117TH CONGRESS 1ST SESSION	S.
To amend the Voting Ris	phts Act of 1965 to revise

To amend the Voting Rights Act of 1965 to revise the criteria for determining which States and political subdivisions are subject to section 4 of the Act, and for other purposes.

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Mr.	LEAHY (:	for hin	nself, l	Ms. N	[UF	RKOWSI	a, M	r. D	URBIN,	and	Mr.	Man	VCH	IIN)
	introduce	ed the	follow	ing b	ill;	which	was	read	twice	and	refe	rred	to	the
	Committe	ee on _					_							

A BILL

- To amend the Voting Rights Act of 1965 to revise the criteria for determining which States and political subdivisions are subject to section 4 of the Act, 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 "John R. Lewis Voting
 - 5 Rights Advancement Act of 2021".

2.	VOTING RIGHTS ACT	

3 SEC. 101. VOTE DILUTION, DENIAL, AND ABRIDGMENT 4 CLAIMS. 5 (a) IN GENERAL.—Section 2(a) of the Voting Rights Act of 1965 (52 U.S.C. 10301(a)) is amended— 6 7 (1) by inserting after "applied by any State or 8 political subdivision" the following: "for the purpose 9 of, or"; and 10 (2) by striking "as provided in subsection (b)" 11 and inserting "as provided in subsection (b), (c), (d), 12 or (e)". 13 (b) Vote Dilution.—Section 2 of such Act (52) U.S.C. 10301), as amended by subsection (a), is further 15 amended by striking subsection (b) and inserting the following: 16 17 "(b) A violation of subsection (a) for vote dilution is 18 established if, based on the totality of circumstances, it 19 is shown that the political processes leading to nomination 20 or election in the State or political subdivision are not 21 equally open to participation by members of a class of citi-22 zens protected by subsection (a) in that its members have less opportunity than other members of the electorate to 24 participate in the political process and to elect representa-

tives of their choice. The extent to which members of a

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1 protected class have been elected to office in the State or

- 2 political subdivision is one circumstance which may be
- 3 considered: Provided, That nothing in this section estab-
- 4 lishes a right to have members of a protected class elected
- 5 in numbers equal to their proportion in the population.
- 6 The legal standard articulated in Thornburg v. Gingles,
- 7 478 U.S. 30 (1986), governs claims under this subsection.
- 8 For purposes of this subsection a class of citizens pro-
- 9 tected by subsection (a) may include a cohesive coalition
- 10 of members of different racial or language minority
- 11 groups.".
- 12 (c) Vote Denial or Abridgement.—Section 2 of
- 13 such Act (52 U.S.C. 10301), as amended by subsections
- 14 (a) and (b), is further amended by adding at the end the
- 15 following:
- 16 "(c)(1) A violation of subsection (a) for vote denial
- 17 or abridgment is established if the challenged qualifica-
- 18 tion, prerequisite, standard, practice, or procedure im-
- 19 poses a discriminatory burden on members of a class of
- 20 citizens protected by subsection (a), meaning that—
- 21 "(A) members of the protected class face dis-
- proportionate costs or burdens in complying with the
- 23 qualification, prerequisite, standard, practice, or pro-
- 24 cedure, considering the totality of the circumstances;
- 25 and

I	(B) such disproportionate costs or burdens
2	are, at least in part, caused by or linked to social
3	and historical conditions that have produced or cur-
4	rently produce discrimination against members of
5	the protected class.
6	"(2) The challenged qualification, prerequisite, stand-
7	ard, practice, or procedure need only be a but-for cause
8	of the discriminatory burden or perpetuate a pre-existing
9	discriminatory burden.
10	"(3)(A) The totality of the circumstances for consid-
11	eration relative to a violation of subsection (a) for vote
12	denial or abridgment shall include the following factors.
13	which, individually and collectively, show how a voting
14	qualification, prerequisite, standard, practice, or proce-
15	dure can function to amplify the effects of past or present
16	racial discrimination:
17	"(i) The history of official voting-related dis-
18	crimination in the State or political subdivision.
19	"(ii) The extent to which voting in the elections
20	of the State or political subdivision is racially polar-
21	ized.
22	"(iii) The extent to which members of the pro-
23	tected class bear the effects of discrimination in
24	areas such as education, employment, and health

1 which hinder the ability of those members to partici-2 pate effectively in the political process. 3 "(iv) The use of overt or subtle racial appeals 4 either in political campaigns or surrounding the 5 adoption or maintenance of the challenged qualifica-6 tion, prerequisite, standard, practice, or procedure. 7 "(v) The extent to which members of the pro-8 tected class have been elected to public office in the 9 jurisdiction, except that the fact that the protected 10 class is too small to elect candidates of its choice 11 shall not defeat a claim of vote denial or abridgment 12 under this section. "(vi) Whether there is a significant lack of re-13 14 sponsiveness on the part of elected officials to the 15 particularized needs of members of the protected 16 class. 17 "(vii) Whether the policy underlying the State 18 or political subdivision's use of the challenged quali-19 fication, prerequisite, standard, practice, or proce-20 dure has a tenuous connection to that qualification, 21 prerequisite, standard, practice, or procedure. In 22 making a determination under this clause, a court 23 shall consider whether the qualification, prerequisite, 24 standard, practice, or procedure in question was de-

