relating to guid-  
11 ance under section 6033 regarding the reporting require-  
12 ments of exempt organizations (published at 85 Fed. Reg.  
13 31959 (May 28, 2020)) shall have no force and effect.

14 (b) INCLUSION OF CONTRIBUTOR INFORMATION.—

15 (1) SOCIAL WELFARE ORGANIZATIONS.—Sec-  
16 tion 6033(f)(1) of the Internal Revenue Code of  
17 1986 is amended by inserting “(5),” after “para-  
18 graphs”.

19 (2) LABOR ORGANIZATIONS AND BUSINESS  
20 LEAGUES.—Section 6033 of such Code is amended  
21 by redesignating subsection (o) as subsection (p)  
22 and by inserting after subsection (n) the following  
23 new subsection:

24 “(o) ADDITIONAL REQUIREMENTS FOR ORGANIZA-  
25 TIONS DESCRIBED IN SUBSECTIONS (c)(5) AND (c)(6) OF



1 SECTION 501.—Every organization which is described in  
2 paragraph (5) or (6) of section 501(c) and which is subject  
3 to the requirements of subsection (a) shall include on the  
4 return required under subsection (a) the information re-  
5 ferred to in subsection (b)(5).”.

6 (3) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendments made  
7 by this subsection shall apply to returns required to  
8 be filed for taxable years ending after the date of the  
9 enactment of this Act.

10 (c) MODIFICATION TO DISCRETIONARY EXCEP-  
11 TIONS.—Section 6033(a)(3)(B) of the Internal Revenue  
12 Code of 1986 is amended to read as follows:

13 “(B) DISCRETIONARY EXCEPTIONS.—

14 “(i) IN GENERAL.—Paragraph (1)  
15 shall not apply to any organization if the  
16 Secretary made a determination under this  
17 subparagraph before July 16, 2018, that  
18 such filing is not necessary to the efficient  
19 administration of the internal revenue  
20 laws.

21 “(ii) RECOMMENDATIONS FOR OTHER  
22 EXCEPTIONS.—The Secretary may rec-  
23 ommend to Congress that Congress relieve  
24 any organization required under paragraph  
25 (1) to file an information return from fil-

1           ing such a return if the Secretary deter-  
2           mines that such filing does not advance a  
3           national security, law enforcement, or tax  
4           administration purpose.”.

5       **TITLE VII—CAMPAIGN FINANCE**  
6                               **OVERSIGHT**

7       **Subtitle A—Stopping Super PAC—**  
8                               **Candidate Coordination**

9       **SEC. 7001. SHORT TITLE.**

10           This subtitle may be cited as the “Stop Super PAC—  
11   Candidate Coordination Act”.

12       **SEC. 7002. CLARIFICATION OF TREATMENT OF COORDI-**  
13                               **NATED EXPENDITURES AS CONTRIBUTIONS**  
14                               **TO CANDIDATES.**

15           (a) TREATMENT AS CONTRIBUTION TO CAN-  
16   DIDATE.—Section 301(8)(A) of the Federal Election Cam-  
17   paign Act of 1971 (52 U.S.C. 30101(8)(A)) is amended—

18                   (1) by striking “or” at the end of clause (i);

19                   (2) by striking the period at the end of clause  
20           (ii) and inserting “; or”; and

21                   (3) by adding at the end the following new  
22   clause:

23                               “(iii) any payment made by any person  
24                   (other than a candidate, an authorized com-  
25                   mittee of a candidate, or a political committee

1 of a political party) for a coordinated expendi-  
2 ture (as such term is defined in section 325)  
3 which is not otherwise treated as a contribution  
4 under clause (i) or clause (ii).”.

5 (b) DEFINITIONS.—Title III of such Act (52 U.S.C.  
6 30101 et seq.) is amended by adding at the end the fol-  
7 lowing new section:

8 **“SEC. 325. PAYMENTS FOR COORDINATED EXPENDITURES.**

9 “(a) COORDINATED EXPENDITURES.—

10 “(1) IN GENERAL.—For purposes of section  
11 301(8)(A)(iii), the term ‘coordinated expenditure’  
12 means—

13 “(A) any expenditure, or any payment for  
14 a covered communication described in sub-  
15 section (e), which is made in cooperation, con-  
16 sultation, or concert with, or at the request or  
17 suggestion of, a candidate, an authorized com-  
18 mittee of a candidate, a political committee of  
19 a political party, or agents of the candidate or  
20 committee, as defined in subsection (b); or

21 “(B) any payment for any communication  
22 which republishes, disseminates, or distributes,  
23 in whole or in part, any video or broadcast or  
24 any written, graphic, or other form of campaign  
25 material prepared by the candidate or com-

1           mittee or by agents of the candidate or com-  
2           mittee (including any excerpt or use of any  
3           video from any such broadcast or written,  
4           graphic, or other form of campaign material).

5           “(2) EXCEPTION FOR PAYMENTS FOR CERTAIN  
6           COMMUNICATIONS.—A payment for a communication  
7           (including a covered communication described in  
8           subsection (e)) shall not be treated as a coordinated  
9           expenditure under this subsection if—

10                   “(A) the communication appears in a news  
11                   story, commentary, or editorial distributed  
12                   through the facilities of any broadcasting sta-  
13                   tion, newspaper, magazine, or other periodical  
14                   publication, unless such facilities are owned or  
15                   controlled by any political party, political com-  
16                   mittee, or candidate; or

17                   “(B) the communication constitutes a can-  
18                   didate debate or forum conducted pursuant to  
19                   regulations adopted by the Commission pursu-  
20                   ant to section 304(f)(3)(B)(iii), or which solely  
21                   promotes such a debate or forum and is made  
22                   by or on behalf of the person sponsoring the de-  
23                   bate or forum.

24           “(b) COORDINATION DESCRIBED.—

1           “(1) IN GENERAL.—For purposes of this sec-  
2           tion, a payment is made ‘in cooperation, consulta-  
3           tion, or concert with, or at the request or suggestion  
4           of,’ a candidate, an authorized committee of a can-  
5           didate, a political committee of a political party, or  
6           agents of the candidate or committee, if the pay-  
7           ment, or any communication for which the payment  
8           is made, is not made entirely independently of the  
9           candidate, committee, or agents. For purposes of the  
10          previous sentence, a payment or communication not  
11          made entirely independently of the candidate or  
12          committee includes any payment or communication  
13          made pursuant to any general or particular under-  
14          standing with, or pursuant to any communication  
15          with, the candidate, committee, or agents about the  
16          payment or communication.

17          “(2) NO FINDING OF COORDINATION BASED  
18          SOLELY ON SHARING OF INFORMATION REGARDING  
19          LEGISLATIVE OR POLICY POSITION.—For purposes  
20          of this section, a payment shall not be considered to  
21          be made by a person in cooperation, consultation, or  
22          concert with, or at the request or suggestion of, a  
23          candidate or committee, solely on the grounds that  
24          the person or the person’s agent engaged in discus-  
25          sions with the candidate or committee, or with any

1 agent of the candidate or committee, regarding that  
2 person's position on a legislative or policy matter  
3 (including urging the candidate or committee to  
4 adopt that person's position), so long as there is no  
5 communication between the person and the can-  
6 didate or committee, or any agent of the candidate  
7 or committee, regarding the candidate's or commit-  
8 tee's campaign advertising, message, strategy, pol-  
9 icy, polling, allocation of resources, fundraising, or  
10 other campaign activities.

11 “(3) NO EFFECT ON PARTY COORDINATION  
12 STANDARD.—Nothing in this section shall be con-  
13 strued to affect the determination of coordination  
14 between a candidate and a political committee of a  
15 political party for purposes of section 315(d).

16 “(c) PAYMENTS BY COORDINATED SPENDERS FOR  
17 COVERED COMMUNICATIONS.—

18 “(1) PAYMENTS MADE IN COOPERATION, CON-  
19 SULTATION, OR CONCERT WITH CANDIDATES.—For  
20 purposes of subsection (a)(1)(A), if the person who  
21 makes a payment for a covered communication, as  
22 defined in subsection (e), is a coordinated spender  
23 under paragraph (2) with respect to the candidate  
24 as described in paragraph (2), the payment for the

1 covered communication is made in cooperation, con-  
2 sultation, or concert with the candidate.

3 “(2) COORDINATED SPENDER DEFINED.—For  
4 purposes of this subsection, the term ‘coordinated  
5 spender’ means, with respect to a candidate or an  
6 authorized committee of a candidate, a person (other  
7 than a political committee of a political party) for  
8 which any of the following applies:

9 “(A) During the 4-year period ending on  
10 the date on which the person makes the pay-  
11 ment, the person was directly or indirectly  
12 formed or established by or at the request or  
13 suggestion of, or with the encouragement of,  
14 the candidate (including an individual who later  
15 becomes a candidate) or committee or agents of  
16 the candidate or committee, including with the  
17 approval of the candidate or committee or  
18 agents of the candidate or committee.

19 “(B) The candidate or committee or any  
20 agent of the candidate or committee solicits  
21 funds, appears at a fundraising event, or en-  
22 engages in other fundraising activity on the per-  
23 son’s behalf during the election cycle involved,  
24 including by providing the person with names of  
25 potential donors or other lists to be used by the

1 person in engaging in fundraising activity, re-  
2 gardless of whether the person pays fair market  
3 value for the names or lists provided. For pur-  
4 poses of this subparagraph, the term ‘election  
5 cycle’ means, with respect to an election for  
6 Federal office, the period beginning on the day  
7 after the date of the most recent general elec-  
8 tion for that office (or, if the general election  
9 resulted in a runoff election, the date of the  
10 runoff election) and ending on the date of the  
11 next general election for that office (or, if the  
12 general election resulted in a runoff election,  
13 the date of the runoff election).

14 “(C) The person is established, directed, or  
15 managed by the candidate or committee or by  
16 any person who, during the 4-year period end-  
17 ing on the date on which the person makes the  
18 payment, has been employed or retained as a  
19 political, campaign media, or fundraising ad-  
20 viser or consultant for the candidate or com-  
21 mittee or for any other entity directly or indi-  
22 rectly controlled by the candidate or committee,  
23 or has held a formal position with the candidate  
24 or committee (including a position as an em-  
25 ployee of the office of the candidate at any time



1 the candidate held any Federal, State, or local  
2 public office during the 4-year period).

3 “(D) The person has retained the profes-  
4 sional services of any person who, during the 2-  
5 year period ending on the date on which the  
6 person makes the payment, has provided or is  
7 providing professional services relating to the  
8 campaign to the candidate or committee, unless  
9 the person providing the professional services  
10 used a firewall or similar procedure in accord-  
11 ance with subsection (d). For purposes of this  
12 subparagraph, the term ‘professional services’  
13 includes any services in support of the can-  
14 didate’s or committee’s campaign activities, in-  
15 cluding advertising, message, strategy, policy,  
16 polling, allocation of resources, fundraising, and  
17 campaign operations, but does not include ac-  
18 counting or legal services.

19 “(E) The person is established, directed, or  
20 managed by a member of the immediate family  
21 of the candidate, or the person or any officer or  
22 agent of the person has had more than inci-  
23 dental discussions about the candidate’s cam-  
24 paign with a member of the immediate family  
25 of the candidate. For purposes of this subpara-

1 graph, the term ‘immediate family’ has the  
2 meaning given such term in section 9004(e) of  
3 the Internal Revenue Code of 1986.

4 “(d) USE OF FIREWALL AS SAFE HARBOR.—

5 “(1) NO COORDINATION IF FIREWALL AP-  
6 PLIES.—A person shall not be determined to have  
7 made a payment in cooperation, consultation, or  
8 concert with, or at the request or suggestion of, a  
9 candidate or committee in accordance with this sec-  
10 tion if the person established and used a firewall or  
11 similar procedure to restrict the sharing of informa-  
12 tion between individuals who are employed by or who  
13 are serving as agents for the person making the pay-  
14 ment, but only if the firewall or similar procedures  
15 meet the requirements of paragraph (2).

16 “(2) REQUIREMENTS DESCRIBED.—The re-  
17 quirements described in this paragraph with respect  
18 to a firewall or similar procedure are as follows:

19 “(A) The firewall or procedure is designed  
20 and implemented to prohibit the flow of infor-  
21 mation between employees and consultants pro-  
22 viding services for the person paying for the  
23 communication and those employees or consult-  
24 ants providing, or who previously provided,  
25 services to a candidate who is clearly identified

1 in the communication or an authorized com-  
2 mittee of the candidate, the candidate's oppo-  
3 nent or an authorized committee of the can-  
4 didate's opponent, or a committee of a political  
5 party.

6 “(B) The firewall or procedure must be de-  
7 scribed in a written policy that is distributed,  
8 signed, and dated by all relevant employees,  
9 consultants, and clients subject to the policy.

10 “(C) The policy must be preserved and re-  
11 tained by the person for at least 5 years fol-  
12 lowing any termination or cessation of represen-  
13 tation by employees, consultants, and clients  
14 who are subject to the policy.

15 “(D) The policy must prohibit any employ-  
16 ees, consultants, and clients who are subject to  
17 the policy from attending meetings, trainings,  
18 or other discussions where nonpublic plans,  
19 projects, activities, or needs of candidates for  
20 election for Federal office or political commit-  
21 tees are discussed.

22 “(E) The policy must prohibit each owner  
23 of an organization, and each executive, man-  
24 ager, and supervisor within an organization,  
25 from simultaneously overseeing the work of em-

1 employees and consultants who are subject to the  
2 firewall or procedure.

3 “(F) The policy must place restrictions on  
4 internal and external communications, including  
5 by establishing separate emailing lists, for em-  
6 ployees, consultants, and clients who are subject  
7 to the firewall or procedure and those who are  
8 not subject to the firewall or procedure.

9 “(G) The policy must require the person to  
10 establish separate files, including electronic file  
11 folders—

12 “(i) for employees, consultants, and  
13 clients who are subject to the firewall or  
14 procedure and to prohibit access to such  
15 files by employees, consultants, and clients  
16 who are not subject to the firewall or pro-  
17 cedure; and

18 “(ii) for employees, consultants, and  
19 clients who are not subject to the firewall  
20 or procedure and to prohibit access to such  
21 files by employees, consultants, and clients  
22 who are subject to the firewall or proce-  
23 dure.

24 “(H) The person must conduct a training  
25 on the applicable requirements and obligations

1           of this Act and the policy for all employees,  
2           consultants, and clients.

3           “(3) EXCEPTION IF INFORMATION IS SHARED  
4           REGARDLESS OF FIREWALL.—A person who estab-  
5           lished and used a firewall or similar procedure which  
6           meets the requirements of paragraph (2) shall be de-  
7           termined to have made a payment in cooperation,  
8           consultation, or concert with, or at the request or  
9           suggestion of, a candidate or committee in accord-  
10          ance with this section if specific information indi-  
11          cates that, notwithstanding the establishment and  
12          use of the firewall or similar procedure, information  
13          about the candidate’s or committee’s campaign  
14          plans, projects, activities, or needs that is material  
15          to the creation, production, or distribution of the  
16          covered communication was used or conveyed to the  
17          person paying for the communication.

18          “(4) USE AS DEFENSE TO ENFORCEMENT AC-  
19          TION.—If, in a procedure or action brought by the  
20          Commission under section 309, a person who is al-  
21          leged to have committed a violation of this Act which  
22          involves the making of a contribution which consists  
23          of a payment for a coordinated expenditure raises  
24          the use of a firewall or similar procedure as a de-

1 fense, the person shall provide the Commission  
2 with—

3 “(A) a copy of the signed and dated fire-  
4 wall or procedure policy which applied to the  
5 person’s employees, consultants, or clients  
6 whose conduct is at issue in the procedure or  
7 action; and

8 “(B) a sworn, written affidavit of the em-  
9 ployees, consultants, or clients who were subject  
10 to the policy that the terms, conditions, and re-  
11 quirements of the policy were met.

12 “(e) COVERED COMMUNICATION DEFINED.—

13 “(1) IN GENERAL.—For purposes of this sec-  
14 tion, the term ‘covered communication’ means, with  
15 respect to a candidate or an authorized committee of  
16 a candidate, a public communication (as defined in  
17 section 301(22)) which—

18 “(A) expressly advocates the election of the  
19 candidate or the defeat of an opponent of the  
20 candidate (or contains the functional equivalent  
21 of express advocacy);

22 “(B) promotes or supports the election of  
23 the candidate, or attacks or opposes the election  
24 of an opponent of the candidate (regardless of  
25 whether the communication expressly advocates

1 the election or defeat of a candidate or contains  
2 the functional equivalent of express advocacy);  
3 or

4 “(C) refers to the candidate or an oppo-  
5 nent of the candidate but is not described in  
6 subparagraph (A) or subparagraph (B), but  
7 only if the communication is disseminated dur-  
8 ing the applicable election period.

9 “(2) APPLICABLE ELECTION PERIOD.—In para-  
10 graph (1)(C), the ‘applicable election period’ with re-  
11 spect to a communication means—

12 “(A) in the case of a communication which  
13 refers to a candidate in a general, special, or  
14 runoff election, the 120-day period which ends  
15 on the date of the election; or

16 “(B) in the case of a communication which  
17 refers to a candidate in a primary or preference  
18 election, or convention or caucus of a political  
19 party that has authority to nominate a can-  
20 didate, the 60-day period which ends on the  
21 date of the election or convention or caucus.

22 “(3) SPECIAL RULES FOR COMMUNICATIONS IN-  
23 VOLVING CONGRESSIONAL CANDIDATES.—For pur-  
24 poses of this subsection, a public communication  
25 shall not be considered to be a covered communica-

1       tion with respect to a candidate for election for an  
2       office other than the office of President or Vice  
3       President unless it is publicly disseminated or dis-  
4       tributed in the jurisdiction of the office the can-  
5       didate is seeking.

6       “(f) PENALTY.—

7               “(1) DETERMINATION OF AMOUNT.—Any per-  
8       son who knowingly and willfully commits a violation  
9       of this Act which involves the making of a contribu-  
10      tion which consists of a payment for a coordinated  
11      expenditure shall be fined an amount equal to the  
12      greater of—

13               “(A) in the case of a person who makes a  
14      contribution which consists of a payment for a  
15      coordinated expenditure in an amount exceeding  
16      the applicable contribution limit under this Act,  
17      300 percent of the amount by which the  
18      amount of the payment made by the person ex-  
19      ceeds such applicable contribution limit; or

20               “(B) in the case of a person who is prohib-  
21      ited under this Act from making a contribution  
22      in any amount, 300 percent of the amount of  
23      the payment made by the person for the coordi-  
24      nated expenditure.



1           “(2) JOINT AND SEVERAL LIABILITY.—Any di-  
2           rector, manager, or officer of a person who is subject  
3           to a penalty under paragraph (1) shall be jointly and  
4           severally liable for any amount of such penalty that  
5           is not paid by the person prior to the expiration of  
6           the 1-year period which begins on the date the Com-  
7           mission imposes the penalty or the 1-year period  
8           which begins on the date of the final judgment fol-  
9           lowing any judicial review of the Commission’s ac-  
10          tion, whichever is later.”.

11          (c) EFFECTIVE DATE.—

12           (1) REPEAL OF EXISTING REGULATIONS ON CO-  
13          ORDINATION.—Effective upon the expiration of the  
14          90-day period which begins on the date of the enact-  
15          ment of this Act—

16           (A) the regulations on coordinated commu-  
17          nications adopted by the Federal Election Com-  
18          mission which are in effect on the date of the  
19          enactment of this Act (as set forth under the  
20          heading “Coordination” in subpart C of part  
21          109 of title 11, Code of Federal Regulations)  
22          are repealed; and

23           (B) the Federal Election Commission shall  
24          promulgate new regulations on coordinated

1           communications which reflect the amendments  
2           made by this Act.

3           (2) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendments made  
4           by this section shall apply with respect to payments  
5           made on or after the expiration of the 120-day pe-  
6           riod which begins on the date of the enactment of  
7           this Act, without regard to whether or not the Fed-  
8           eral Election Commission has promulgated regula-  
9           tions in accordance with paragraph (1)(B) as of the  
10          expiration of such period.

## 11       **Subtitle B—Restoring Integrity to** 12                               **America’s Elections**

### 13       **SEC. 7101. SHORT TITLE.**

14           This subtitle may be cited as the “Restoring Integrity  
15       to America’s Elections Act”.

### 16       **SEC. 7102. REVISION TO ENFORCEMENT PROCESS.**

17           (a) STANDARD FOR INITIATING INVESTIGATIONS AND  
18       DETERMINING WHETHER VIOLATIONS HAVE OC-  
19       CURRED.—

20           (1) REVISION OF STANDARDS.—Section 309(a)  
21       of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 (52  
22       U.S.C. 30109(a)) is amended by striking paragraphs  
23       (2) and (3) and inserting the following:

24           “(2)(A) The general counsel, upon receiving a com-  
25       plaint filed with the Commission under paragraph (1) or

1 upon the basis of information ascertained by the Commis-  
2 sion in the normal course of carrying out its supervisory  
3 responsibilities, shall make a determination as to whether  
4 or not there is reason to believe that a person has com-  
5 mitted, or is about to commit, a violation of this Act or  
6 chapter 95 or chapter 96 of the Internal Revenue Code  
7 of 1986, and as to whether or not the Commission should  
8 either initiate an investigation of the matter or that the  
9 complaint should be dismissed. The general counsel shall  
10 promptly provide notification to the Commission of such  
11 determination and the reasons therefore, together with  
12 any written response submitted under paragraph (1) by  
13 the person alleged to have committed the violation. Upon  
14 the expiration of the 30-day period which begins on the  
15 date the general counsel provides such notification, the  
16 general counsel's determination shall take effect, unless  
17 during such 30-day period the Commission, by vote of a  
18 majority of the members of the Commission who are serv-  
19 ing at the time, overrules the general counsel's determina-  
20 tion. If the determination by the general counsel that the  
21 Commission should investigate the matter takes effect, or  
22 if the determination by the general counsel that the com-  
23 plaint should be dismissed is overruled as provided under  
24 the previous sentence, the general counsel shall initiate an  
25 investigation of the matter on behalf of the Commission.

1       “(B) If the Commission initiates an investigation  
2 pursuant to subparagraph (A), the Commission, through  
3 the Chair, shall notify the subject of the investigation of  
4 the alleged violation. Such notification shall set forth the  
5 factual basis for such alleged violation. The Commission  
6 shall make an investigation of such alleged violation, which  
7 may include a field investigation or audit, in accordance  
8 with the provisions of this section. The general counsel  
9 shall provide notification to the Commission of any intent  
10 to issue a subpoena or conduct any other form of discovery  
11 pursuant to the investigation. Upon the expiration of the  
12 15-day period which begins on the date the general counsel  
13 provides such notification, the general counsel may issue  
14 the subpoena or conduct the discovery, unless during such  
15 15-day period the Commission, by vote of a majority of  
16 the members of the Commission who are serving at the  
17 time, prohibits the general counsel from issuing the sub-  
18 poena or conducting the discovery.

19       “(3)(A) Upon completion of an investigation under  
20 paragraph (2), the general counsel shall make a deter-  
21 mination as to whether or not there is probable cause to  
22 believe that a person has committed, or is about to com-  
23 mit, a violation of this Act or chapter 95 or chapter 96  
24 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986, and shall promptly  
25 submit such determination to the Commission, and shall

1 include with the determination a brief stating the position  
2 of the general counsel on the legal and factual issues of  
3 the case.

4       “(B) At the time the general counsel submits to the  
5 Commission the determination under subparagraph (A),  
6 the general counsel shall simultaneously notify the re-  
7 spondent of such determination and the reasons therefore,  
8 shall provide the respondent with an opportunity to submit  
9 a brief within 30 days stating the position of the respond-  
10 ent on the legal and factual issues of the case and replying  
11 to the brief of the general counsel. The general counsel  
12 shall promptly submit such brief to the Commission upon  
13 receipt.

14       “(C) Upon the expiration of the 30-day period which  
15 begins on the date the general counsel submits the deter-  
16 mination to the Commission under subparagraph (A) (or,  
17 if the respondent submits a brief under subparagraph (B),  
18 upon the expiration of the 30-day period which begins on  
19 the date the general counsel submits the respondent’s brief  
20 to the Commission under such subparagraph), the general  
21 counsel’s determination shall take effect, unless during  
22 such 30-day period the Commission, by vote of a majority  
23 of the members of the Commission who are serving at the  
24 time, overrules the general counsel’s determination. If the  
25 determination by the general counsel that there is prob-

1 able cause to believe that a person has committed, or is  
2 about to commit, a violation of this Act or chapter 95 or  
3 chapter 96 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986, or if  
4 the determination by the general counsel that there is not  
5 probable cause that a person has committed or is about  
6 to commit such a violation is overruled as provided under  
7 the previous sentence, for purposes of this subsection, the  
8 Commission shall be deemed to have determined that there  
9 is probable cause that the person has committed or is  
10 about to commit such a violation.”.

11 (2) CONFORMING AMENDMENT RELATING TO  
12 INITIAL RESPONSE TO FILING OF COMPLAINT.—Sec-  
13 tion 309(a)(1) of such Act (52 U.S.C. 30109(a)(1))  
14 is amended—

15 (A) in the third sentence, by striking “the  
16 Commission” and inserting “the general coun-  
17 sel”; and

18 (B) by amending the fourth sentence to  
19 read as follows: “Not later than 15 days after  
20 receiving notice from the general counsel under  
21 the previous sentence, the person may provide  
22 the general counsel with a written response that  
23 no action should be taken against such person  
24 on the basis of the complaint.”.

1 (b) REVISION OF STANDARD FOR REVIEW OF DIS-  
2 MISSAL OF COMPLAINTS.—

3 (1) IN GENERAL.—Section 309(a)(8) of such  
4 Act (52 U.S.C. 30109(a)(8)) is amended to read as  
5 follows:

6 “(8)(A)(i) Any party aggrieved by an order of the  
7 Commission dismissing a complaint filed by such party  
8 may file a petition with the United States District Court  
9 for the District of Columbia. Any petition under this sub-  
10 paragraph shall be filed within 60 days after the date on  
11 which the party received notice of the dismissal of the  
12 complaint.

13 “(ii) In any proceeding under this subparagraph, the  
14 court shall determine by de novo review whether the agen-  
15 cy’s dismissal of the complaint is contrary to law. In any  
16 matter in which the penalty for the alleged violation is  
17 greater than \$50,000, the court should disregard any  
18 claim or defense by the Commission of prosecutorial dis-  
19 cretion as a basis for dismissing the complaint.

20 “(B)(i) Any party who has filed a complaint with the  
21 Commission and who is aggrieved by a failure of the Com-  
22 mission, within one year after the filing of the complaint,  
23 to act on such complaint, may file a petition with the  
24 United States District Court for the District of Columbia.

1       “(ii) In any proceeding under this subparagraph, the  
2 court shall determine by de novo review whether the agen-  
3 cy’s failure to act on the complaint is contrary to law.

4       “(C) In any proceeding under this paragraph the  
5 court may declare that the dismissal of the complaint or  
6 the failure to act is contrary to law, and may direct the  
7 Commission to conform with such declaration within 30  
8 days, failing which the complainant may bring, in the  
9 name of such complainant, a civil action to remedy the  
10 violation involved in the original complaint.”.

11           (2) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendments made  
12 by paragraph (1) shall apply—

13           (A) in the case of complaints which are  
14 dismissed by the Federal Election Commission,  
15 with respect to complaints which are dismissed  
16 on or after the date of the enactment of this  
17 Act; and

18           (B) in the case of complaints upon which  
19 the Federal Election Commission failed to act,  
20 with respect to complaints which were filed on  
21 or after the date of the enactment of this Act.

22           (c) REGULATIONS.—Not later than 180 days after  
23 the date of the enactment of this Act, the Federal Election  
24 Commission shall promulgate new regulations on the en-  
25 forcement process under section 309 of the Federal Elec-



1 tion Campaign Act of 1971 (52 U.S.C. 30109) to take  
2 into account the amendments made by this section.

3 **SEC. 7103. OFFICIAL EXERCISING THE RESPONSIBILITIES**  
4 **OF THE GENERAL COUNSEL.**

5 Section 306(f)(1) of the Federal Election Campaign  
6 Act of 1971 (52 U.S.C. 30106(f)(1)) is amended by add-  
7 ing at the end the following new sentence: “In the event  
8 of a vacancy in the position of the General Counsel, the  
9 most senior attorney employed within the Office of the  
10 General Counsel at the time the vacancy arises shall exer-  
11 cise all the responsibilities of the General Counsel until  
12 the vacancy is filled.”.

13 **SEC. 7104. PERMITTING APPEARANCE AT HEARINGS ON RE-**  
14 **QUESTS FOR ADVISORY OPINIONS BY PER-**  
15 **SONS OPPOSING THE REQUESTS.**

16 (a) IN GENERAL.—Section 308 of such Act (52  
17 U.S.C. 30108) is amended by adding at the end the fol-  
18 lowing new subsection:

19 “(e) To the extent that the Commission provides an  
20 opportunity for a person requesting an advisory opinion  
21 under this section (or counsel for such person) to appear  
22 before the Commission to present testimony in support of  
23 the request, and the person (or counsel) accepts such op-  
24 portunity, the Commission shall provide a reasonable op-  
25 portunity for an interested party who submitted written

1 comments under subsection (d) in response to the request  
2 (or counsel for such interested party) to appear before the  
3 Commission to present testimony in response to the re-  
4 quest.”.

5 (b) **EFFECTIVE DATE.**—The amendment made by  
6 subsection (a) shall apply with respect to requests for advi-  
7 sory opinions under section 308 of the Federal Election  
8 Campaign Act of 1971 which are made on or after the  
9 date of the enactment of this Act.

10 **SEC. 7105. PERMANENT EXTENSION OF ADMINISTRATIVE**  
11 **PENALTY AUTHORITY.**

12 Section 309(a)(4)(C)(v) of the Federal Election Cam-  
13 paign Act of 1971 (52 U.S.C. 30109(a)(4)(C)(v)) is  
14 amended by striking “, and that end on or before Decem-  
15 ber 31, 2023”.

16 **SEC. 7106. RESTRICTIONS ON EX PARTE COMMUNICATIONS.**

17 Section 306(e) of the Federal Election Campaign Act  
18 of 1971 (52 U.S.C. 30106(e)) is amended—

19 (1) by striking “(e) The Commission” and in-  
20 sserting “(e)(1) The Commission”; and

21 (2) by adding at the end the following new  
22 paragraph:

23 “(2) Members and employees of the Commission shall  
24 be subject to limitations on ex parte communications, as  
25 provided in the regulations promulgated by the Commis-

1 sion regarding such communications which are in effect  
2 on the date of the enactment of this paragraph.”.

3 **SEC. 7107. CLARIFYING AUTHORITY OF FEC ATTORNEYS TO**  
4 **REPRESENT FEC IN SUPREME COURT.**

5 (a) CLARIFYING AUTHORITY.—Section 306(f)(4) of  
6 the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 (52 U.S.C.  
7 30106(f)(4)) is amended by striking “any action instituted  
8 under this Act, either (A) by attorneys” and inserting  
9 “any action instituted under this Act, including an action  
10 before the Supreme Court of the United States, either (A)  
11 by the General Counsel of the Commission and other at-  
12 torneys”.

13 (b) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendment made by  
14 subsection (a) shall apply with respect to actions instituted  
15 before, on, or after the date of the enactment of this Act.

16 **SEC. 7108. REQUIRING FORMS TO PERMIT USE OF ACCENT**  
17 **MARKS.**

18 (a) REQUIREMENT.—Section 311(a)(1) of the Fed-  
19 eral Election Campaign Act of 1971 (52 U.S.C.  
20 30111(a)(1)) is amended by striking the semicolon at the  
21 end and inserting the following: “, and shall ensure that  
22 all such forms (including forms in an electronic format)  
23 permit the person using the form to include an accent  
24 mark as part of the person’s identification;”.

1 (b) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendment made by  
2 subsection (a) shall take effect upon the expiration of the  
3 90-day period which begins on the date of the enactment  
4 of this Act.

5 **SEC. 7109. EXTENSION OF THE STATUTES OF LIMITATIONS**  
6 **FOR OFFENSES UNDER THE FEDERAL ELEC-**  
7 **TION CAMPAIGN ACT OF 1971.**

8 (a) CIVIL OFFENSES.—Section 309(a) of the Federal  
9 Election Campaign Act of 1971 (52 U.S.C. 30109(a)) is  
10 amended by inserting after paragraph (9) the following  
11 new paragraph:

12 “(10) No person shall be subject to a civil penalty  
13 under this subsection with respect to a violation of this  
14 Act unless a complaint is filed with the Commission with  
15 respect to the violation under paragraph (1), or the Com-  
16 mission responds to information with respect to the viola-  
17 tion which is ascertained in the normal course of carrying  
18 out its supervisory responsibilities under paragraph (2),  
19 not later than 10 years after the date on which the viola-  
20 tion occurred.”.

21 (b) CRIMINAL OFFENSES.—Section 406(a) of such  
22 Act (52 U.S.C. 30145(a)) is amended by striking “5  
23 years” and inserting “10 years”.

1 (c) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendments made by  
2 this section shall apply with respect to violations occurring  
3 on or after the date of enactment of this Act.

4 **SEC. 7110. EFFECTIVE DATE; TRANSITION.**

5 (a) IN GENERAL.—Except as otherwise provided, this  
6 subtitle and the amendments made by this subtitle shall  
7 take effect and apply on the date of the enactment of this  
8 Act, without regard to whether or not the Federal Election  
9 Commission has promulgated regulations to carry out this  
10 subtitle and the amendments made by this subtitle.

11 (b) TRANSITION.—

12 (1) NO EFFECT ON EXISTING CASES OR PRO-  
13 CEEDINGS.—Nothing in this subtitle or in any  
14 amendment made by this subtitle shall affect any of  
15 the powers exercised by the Federal Election Com-  
16 mission prior to the date of the enactment of this  
17 Act, including any investigation initiated by the  
18 Commission prior to such date or any proceeding  
19 (including any enforcement action) pending as of  
20 such date.

21 (2) TREATMENT OF CERTAIN COMPLAINTS.—If,  
22 as of the date of the enactment of this Act, the Gen-  
23 eral Counsel of the Federal Election Commission has  
24 not made any recommendation to the Commission  
25 under section 309(a) of the Federal Election Cam-

1       paign Act of 1971 (52 U.S.C. 30109) with respect  
2       to a complaint filed prior to the date of the enact-  
3       ment of this Act, this subtitle and the amendments  
4       made by this subtitle shall apply with respect to the  
5       complaint in the same manner as this subtitle and  
6       the amendments made by this subtitle apply with re-  
7       spect to a complaint filed on or after the date of the  
8       enactment of this Act.

9       **Subtitle C—Imposition of Fee for**  
10       **Reports Filed by Paper**

11       **SEC. 7201. IMPOSITION OF FEE FOR REPORTS FILED BY**  
12       **PAPER.**

13       Section 304(a)(11)(A) of the Federal Election Cam-  
14       paign Act of 1971 (52 U.S.C. 30104(a)(11)(A)) is amend-  
15       ed—

16               (1) by striking “and” at the end of clause (i);

17               (2) by striking the period at the end of clause

18       (ii) and inserting “; and”; and

19               (3) by adding at the end the following new  
20       clause:

21               “(iii) shall be assessed a \$20.00 filing fee for  
22       any designation, statement, or report under this Act  
23       filed by paper, with the fees received by the Commis-  
24       sion under this clause deposited into the general

1 fund of the Treasury for the purposes of deficit re-  
2 duction.”.