1 signed to advance and materially advances a valid 2 and substantiated State interest. 3 "(B) A particular combination or number of factors under subparagraph (A) shall not be required to establish 5 a violation of subsection (a) for vote denial or abridgment. 6 Additionally, a litigant can show a variety of factors to 7 establish a violation of subsection (a), and is not limited 8 to those factors listed under subparagraph (A). 9 "(C) In evaluating the totality of the circumstances for consideration relative to a violation of subsection (a) 10 11 for vote denial or abridgment, the following factors shall 12 not weigh against a finding of a violation: 13 "(i) The total number or share of members of 14 a protected class on whom a challenged qualification, 15 prerequisite, standard, practice, or procedure does 16 not impose a material burden. 17 "(ii) The degree to which the challenged quali-18 fication, prerequisite, standard, practice, or proce-19 dure has a long pedigree or was in widespread use 20 at some earlier date. "(iii) The use of an identical or similar quali-21 22 fication, prerequisite, standard, practice, or proce-23 dure in other States or political subdivisions. 24 "(iv) The availability of other forms of voting 25 unimpacted by the challenged qualification, pre-

1 requisite, standard, practice, or procedure to all 2 members of the electorate, including members of the 3 protected class, unless the State or political subdivi-4 sion is simultaneously expanding those other quali-5 fications, prerequisites, standards, practices, or pro-6 cedures to eliminate any disproportionate burden im-7 posed by the challenged qualification, prerequisite, 8 standard, practice, or procedure. 9 "(v) A prophylactic impact on potential criminal 10 activity by individual voters, if such crimes have not 11 occurred in the State or political subdivision in sub-12 stantial numbers. 13 "(vi) Mere invocation of interests in voter con-14 fidence or prevention of fraud.". 15 (d) Intended Vote Dilution or Vote Denial or ABRIDGMENT.—Section 2 of such Act (52 U.S.C. 10301), 16 17 as amended by subsections (a), (b), and (c) is further 18 amended by adding at the end the following: 19 "(d)(1) A violation of subsection (a) is also estab-20 lished if a challenged qualification, prerequisite, standard, 21 practice, or procedure is intended, at least in part, to dilute the voting strength of a protected class or to deny 23 or abridge the right of any citizen of the United States to vote on account of race, color, or in contravention of the guarantees set forth in section 4(f)(2).

1 "(2) Discrimination on account of race or color, or 2 in contravention of the guarantees set forth in section 3 4(f)(2), need only be one purpose of a qualification, pre-4 requisite, standard, practice, or procedure in order to es-5 tablish a violation of subsection (a), as described in this subsection. A qualification, prerequisite, standard, prac-6 tice, or procedure intended to dilute the voting strength 8 of a protected class or to make it more difficult for members of a protected class to cast a ballot that will be count-10 ed constitutes a violation of subsection (a), as described in this subsection, even if an additional purpose of the 12 qualification, prerequisite, standard, practice, or proce-13 dure is to benefit a particular political party or group. 14 "(3) Recent context, including actions by official deci-15 sionmakers in prior years or in other contexts preceding the decision responsible for the challenged qualification, 16 17 prerequisite, standard, practice, or procedure, and including actions by predecessor government actors or individual 18 members of a decisionmaking body, may be relevant to 19 making a determination about a violation of subsection 20 21 (a), as described under this subsection. "(4) A claim that a violation of subsection (a) has

"(4) A claim that a violation of subsection (a) has occurred, as described under this subsection, shall require proof of a discriminatory impact but shall not require proof of violation of subsection (b) or (c).".

1 SEC. 102. RETROGRESSION.

- 2 Section 2 of the Voting Rights Act of 1965 (52)
- 3 U.S.C. 10301 et seq.), as amended by section 101 of this
- 4 Act, is further amended by adding at the end the fol-
- 5 lowing:
- 6 "(e) A violation of subsection (a) is established when
- 7 a State or political subdivision enacts or seeks to admin-
- 8 ister any qualification or prerequisite to voting or stand-
- 9 ard, practice, or procedure with respect to voting in any
- 10 election that has the purpose of or will have the effect
- 11 of diminishing the ability of any citizens of the United
- 12 States on account of race or color, or in contravention of
- 13 the guarantees set forth in section 4(f)(2), to participate
- 14 in the electoral process or elect their preferred candidates
- 15 of choice. This subsection applies to any action taken on
- 16 or after January 1, 2021, by a State or political subdivi-
- 17 sion to enact or seek to administer any such qualification
- 18 or prerequisite to voting or standard, practice or proce-
- 19 dure.
- 20 "(f) Notwithstanding the provisions of subsection (e),
- 21 final decisions of the United States District Court of the
- 22 District of Columbia on applications or petitions by States
- 23 or political subdivisions for preclearance under section 5
- 24 of any changes in voting prerequisites, standards, prac-
- 25 tices, or procedures, supersede the provisions of subsection
- 26 (e).".