3 **TITLE VIII—CITIZEN**  
4 **EMPOWERMENT**  
5 **Subtitle A—Funding To Promote**  
6 **Democracy**

7 **PART 1—PAYMENTS AND ALLOCATIONS TO**  
8 **STATES**

9 **SEC. 8001. DEMOCRACY ADVANCEMENT AND INNOVATION**  
10 **PROGRAM.**

11 (a) ESTABLISHMENT.—There is established a pro-  
12 gram to be known as the “Democracy Advancement and  
13 Innovation Program” under which the Director of the Of-  
14 fice of Democracy Advancement and Innovation shall  
15 make allocations to each State for each fiscal year to carry  
16 out democracy promotion activities described in subsection  
17 (b).

18 (b) DEMOCRACY PROMOTION ACTIVITIES DE-  
19 SCRIBED.—The democracy promotion activities described  
20 in this subsection are as follows:

21 (1) Activities to promote innovation to improve  
22 efficiency and smooth functioning in the administra-  
23 tion of elections for Federal office and to secure the  
24 infrastructure used in the administration of such  
25 elections, including making upgrades to voting

1 equipment and voter registration systems, securing  
2 voting locations, expanding polling places and the  
3 availability of early and mail voting, recruiting and  
4 training nonpartisan election officials, and pro-  
5 moting cybersecurity.

6 (2) Activities to ensure equitable access to de-  
7 mocracy, including the following:

8 (A) Enabling candidates who seek office in  
9 the State to receive payments as participating  
10 candidates under title V of the Federal Election  
11 Campaign Act of 1971 (as added by subtitle  
12 B), but only if the State will enable candidates  
13 to receive such payments during an entire elec-  
14 tion cycle.

15 (B) Operating a Democracy Credit Pro-  
16 gram under part 1 of subtitle B, but only if the  
17 State will operate the program during an entire  
18 election cycle.

19 (C) Other activities to ensure equitable ac-  
20 cess to democracy, including administering a  
21 ranked-choice voting system and carrying out  
22 Congressional redistricting through independent  
23 commissions.

24 (3) Activities to increase access to voting in  
25 elections for Federal office by underserved commu-



1 nities, individuals with disabilities, racial and lan-  
2 guage minority groups, individuals entitled to vote  
3 by absentee ballot under the Uniformed and Over-  
4 seas Citizens Absentee Voting Act, and voters resid-  
5 ing in Indian lands.

6 (c) PERMITTING STATES TO RETAIN AND RESERVE  
7 ALLOCATIONS FOR FUTURE USE.—A State may retain  
8 and reserve an allocation received for a fiscal year to carry  
9 out democracy promotion activities in any subsequent fis-  
10 cal year.

11 (d) REQUIRING SUBMISSION AND APPROVAL OF  
12 STATE PLAN.—

13 (1) IN GENERAL.—A State shall receive an allo-  
14 cation under the Program for a fiscal year if—

15 (A) not later than 90 days before the first  
16 day of the fiscal year, the chief State election  
17 official of the State submits to the Director the  
18 State plan described in section 8002; and

19 (B) not later than 45 days before the first  
20 day of the fiscal year, the Director, in consulta-  
21 tion with the Election Assistance Commission  
22 and the Federal Election Commission as de-  
23 scribed in paragraph (3), determines that the  
24 State plan will enable the State to carry out de-

1           mocracy promotion activities and approves the  
2           plan.

3           (2) SUBMISSION AND APPROVAL OF REVISED  
4           PLAN.—If the Director does not approve the State  
5           plan as submitted by the State under paragraph (1)  
6           with respect to a fiscal year, the State shall receive  
7           a payment under the Program for the fiscal year if,  
8           at any time prior to the end of the fiscal year—

9                   (A) the chief State election official of the  
10           State submits a revised version of the State  
11           plan; and

12                   (B) the Director, in consultation with the  
13           Election Assistance Commission and the Fed-  
14           eral Election Commission as described in para-  
15           graph (3), determines that the revised version  
16           of the State plan will enable the State to carry  
17           out democracy promotion activities and ap-  
18           proves the plan.

19           (3) ELECTION ASSISTANCE COMMISSION AND  
20           FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION CONSULTATION.—  
21           With respect to a State plan submitted under para-  
22           graph (1) or a revised plan submitted under para-  
23           graph (2)—

24                   (A) the Director shall, prior to making a  
25           determination on approval of the plan, consult

1 with the Election Assistance Commission with  
2 respect to the proposed State activities de-  
3 scribed in subsection (b)(1) and with the Fed-  
4 eral Election Commission with respect to the  
5 proposed State activities described in subsection  
6 (b)(2)(A) and (b)(2)(B); and

7 (B) the Election Assistance Commission  
8 and the Federal Election Commission shall sub-  
9 mit to the Director a written assessment with  
10 respect to whether the proposed activities of the  
11 plan satisfy the requirements of this Act.

12 (4) CONSULTATION WITH LEGISLATURE.—The  
13 chief State election official of the State shall develop  
14 the State plan submitted under paragraph (1) and  
15 the revised plan submitted under paragraph (2) in  
16 consultation with the majority party and minority  
17 party leaders of each house of the State legislature.

18 (e) STATE REPORT ON USE OF ALLOCATIONS.—Not  
19 later than 90 days after the last day of a fiscal year for  
20 which an allocation was made to the State under the Pro-  
21 gram, the chief State election official of the State shall  
22 submit a report to the Director describing how the State  
23 used the allocation, including a description of the democ-  
24 racy promotion activities the State carried out with the  
25 allocation.

1 (f) PUBLIC AVAILABILITY OF INFORMATION.—

2 (1) PUBLICLY AVAILABLE WEBSITE.—The Di-  
3 rector shall make available on a publicly accessible  
4 website the following:

5 (A) State plans submitted under para-  
6 graph (1) of subsection (d) and revised plans  
7 submitted under paragraph (2) of subsection  
8 (d).

9 (B) The Director's notifications of deter-  
10 minations with respect to such plans under sub-  
11 section (d).

12 (C) Reports submitted by States under  
13 subsection (e).

14 (2) REDACTION.—The Director may redact in-  
15 formation required to be made available under para-  
16 graph (1) if the information would be properly with-  
17 held from disclosure under section 552 of title 5,  
18 United States Code, or if the public disclosure of the  
19 information is otherwise prohibited by law.

20 (g) EFFECTIVE DATE.—This section shall apply with  
21 respect to fiscal year 2025 and each succeeding fiscal year.

22 **SEC. 8002. STATE PLAN.**

23 (a) CONTENTS.—A State plan under this section with  
24 respect to a State is a plan containing each of the fol-  
25 lowing:

1           (1) A description of the democracy promotion  
2 activities the State will carry out with the payment  
3 made under the Program.

4           (2) A statement of whether or not the State in-  
5 tends to retain and reserve the payment for future  
6 democracy promotion activities.

7           (3) A description of how the State intends to  
8 allocate funds to carry out the proposed activities,  
9 which shall include the amount the State intends to  
10 allocate to each such activity, including (if applica-  
11 ble) a specific allocation for—

12                   (A) activities described in subsection  
13 8001(b)(1) (relating to election administration);

14                   (B) activities described in section  
15 8001(b)(2)(A) (relating to payments to partici-  
16 pating candidates in the State under title V of  
17 the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971),  
18 together with the information required under  
19 subsection (c);

20                   (C) activities described in section  
21 8001(b)(2)(B) (relating to the operation of a  
22 Democracy Credit Program under part 1 of  
23 subtitle B);

1 (D) activities described in section  
2 8001(b)(2)(C) (relating to other activities to en-  
3 sure equitable access to democracy); and

4 (E) activities described in section  
5 8001(b)(3) (relating to activities to increase ac-  
6 cess to voting in elections for Federal office by  
7 certain communities).

8 (4) A description of how the State will establish  
9 the fund described in subsection (b) for purposes of  
10 administering the democracy promotion activities  
11 which the State will carry out with the payment, in-  
12 cluding information on fund management.

13 (5) A description of the State-based administra-  
14 tive complaint procedures established for purposes of  
15 section 8003(b).

16 (6) A statement regarding whether the pro-  
17 posed activities to be funded are permitted under  
18 State law, or whether the official intends to seek  
19 legal authorization for such activities.

20 (b) REQUIREMENTS FOR FUND.—

21 (1) FUND DESCRIBED.—For purposes of sub-  
22 section (a)(4), a fund described in this subsection  
23 with respect to a State is a fund which is established  
24 in the treasury of the State government, which is

1 used in accordance with paragraph (2), and which  
2 consists of the following amounts:

3 (A) Amounts appropriated or otherwise  
4 made available by the State for carrying out the  
5 democracy promotion activities for which the  
6 payment is made to the State under the Pro-  
7 gram.

8 (B) The payment made to the State under  
9 the Program.

10 (C) Such other amounts as may be appro-  
11 priated under law.

12 (D) Interest earned on deposits of the  
13 fund.

14 (2) USE OF FUND.—Amounts in the fund shall  
15 be used by the State exclusively to carry out democ-  
16 racy promotion activities for which the payment is  
17 made to the State under the Program.

18 (3) TREATMENT OF STATES THAT REQUIRE  
19 CHANGES TO STATE LAW.—In the case of a State  
20 that requires State legislation to establish the fund  
21 described in this subsection, the Director shall defer  
22 disbursement of the payment to such State under  
23 the Program until such time as legislation estab-  
24 lishing the fund is enacted.

1           (c) SPECIFIC INFORMATION ON USE OF FUNDS TO  
2 ENABLE CANDIDATES TO PARTICIPATE IN MATCHING  
3 FUNDS PROGRAM.—If the State plan under this section  
4 includes an allocation for activities described in section  
5 8001(b)(2)(A) (relating to payments to participating can-  
6 didates in the State under title V of the Federal Election  
7 Campaign Act of 1971), the State shall include in the plan  
8 specific information on how the amount of the allocation  
9 will enable the State to provide for the viable participation  
10 of candidates in the State under such title, including the  
11 assumptions made by the State in determining the amount  
12 of the allocation.

13 **SEC. 8003. PROHIBITING REDUCTION IN ACCESS TO PAR-**  
14 **TICIPATION IN ELECTIONS.**

15           (a) PROHIBITING USE OF PAYMENTS.—A State may  
16 not use a payment made under the Program to carry out  
17 any activity which has the purpose or effect of diminishing  
18 the ability of any citizen of the United States to partici-  
19 pate in the electoral process.

20           (b) STATE-BASED ADMINISTRATIVE COMPLAINT  
21 PROCEDURES.—

22                 (1) ESTABLISHMENT.—A State receiving a pay-  
23 ment under the Program shall establish uniform and  
24 nondiscriminatory State-based administrative com-  
25 plaint procedures under which any person who be-



1        believes that a violation of subsection (a) has occurred,  
2        is occurring, or is about to occur may file a com-  
3        plaint.

4            (2) NOTIFICATION TO DIRECTOR.—The State  
5        shall transmit to the Director a description of each  
6        complaint filed under the procedures, together  
7        with—

8            (A) if the State provides a remedy with re-  
9        spect to the complaint, a description of the rem-  
10       edy; or

11          (B) if the State dismisses the complaint, a  
12       statement of the reasons for the dismissal.

13          (3) REVIEW BY DIRECTOR.—

14            (A) REQUEST FOR REVIEW.—Any person  
15       who is dissatisfied with the final decision under  
16       a State-based administrative complaint proce-  
17       dure under this subsection may, not later than  
18       60 days after the decision is made, file a re-  
19       quest with the Director to review the decision.

20            (B) ACTION BY DIRECTOR.—Upon receiv-  
21       ing a request under subparagraph (A), the Di-  
22       rector shall review the decision and, in accord-  
23       ance with such procedures as the Director may  
24       establish, including procedures to provide notice  
25       and an opportunity for a hearing, may uphold

1 the decision or reverse the decision and provide  
2 an appropriate remedy.

3 (C) PUBLIC AVAILABILITY OF MATE-  
4 RIAL.—The Director shall make available on a  
5 publicly accessible website all material relating  
6 to a request for review and determination by  
7 the Director under this paragraph, except that  
8 the Director may redact material required to be  
9 made available under this subparagraph if the  
10 material would be properly withheld from dis-  
11 closure under section 552 of title 5, United  
12 States Code, or if the public disclosure of the  
13 material is otherwise prohibited by law.

14 (4) RIGHT TO PETITION FOR REVIEW.—

15 (A) IN GENERAL.—Any person aggrieved  
16 by an action of the Director under subpara-  
17 graph (B) of paragraph (3) may file a petition  
18 with the United States District Court for the  
19 District of Columbia.

20 (B) DEADLINE TO FILE PETITION.—Any  
21 petition under this subparagraph shall be filed  
22 not later than 60 days after the date of the ac-  
23 tion taken by the Director under subparagraph  
24 (B) of paragraph (3).

1           (C) STANDARD OF REVIEW.—In any pro-  
2           ceeding under this paragraph, the court shall  
3           determine whether the action of the Director  
4           was arbitrary, capricious, an abuse of discre-  
5           tion, or otherwise not in accordance with law  
6           under section 706 of title 5, United States  
7           Code, and may direct the Office to conform  
8           with any such determination within 30 days.

9           (c) ACTION BY ATTORNEY GENERAL FOR DECLARA-  
10          TORY AND INJUNCTIVE RELIEF.—The Attorney General  
11          may bring a civil action against any State in an appro-  
12          priate United States District Court for such declaratory  
13          and injunctive relief (including a temporary restraining  
14          order, a permanent or temporary injunction, or other  
15          order) as may be necessary to enforce subsection (a).

16          **SEC. 8004. AMOUNT OF STATE ALLOCATION.**

17          (a) STATE-SPECIFIC AMOUNT.—The amount of the  
18          allocation made to a State under the Program for a fiscal  
19          year shall be equal to the product of—

20                  (1) the Congressional district allocation amount  
21                  (determined under subsection (b)); and

22                  (2) the number of Congressional districts in the  
23          State for the next regularly scheduled general elec-  
24          tion for Federal office held in the State.

1 (b) CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT ALLOCATION  
2 AMOUNT.—For purposes of subsection (a), the “Congres-  
3 sional district allocation amount” with respect to a fiscal  
4 year is equal to the quotient of—

5 (1) the aggregate amount available for alloca-  
6 tions to States under the Program for the fiscal  
7 year, as determined by the Director under sub-  
8 section (c); divided by

9 (2) the total number of Congressional districts  
10 in all States.

11 (c) DETERMINATION OF AGGREGATE AMOUNT  
12 AVAILABLE FOR ALLOCATIONS; NOTIFICATION TO  
13 STATES.—Not later than 120 days before the first day  
14 of each fiscal year, the Director—

15 (1) shall, in accordance with section 8012, de-  
16 termine and establish the aggregate amount avail-  
17 able for allocations to States under the Program for  
18 the fiscal year; and

19 (2) shall notify each State of the amount of the  
20 State’s allocation under the Program for the fiscal  
21 year.

22 (d) SOURCE OF PAYMENTS.—The amounts used to  
23 make allocations and payments under the Program shall  
24 be derived solely from the Trust Fund.

1 **SEC. 8005. PROCEDURES FOR DISBURSEMENTS OF PAY-**  
2 **MENTS AND ALLOCATIONS.**

3 (a) **DIRECT PAYMENTS TO STATES FOR CERTAIN AC-**  
4 **TIVITIES UNDER STATE PLAN.—**

5 (1) **DIRECT PAYMENT.**—If the approved State  
6 plan of a State includes activities for which alloca-  
7 tions are not made under subsections (b), (c), or (d),  
8 upon approving the State plan under section 8002,  
9 the Director shall direct the Secretary of the Treas-  
10 ury to disburse amounts from the Trust Fund for  
11 payment to the State in the aggregate amount pro-  
12 vided under the plan for such activities.

13 (2) **TIMING.**—As soon as practicable after the  
14 Director directs the Secretary of the Treasury to  
15 disburse amounts for payment to a State under  
16 paragraph (1), the Secretary of the Treasury shall  
17 make the payment to the State under such para-  
18 graph.

19 (3) **CONTINUING AVAILABILITY OF FUNDS**  
20 **AFTER APPROPRIATION.**—A payment made to a  
21 State under this subsection shall be available with-  
22 out fiscal year limitation.

23 (b) **ALLOCATION TO ELECTION ASSISTANCE COMMIS-**  
24 **SION FOR PAYMENTS TO STATES FOR CERTAIN ELECTION**  
25 **ADMINISTRATION ACTIVITIES.—**

1           (1) ALLOCATION.—If the approved State plan  
2 of a State includes activities described in section  
3 8001(b)(1), upon approving the State plan under  
4 section 8002, the Director shall direct the Secretary  
5 of the Treasury to allocate to the Election Assist-  
6 ance Commission the amount provided for such ac-  
7 tivities under the plan.

8           (2) PAYMENT TO STATE.—As soon as prac-  
9 ticable after receiving an allocation under paragraph  
10 (1) with respect to a State, the Election Assistance  
11 Commission shall make a payment to the State in  
12 the amount of the State’s allocation.

13           (3) CONTINUING AVAILABILITY OF FUNDS  
14 AFTER APPROPRIATION.—A payment made to a  
15 State by the Election Assistance Commission under  
16 this subsection shall be available without fiscal year  
17 limitation.

18           (c) ALLOCATION TO FEDERAL ELECTION COMMIS-  
19 SION FOR PAYMENTS TO PARTICIPATING CANDIDATES  
20 FROM STATE.—If the approved State plan of a State in-  
21 cludes activities described in section 8001(b)(2)(A), relat-  
22 ing to payments to participating candidates in the State  
23 under title V of the Federal Election Campaign Act of  
24 1971, upon approving the State plan under section 8002,  
25 the Director shall direct the Secretary of the Treasury to

1 allocate to the Federal Election Commission the amount  
2 provided for such activities under the plan.

3 (d) ALLOCATION TO FEDERAL ELECTION COMMIS-  
4 SION FOR PAYMENTS FOR DEMOCRACY CREDIT PRO-  
5 GRAM.—If the approved State plan of a State includes ac-  
6 tivities described in section 8001(b)(2)(B), relating to pay-  
7 ments to the State for the operation of a Democracy Cred-  
8 it Program under part 1 of subtitle B, upon approving  
9 the State plan under section 8002, the Director shall di-  
10 rect the Secretary of the Treasury to allocate to the Fed-  
11 eral Election Commission the amount provided for such  
12 activities under the plan.

13 (e) CERTAIN PAYMENTS MADE DIRECTLY TO LOCAL  
14 ELECTION ADMINISTRATORS.—Under rules established by  
15 the Director not later than 270 days after the date of the  
16 enactment of this Act, portions of amounts disbursed to  
17 States by the Secretary of the Treasury under subsection  
18 (a) and payments made to States by the Election Assist-  
19 ance Commission under subsection (b) may be provided  
20 directly to local election administrators carrying out activi-  
21 ties in the State plan which may be carried out with such  
22 amounts and payments.

1 **SEC. 8006. OFFICE OF DEMOCRACY ADVANCEMENT AND IN-**  
2 **NOVATION.**

3 (a) ESTABLISHMENT.—There is established as an  
4 independent establishment in the executive branch the Of-  
5 fice of Democracy Advancement and Innovation.

6 (b) DIRECTOR.—

7 (1) IN GENERAL.—The Office shall be headed  
8 by a Director, who shall be appointed by the Presi-  
9 dent with the advice and consent of the Senate.

10 (2) TERM OF SERVICE.—The Director shall  
11 serve for a term of 6 years and may be reappointed  
12 to an additional term, and may continue serving as  
13 Director until a replacement is appointed. A vacancy  
14 in the position of Director shall be filled in the same  
15 manner as the original appointment.

16 (3) COMPENSATION.—The Director shall be  
17 paid at an annual rate of pay equal to the annual  
18 rate in effect for level II of the Executive Schedule.

19 (4) REMOVAL.—The Director may be removed  
20 from office by the President. If the President re-  
21 moves the Director, the President shall communicate  
22 in writing the reasons for the removal to both  
23 Houses of Congress not later than 30 days before-  
24 hand. Nothing in this paragraph shall be construed  
25 to prohibit a personnel action otherwise authorized  
26 by law.



1 (c) GENERAL COUNSEL AND OTHER STAFF.—

2 (1) GENERAL COUNSEL.—The Director shall  
3 appoint a general counsel who shall be paid at an  
4 annual rate of pay equal to the annual rate in effect  
5 for level III of the Executive Schedule. In the event  
6 of a vacancy in the position of the Director, the  
7 General Counsel shall exercise all the responsibilities  
8 of the Director until such vacancy is filled.

9 (2) SENIOR STAFF.—The Director may appoint  
10 and fix the pay of staff designated as Senior staff,  
11 such as a Deputy Director, who may be paid at an  
12 annual rate of pay equal to the annual rate in effect  
13 for level IV of the Executive Schedule.

14 (3) OTHER STAFF.—In addition to the General  
15 Counsel and Senior staff, the Director may appoint  
16 and fix the pay of such other staff as the Director  
17 considers necessary to carry out the duties of the  
18 Office, except that no such staff may be com-  
19 pensated at an annual rate exceeding the daily  
20 equivalent of the annual rate of basic pay in effect  
21 for grade GS-15 of the General Schedule.

22 (d) DUTIES.—The duties of the Office are as follows:

23 (1) ADMINISTRATION OF PROGRAM.—The Di-  
24 rector shall administer the Program, in consultation  
25 with the Election Assistance Commission and the

1 Federal Election Commission, including by holding  
2 quarterly meetings of representatives from such  
3 Commissions.

4 (2) OVERSIGHT OF TRUST FUND.—The Direc-  
5 tor shall oversee the operation of the Trust Fund  
6 and monitor its balances, in consultation with the  
7 Secretary of the Treasury. The Director may hold  
8 funds in reserve to cover the expenses of the Office  
9 and to preserve the solvency of the Trust Fund.

10 (3) REPORTS.—Not later than 180 days after  
11 the date of the regularly scheduled general election  
12 for Federal office held in 2026 and each succeeding  
13 regularly scheduled general election for Federal of-  
14 fice thereafter, the Director shall submit to the  
15 Committee on House Administration of the House of  
16 Representatives and the Committee on Rules and  
17 Administration of the Senate a report on the activi-  
18 ties carried out under the Program and the amounts  
19 deposited into and paid from the Trust Fund during  
20 the two most recent fiscal years.

21 (e) COVERAGE UNDER INSPECTOR GENERAL ACT OF  
22 1978 FOR CONDUCTING AUDITS AND INVESTIGATIONS.—

23 (1) IN GENERAL.—Section 415(a)(1)(A) of title  
24 5, United States Code, is amended by inserting “the

1 Office of Democracy Advancement and Innovation,”  
2 after “Election Assistance Commission,”.

3 (2) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendment made  
4 by paragraph (1) shall take effect 180 days after the  
5 appointment of the Director.

6 (f) COVERAGE UNDER HATCH ACT.—Clause (i) of  
7 section 7323(b)(2)(B) of title 5, United States Code, is  
8 amended—

9 (1) by striking “or” at the end of subclause  
10 (XIII); and

11 (2) by adding at the end the following new sub-  
12 clause:

13 “(XV) the Office of Democracy Advance-  
14 ment and Innovation; or”.

15 (g) REGULATIONS.—

16 (1) IN GENERAL.—Except as provided in para-  
17 graph (2), not later than 270 days after the date of  
18 enactment of this Act, the Director shall promulgate  
19 such rules and regulations as the Director considers  
20 necessary and appropriate to carry out the duties of  
21 the Office under this Act and the amendments made  
22 by this Act.

23 (2) STATE PLAN SUBMISSION AND APPROVAL  
24 AND DISTRIBUTION OF FUNDS.—Not later than 90  
25 days after the date of the enactment of this Act, the

1 Director shall promulgate such rules and regulations  
2 as the Director considers necessary and appropriate  
3 to carry out the requirements of this part and the  
4 amendments made by this part.

5 (3) COMMENTS BY THE ELECTION ASSISTANCE  
6 COMMISSION AND THE FEDERAL ELECTION COMMIS-  
7 SION.—The Election Assistance Commission and the  
8 Federal Election Assistance shall timely submit com-  
9 ments with respect to any proposed regulations pro-  
10 mulgated by the Director under this subsection.

11 (h) INTERIM AUTHORITY PENDING APPOINTMENT  
12 AND CONFIRMATION OF DIRECTOR.—

13 (1) AUTHORITY OF DIRECTOR OF OFFICE OF  
14 MANAGEMENT AND BUDGET.—Notwithstanding sub-  
15 section (b), during the transition period, the Direc-  
16 tor of the Office of Management and Budget is au-  
17 thorized to perform the functions of the Office under  
18 this title, and shall act for all purposes as, and with  
19 the full powers of, the Director.

20 (2) INTERIM ADMINISTRATIVE SERVICES.—

21 (A) AUTHORITY OF OFFICE OF MANAGE-  
22 MENT AND BUDGET.—During the transition pe-  
23 riod, the Director of the Office of Management  
24 and Budget may provide administrative services  
25 necessary to support the Office.

1 (B) TERMINATION OF AUTHORITY; PER-  
2 MITTING EXTENSION.—The Director of the Of-  
3 fice of Management and Budget shall cease pro-  
4 viding interim administrative services under this  
5 paragraph upon the expiration of the transition  
6 period, except that the Director of the Office of  
7 Management and Budget may continue to pro-  
8 vide such services after the expiration of the  
9 transition period if the Director and the Direc-  
10 tor of the Office of Management and Budget  
11 jointly transmit to the Committee on House Ad-  
12 ministration of the House of Representatives  
13 and the Committee on Rules and Administra-  
14 tion of the Senate—

15 (i) a written determination that an or-  
16 derly implementation of this title is not  
17 feasible by the expiration of the transition  
18 period;

19 (ii) an explanation of why an exten-  
20 sion is necessary for the orderly implemen-  
21 tation of this title;

22 (iii) a description of the period during  
23 which the Director of the Office of Man-  
24 agement and Budget shall continue pro-

1           viding services under the authority of this  
2           subparagraph; and

3                   (iv) a description of the steps that will  
4           be taken to ensure an orderly and timely  
5           implementation of this title during the pe-  
6           riod described in clause (iii).

7           (3) TRANSITION PERIOD DEFINED.—In this  
8           subsection, the “transition period” is the period  
9           which begins on the date of the enactment of this  
10          Act and ends on the date on which the Director is  
11          appointed and confirmed.

12          (4) LIMIT ON LENGTH OF PERIOD OF INTERIM  
13          AUTHORITIES.—Notwithstanding any other provision  
14          of this subsection, the Director of the Office of Man-  
15          agement and Budget may not exercise any authority  
16          under this subsection after the expiration of the 24-  
17          month period which begins on the date of the enact-  
18          ment of this Act.

19          (i) AUTHORIZATION OF APPROPRIATIONS.—There  
20          are authorized to be appropriated from the Trust Fund  
21          such sums as may be necessary to carry out the activities  
22          of the Office for fiscal year 2025 and each succeeding fis-  
23          cal year.

1       **PART 2—STATE ELECTION ASSISTANCE AND**  
2                   **INNOVATION TRUST FUND**  
3       **SEC. 8011. STATE ELECTION ASSISTANCE AND INNOVATION**  
4                   **TRUST FUND.**

5       (a) **ESTABLISHMENT.**—There is established in the  
6 Treasury a fund to be known as the “State Election As-  
7 sistance and Innovation Trust Fund”.

8       (b) **CONTENTS.**—The Trust Fund shall consist solely  
9 of—

10           (1) amounts transferred under section 3015 of  
11 title 18, United States Code, section 9706 of title  
12 31, United States Code, and section 6761 of the In-  
13 ternal Revenue Code of 1986 (as added by section  
14 8013); and

15           (2) gifts or bequests deposited pursuant to sub-  
16 section (d).

17       (c) **USE OF FUNDS.**—Amounts in the Trust Fund  
18 shall be used to make payments and allocations under the  
19 Program (as described in section 8012(a)) and to carry  
20 out the activities of the Office.

21       (d) **ACCEPTANCE OF GIFTS.**—The Office may accept  
22 gifts or bequests for deposit into the Trust Fund.

23       (e) **NO TAXPAYER FUNDS PERMITTED.**—No tax-  
24 payer funds may be deposited into the Trust Fund. For  
25 purposes of this subsection, the term “taxpayer funds”

1 means revenues received by the Internal Revenue Service  
2 from tax liabilities.

3 (f) **EFFECTIVE DATE.**—This section shall take effect  
4 on the date of the enactment of this subtitle.

5 **SEC. 8012. USES OF FUND.**

6 (a) **PAYMENTS AND ALLOCATIONS DESCRIBED.**—For  
7 each fiscal year, amounts in the Fund shall be used as  
8 follows:

9 (1) Payments to States under the Program, as  
10 described in section 8005(a).

11 (2) Allocations to the Election Assistance Com-  
12 mission, to be used for payments for certain election  
13 administration activities, as described in section  
14 8005(b).

15 (3) Allocations to the Federal Election Commis-  
16 sion, to be used for payments to participating can-  
17 didates under title V of the Federal Election Cam-  
18 paign Act of 1971, as described in section 8005(c).

19 (4) Allocations to the Federal Election Commis-  
20 sion, to be used for payments to States operating a  
21 Democracy Credit Program under part 1 of subtitle  
22 B, as described in section 8005(d).

23 (b) **DETERMINATION OF AGGREGATE AMOUNT OF**  
24 **STATE ALLOCATIONS.**—The Director shall determine and  
25 establish the aggregate amount of State allocations for



1 each fiscal year, taking into account the anticipated bal-  
2 ances of the Trust Fund. In carrying out this subsection,  
3 the Director shall consult with the Federal Election Com-  
4 mission and the Election Assistance Commission, but shall  
5 be solely responsible for making the final determinations  
6 under this subsection.

7 **SEC. 8013. ASSESSMENTS AGAINST FINES AND PENALTIES.**

8 (a) ASSESSMENTS RELATING TO CRIMINAL OF-  
9 FENSES.—

10 (1) IN GENERAL.—Chapter 201 of title 18,  
11 United States Code, is amended by adding at the  
12 end the following new section:

13 **“§ 3015. Special assessments for State Election Assist-  
14 ance and Innovation Trust Fund**

15 “(a) ASSESSMENTS.—

16 “(1) CONVICTIONS OF CRIMES.—In addition to  
17 any assessment imposed under this chapter, the  
18 court shall assess on any organizational defendant or  
19 any defendant who is a corporate officer or person  
20 with equivalent authority in any other organization  
21 who is convicted of a criminal offense under Federal  
22 law an amount equal to 4.75 percent of any fine im-  
23 posed on that defendant in the sentence imposed for  
24 that conviction.

1           “(2) SETTLEMENTS.—The court shall assess on  
2           any organizational defendant or defendant who is a  
3           corporate officer or person with equivalent authority  
4           in any other organization who has entered into a  
5           settlement agreement or consent decree with the  
6           United States in satisfaction of any allegation that  
7           the defendant committed a criminal offense under  
8           Federal law an amount equal to 4.75 percent of the  
9           amount of the settlement.

10          “(b) MANNER OF COLLECTION.—An amount as-  
11         sessed under subsection (a) shall be collected in the man-  
12         ner in which fines are collected in criminal cases.

13          “(c) TRANSFERS.—In a manner consistent with sec-  
14         tion 3302(b) of title 31, there shall be transferred from  
15         the General Fund of the Treasury to the State Election  
16         Assistance and Innovation Trust Fund under section 8011  
17         of the Freedom to Vote Act an amount equal to the  
18         amount of the assessments collected under this section.”.

19                 (2) CLERICAL AMENDMENT.—The table of sec-  
20                 tions of chapter 201 of title 18, United States Code,  
21                 is amended by adding at the end the following:

“3015. Special assessments for State Election Assistance and Innovation Trust  
Fund.”.

22                 (b) ASSESSMENTS RELATING TO CIVIL PEN-  
23                 ALTIES.—

1           (1) IN GENERAL.—Chapter 97 of title 31,  
2           United States Code, is amended by adding at the  
3           end the following new section:

4   **“§ 9706. Special assessments for State Election Assist-**  
5                           **ance and Innovation Trust Fund**

6           “(a) ASSESSMENTS.—

7                   “(1) CIVIL PENALTIES.—Any entity of the Fed-  
8           eral Government which is authorized under any law,  
9           rule, or regulation to impose a civil penalty shall as-  
10          sess on each person, other than a natural person  
11          who is not a corporate officer or person with equiva-  
12          lent authority in any other organization, on whom  
13          such a penalty is imposed an amount equal to 4.75  
14          percent of the amount of the penalty.

15                   “(2) ADMINISTRATIVE PENALTIES.—Any entity  
16          of the Federal Government which is authorized  
17          under any law, rule, or regulation to impose an ad-  
18          ministrative penalty shall assess on each person,  
19          other than a natural person who is not a corporate  
20          officer or person with equivalent authority in any  
21          other organization, on whom such a penalty is im-  
22          posed an amount equal to 4.75 percent of the  
23          amount of the penalty.

24                   “(3) SETTLEMENTS.—Any entity of the Federal  
25          Government which is authorized under any law, rule,

1 or regulation to enter into a settlement agreement or  
2 consent decree with any person, other than a natural  
3 person who is not a corporate officer or person with  
4 equivalent authority in any other organization, in  
5 satisfaction of any allegation of an action or omis-  
6 sion by the person which would be subject to a civil  
7 penalty or administrative penalty shall assess on  
8 such person an amount equal to 4.75 percent of the  
9 amount of the settlement.

10 “(b) MANNER OF COLLECTION.—An amount as-  
11 sessed under subsection (a) shall be collected—

12 “(1) in the case of an amount assessed under  
13 paragraph (1) of such subsection, in the manner in  
14 which civil penalties are collected by the entity of the  
15 Federal Government involved;

16 “(2) in the case of an amount assessed under  
17 paragraph (2) of such subsection, in the manner in  
18 which administrative penalties are collected by the  
19 entity of the Federal Government involved; and

20 “(3) in the case of an amount assessed under  
21 paragraph (3) of such subsection, in the manner in  
22 which amounts are collected pursuant to settlement  
23 agreements or consent decrees entered into by the  
24 entity of the Federal Government involved.

1       “(c) TRANSFERS.—In a manner consistent with sec-  
2 tion 3302(b) of this title, there shall be transferred from  
3 the General Fund of the Treasury to the State Election  
4 Assistance and Innovation Trust Fund under section 8011  
5 of the Freedom to Vote Act an amount equal to the  
6 amount of the assessments collected under this section.

7       “(d) EXCEPTION FOR PENALTIES AND SETTLE-  
8 MENTS UNDER AUTHORITY OF THE INTERNAL REVENUE  
9 CODE OF 1986.—

10           “(1) IN GENERAL.—No assessment shall be  
11 made under subsection (a) with respect to any civil  
12 or administrative penalty imposed, or any settlement  
13 agreement or consent decree entered into, under the  
14 authority of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986.