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1	SEC. 103. VIOLATIONS TRIGGERING AUTHORITY OF COURT
2	TO RETAIN JURISDICTION.
3	(a) Types of Violations.—Section 3(c) of the Vot-
4	ing Rights Act of 1965 (52 U.S.C. 10302(c)) is amended
5	by striking "violations of the fourteenth or fifteenth
6	amendment" and inserting "violations of the 14th or 15th
7	Amendment, violations of this Act, or violations of any
8	Federal law that prohibits discrimination in voting on the
9	basis of race, color, or membership in a language minority
10	group,".
11	(b) Conforming Amendment.—Section 3(a) of
12	such Act (52 U.S.C. 10302(a)) is amended by striking
13	"violations of the fourteenth or fifteenth amendment" and
14	inserting "violations of the 14th or 15th Amendment, vio-
15	lations of this Act, or violations of any Federal law that
16	prohibits discrimination in voting on the basis of race,
17	color, or membership in a language minority group,".
18	SEC. 104. CRITERIA FOR COVERAGE OF STATES AND POLIT-
19	ICAL SUBDIVISIONS.
20	(a) Determination of States and Political
21	Subdivisions Subject to Section 4(a).—
22	(1) In general.—Section 4(b) of the Voting
23	Rights Act of 1965 (52 U.S.C. 10303(b)) is amend-
24	ed to read as follows:

26 Subdivisions Subject to Requirements.—

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"(b) DETERMINATION OF STATES AND POLITICAL

1	"(1) Existence of voting rights viola-
2	TIONS DURING PREVIOUS 25 YEARS.—
3	"(A) STATEWIDE APPLICATION.—Sub-
4	section (a) applies with respect to a State and
5	all political subdivisions within the State during
6	a calendar year if—
7	"(i) fifteen or more voting rights vio-
8	lations occurred in the State during the
9	previous 25 calendar years; or
10	"(ii) ten or more voting rights viola-
11	tions occurred in the State during the pre-
12	vious 25 calendar years, at least one of
13	which was committed by the State itself
14	(as opposed to a political subdivision with-
15	in the State).
16	"(B) Application to specific political
17	Subdivisions.—Subsection (a) applies with re-
18	spect to a political subdivision as a separate
19	unit during a calendar year if three or more
20	voting rights violations occurred in the subdivi-
21	sion during the previous 25 calendar years.
22	"(2) Period of Application.—
23	"(A) IN GENERAL.—Except as provided in
24	subparagraph (B), if, pursuant to paragraph
25	(1), subsection (a) applies with respect to a

1	State or political subdivision during a calendar
2	year, subsection (a) shall apply with respect to
3	such State or political subdivision for the pe-
4	riod—
5	"(i) that begins on January 1 of the
6	year in which subsection (a) applies; and
7	"(ii) that ends on the date which is 10
8	years after the date described in clause (i).
9	"(B) NO FURTHER APPLICATION AFTER
10	DECLARATORY JUDGMENT.—
11	"(i) States.—If a State obtains a de-
12	claratory judgment under subsection (a),
13	and the judgment remains in effect, sub-
14	section (a) shall no longer apply to such
15	State and all political subdivisions in the
16	State pursuant to paragraph (1)(A) unless,
17	after the issuance of the declaratory judg-
18	ment, paragraph (1)(A) applies to the
19	State solely on the basis of voting rights
20	violations occurring after the issuance of
21	the declaratory judgment, or paragraph
22	(1)(B) applies to the political subdivision
23	solely on the basis of voting rights viola-
24	tions occurring after the issuance of the
25	declaratory judgment.

1	"(ii) Political subdivisions.—If a
2	political subdivision obtains a declaratory
3	judgment under subsection (a), and the
4	judgment remains in effect, subsection (a)
5	shall no longer apply to such political sub-
6	division pursuant to paragraph (1), includ-
7	ing pursuant to paragraph (1)(A) (relating
8	to the statewide application of subsection
9	(a)), unless, after the issuance of the de-
10	claratory judgment, paragraph (1)(B) ap-
11	plies to the political subdivision solely on
12	the basis of voting rights violations occur-
13	ring after the issuance of the declaratory
14	judgment.
15	"(3) Determination of voting rights vio-
16	LATION.—For purposes of paragraph (1), a voting
17	rights violation occurred in a State or political sub-
18	division if any of the following applies:
19	"(A) Judicial relief; violation of
20	THE 14TH OR 15TH AMENDMENT.—Any final
21	judgment (that has not been reversed on ap-
22	peal) occurred, in which the plaintiff prevailed
23	and in which any court of the United States de-
24	termined that a denial or abridgement of the
25	right of any citizen of the United States to vote

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on account of race, color, or membership in a language minority group occurred, that a voting qualification or prerequisite to voting or standard, practice, or procedure with respect to voting created an undue burden on the right to vote in connection with a claim that the law unduly burdened voters of a particular race, color. or language minority group, or that race was the predominant factor motivating the decision to place a significant number of voters within or outside of a particular district, unless narrowly tailored in service of a compelling interest or in response to an objection interposed by the Department of Justice, in violation of the 14th or 15th Amendment to the Constitution of the United States, anywhere within the State or subdivision.