15           “(2) CROSS REFERENCE.—For application of  
16 special assessments for the State Election Assistance  
17 and Innovation Trust Fund with respect to certain  
18 penalties under the Internal Revenue Code of 1986,  
19 see section 6761 of the Internal Revenue Code of  
20 1986.”.

21           “(2) CLERICAL AMENDMENT.—The table of sec-  
22 tions of chapter 97 of title 31, United States Code,  
23 is amended by adding at the end the following:

“9706. Special assessments for State Election Assistance and Innovation Trust  
Fund.”.

1 (c) ASSESSMENTS RELATING TO CERTAIN PEN-  
2 ALTIES UNDER THE INTERNAL REVENUE CODE OF  
3 1986.—

4 (1) IN GENERAL.—Chapter 68 of the Internal  
5 Revenue Code of 1986 is amended by adding at the  
6 end the following new subchapter:

7 **“Subchapter D—Special Assessments for**  
8 **State Election Assistance and Innovation**  
9 **Trust Fund**

10 **“SEC. 6761. SPECIAL ASSESSMENTS FOR STATE ELECTION**  
11 **ASSISTANCE AND INNOVATION TRUST FUND.**

12 “(a) IN GENERAL.—Each person required to pay a  
13 covered penalty shall pay an additional amount equal to  
14 4.75 percent of the amount of such penalty.

15 “(b) COVERED PENALTY.—For purposes of this sec-  
16 tion, the term ‘covered penalty’ means any addition to tax,  
17 additional amount, penalty, or other liability provided  
18 under subchapter A or B.

19 “(c) EXCEPTION FOR CERTAIN INDIVIDUALS.—

20 “(1) IN GENERAL.—In the case of a taxpayer  
21 who is an individual, subsection (a) shall not apply  
22 to any covered penalty if such taxpayer is an exempt  
23 taxpayer for the taxable year for which such covered  
24 penalty is assessed.

1           “(2) EXEMPT TAXPAYER.—For purposes of this  
2           subsection, a taxpayer is an exempt taxpayer for any  
3           taxable year if the taxable income of such taxpayer  
4           for such taxable year does not exceed the dollar  
5           amount at which begins the highest rate bracket in  
6           effect under section 1 with respect to such taxpayer  
7           for such taxable year.

8           “(d) APPLICATION OF CERTAIN RULES.—Except as  
9           provided in subsection (e), the additional amount deter-  
10          mined under subsection (a) shall be treated for purposes  
11          of this title in the same manner as the covered penalty  
12          to which such additional amount relates.

13          “(e) TRANSFER TO STATE ELECTION ADMINISTRA-  
14          TION AND INNOVATION TRUST FUND.—The Secretary  
15          shall deposit any additional amount under subsection (a)  
16          in the General Fund of the Treasury and shall transfer  
17          from such General Fund to the State Election Assistance  
18          and Innovation Trust Fund under section 8011 of the  
19          Freedom to Vote Act an amount equal to the amounts  
20          so deposited (and, notwithstanding subsection (d), such  
21          additional amount shall not be the basis for any deposit,  
22          transfer, credit, appropriation, or any other payment, to  
23          any other trust fund or account). Rules similar to the rules  
24          of section 9601 shall apply for purposes of this sub-  
25          section.”.

1           (2) CLERICAL AMENDMENT.—The table of sub-  
 2 chapters for chapter 68 of such Code is amended by  
 3 adding at the end the following new item:

“SUBCHAPTER D—SPECIAL ASSESSMENTS FOR STATE ELECTION ASSISTANCE  
 AND INNOVATION TRUST FUND”.

4           (d) EFFECTIVE DATES.—

5           (1) IN GENERAL.—Except as provided in para-  
 6 graph (2), the amendments made by this section  
 7 shall apply with respect to convictions, agreements,  
 8 and penalties which occur on or after the date of the  
 9 enactment of this Act.

10           (2) ASSESSMENTS RELATING TO CERTAIN PEN-  
 11 ALTIES UNDER THE INTERNAL REVENUE CODE OF  
 12 1986.—The amendments made by subsection (c)  
 13 shall apply to covered penalties assessed after the  
 14 date of the enactment of this Act.

### 15           **PART 3—GENERAL PROVISIONS**

#### 16   **SEC. 8021. DEFINITIONS.**

17           In this subtitle, the following definitions apply:

18           (1) The term “chief State election official” has  
 19 the meaning given such term in section 253(e) of the  
 20 Help America Vote Act of 2002 (52 U.S.C.  
 21 21003(e)).

22           (2) The term “Director” means the Director of  
 23 the Office.



1           (3) The term “election cycle” means the period  
2 beginning on the day after the date of the most re-  
3 cent regularly scheduled general election for Federal  
4 office and ending on the date of the next regularly  
5 scheduled general election for Federal office.

6           (4) The term “Indian lands” includes—

7           (A) Indian country, as defined under sec-  
8 tion 1151 of title 18, United States Code;

9           (B) any land in Alaska owned, pursuant to  
10 the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act (43  
11 U.S.C. 1601 et seq.), by an Indian Tribe that  
12 is a Native village (as defined in section 3 of  
13 that Act (43 U.S.C. 1602)) or by a Village Cor-  
14 poration that is associated with an Indian Tribe  
15 (as defined in section 3 of that Act (43 U.S.C.  
16 1602));

17           (C) any land on which the seat of the Trib-  
18 al government is located; and

19           (D) any land that is part or all of a Tribal  
20 designated statistical area associated with an  
21 Indian Tribe, or is part or all of an Alaska Na-  
22 tive village statistical area associated with an  
23 Indian Tribe, as defined by the Census Bureau  
24 for the purposes of the most recent decennial  
25 census.

1           (5) The term “Office” means the Office of De-  
2           mocracy Advancement and Innovation established  
3           under section 8005.

4           (6) The term “Program” means the Democracy  
5           Advancement and Innovation Program established  
6           under section 8001.

7           (7) The term “State” means each of the several  
8           States, the District of Columbia, the Commonwealth  
9           of Puerto Rico, Guam, American Samoa, the United  
10          States Virgin Islands, and the Commonwealth of the  
11          Northern Mariana Islands.

12          (8) The term “Trust Fund” means the State  
13          Election Assistance and Innovation Trust Fund es-  
14          tablished under section 8011.

15   **SEC. 8022. RULE OF CONSTRUCTION REGARDING CALCULA-**  
16                                   **TION OF DEADLINES.**

17          (a) IN GENERAL.—With respect to the calculation of  
18          any period of time for the purposes of a deadline in this  
19          subtitle, the last day of the period shall be included in  
20          such calculation, unless such day is a Saturday, a Sunday,  
21          or a legal public holiday, in which case the period of such  
22          deadline shall be extended until the end of the next day  
23          which is not a Saturday, a Sunday, or a legal public holi-  
24          day.

1 (b) LEGAL PUBLIC HOLIDAY DEFINED.—For the  
2 purposes of this section, the term “legal public holiday”  
3 means a day described in section 6103(a) of title 5, United  
4 States Code.

## 5 **Subtitle B—Elections for House of** 6 **Representatives**

### 7 **SEC. 8101. SHORT TITLE.**

8 This subtitle may be cited as the “Government By  
9 the People Act of 2023”.

## 10 **PART 1—OPTIONAL DEMOCRACY CREDIT** 11 **PROGRAM**

### 12 **SEC. 8102. ESTABLISHMENT OF PROGRAM.**

13 (a) ESTABLISHMENT.—The Federal Election Com-  
14 mission (hereafter in this part referred to as the “Commis-  
15 sion”) shall establish a program under which the Commis-  
16 sion shall make payments to States to operate a credit  
17 program which is described in section 8103 during an elec-  
18 tion cycle.

19 (b) REQUIREMENTS FOR PROGRAM.—A State is eligi-  
20 ble to operate a credit program under this part with re-  
21 spect to an election cycle if, not later than 120 days before  
22 the cycle begins, the State submits to the Commission a  
23 statement containing—

1           (1) information and assurances that the State  
2 will operate a credit program which contains the ele-  
3 ments described in section 8103(a);

4           (2) information and assurances that the State  
5 will establish fraud prevention mechanisms described  
6 in section 8103(b);

7           (3) information and assurances that the State  
8 will establish a commission to oversee and implement  
9 the program as described in section 8103(c);

10          (4) information and assurances that the State  
11 will carry out a public information campaign as de-  
12 scribed in section 8103(d);

13          (5) information and assurances that the State  
14 will submit reports as required under section 8104;

15          (6) information and assurances that, not later  
16 than 60 days before the beginning of the cycle, the  
17 State will complete any actions necessary to operate  
18 the program during the cycle; and

19          (7) such other information and assurances as  
20 the Commission may require.

21 (c) REIMBURSEMENT OF COSTS.—

22          (1) REIMBURSEMENT.—Upon receiving the re-  
23 port submitted by a State under section 8104(a)  
24 with respect to an election cycle, the Commission  
25 shall transmit a payment to the State in an amount

1 equal to the reasonable costs incurred by the State  
2 in operating the credit program under this part dur-  
3 ing the cycle.

4 (2) SOURCE OF FUNDS.—Payments to a State  
5 under the program shall be made using amounts al-  
6 located to the Commission for purposes of making  
7 payments under this part with respect to the State  
8 from the State Election Assistance and Innovation  
9 Trust Fund (hereafter referred to as the “Fund”)   
10 under section 8012, in the amount allocated with re-  
11 spect to the State under section 8005(d).

12 (3) CAP ON AMOUNT OF PAYMENT.—The aggre-  
13 gate amount of payments made to any State with re-  
14 spect to two consecutive election cycles may not ex-  
15 ceed \$10,000,000. If the State determines that the  
16 maximum payment amount under this paragraph  
17 with respect to such cycles is not, or may not be,  
18 sufficient to cover the reasonable costs incurred by  
19 the State in operating the program under this part  
20 for such cycles, the State shall reduce the amount of  
21 the credit provided to each qualified individual by  
22 such pro rata amount as may be necessary to ensure  
23 that the reasonable costs incurred by the State in  
24 operating the program will not exceed the amount  
25 paid to the State with respect to such cycles.

1 (d) CONTINUING AVAILABILITY OF FUNDS AFTER  
2 APPROPRIATION.—A payment made to a State under this  
3 part shall be available without fiscal year limitation.

4 **SEC. 8103. CREDIT PROGRAM DESCRIBED.**

5 (a) GENERAL ELEMENTS OF PROGRAM.—

6 (1) ELEMENTS DESCRIBED.—The elements of a  
7 credit program operated by a State under this part  
8 are as follows:

9 (A) The State shall provide each qualified  
10 individual upon the individual's request with a  
11 credit worth \$25 to be known as a "Democracy  
12 Credit" during the election cycle which will be  
13 assigned a routing number and which at the op-  
14 tion of the individual will be provided in either  
15 paper or electronic form.

16 (B) Using the routing number assigned to  
17 the Democracy Credit, the individual may sub-  
18 mit the Democracy Credit in either electronic or  
19 paper form to qualified candidates for election  
20 for the office of Representative in, or Delegate  
21 or Resident Commissioner to, the Congress and  
22 allocate such portion of the value of the Democ-  
23 racy Credit in increments of \$5 as the indi-  
24 vidual may select to any such candidate.

1           (C) If the candidate transmits the Democ-  
2           cracy Credit to the Commission, the Commission  
3           shall pay the candidate the portion of the value  
4           of the Democracy Credit that the individual al-  
5           located to the candidate, which shall be consid-  
6           ered a contribution by the individual to the can-  
7           didate for purposes of the Federal Election  
8           Campaign Act of 1971.

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

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

14                 (B) who will be of voting age as of the  
15                 date of the election for the candidate to whom  
16                 the individual submits a Democracy Credit; and

17                 (C) who is not prohibited under Federal  
18                 law from making contributions to candidates  
19                 for election for Federal office.

20          (3) TREATMENT AS CONTRIBUTION TO CAN-  
21          DIDATE.—For purposes of the Federal Election  
22          Campaign Act of 1971, the submission of a Democ-  
23          racy Credit to a candidate by an individual shall be  
24          treated as a contribution to the candidate by the in-  
25          dividual in the amount of the portion of the value

1 of the Credit that the individual allocated to the can-  
2 didate.

3 (b) FRAUD PREVENTION MECHANISM.—In addition  
4 to the elements described in subsection (a), a State oper-  
5 ating a credit program under this part shall permit an  
6 individual to revoke a Democracy Credit not later than  
7 2 days after submitting the Democracy Credit to a can-  
8 didate.

9 (c) OVERSIGHT COMMISSION.—In addition to the ele-  
10 ments described in subsection (a), a State operating a  
11 credit program under this part shall establish a commis-  
12 sion or designate an existing entity to oversee and imple-  
13 ment the program in the State, except that no such com-  
14 mission or entity may be comprised of elected officials.

15 (d) PUBLIC INFORMATION CAMPAIGN.—In addition  
16 to the elements described in subsection (a), a State oper-  
17 ating a credit program under this part shall carry out a  
18 public information campaign to disseminate awareness of  
19 the program among qualified individuals.

20 (e) NO TAXPAYER FUNDS PERMITTED TO CARRY  
21 OUT PROGRAM.—No taxpayer funds shall be used to carry  
22 out the credit program under this part. For purposes of  
23 this subsection, the term “taxpayer funds” means reve-  
24 nues received by the Internal Revenue Service from tax  
25 liabilities.



1 **SEC. 8104. REPORTS.**

2 (a) STATE REPORTS.—Not later than 6 months after  
3 each first election cycle during which the State operates  
4 a program under this part, the State shall submit to the  
5 Commission and the Office of Democracy Advancement  
6 and Innovation a report analyzing the operation and effec-  
7 tiveness of the program during the cycle and including  
8 such other information as the Commission may require.

9 (b) STUDY AND REPORT ON IMPACT AND EFFEC-  
10 TIVENESS OF CREDIT PROGRAMS.—

11 (1) STUDY.—The Commission shall conduct a  
12 study on the efficacy of political credit programs, in-  
13 cluding the program under this part and other simi-  
14 lar programs, in expanding and diversifying the pool  
15 of individuals who participate in the electoral proc-  
16 ess, including those who participate as donors and  
17 those who participate as candidates.

18 (2) REPORT.—Not later than 1 year after the  
19 first election cycle for which States operate the pro-  
20 gram under this part, the Commission shall publish  
21 and submit to Congress a report on the study con-  
22 ducted under paragraph (1).

23 **SEC. 8105. ELECTION CYCLE DEFINED.**

24 In this part, the term “election cycle” means the pe-  
25 riod beginning on the day after the date of the most recent  
26 regularly scheduled general election for Federal office and

1 ending on the date of the next regularly scheduled general  
2 election for Federal office.

3 **PART 2—OPTIONAL SMALL DOLLAR FINANCING**  
4 **OF ELECTIONS FOR HOUSE OF REPRESENTA-**  
5 **TIVES**

6 **SEC. 8111. BENEFITS AND ELIGIBILITY REQUIREMENTS**  
7 **FOR CANDIDATES.**

8 The Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 (52  
9 U.S.C. 30101 et seq.) is amended by adding at the end  
10 the following:

11 **“TITLE V—SMALL DOLLAR FI-**  
12 **NANCING OF ELECTIONS FOR**  
13 **HOUSE OF REPRESENTA-**  
14 **TIVES**

15 **“Subtitle A—Benefits**

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

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

23 “(b) AMOUNT OF PAYMENT.—The amount of a pay-  
24 ment made under this title shall be equal to 600 percent  
25 of the amount of qualified small dollar contributions re-

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

7       “(c) LIMIT ON AGGREGATE AMOUNT OF PAY-  
8 MENTS.—The aggregate amount of payments made to a  
9 participating candidate with respect to an election cycle  
10 under this title may not exceed 50 percent of the average  
11 of the 20 greatest amounts of disbursements made by the  
12 authorized committees of any winning candidate for the  
13 office of Representative in, or Delegate or Resident Com-  
14 missioner to, the Congress during the most recent election  
15 cycle, rounded to the nearest \$100,000.

16       “(d) NO TAXPAYER FUNDS PERMITTED.—No tax-  
17 payer funds shall be used to make payments under this  
18 title. For purposes of this subsection, the term ‘taxpayer  
19 funds’ means revenues received by the Internal Revenue  
20 Service from tax liabilities.

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

22       “(a) IN GENERAL.—The Division Director shall  
23 make a payment under section 501 to a candidate who  
24 is certified as a participating candidate upon receipt from  
25 the candidate of a request for a payment which includes—

1           “(1) a statement of the number and amount of  
2           qualified small dollar contributions received by the  
3           candidate since the most recent payment made to  
4           the candidate under this title during the election  
5           cycle;

6           “(2) a statement of the amount of the payment  
7           the candidate anticipates receiving with respect to  
8           the request;

9           “(3) a statement of the total amount of pay-  
10          ments the candidate has received under this title as  
11          of the date of the statement; and

12          “(4) such other information and assurances as  
13          the Division Director may require.

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

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

22                 “(2) The candidate did not receive a payment  
23                 under this title during the 7-day period which ends  
24                 on the date the candidate submits the request.

1       “(c) TIME OF PAYMENT.—The Division Director  
2 shall, in coordination with the Secretary of the Treasury,  
3 take such steps as may be necessary to ensure that the  
4 Secretary is able to make payments under this section  
5 from the Treasury not later than 2 business days after  
6 the receipt of a request submitted under subsection (a).

7       **“SEC. 503. USE OF FUNDS.**

8       “(a) USE OF FUNDS FOR AUTHORIZED CAMPAIGN  
9 EXPENDITURES.—A candidate shall use payments made  
10 under this title, including payments provided with respect  
11 to a previous election cycle which are withheld from remit-  
12 tance to the Commission in accordance with section  
13 524(a)(2), only for making direct payments for the receipt  
14 of goods and services which constitute authorized expendi-  
15 tures (as determined in accordance with title III) in con-  
16 nection with the election cycle involved.

17       “(b) PROHIBITING USE OF FUNDS FOR LEGAL EX-  
18 PENSES, FINES, OR PENALTIES.—Notwithstanding title  
19 III, a candidate may not use payments made under this  
20 title for the payment of expenses incurred in connection  
21 with any action, claim, or other matter before the Commis-  
22 sion or before any court, hearing officer, arbitrator, or  
23 other dispute resolution entity, or for the payment of any  
24 fine or civil monetary penalty.

1 **“SEC. 504. QUALIFIED SMALL DOLLAR CONTRIBUTIONS DE-**  
2 **SCRIBED.**

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

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

8 “(A) not less than \$1; and

9 “(B) not more than \$200.

10 “(2)(A) The contribution is made directly by an  
11 individual to the candidate or an authorized com-  
12 mittee of the candidate and is not—

13 “(i) forwarded from the individual making  
14 the contribution to the candidate or committee  
15 by another person; or

16 “(ii) received by the candidate or com-  
17 mittee with the knowledge that the contribution  
18 was made at the request, suggestion, or rec-  
19 ommendation of another person.

20 “(B) In this paragraph—

21 “(i) the term ‘person’ does not include an  
22 individual (other than an individual described in  
23 section 304(i)(7) of the Federal Election Cam-  
24 paign Act of 1971), a political committee of a  
25 political party, or any political committee which  
26 is not a separate segregated fund described in

1 section 316(b) of the Federal Election Cam-  
2 paign Act of 1971 and which does not make  
3 contributions or independent expenditures, does  
4 not engage in lobbying activity under the Lob-  
5 bying Disclosure Act of 1995 (2 U.S.C. 1601 et  
6 seq.), and is not established by, controlled by,  
7 or affiliated with a registered lobbyist under  
8 such Act, an agent of a registered lobbyist  
9 under such Act, or an organization which re-  
10 tains or employs a registered lobbyist under  
11 such Act; and

12 “(ii) a contribution is not ‘made at the re-  
13 quest, suggestion, or recommendation of an-  
14 other person’ solely on the grounds that the  
15 contribution is made in response to information  
16 provided to the individual making the contribu-  
17 tion by any person, so long as the candidate or  
18 authorized committee does not know the iden-  
19 tity of the person who provided the information  
20 to such individual.

21 “(3) The individual who makes the contribution  
22 does not make contributions to the candidate or the  
23 authorized committees of the candidate with respect  
24 to the election involved in an aggregate amount that  
25 exceeds the amount described in paragraph (1)(B),

1 or any contribution to the candidate or the author-  
2 ized committees of the candidate with respect to the  
3 election involved that otherwise is not a qualified  
4 small dollar contribution.

5 “(b) TREATMENT OF DEMOCRACY CREDITS.—Any  
6 payment received by a candidate and the authorized com-  
7 mittees of a candidate which consists of a Democracy  
8 Credit under the Freedom to Vote Act shall be considered  
9 a qualified small dollar contribution for purposes of this  
10 title, so long as the individual making the payment meets  
11 the requirements of paragraphs (2) and (3) of subsection  
12 (a).

13 “(c) RESTRICTION ON SUBSEQUENT CONTRIBU-  
14 TIONS.—

15 “(1) PROHIBITING DONOR FROM MAKING SUB-  
16 SEQUENT NONQUALIFIED CONTRIBUTIONS DURING  
17 ELECTION CYCLE.—

18 “(A) IN GENERAL.—An individual who  
19 makes a qualified small dollar contribution to a  
20 candidate or the authorized committees of a  
21 candidate with respect to an election may not  
22 make any subsequent contribution to such can-  
23 didate or the authorized committees of such  
24 candidate with respect to the election cycle



1           which is not a qualified small dollar contribu-  
2           tion.

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

13          “(2) TREATMENT OF SUBSEQUENT NON-  
14          QUALIFIED CONTRIBUTIONS.—If, notwithstanding  
15          the prohibition described in paragraph (1), an indi-  
16          vidual who makes a qualified small dollar contribu-  
17          tion to a candidate or the authorized committees of  
18          a candidate with respect to an election makes a sub-  
19          sequent contribution to such candidate or the au-  
20          thorized committees of such candidate with respect  
21          to the election which is prohibited under paragraph  
22          (1) because it is not a qualified small dollar con-  
23          tribution, the candidate may take one of the fol-  
24          lowing actions:

1           “(A) Not later than 2 weeks after receiving  
2           the contribution, the candidate may return the  
3           subsequent contribution to the individual. In  
4           the case of a subsequent contribution which is  
5           not a qualified small dollar contribution because  
6           the contribution fails to meet the requirements  
7           of paragraph (3) of subsection (a) (relating to  
8           the aggregate amount of contributions made to  
9           the candidate or the authorized committees of  
10          the candidate by the individual making the con-  
11          tribution), the candidate may return an amount  
12          equal to the difference between the amount of  
13          the subsequent contribution and the amount de-  
14          scribed in paragraph (1)(B) of subsection (a).

15          “(B) The candidate may retain the subse-  
16          quent contribution, so long as not later than 2  
17          weeks after receiving the subsequent contribu-  
18          tion, the candidate remits to the Commission an  
19          amount equal to any payments received by the  
20          candidate under this title which are attributable  
21          to the qualified small dollar contribution made  
22          by the individual involved. Such amount shall  
23          be used to supplement the allocation made to  
24          the Commission with respect to candidates from

1           the State in which the candidate seeks office, as  
2           described in section 541(a).

3           “(3) NO EFFECT ON ABILITY TO MAKE MUL-  
4           TIPLE CONTRIBUTIONS.—Nothing in this section  
5           may be construed to prohibit an individual from  
6           making multiple qualified small dollar contributions  
7           to any candidate or any number of candidates, so  
8           long as each contribution meets each of the require-  
9           ments of paragraphs (1), (2), and (3) of subsection  
10          (a).

11          “(d) NOTIFICATION REQUIREMENTS FOR CAN-  
12          DIDATES.—

13                 “(1) NOTIFICATION.—Each authorized com-  
14                 mittee of a candidate who seeks to be a participating  
15                 candidate under this title shall provide the following  
16                 information in any materials for the solicitation of  
17                 contributions, including any internet site through  
18                 which individuals may make contributions to the  
19                 committee:

20                         “(A) A statement that if the candidate is  
21                         certified as a participating candidate under this  
22                         title, the candidate will receive matching pay-  
23                         ments in an amount which is based on the total  
24                         amount of qualified small dollar contributions  
25                         received.

1           “(B) A statement that a contribution  
2           which meets the requirements set forth in sub-  
3           section (a) shall be treated as a qualified small  
4           dollar contribution under this title.

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

12          “(2) ALTERNATIVE METHODS OF MEETING RE-  
13          QUIREMENTS.—An authorized committee may meet  
14          the requirements of paragraph (1)—

15                 “(A) by including the information de-  
16                 scribed in paragraph (1) in the receipt provided  
17                 under section 512(b)(3) to a person making a  
18                 qualified small dollar contribution; or

19                 “(B) by modifying the information it pro-  
20                 vides to persons making contributions which is  
21                 otherwise required under title III (including in-  
22                 formation it provides through the internet).

1           **“Subtitle B—Eligibility and**  
2                                   **Certification**

3   **“SEC. 511. ELIGIBILITY.**

4           “(a) IN GENERAL.—A candidate for the office of  
5 Representative in, or Delegate or Resident Commissioner  
6 to, the Congress is eligible to be certified as a participating  
7 candidate under this title with respect to an election if  
8 the candidate meets the following requirements:

9                   “(1) The candidate files with the Commission a  
10           statement of intent to seek certification as a partici-  
11           pating candidate.

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

14                   “(3) The candidate files with the Commission a  
15           statement certifying that the authorized committees  
16           of the candidate meet the requirements of section  
17           504(d).

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

1           “(A) has complied and, if certified, will  
2           comply with the contribution and expenditure  
3           requirements of section 521;

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

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

10          “(5) The candidate files with the Commission a  
11          certification that the candidate will not use any allo-  
12          cation from the Fund to directly or indirectly pay  
13          salaries, fees, consulting expenses, or any other com-  
14          pensation for services rendered to themselves, family  
15          members (including spouses as well as children, par-  
16          ents, siblings, or any of their spouses), or any entity  
17          or organization in which they have an ownership in-  
18          terest.

19          “(b) GENERAL ELECTION.—Notwithstanding sub-  
20          section (a), a candidate shall not be eligible to be certified  
21          as a participating candidate under this title for a general  
22          election or a general runoff election unless the candidate’s  
23          party nominated the candidate to be placed on the ballot  
24          for the general election or the candidate is otherwise quali-  
25          fied to be on the ballot under State law.

1       “(c) SMALL DOLLAR DEMOCRACY QUALIFYING PE-  
2 RIOD DEFINED.—The term ‘Small Dollar Democracy  
3 qualifying period’ means, with respect to any candidate  
4 for an office, the 180-day period (during the election cycle  
5 for such office) which begins on the date on which the  
6 candidate files a statement of intent under section  
7 511(a)(1), except that such period may not continue after  
8 the date that is 30 days before the date of the general  
9 election for the office.

10 **“SEC. 512. QUALIFYING REQUIREMENTS.**

11       “(a) RECEIPT OF QUALIFIED SMALL DOLLAR CON-  
12 TRIBUTIONS.—A candidate for the office of Representative  
13 in, or Delegate or Resident Commissioner to, the Congress  
14 meets the requirement of this section if, during the Small  
15 Dollar Democracy qualifying period described in section  
16 511(c), each of the following occurs:

17               “(1) Not fewer than 1,000 individuals make a  
18 qualified small dollar contribution to the candidate.

19               “(2) The candidate obtains a total dollar  
20 amount of qualified small dollar contributions which  
21 is equal to or greater than \$50,000.

22       “(b) REQUIREMENTS RELATING TO RECEIPT OF  
23 QUALIFIED SMALL DOLLAR CONTRIBUTION.—Each  
24 qualified small dollar contribution—

1           “(1) may be made by means of a personal  
2 check, money order, debit card, credit card, elec-  
3 tronic payment account, or any other method  
4 deemed appropriate by the Division Director;

5           “(2) shall be accompanied by a signed state-  
6 ment (or, in the case of a contribution made online  
7 or through other electronic means, an electronic  
8 equivalent) containing the contributor’s name and  
9 address; and

10           “(3) shall be acknowledged by a receipt that is  
11 sent to the contributor with a copy (in paper or elec-  
12 tronic form) kept by the candidate for the Commis-  
13 sion.

14           “(c) VERIFICATION OF CONTRIBUTIONS.—

15           “(1) PROCEDURES.—The Division Director  
16 shall establish procedures for the auditing and  
17 verification of the contributions received and expend-  
18 itures made by participating candidates under this  
19 title, including procedures for random audits, to en-  
20 sure that such contributions and expenditures meet  
21 the requirements of this title.

22           “(2) AUTHORITY OF COMMISSION TO REVISE  
23 PROCEDURES.—The Commission, by a vote of not  
24 fewer than four of its members, may revise the pro-



1 cedures established by the Division Director under  
2 this subsection.

3 **“SEC. 513. CERTIFICATION.**

4 “(a) DEADLINE AND NOTIFICATION.—

5 “(1) IN GENERAL.—Not later than 5 business  
6 days after a candidate files an affidavit under sec-  
7 tion 511(a)(4), the Division Director shall—

8 “(A) determine whether or not the can-  
9 didate meets the requirements for certification  
10 as a participating candidate;

11 “(B) if the Division Director determines  
12 that the candidate meets such requirements,  
13 certify the candidate as a participating can-  
14 didate; and

15 “(C) notify the candidate of the Division  
16 Director’s determination.

17 “(2) DEEMED CERTIFICATION FOR ALL ELEC-  
18 TIONS IN ELECTION CYCLE.—If the Division Direc-  
19 tor certifies a candidate as a participating candidate  
20 with respect to the first election of the election cycle  
21 involved, the Division Director shall be deemed to  
22 have certified the candidate as a participating can-  
23 didate with respect to all subsequent elections of the  
24 election cycle.

1           “(3) AUTHORITY OF COMMISSION TO REVERSE  
2 DETERMINATION BY DIVISION DIRECTOR.—During  
3 the 10-day period which begins on the date the Divi-  
4 sion Director makes a determination under this sub-  
5 section, the Commission, by a vote of not fewer than  
6 four of its members, may review and reverse the de-  
7 termination. If the Commission reverses the deter-  
8 mination, the Commission shall promptly notify the  
9 candidate involved.

10           “(b) REVOCATION OF CERTIFICATION.—

11           “(1) IN GENERAL.—The Division Director shall  
12 revoke a certification under subsection (a) if—

13           “(A) a candidate fails to qualify to appear  
14 on the ballot at any time after the date of cer-  
15 tification (other than a candidate certified as a  
16 participating candidate with respect to a pri-  
17 mary election who fails to qualify to appear on  
18 the ballot for a subsequent election in that elec-  
19 tion cycle);

20           “(B) a candidate ceases to be a candidate  
21 for the office involved, as determined on the  
22 basis of an official announcement by an author-  
23 ized committee of the candidate or on the basis  
24 of a reasonable determination by the Commis-  
25 sion; or

1           “(C) a candidate otherwise fails to comply  
2           with the requirements of this title, including  
3           any regulatory requirements prescribed by the  
4           Commission.

5           “(2) EXISTENCE OF CRIMINAL SANCTION.—The  
6           Division Director shall revoke a certification under  
7           subsection (a) if a penalty is assessed against the  
8           candidate under section 309(d) with respect to the  
9           election.

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

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

16                   “(B) in the case of a candidate whose cer-  
17                   tification is revoked pursuant to subparagraph  
18                   (A) or subparagraph (C) of paragraph (1)—

19                           “(i) the candidate shall repay to the  
20                           Commission an amount equal to the pay-  
21                           ments received under this title with respect  
22                           to the election cycle involved plus interest  
23                           (at a rate determined by the Commission  
24                           on the basis of an appropriate annual per-  
25                           centage rate for the month involved) on

1 any such amount received, which shall be  
2 used by the Commission to supplement the  
3 allocation made to the Commission with re-  
4 spect to the State in which the candidate  
5 seeks office, as described in section 541(a);  
6 and

7 “(ii) the candidate may not be cer-  
8 tified as a participating candidate under  
9 this title with respect to the next election  
10 cycle.

11 “(4) PROHIBITING PARTICIPATION IN FUTURE  
12 ELECTIONS FOR CANDIDATES WITH MULTIPLE REV-  
13 OCATIONS.—If the Division Director revokes the cer-  
14 tification of an individual as a participating can-  
15 didate under this title pursuant to subparagraph (A)  
16 or subparagraph (C) of paragraph (1) a total of 3  
17 times, the individual may not be certified as a par-  
18 ticipating candidate under this title with respect to  
19 any subsequent election.

20 “(5) AUTHORITY OF COMMISSION TO REVERSE  
21 REVOCATION BY DIVISION DIRECTOR.—During the  
22 10-day period which begins on the date the Division  
23 Director makes a determination under this sub-  
24 section, the Commission, by a vote of not fewer than  
25 four of its members, may review and reverse the de-

1 termination. If the Commission reverses the deter-  
2 mination, the Commission shall promptly notify the  
3 candidate involved.

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

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

1 **“Subtitle C—Requirements for Can-**  
2 **didates Certified as Partici-**  
3 **pating Candidates**

4 **“SEC. 521. CONTRIBUTION AND EXPENDITURE REQUIRE-**  
5 **MENTS.**

6 “(a) PERMITTED SOURCES OF CONTRIBUTIONS AND  
7 EXPENDITURES.—Except as provided in subsection (c), a  
8 participating candidate with respect to an election shall,  
9 with respect to all elections occurring during the election  
10 cycle for the office involved, accept no contributions from  
11 any source and make no expenditures from any amounts,  
12 other than the following:

13 “(1) Qualified small dollar contributions.

14 “(2) Payments under this title.

15 “(3) Contributions from political committees es-  
16 tablished and maintained by a national or State po-  
17 litical party, subject to the applicable limitations of  
18 section 315.

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

23 “(5) Contributions from individuals who are  
24 otherwise permitted to make contributions under  
25 this Act, subject to the applicable limitations of sec-

1       tion 315, except that the aggregate amount of con-  
2       tributions a participating candidate may accept from  
3       any individual with respect to any election during  
4       the election cycle may not exceed \$1,000.

5           “(6) Contributions from multicandidate political  
6       committees, subject to the applicable limitations of  
7       section 315.

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

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

13           “(A) the aggregate amount used with re-  
14      spect to the election cycle (including any period  
15      of the cycle occurring prior to the candidate’s  
16      certification as a participating candidate) does  
17      not exceed \$50,000; and

18           “(B) the funds are used only for making  
19      direct payments for the receipt of goods and  
20      services which constitute authorized expendi-  
21      tures in connection with the election cycle in-  
22      volved.

23           “(2) IMMEDIATE FAMILY MEMBER DEFINED.—

24      In this subsection, the term ‘immediate family mem-  
25      ber’ means, with respect to a candidate—

1           “(A) the candidate’s spouse;

2           “(B) a child, stepchild, parent, grand-  
3           parent, brother, half-brother, sister, or half-sis-  
4           ter of the candidate or the candidate’s spouse;  
5           and

6           “(C) the spouse of any person described in  
7           subparagraph (B).