"(B) Judicial relief; violations of this act.—Any final judgment (that has not been reversed on appeal) occurred in which the plaintiff prevailed and in which any court of the United States determined that a voting qualification or prerequisite to voting or standard, practice, or procedure with respect to voting was imposed or applied or would have been im-

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posed or applied anywhere within the State or subdivision in a manner that resulted or would have resulted in a denial or abridgement of the right of any citizen of the United States to vote on account of race, color, or membership in a language minority group, in violation of subsection (e) or (f) or section 2, 201, or 203, or any final judgment (that has not been reversed on appeal) occurred in which a court of the United States found a State or political subdivision failed to comply with section 5(a): Provided, That if the voting qualifications or prerequisites to voting or standards, practices, or procedures that the court finds required compliance with section 5(a) subsequently go into effect (without alteration or amendment) in accordance with the procedures in section 5(a), then such finding shall not count as a violation. "(C) Final judgment; denial of de-CLARATORY JUDGMENT.—In a final judgment (that has not been reversed on appeal), any court of the United States has denied the request of the State or subdivision for a declaratory judgment under section 3(c) or section 5, and thereby prevented a voting qualification or

1	prerequisite to voting or standard, practice, or
2	procedure with respect to voting from being en-
3	forced anywhere within the State or subdivision.
4	"(D) OBJECTION BY THE ATTORNEY GEN-
5	ERAL.—The Attorney General has interposed
6	an objection under section 3(c) or section 5,
7	and thereby prevented a voting qualification or
8	prerequisite to voting or standard, practice, or
9	procedure with respect to voting from being en-
10	forced anywhere within the State or subdivision.
11	A violation under this subparagraph has not oc-
12	curred where an objection has been withdrawn
13	by the Attorney General, unless the withdrawal
14	was in response to a change in the law or prac-
15	tice that served as the basis of the objection. A
16	violation under this subparagraph has not oc-
17	curred where the objection is based solely on a
18	State or political subdivision's failure to comply
19	with a procedural process that would not other-
20	wise count as an independent violation of this
21	Act.
22	"(E) Consent decree, settlement, or
23	OTHER AGREEMENT.—
24	"(i) Agreement.—A consent decree,
25	settlement, or other agreement was adopt-

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ed or entered by a court of the United States that contains an admission of liability by the defendants, which resulted in the alteration or abandonment of a voting practice anywhere in the territory of such State or subdivision that was challenged on the ground that the practice denied or abridged the right of any citizen of the United States to vote on account of race, color, or membership in a language minority group in violation of subsection (e) or (f) or section 2, 201, or 203, or the 14th or 15th Amendment. "(ii) Independent violations.—A voluntary extension or continuation of a

"(ii) Independent violations.—A voluntary extension or continuation of a consent decree, settlement, or agreement described in clause (i) shall not count as an independent violation under this subparagraph. Any other extension or modification of such a consent decree, settlement, or agreement, if the consent decree, settlement, or agreement has been in place for ten years or longer, shall count as an independent violation under this subparagraph. If a court of the United States

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finds that a consent decree, settlement, or agreement described in clause (i) itself denied or abridged the right of any citizen of the United States to vote on account of race, color, or membership in a language minority group, violated subsection (e) or (f) or section 2, 201, or 203, or created an undue burden on the right to vote in connection with a claim that the consent decree, settlement, or other agreement unduly burdened voters of a particular race, color, or language minority group, that finding shall count as an independent violation under this subparagraph.

"(F) MULTIPLE VIOLATIONS.—Each in-

"(F) MULTIPLE VIOLATIONS.—Each instance in which a voting qualification or prerequisite to voting or standard, practice, or procedure with respect to voting, including each redistricting plan, is found to be a violation by a court of the United States pursuant to subparagraph (A) or (B), or prevented from being enforced pursuant to subparagraph (C) or (D), or altered or abandoned pursuant to subparagraph (E) shall count as an independent violation under this paragraph. Within a redistricting

1	plan, each violation under this paragraph found
2	to violate the rights of any group of voters
3	within an individual district based on race
4	color, or language minority group shall count as
5	an independent violation under this paragraph
6	"(4) Timing of Determinations.—
7	"(A) Determinations of voting rights
8	VIOLATIONS.—As early as practicable during
9	each calendar year, the Attorney General shall
10	make the determinations required by this sub-
11	section, including updating the list of voting
12	rights violations occurring in each State and po-
13	litical subdivision for the previous calendar
14	year.
15	"(B) Effective upon publication in
16	FEDERAL REGISTER.—A determination or cer-
17	tification of the Attorney General under this
18	section or under section 8 or 13 shall be effec-
19	tive upon publication in the Federal Register."
20	(2) Conforming amendments.—Section 4(a)
21	of such Act (52 U.S.C. 10303(a)) is amended—
22	(A) in paragraph (1), in the first sentence
23	of the matter preceding subparagraph (A), by
24	striking "any State with respect to which" and
25	all that follows through "unless" and inserting