8           “(c) EXCEPTIONS.—

9           “(1) EXCEPTION FOR CONTRIBUTIONS RE-  
10           CEIVED PRIOR TO FILING OF STATEMENT OF IN-  
11           TENT.—A candidate who has accepted contributions  
12           that are not described in subsection (a) is not in vio-  
13           lation of subsection (a), but only if all such contribu-  
14           tions are—

15           “(A) returned to the contributor;

16           “(B) submitted to the Commission, to be  
17           used to supplement the allocation made to the  
18           Commission with respect to the State in which  
19           the candidate seeks office, as described in sec-  
20           tion 541(a); or

21           “(C) spent in accordance with paragraph  
22           (2).

23           “(2) EXCEPTION FOR EXPENDITURES MADE  
24           PRIOR TO FILING OF STATEMENT OF INTENT.—If a  
25           candidate has made expenditures prior to the date



1 the candidate files a statement of intent under sec-  
2 tion 511(a)(1) that the candidate is prohibited from  
3 making under subsection (a) or subsection (b), the  
4 candidate is not in violation of such subsection if the  
5 aggregate amount of the prohibited expenditures is  
6 less than the amount referred to in section  
7 512(a)(2) (relating to the total dollar amount of  
8 qualified small dollar contributions which the can-  
9 didate is required to obtain) which is applicable to  
10 the candidate.

11 “(3) EXCEPTION FOR CAMPAIGN SURPLUSES  
12 FROM A PREVIOUS ELECTION.—Notwithstanding  
13 paragraph (1), unexpended contributions received by  
14 the candidate or an authorized committee of the  
15 candidate with respect to a previous election may be  
16 retained, but only if the candidate places the funds  
17 in escrow and refrains from raising additional funds  
18 for or spending funds from that account during the  
19 election cycle in which a candidate is a participating  
20 candidate.

21 “(4) EXCEPTION FOR CONTRIBUTIONS RE-  
22 CEIVED BEFORE THE EFFECTIVE DATE OF THIS  
23 TITLE.—Contributions received and expenditures  
24 made by the candidate or an authorized committee  
25 of the candidate prior to the effective date of this

1 title shall not constitute a violation of subsection (a)  
2 or (b). Unexpended contributions shall be treated  
3 the same as campaign surpluses under paragraph  
4 (3), and expenditures made shall count against the  
5 limit in paragraph (2).

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

11 “(e) PROHIBITION ON JOINT FUNDRAISING COMMIT-  
12 TEES.—

13 “(1) PROHIBITION.—An authorized committee  
14 of a candidate who is certified as a participating  
15 candidate under this title with respect to an election  
16 may not establish a joint fundraising committee with  
17 a political committee other than another authorized  
18 committee of the candidate.

19 “(2) STATUS OF EXISTING COMMITTEES FOR  
20 PRIOR ELECTIONS.—If a candidate established a  
21 joint fundraising committee described in paragraph  
22 (1) with respect to a prior election for which the  
23 candidate was not certified as a participating can-  
24 didate under this title and the candidate does not  
25 terminate the committee, the candidate shall not be

1 considered to be in violation of paragraph (1) so  
2 long as that joint fundraising committee does not re-  
3 ceive any contributions or make any disbursements  
4 during the election cycle for which the candidate is  
5 certified as a participating candidate under this title.

6 “(f) PROHIBITION ON LEADERSHIP PACS.—

7 “(1) PROHIBITION.—A candidate who is cer-  
8 tified as a participating candidate under this title  
9 with respect to an election may not associate with,  
10 establish, finance, maintain, or control a leadership  
11 PAC.

12 “(2) STATUS OF EXISTING LEADERSHIP  
13 PACS.—If a candidate established, financed, main-  
14 tained, or controlled a leadership PAC prior to being  
15 certified as a participating candidate under this title  
16 and the candidate does not terminate the leadership  
17 PAC, the candidate shall not be considered to be in  
18 violation of paragraph (1) so long as the leadership  
19 PAC does not receive any contributions or make any  
20 disbursements during the election cycle for which the  
21 candidate is certified as a participating candidate  
22 under this title.

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

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

2       “(a) SEPARATE ACCOUNTING FOR VARIOUS PER-  
3 MITTED CONTRIBUTIONS.—Each authorized committee of  
4 a candidate certified as a participating candidate under  
5 this title—

6           “(1) shall provide for separate accounting of  
7 each type of contribution described in section 521(a)  
8 which is received by the committee; and

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

11       “(b) ENHANCED DISCLOSURE OF INFORMATION ON  
12 DONORS.—

13           “(1) MANDATORY IDENTIFICATION OF INDIVID-  
14 UALS MAKING QUALIFIED SMALL DOLLAR CON-  
15 TRIBUTIONS.—Each authorized committee of a par-  
16 ticipating candidate under this title shall, in accord-  
17 ance with section 304(b)(3)(A), include in the re-  
18 ports the committee submits under section 304 the  
19 identification of each person who makes a qualified  
20 small dollar contribution to the committee.

21           “(2) MANDATORY DISCLOSURE THROUGH  
22 INTERNET.—Each authorized committee of a partici-  
23 pating candidate under this title shall ensure that all  
24 information reported to the Commission under this  
25 Act with respect to contributions and expenditures  
26 of the committee is available to the public on the

1 internet (whether through a site established for pur-  
2 poses of this subsection, a hyperlink on another pub-  
3 lic site of the committee, or a hyperlink on a report  
4 filed electronically with the Commission) in a search-  
5 able, sortable, and downloadable manner.

6 **“SEC. 523. PREVENTING UNNECESSARY SPENDING OF**  
7 **MATCHING FUNDS.**

8 “(a) **MANDATORY SPENDING OF AVAILABLE PRI-**  
9 **VATE FUNDS.**—An authorized committee of a candidate  
10 certified as a participating candidate under this title may  
11 not make any expenditure of any payments received under  
12 this title in any amount unless the committee has made  
13 an expenditure in an equivalent amount of funds received  
14 by the committee which are described in paragraphs (1),  
15 (3), (4), (5), and (6) of section 521(a).

16 “(b) **LIMITATION.**—Subsection (a) applies to an au-  
17 thorized committee only to the extent that the funds re-  
18 ferred to in such subsection are available to the committee  
19 at the time the committee makes an expenditure of a pay-  
20 ment received under this title.

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

22 “(a) **REMITTANCE REQUIRED.**—Not later than the  
23 date that is 180 days after the last election for which a  
24 candidate certified as a participating candidate qualifies  
25 to be on the ballot during the election cycle involved, such

1 participating candidate shall remit to the Commission an  
2 amount equal to the balance of the payments received  
3 under this title by the authorized committees of the can-  
4 didate which remain unexpended as of such date, which  
5 shall be used to supplement the allocation made to the  
6 Commission with respect to the State in which the can-  
7 didate seeks office, as described in section 541(a).

8       “(b) PERMITTING CANDIDATES PARTICIPATING IN  
9 NEXT ELECTION CYCLE TO RETAIN PORTION OF  
10 UNSPENT FUNDS.—Notwithstanding subsection (a), a  
11 participating candidate may withhold not more than  
12 \$100,000 from the amount required to be remitted under  
13 subsection (a) if the candidate files a signed affidavit with  
14 the Commission that the candidate will seek certification  
15 as a participating candidate with respect to the next elec-  
16 tion cycle, except that the candidate may not use any por-  
17 tion of the amount withheld until the candidate is certified  
18 as a participating candidate with respect to that next elec-  
19 tion cycle. If the candidate fails to seek certification as  
20 a participating candidate prior to the last day of the Small  
21 Dollar Democracy qualifying period for the next election  
22 cycle (as described in section 511), or if the Commission  
23 notifies the candidate of the Commission’s determination  
24 does not meet the requirements for certification as a par-  
25 ticipating candidate with respect to such cycle, the can-

1 didate shall immediately remit to the Commission the  
2 amount withheld.

3 **“Subtitle D—Enhanced Match**  
4 **Support**

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

6 “(a) AVAILABILITY OF ENHANCED SUPPORT.—In  
7 addition to the payments made under subtitle A, the Divi-  
8 sion Director shall make an additional payment to an eligi-  
9 ble candidate under this subtitle.

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

13 **“SEC. 532. ELIGIBILITY.**

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

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

19 “(2) The candidate is certified as a partici-  
20 pating candidate under this title with respect to the  
21 election.

22 “(3) During the enhanced support qualifying  
23 period, the candidate receives qualified small dollar  
24 contributions in a total amount of not less than  
25 \$50,000.

1           “(4) During the enhanced support qualifying  
2 period, the candidate submits to the Division Direc-  
3 tor a request for the payment which includes—

4                   “(A) a statement of the number and  
5 amount of qualified small dollar contributions  
6 received by the candidate during the enhanced  
7 support qualifying period;

8                   “(B) a statement of the amount of the  
9 payment the candidate anticipates receiving  
10 with respect to the request; and

11                   “(C) such other information and assur-  
12 ances as the Division Director may require.

13           “(5) After submitting a request for the addi-  
14 tional payment under paragraph (4), the candidate  
15 does not submit any other application for an addi-  
16 tional payment under this subtitle.

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

23 **“SEC. 533. AMOUNT.**

24           “(a) IN GENERAL.—Subject to subsection (b), the  
25 amount of the additional payment made to an eligible can-



1 didate under this subtitle shall be an amount equal to 50  
2 percent of—

3           “(1) the amount of the payment made to the  
4 candidate under section 501(b) with respect to the  
5 qualified small dollar contributions which are re-  
6 ceived by the candidate during the enhanced support  
7 qualifying period (as included in the request sub-  
8 mitted by the candidate under section 532(a)(4)); or

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

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

22           “(c) NO EFFECT ON AGGREGATE LIMIT.—The  
23 amount of the additional payment made to a candidate  
24 under this subtitle shall not be included in determining  
25 the aggregate amount of payments made to a participating

1 candidate with respect to an election cycle under section  
2 501(c).

3 **“SEC. 534. WAIVER OF AUTHORITY TO RETAIN PORTION OF**  
4 **UNSPENT FUNDS AFTER ELECTION.**

5 “Notwithstanding section 524(a)(2), a candidate who  
6 receives an additional payment under this subtitle with re-  
7 spect to an election is not permitted to withhold any por-  
8 tion from the amount of unspent funds the candidate is  
9 required to remit to the Commission under section  
10 524(a)(1).

11 **“Subtitle E—Administrative**  
12 **Provisions**

13 **“SEC. 541. SOURCE OF PAYMENTS.**

14 “(a) **ALLOCATIONS FROM STATE ELECTION ASSIST-**  
15 **ANCE AND INNOVATION TRUST FUND.**—The amounts  
16 used to make payments to participating candidates under  
17 this title who seek office in a State shall be derived from  
18 the allocations made to the Commission with respect to  
19 the State from the State Election Assistance and Innova-  
20 tion Trust Fund (hereafter referred to as the ‘Fund’)  
21 under section 8012 of the Freedom to Vote Act, as pro-  
22 vided under section 8005(c) of such Act.

23 “(b) **USE OF ALLOCATIONS TO MAKE PAYMENTS TO**  
24 **PARTICIPATING CANDIDATES.**—

1           “(1) PAYMENTS TO PARTICIPATING CAN-  
2 DIDATES.—The allocations made to the Commission  
3 as described in subsection (a) shall be available with-  
4 out further appropriation or fiscal year limitation to  
5 make payments to participating candidates as pro-  
6 vided in this title.

7           “(2) ONGOING REVIEW TO DETERMINE SUFFI-  
8 CIENCY OF STATE ALLOCATIONS.—

9           “(A) ONGOING REVIEW.—Not later than  
10 90 days before the first day of each election  
11 cycle (beginning with the first election cycle  
12 that begins after the date of the enactment of  
13 this title), and on an ongoing basis until the  
14 end of the election cycle, the Division Director,  
15 in consultation with the Director of the Office  
16 of Democracy Advancement and Innovation,  
17 shall determine whether the amount of the allo-  
18 cation made to the Commission with respect to  
19 candidates who seek office in a State as de-  
20 scribed in subsection (a) will be sufficient to  
21 make payments to participating candidates in  
22 the State in the amounts provided in this title  
23 during such election cycle.

24           “(B) OPPORTUNITY FOR STATE TO IN-  
25 CREASE ALLOCATION.—If, at any time the Divi-

1           sion Director determines under subparagraph  
2           (A) that the amount anticipated to be available  
3           in the Fund for payments to participating can-  
4           didates in a State with respect to the election  
5           cycle involved is not, or may not be, sufficient  
6           to satisfy the full entitlements of participating  
7           candidates in the State to payments under this  
8           title for such election cycle—

9                   “(i) the Division Director shall notify  
10                   the State and Congress; and

11                   “(ii) the State may direct the Director  
12                   of the Office of Democracy Advancement  
13                   and Innovation to direct the Secretary of  
14                   the Treasury to use the funds described in  
15                   subparagraph (C), in such amounts as the  
16                   State may direct, as an additional alloca-  
17                   tion to the Commission with respect to the  
18                   State for purposes of subsection (a), in ac-  
19                   cordance with section 8012 of the Freedom  
20                   to Vote Act.

21                   “(C) FUNDS DESCRIBED.—The funds de-  
22                   scribed in this subparagraph are funds which  
23                   were allocated to the State under the Democ-  
24                   racy Advancement and Innovation Program  
25                   under subtitle A of title VIII of the Freedom to

1           Vote Act which, under the State plan under  
2           section 8002 of such Act, were to be used for  
3           democracy promotion activities described in  
4           paragraph (1), (2)(B), (2)(C), or (3) of section  
5           8001(b) of such Act but which remain unobli-  
6           gated.

7           “(3) ELIMINATION OF LIMIT OF AMOUNT OF  
8           QUALIFIED SMALL DONOR CONTRIBUTIONS.—

9                   “(A) ELIMINATION OF LIMIT.—If, after  
10           notifying the State under paragraph (2)(B)(i)  
11           and (if the State so elects) the State directs  
12           under paragraph (2)(B)(ii) an additional alloca-  
13           tion to the Commission as provided under such  
14           subparagraph, the Division Director determines  
15           under paragraph (2)(A) that the amount antici-  
16           pated to be available in the Fund (after such  
17           additional allocation) for payments to partici-  
18           pating candidates in the State with respect to  
19           the election cycle involved is still not, or may  
20           still not be, sufficient to satisfy the full entitle-  
21           ments of participating candidates in the State  
22           to payments under this title for such election  
23           cycle, the limit on the amount of a qualified  
24           small donor contribution under section  
25           504(a)(1)(B) shall not apply with respect to a

1 participating candidate in the State under this  
2 title. Nothing in this subparagraph may be con-  
3 strued to waive the limit on the aggregate  
4 amount of contributions a participating can-  
5 didate may accept from any individual under  
6 section 521(a)(5).

7 “(B) DETERMINATION OF AMOUNT OF  
8 PAYMENT TO CANDIDATE.—In determining  
9 under section 501(b) the amount of the pay-  
10 ment made to a participating candidate for  
11 whom the limit on the amount of a qualified  
12 small donor contribution does not apply pursu-  
13 ant to subparagraph (A), there shall be ex-  
14 cluded any qualified small donor contribution to  
15 the extent that the amount contributed by the  
16 individual involved exceeds the limit on the  
17 amount of such a contribution under section  
18 504(a)(1)(B).

19 “(C) NO USE OF AMOUNTS FROM OTHER  
20 SOURCES.—In any case in which the Division  
21 Director determines that the allocation made to  
22 the Commission with respect to candidates in a  
23 State as described in subsection (a) is insuffi-  
24 cient to make payments to participating can-  
25 didates in the State under this title (taking into

1 account any increase in the allocation under  
2 paragraph (2)), moneys shall not be made avail-  
3 able from any other source for the purpose of  
4 making such payments.

5 “(c) EFFECTIVE DATE.—This section shall take ef-  
6 fect on the date of the enactment of this title, without  
7 regard to whether or not regulations have been promul-  
8 gated to carry out this section.

9 **“SEC. 542. ADMINISTRATION THROUGH DEDICATED DIVI-**  
10 **SION WITHIN COMMISSION.**

11 “(a) ADMINISTRATION THROUGH DEDICATED DIVI-  
12 SION.—

13 “(1) ESTABLISHMENT.—The Commission shall  
14 establish a separate division within the Commission  
15 which is dedicated to issuing regulations to carry out  
16 this title and to otherwise carrying out the operation  
17 of this title.

18 “(2) APPOINTMENT OF DIRECTOR AND  
19 STAFF.—

20 “(A) APPOINTMENT.—Not later than June  
21 1, 2024, the Commission shall appoint a direc-  
22 tor to head the division established under this  
23 section (to be known as the ‘Division Director’)  
24 and such other staff as the Commission con-

1           siders appropriate to enable the division to  
2           carry out its duties.

3           “(B) ROLE OF GENERAL COUNSEL.—If, at  
4           any time after the date referred to in subpara-  
5           graph (A), there is a vacancy in the position of  
6           the Division Director, the General Counsel of  
7           the Commission shall serve as the acting Divi-  
8           sion Director until the Commission appoints a  
9           Division Director under this paragraph.

10          “(3) PRIVATE RIGHT OF ACTION.—Any person  
11          aggrieved by the failure of the Commission to meet  
12          the requirements of this subsection may file an ac-  
13          tion in an appropriate district court of the United  
14          States for such relief, including declaratory and in-  
15          junctive relief, as may be appropriate.

16          “(b) REGULATIONS.—Not later than the deadline set  
17          forth in section 8114 of the Freedom to Vote Act, the  
18          Commission, acting through the dedicated division estab-  
19          lished under this section, shall prescribe regulations to  
20          carry out the purposes of this title, including regula-  
21          tions—

22                 “(1) to establish procedures for verifying the  
23                 amount of qualified small dollar contributions with  
24                 respect to a candidate;



1           “(2) to establish procedures for effectively and  
2           efficiently monitoring and enforcing the limits on the  
3           raising of qualified small dollar contributions;

4           “(3) to establish procedures for effectively and  
5           efficiently monitoring and enforcing the limits on the  
6           use of personal funds by participating candidates;

7           “(4) to establish procedures for monitoring the  
8           use of payments made from the allocation made to  
9           the Commission as described in section 541(a) and  
10          matching contributions under this title through au-  
11          dits of not fewer than  $\frac{1}{10}$  (or, in the case of the  
12          first 3 election cycles during which the program  
13          under this title is in effect, not fewer than  $\frac{1}{3}$ ) of all  
14          participating candidates or other mechanisms;

15          “(5) to establish procedures for carrying out  
16          audits under section 541(b) and permitting States to  
17          make additional allocations as provided under sec-  
18          tion 541(b)(2)(B); and

19          “(6) to establish rules for preventing fraud in  
20          the operation of this title which supplement similar  
21          rules which apply under this Act.

22 **“SEC. 543. VIOLATIONS AND PENALTIES.**

23          “(a) CIVIL PENALTY FOR VIOLATION OF CONTRIBU-  
24          TION AND EXPENDITURE REQUIREMENTS.—If a can-  
25          didate who has been certified as a participating candidate

1 accepts a contribution or makes an expenditure that is  
2 prohibited under section 521, the Commission may assess  
3 a civil penalty against the candidate in an amount that  
4 is not more than 3 times the amount of the contribution  
5 or expenditure. Any amounts collected under this sub-  
6 section shall be used to supplement the allocation made  
7 to the Commission with respect to the State in which the  
8 candidate seeks office, as described in section 541(a).

9       “(b) REPAYMENT FOR IMPROPER USE OF PAY-  
10 MENTS.—

11           “(1) IN GENERAL.—If the Commission deter-  
12 mines that any payment made to a participating  
13 candidate was not used as provided for in this title  
14 or that a participating candidate has violated any of  
15 the dates for remission of funds contained in this  
16 title, the Commission shall so notify the candidate  
17 and the candidate shall pay to the Commission an  
18 amount which shall be used to supplement the allo-  
19 cation made to the Commission with respect to the  
20 State in which the candidate seeks office, as de-  
21 scribed in section 541(a) and which shall be equal  
22 to—

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

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

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

10          “(c) PROHIBITING CERTAIN CANDIDATES FROM  
11          QUALIFYING AS PARTICIPATING CANDIDATES.—

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

24           “(2) CANDIDATES SUBJECT TO CRIMINAL PEN-  
25           ALTY.—A candidate is not eligible to be certified as

1 a participating candidate under this title with re-  
2 spect to an election if a penalty has been assessed  
3 against the candidate under section 309(d) with re-  
4 spect to any previous election.

5 “(d) IMPOSITION OF CRIMINAL PENALTIES.—For  
6 criminal penalties for the failure of a participating can-  
7 didate to comply with the requirements of this title, see  
8 section 309(d).

9 **“SEC. 544. INDEXING OF AMOUNTS.**

10 “(a) INDEXING.—In any calendar year after 2028,  
11 section 315(c)(1)(B) shall apply to each amount described  
12 in subsection (b) in the same manner as such section ap-  
13 plies to the limitations established under subsections  
14 (a)(1)(A), (a)(1)(B), (a)(3), and (h) of such section, ex-  
15 cept that for purposes of applying such section to the  
16 amounts described in subsection (b), the ‘base period’  
17 shall be 2028.

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

20 “(1) The amount referred to in section  
21 502(b)(1) (relating to the minimum amount of quali-  
22 fied small dollar contributions included in a request  
23 for payment).

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

4           “(3) The amount referred to in section  
5           512(a)(2) (relating to the total dollar amount of  
6           qualified small dollar contributions).

7           “(4) The amount referred to in section  
8           521(a)(5) (relating to the aggregate amount of con-  
9           tributions a participating candidate may accept from  
10          any individual with respect to an election).

11          “(5) The amount referred to in section  
12          521(b)(1)(A) (relating to the amount of personal  
13          funds that may be used by a candidate who is cer-  
14          tified as a participating candidate).

15          “(6) The amounts referred to in section  
16          524(a)(2) (relating to the amount of unspent funds  
17          a candidate may retain for use in the next election  
18          cycle).

19          “(7) The amount referred to in section  
20          532(a)(3) (relating to the total dollar amount of  
21          qualified small dollar contributions for a candidate  
22          seeking an additional payment under subtitle D).

23          “(8) The amount referred to in section 533(b)  
24          (relating to the limit on the amount of an additional  
25          payment made to a candidate under subtitle D).

1 **“SEC. 545. ELECTION CYCLE DEFINED.**

2 “In this title, the term ‘election cycle’ means, with  
3 respect to an election for an office, the period beginning  
4 on the day after the date of the most recent general elec-  
5 tion for that office (or, if the general election resulted in  
6 a runoff election, the date of the runoff election) and end-  
7 ing on the date of the next general election for that office  
8 (or, if the general election resulted in a runoff election,  
9 the date of the runoff election).

10 **“SEC. 546. DIVISION DIRECTOR DEFINED.**

11 “In this title, the term ‘Division Director’ means the  
12 individual serving as the director of the division estab-  
13 lished under section 542.”.

14 **SEC. 8112. CONTRIBUTIONS AND EXPENDITURES BY MULTI-**  
15 **CANDIDATE AND POLITICAL PARTY COMMIT-**  
16 **TEES ON BEHALF OF PARTICIPATING CAN-**  
17 **DIDATES.**

18 (a) AUTHORIZING CONTRIBUTIONS ONLY FROM SEP-  
19 ARATE ACCOUNTS CONSISTING OF QUALIFIED SMALL  
20 DOLLAR CONTRIBUTIONS.—Section 315(a) of the Federal  
21 Election Campaign Act of 1971 (52 U.S.C. 30116(a)) is  
22 amended by adding at the end the following new para-  
23 graph:

24 “(10) In the case of a multicandidate political com-  
25 mittee or any political committee of a political party, the  
26 committee may make a contribution to a candidate who

1 is a participating candidate under title V with respect to  
2 an election only if the contribution is paid from a separate,  
3 segregated account of the committee which consists solely  
4 of contributions which meet the following requirements:

5           “(A) Each such contribution is in an amount  
6           which meets the requirements for the amount of a  
7           qualified small dollar contribution under section  
8           504(a)(1) with respect to the election involved.

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

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

16          (b) PERMITTING UNLIMITED COORDINATED EX-  
17          PENDITURES FROM SMALL DOLLAR SOURCES BY POLIT-  
18          ICAL PARTIES.—Section 315(d) of such Act (52 U.S.C.  
19          30116(d)) is amended—

20                 (1) in paragraph (3), by striking “The national  
21                 committee” and inserting “Except as provided in  
22                 paragraph (6), the national committee”; and

23                 (2) by adding at the end the following new  
24                 paragraph:

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

7               “(A) the expenditures are paid from a separate,  
8 segregated account of the committee which is de-  
9 scribed in subsection (a)(10); and

10              “(B) the expenditures are the sole source of  
11 funding provided by the committee to the can-  
12 didate.”.

13 **SEC. 8113. PROHIBITING USE OF CONTRIBUTIONS BY PAR-**  
14 **TICIPATING CANDIDATES FOR PURPOSES**  
15 **OTHER THAN CAMPAIGN FOR ELECTION.**

16       Section 313 of the Federal Election Campaign Act  
17 of 1971 (52 U.S.C. 30114) is amended by adding at the  
18 end the following new subsection:

19       “(d) RESTRICTIONS ON PERMITTED USES OF FUNDS  
20 BY CANDIDATES RECEIVING SMALL DOLLAR FINANC-  
21 ING.—Notwithstanding paragraph (2), (3), or (4) of sub-  
22 section (a), if a candidate for election for the office of Rep-  
23 resentative in, or Delegate or Resident Commissioner to,  
24 the Congress is certified as a participating candidate  
25 under title V with respect to the election, any contribution



1 which the candidate is permitted to accept under such title  
2 may be used only for authorized expenditures in connec-  
3 tion with the candidate’s campaign for such office, subject  
4 to section 503(b).”.

5 **SEC. 8114. DEADLINE FOR REGULATIONS; EFFECTIVE**  
6 **DATE.**

7 (a) **IN GENERAL.**—Not later than October 1, 2024,  
8 the Federal Election Commission shall promulgate such  
9 regulations as may be necessary to carry out this part and  
10 the amendments made by this part.

11 (b) **EFFECTIVE DATE.**—This part and the amend-  
12 ments made by this part shall take effect on October 1,  
13 2024, without regard to whether the Commission has pro-  
14 mulgated the regulations required under subsection (a) by  
15 such date.

16 **Subtitle C—Personal Use Services**  
17 **as Authorized Campaign Ex-**  
18 **penditures**

19 **SEC. 8201. SHORT TITLE; FINDINGS; PURPOSE.**

20 (a) **SHORT TITLE.**—This subtitle may be cited as the  
21 “Help America Run Act”.

22 (b) **FINDINGS.**—Congress finds the following:

23 (1) Everyday Americans experience barriers to  
24 entry before they can consider running for office to  
25 serve their communities.

1           (2) Current law states that campaign funds  
2 cannot be spent on everyday expenses that would  
3 exist whether or not a candidate were running for  
4 office, like childcare and food. While the law seems  
5 neutral, its actual effect is to privilege the independ-  
6 ently wealthy who want to run, because given the de-  
7 mands of running for office, candidates who must  
8 work to pay for childcare or to afford health insur-  
9 ance are effectively being left out of the process,  
10 even if they have sufficient support to mount a via-  
11 ble campaign.

12           (3) Thus current practice favors those prospec-  
13 tive candidates who do not need to rely on a regular  
14 paycheck to make ends meet. The consequence is  
15 that everyday Americans who have firsthand knowl-  
16 edge of the importance of stable childcare, a safety  
17 net, or great public schools are less likely to get a  
18 seat at the table. This governance by the few is anti-  
19 thetical to the democratic experiment, but most im-  
20 portantly, when lawmakers do not share the con-  
21 cerns of everyday Americans, their policies reflect  
22 that.

23           (4) These circumstances have contributed to a  
24 Congress that does not always reflect everyday  
25 Americans. The New York Times reported in 2019

1 that fewer than 5 percent of representatives cite  
2 blue-collar or service jobs in their biographies. A  
3 2020 analysis by OpenSecrets of lawmakers' per-  
4 sonal financial disclosure statements showed that the  
5 median net worth of lawmakers was just over  
6 \$1,000,000, or nearly 9 times the median net worth  
7 of American families.

8 (5) These circumstances have also contributed  
9 to a governing body that does not reflect the nation  
10 it serves. For instance, women are 51 percent of the  
11 American population. Yet even with a record number  
12 of women serving in the One Hundred Eighteenth  
13 Congress, the Pew Research Center notes that near-  
14 ly three out of four Members of this Congress are  
15 male. The Center for American Women and Politics  
16 found that one third of women legislators surveyed  
17 had been actively discouraged from running for of-  
18 fice, often by political professionals. This type of dis-  
19 couragement, combined with the prohibitions on  
20 using campaign funds for domestic needs like  
21 childcare, burdens that still fall disproportionately  
22 on American women, particularly disadvantages  
23 working mothers. These barriers may explain why  
24 only 10 women in history have given birth while  
25 serving in Congress, in spite of the prevalence of

1 working parents in other professions. Yet working  
2 mothers and fathers are best positioned to create  
3 policy that reflects the lived experience of most  
4 Americans.

5 (6) Working mothers, those caring for their el-  
6 derly parents, and young professionals who rely on  
7 their jobs for health insurance should have the free-  
8 dom to run to serve the people of the United States.  
9 Their networks and net worth are simply not the  
10 best indicators of their strength as prospective pub-  
11 lic servants. In fact, helping ordinary Americans to  
12 run may create better policy for all Americans.

13 (c) PURPOSE.—It is the purpose of this subtitle to  
14 ensure that all Americans who are otherwise qualified to  
15 serve this Nation are able to run for office, regardless of  
16 their economic status. By expanding permissible uses of  
17 campaign funds and providing modest assurance that test-  
18 ing a run for office will not cost one’s livelihood, the Help  
19 America Run Act will facilitate the candidacy of represent-  
20 atives who more accurately reflect the experiences, chal-  
21 lenges, and ideals of everyday Americans.

1 **SEC. 8202. TREATMENT OF PAYMENTS FOR CHILDCARE**  
2 **AND OTHER PERSONAL USE SERVICES AS AU-**  
3 **THORIZED CAMPAIGN EXPENDITURE.**

4 (a) PERSONAL USE SERVICES AS AUTHORIZED CAM-  
5 PAIGN EXPENDITURE.—Section 313 of the Federal Elec-  
6 tion Campaign Act of 1971 (52 U.S.C. 30114), as amend-  
7 ed by section 8113, is amended by adding at the end the  
8 following new subsection:

9 “(e) TREATMENT OF PAYMENTS FOR CHILDCARE  
10 AND OTHER PERSONAL USE SERVICES AS AUTHORIZED  
11 CAMPAIGN EXPENDITURE.—

12 “(1) AUTHORIZED EXPENDITURES.—For pur-  
13 poses of subsection (a), the payment by an author-  
14 ized committee of a candidate for any of the per-  
15 sonal use services described in paragraph (3) shall  
16 be treated as an authorized expenditure if the serv-  
17 ices are necessary to enable the participation of the  
18 candidate in campaign-connected activities.

19 “(2) LIMITATIONS.—

20 “(A) LIMIT ON TOTAL AMOUNT OF PAY-  
21 MENTS.—The total amount of payments made  
22 by an authorized committee of a candidate for  
23 personal use services described in paragraph (3)  
24 may not exceed the limit which is applicable  
25 under any law, rule, or regulation on the  
26 amount of payments which may be made by the

1 committee for the salary of the candidate (with-  
2 out regard to whether or not the committee  
3 makes payments to the candidate for that pur-  
4 pose).

5 “(B) CORRESPONDING REDUCTION IN  
6 AMOUNT OF SALARY PAID TO CANDIDATE.—To  
7 the extent that an authorized committee of a  
8 candidate makes payments for the salary of the  
9 candidate, any limit on the amount of such pay-  
10 ments which is applicable under any law, rule,  
11 or regulation shall be reduced by the amount of  
12 any payments made to or on behalf of the can-  
13 didate for personal use services described in  
14 paragraph (3), other than personal use services  
15 described in subparagraph (D) of such para-  
16 graph.

17 “(C) EXCLUSION OF CANDIDATES WHO  
18 ARE OFFICEHOLDERS.—Paragraph (1) does not  
19 apply with respect to an authorized committee  
20 of a candidate who is a holder of Federal office.

21 “(3) PERSONAL USE SERVICES DESCRIBED.—  
22 The personal use services described in this para-  
23 graph are as follows:

24 “(A) Childcare services.

25 “(B) Elder care services.

1           “(C) Services similar to the services de-  
2           scribed in subparagraph (A) or subparagraph  
3           (B) which are provided on behalf of any de-  
4           pendent who is a qualifying relative under sec-  
5           tion 152 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986.

6           “(D) Health insurance premiums.”.

7           (b) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendments made by  
8           this section shall take effect on the date of the enactment  
9           of this Act and shall take effect without regard to whether  
10          or not the Federal Election Commission has promulgated  
11          regulations to carry out such amendments.

## 12           **Subtitle D—Empowering Small** 13           **Dollar Donations**

### 14           **SEC. 8301. PERMITTING POLITICAL PARTY COMMITTEES TO** 15           **PROVIDE ENHANCED SUPPORT FOR HOUSE** 16           **CANDIDATES THROUGH USE OF SEPARATE** 17           **SMALL DOLLAR ACCOUNTS.**

18          (a) INCREASE IN LIMIT ON CONTRIBUTIONS TO CAN-  
19          DIDATES.—Section 315(a)(2)(A) of the Federal Election  
20          Campaign Act of 1971 (52 U.S.C. 30116(a)(2)(A)) is  
21          amended by striking “exceed \$5,000” and inserting “ex-  
22          ceed \$5,000 or, in the case of a contribution made by a  
23          national committee of a political party from an account  
24          described in paragraph (11), exceed \$10,000”.

1 (b) ELIMINATION OF LIMIT ON COORDINATED EX-  
2 PENDITURES.—Section 315(d)(5) of such Act (52 U.S.C.  
3 30116(d)(5)) is amended by striking “subsection (a)(9)”  
4 and inserting “subsection (a)(9) or subsection (a)(11)”.

5 (c) ACCOUNTS DESCRIBED.—Section 315(a) of such  
6 Act (52 U.S.C. 30116(a)), as amended by section 8112(a),  
7 is amended by adding at the end the following new para-  
8 graph:

9 “(11) An account described in this paragraph is a  
10 separate, segregated account of a national congressional  
11 campaign committee of a political party which—

12 “(A) supports only candidates for election for  
13 the office of Representative in, or Delegate or Resi-  
14 dent Commissioner to, the Congress; and

15 “(B) consists exclusively of contributions made  
16 during a calendar year by individuals whose aggre-  
17 gate contributions to the committee during the year  
18 do not exceed \$200.”.

19 (d) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendments made by  
20 this section shall apply with respect to elections held on  
21 or after the date of the enactment of this Act and shall  
22 take effect without regard to whether or not the Federal  
23 Election Commission has promulgated regulations to carry  
24 out such amendments.



1                   **Subtitle E—Severability**

2   **SEC. 8401. SEVERABILITY.**

3           If any provision of this title or amendment made by  
4 this title, or the application of a provision or amendment  
5 to any person or circumstance, is held to be unconstitu-  
6 tional, the remainder of this title and amendments made  
7 by this title, and the application of the provisions and  
8 amendment to any person or circumstance, shall not be  
9 affected by the holding.

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