"any State to which this subsection applies dur-
ing a calendar year pursuant to determinations
made under subsection (b), or in any political
subdivision of such State (as such subdivision
existed on the date such determinations were
made with respect to such State), though such
determinations were not made with respect to
such subdivision as a separate unit, or in any
political subdivision with respect to which this
subsection applies during a calendar year pur-
suant to determinations made with respect to
such subdivision as a separate unit under sub-
section (b), unless";
(B) in paragraph (1), in the matter pre-
ceding subparagraph (A), by striking the second
sentence;
(C) in paragraph (1)(A), by striking "(in
the case of a State or subdivision seeking a de-
claratory judgment under the second sentence
of this subsection)";
(D) in paragraph (1)(B), by striking "(in
the case of a State or subdivision seeking a de-
claratory judgment under the second sentence
of this subsection)";

1	(E) in paragraph (3), by striking "(in the
2	case of a State or subdivision seeking a declara-
3	tory judgment under the second sentence of this
4	subsection)";
5	(F) in paragraph (5), by striking "(in the
6	case of a State or subdivision which sought a
7	declaratory judgment under the second sentence
8	of this subsection)";
9	(G) by striking paragraphs (7) and (8);
10	and
11	(H) by redesignating paragraph (9) as
12	paragraph (7).
13	(b) Clarification of Treatment of Members of
14	Language Minority Groups.—Section 4(a)(1) of such
15	Act (52 U.S.C. 10303(a)(1)), as amended by subsection
16	(a), is further amended, in the first sentence, by striking
17	"race or color," and inserting "race or color, or in con-
18	travention of the guarantees of subsection (f)(2),".
19	(c) Facilitating Bailout.—Section 4(a) of the
20	Voting Rights Act of 1965 (52 U.S.C. 10303(a)), as
21	amended by subsection (a), is further amended—
22	(1) by striking paragraph (1)(C);
23	(2) by inserting at the beginning of paragraph
24	(7), as redesignated by subsection (a)(2)(H), the fol-
25	lowing: "Any plaintiff seeking a declaratory judg-

- 1 ment under this subsection on the grounds that the
- 2 plaintiff meets the requirements of paragraph (1)
- may request that the Attorney General consent to
- 4 entry of judgment."; and
- 5 (3) by adding at the end the following:
- 6 "(8) If a political subdivision is subject to the applica-
- 7 tion of this subsection, due to the applicability of sub-
- 8 section (b)(1)(A), the political subdivision may seek a de-
- 9 claratory judgment under this section if the subdivision
- 10 demonstrates that the subdivision meets the criteria estab-
- 11 lished by the subparagraphs of paragraph (1), for the 10
- 12 years preceding the date on which subsection (a) applied
- 13 to the political subdivision under subsection (b)(1)(A).
- 14 "(9) If a political subdivision was not subject to the
- 15 application of this subsection by reason of a declaratory
- 16 judgment entered prior to the date of enactment of the
- 17 John R. Lewis Voting Rights Advancement Act of 2021,
- 18 and is not, subsequent to that date of enactment, subject
- 19 to the application of this subsection under subsection
- 20 (b)(1)(B), then that political subdivision shall not be sub-
- 21 ject to the requirements of this subsection.".

1	SEC. 105. DETERMINATION OF STATES AND POLITICAL SUB-
2	DIVISIONS SUBJECT TO PRECLEARANCE FOR
3	COVERED PRACTICES.
4	The Voting Rights Act of 1965 (52 U.S.C. 10301 et
5	seq.) is further amended by inserting after section 4 the
6	following:
7	"SEC. 4A. DETERMINATION OF STATES AND POLITICAL
8	SUBDIVISIONS SUBJECT TO PRECLEARANCE
9	FOR COVERED PRACTICES.
10	"(a) Practice-Based Preclearance.—
11	"(1) In General.—Each State and each polit-
12	ical subdivision shall—
13	"(A) identify any change to a law, regula-
14	tion, or policy that includes a voting qualifica-
15	tion or prerequisite to voting, or a standard
16	practice, or procedure with respect to voting
17	that is a covered practice described in sub-
18	section (b); and
19	"(B) ensure that no such covered practice
20	is implemented unless or until the State or po-
21	litical subdivision, as the case may be, complies
22	with subsection (c).
23	"(2) Determinations of Characteristics
24	OF VOTING-AGE POPULATION.—
25	"(A) In general.—As early as prac-
26	ticable during each calendar year, the Attorney

1 General, in consultation with the Director of 2 the Bureau of the Census and the heads of 3 other relevant offices of the government, shall 4 make the determinations required by this sec-5 tion regarding voting-age populations and the 6 characteristics of such populations, and shall 7 publish a list of the States and political subdivi-8 sions to which a voting-age population char-9 acteristic described in subsection (b) applies. 10 "(B) Publication in the federal reg-11 ISTER.—A determination (including a certifi-12 cation) of the Attorney General under this 13 paragraph shall be effective upon publication in 14 the Federal Register. 15 "(b) COVERED PRACTICES.—To assure that the right of citizens of the United States to vote is not denied or 16 17 abridged on account of race, color, or membership in a language minority group as a result of the implementation 18 19 of certain qualifications or prerequisites to voting, or 20 standards, practices, or procedures with respect to voting 21 in a State or political subdivision, the following shall be 22 covered practices subject to the requirements described in 23 subsection (a): 24 "(1) Changes to method of election.— 25 Any change to the method of election—

1	"(A) to add seats elected at-large in a
2	State or political subdivision where—
3	"(i) two or more racial groups or lan-
4	guage minority groups each represent 20
5	percent or more of the voting-age popu-
6	lation in the State or political subdivision,
7	respectively; or
8	"(ii) a single language minority group
9	represents 20 percent or more of the vot-
10	ing-age population on Indian lands located
11	in whole or in part in the State or political
12	subdivision; or
13	"(B) to convert one or more seats elected
14	from a single-member district to one or more
15	at-large seats or seats from a multi-member
16	district in a State or political subdivision
17	where—
18	"(i) two or more racial groups or lan-
19	guage minority groups each represent 20
20	percent or more of the voting-age popu-
21	lation in the State or political subdivision,
22	respectively; or
23	"(ii) a single language minority group
24	represents 20 percent or more of the vot-
25	ing-age population on Indian lands located

1 in whole or in part in the State or political 2 subdivision. 3 "(2)CHANGES TO POLITICAL SUBDIVISION 4 BOUNDARIES.—Any change or series of changes 5 within a year to the boundaries of a political subdivi-6 sion that reduces by 3 or more percentage points the 7 percentage of the political subdivision's voting-age 8 population that is comprised of members of a single 9 racial group or language minority group in the polit-10 ical subdivision where— 11 "(A) two or more racial groups or lan-12 guage minority groups each represent 20 percent or more of the political subdivision's vot-13 14 ing-age population; or 15 "(B) a single language minority group rep-16 resents 20 percent or more of the voting-age 17 population on Indian lands located in whole or 18 in part in the political subdivision. 19 "(3) Changes through redistricting.— 20 Any change to the apportionment or boundaries of 21 districts for Federal, State, or local elections in a 22 State or political subdivision where any racial group 23 or language minority group that is not the largest 24 racial group or language minority group in the juris-25 diction and that represents 15 percent or more of

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the State or political subdivision's voting-age population experiences a population increase of at least 20 percent of its voting-age population, over the preceding decade (as calculated by the Bureau of the Census under the most recent decennial census), in the jurisdiction.

"(4) Changes in documentation or qualifications to vote.—Any change to requirements for documentation or proof of identity to vote or register to vote in elections for Federal, State, or local offices that will exceed or be more stringent than such requirements under State law on the day before the date of enactment of the John R. Lewis Voting Rights Advancement Act of 2021.

- "(5) Changes to multilingual voting materials.—Any change that reduces multilingual voting materials or alters the manner in which such materials are provided or distributed, where no similar reduction or alteration occurs in materials provided in English for such election.
- "(6) CHANGES THAT REDUCE, CONSOLIDATE, OR RELOCATE VOTING LOCATIONS, OR REDUCE VOTING OPPORTUNITIES.—Any change that reduces, consolidates, or relocates voting locations in elections for Federal, State, or local office, including early,

1 absentee, and election-day voting locations, or re-2 duces days or hours of in-person voting on any Sun-3 day during a period occurring prior to the date of 4 an election for Federal, State, or local office during 5 which voters may cast ballots in such election, if the 6 location change, or reduction in days or hours, ap-7 plies— "(A) in one or more census tracts in which 8 9 two or more language minority groups or racial 10 groups each represent 20 percent or more of 11 the voting-age population; or 12 "(B) on Indian lands in which at least 20 13 percent of the voting-age population belongs to 14 a single language minority group. 15 "(7) New List Maintenance Process.—Any 16 change to the maintenance process for voter reg-17 istration lists that adds a new basis for removal 18 from the list of active voters registered to vote in 19 elections for Federal, State, or local office, or that 20 incorporates new sources of information in deter-21 mining a voter's eligibility to vote in elections for 22 Federal, State, or local office, if such a change 23 would have a statistically significant disparate im-24 pact, concerning the removal from voter rolls, on 25 members of racial groups or language minority

1	groups that constitute greater than 5 percent of the
2	voting-age population—
3	"(A) in the case of a political subdivision
4	imposing such change if—
5	"(i) two or more racial groups or lan-
6	guage minority groups each represent 20
7	percent or more of the voting-age popu-
8	lation of the political subdivision; or
9	"(ii) a single language minority group
10	represents 20 percent or more of the vot-
11	ing-age population on Indian lands located
12	in whole or in part in the political subdivi-
13	sion; or
14	"(B) in the case of a State imposing such
15	change, if two or more racial groups or lan-
16	guage minority groups each represent 20 per-
17	cent or more of the voting-age population of—
18	"(i) the State; or
19	"(ii) a political subdivision in the
20	State, except that the requirements under
21	subsections (a) and (c) shall apply only
22	with respect to each such political subdivi-
23	sion individually.
24	"(c) Preclearance.—
25	"(1) In general.—

"(A) ACTION .—Whenever a State or polit-
ical subdivision with respect to which the re-
quirements set forth in subsection (a) are in ef-
fect shall enact, adopt, or seek to implement
any covered practice described under subsection
(b), such State or subdivision may institute an
action in the United States District Court for
the District of Columbia for a declaratory judg-
ment that such covered practice neither has the
purpose nor will have the effect of denying or
abridging the right to vote on account of race,
color, or membership in a language minority
group, and unless and until the court enters
such judgment such covered practice shall not
be implemented.
"(B) Submission to attorney gen-
ERAL.—
"(i) In General.—Notwithstanding
subparagraph (A), such covered practice
may be implemented without such pro-
ceeding if the covered practice has been
submitted by the chief legal officer or other
appropriate official of such State or sub-
division to the Attorney General and the
Attorney General has not interposed an ob-

1	jection within 60 days after such submis-
2	sion, or upon good cause shown, to facili-
3	tate an expedited approval within 60 days
4	after such submission, the Attorney Gen-
5	eral has affirmatively indicated that such
6	objection will not be made. An exigency,
7	including a natural disaster, inclement
8	weather, or other unforeseeable event, re-
9	quiring a changed qualification, pre-
10	requisite, standard, practice, or procedure
11	within 30 days of a Federal, State, or local
12	election shall constitute good cause requir-
13	ing the Attorney General to expedite con-
14	sideration of the submission. To the extent
15	feasible, expedited consideration shall con-
16	sider the views of individuals affected by
17	the changed qualification, prerequisite,
18	standard, practice, or procedure.
19	"(ii) Effect of indication.—Nei-
20	ther an affirmative indication by the Attor-
21	ney General that no objection will be made,
22	nor the Attorney General's failure to ob-
23	ject, nor a declaratory judgment entered
24	under this subsection shall bar a subse-
25	quent action to enjoin implementation of

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such covered practice. In the event the Attorney General affirmatively indicates that no objection will be made within the 60day period following receipt of a submission, the Attorney General may reserve the right to reexamine the submission if additional information comes to the Attorney General's attention during the remainder of the 60-day period which would otherwise require objection in accordance with this subsection. "(C) COURT.—Any action under this subsection shall be heard and determined by a court of three judges in accordance with the provisions of section 2284 of title 28, United States Code, and any appeal shall lie to the Supreme Court. "(2) Denying or abridging the right to VOTE.—Any covered practice described in subsection (b) that has the purpose of or will have the effect of diminishing the ability of any citizens of the United States on account of race, color, or membership in a language minority group, to elect their preferred candidates of choice denies or abridges the right to vote within the meaning of paragraph (1).

1	"(3) Purpose defined.—The term 'purpose'
2	in paragraphs (1) and (2) shall include any discrimi-
3	natory purpose.
4	"(4) Purpose of Paragraph (2).—The pur-
5	pose of paragraph (2) is to protect the ability of
6	such citizens to elect their preferred candidates of
7	choice.
8	"(d) Enforcement.—The Attorney General or any
9	aggrieved citizen may file an action in a district court of
10	the United States to compel any State or political subdivi-
11	sion to satisfy the obligations set forth in this section.
12	Such an action shall be heard and determined by a court
13	of three judges under section 2284 of title 28, United
14	States Code. In any such action, the court shall provide
15	as a remedy that implementation of any voting qualifica-
16	tion or prerequisite to voting, or standard, practice, or
17	procedure with respect to voting, that is the subject of the
18	action under this subsection be enjoined unless the court
19	determines that—
20	"(1) the voting qualification or prerequisite to
21	voting, or standard, practice, or procedure with re-
22	spect to voting, is not a covered practice described
23	in subsection (b); or

- 1 "(2) the State or political subdivision has com-
- 2 plied with subsection (c) with respect to the covered
- 3 practice at issue.
- 4 "(e) Counting of Racial Groups and Language
- 5 MINORITY GROUPS.—For purposes of this section, the cal-
- 6 culation of the population of a racial group or a language
- 7 minority group shall be carried out using the methodology
- 8 in the guidance of the Department of Justice entitled
- 9 'Guidance Concerning Redistricting Under Section 5 of
- 10 the Voting Rights Act; Notice' (76 Fed. Reg. 7470 (Feb-
- 11 ruary 9, 2011)).
- 12 "(f) Special Rule.—For purposes of determina-
- 13 tions under this section, any data provided by the Bureau
- 14 of the Census, whether based on estimation from a sample
- 15 or actual enumeration, shall not be subject to challenge
- 16 or review in any court.
- 17 "(g) Multilingual Voting Materials.—In this
- 18 section, the term 'multilingual voting materials' means
- 19 registration or voting notices, forms, instructions, assist-
- 20 ance, or other materials or information relating to the
- 21 electoral process, including ballots, provided in the lan-
- 22 guage or languages of one or more language minority
- 23 groups.".

SEC. 106. PROMOTING TRANSPARENCY TO ENFORCE THE

- 2 **VOTING RIGHTS ACT.**
- 3 (a) Transparency.—The Voting Rights Act of 1965
- 4 (52 U.S.C. 10301 et seq.) is amended by inserting after
- 5 section 5 the following:

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6 "SEC. 6. TRANSPARENCY REGARDING CHANGES TO PRO-

- 7 TECT VOTING RIGHTS.
- 8 "(a) Notice of Enacted Changes.—
- 9 "(1) Notice of Changes.—If a State or political subdivision makes any change in any qualifica-10 11 tion or prerequisite to voting or standard, practice, 12 or procedure with respect to voting in any election 13 for Federal office that will result in the qualification 14 or prerequisite, standard, practice, or procedure 15 being different from that which was in effect as of 16 180 days before the date of the election for Federal 17 office, the State or political subdivision shall provide 18 reasonable public notice in such State or political 19 subdivision and on the website of the State or polit-20 ical subdivision, of a concise description of the 21 including difference change, the between the 22 changed qualification or prerequisite, standard, prac-23 tice, or procedure and the qualification, prerequisite, 24 standard, practice, or procedure which was pre-

viously in effect. The public notice described in this

paragraph, in such State or political subdivision and

on the website of a State or political subdivision, shall be in a format that is reasonably convenient and accessible to persons with disabilities who are eligible to vote, including persons who have low vision

or are blind.

- "(2) DEADLINE FOR NOTICE.—A State or political subdivision shall provide the public notice required under paragraph (1) not later than 48 hours after making the change involved.
- 10 "(b) Transparency Regarding Polling Place 11 Resources.—

"(1) IN GENERAL.—In order to identify any changes that may impact the right to vote of any person, prior to the 30th day before the date of an election for Federal office, each State or political subdivision with responsibility for allocating registered voters, voting machines, and official poll workers to particular precincts and polling places shall provide reasonable public notice in such State or political subdivision and on the website of a State or political subdivision, of the information described in paragraph (2) for precincts and polling places within such State or political subdivision. The public notice described in this paragraph, in such State or political subdivision and on the website of a State or

1	political subdivision, shall be in a format that is rea-
2	sonably convenient and accessible to persons with
3	disabilities who are eligible to vote, including persons
4	who have low vision or are blind.
5	"(2) Information described.—The informa-
6	tion described in this paragraph with respect to a
7	precinct or polling place is each of the following:
8	"(A) The name or number.
9	"(B) In the case of a polling place, the lo-
10	cation, including the street address, and wheth-
11	er such polling place is accessible to persons
12	with disabilities.
13	"(C) The voting-age population of the area
14	served by the precinct or polling place, broken
15	down by demographic group if such breakdown
16	is reasonably available to such State or political
17	subdivision.
18	"(D) The number of registered voters as-
19	signed to the precinct or polling place, broken
20	down by demographic group if such breakdown
21	is reasonably available to such State or political
22	subdivision.
23	"(E) The number of voting machines as-
24	signed, including the number of voting ma-
25	chines accessible to persons with disabilities

1	who are eligible to vote, including persons who
2	have low vision or are blind.
3	"(F) The number of official paid poll
4	workers assigned.
5	"(G) The number of official volunteer poll
6	workers assigned.
7	"(H) In the case of a polling place, the
8	dates and hours of operation.
9	"(3) Updates in information reported.—
10	If a State or political subdivision makes any change
11	in any of the information described in paragraph
12	(2), the State or political subdivision shall provide
13	reasonable public notice in such State or political
14	subdivision and on the website of a State or political
15	subdivision, of the change in the information not
16	later than 48 hours after the change occurs or, if
17	the change occurs fewer than 48 hours before the
18	date of the election for Federal office, as soon as
19	practicable after the change occurs. The public no-
20	tice described in this paragraph and published on
21	the website of a State or political subdivision shall
22	be in a format that is reasonably convenient and ac-
23	cessible to persons with disabilities who are eligible
24	to vote, including persons who have low vision or are
25	blind.

1	"(c) Transparency of Changes Relating to De-
2	MOGRAPHICS AND ELECTORAL DISTRICTS.—
3	"(1) REQUIRING PUBLIC NOTICE OF
4	CHANGES.—Not later than 10 days after making
5	any change in the constituency that will participate
6	in an election for Federal, State, or local office or
7	the boundaries of a voting unit or electoral district
8	in an election for Federal, State, or local office (in-
9	cluding through redistricting, reapportionment,
10	changing from at-large elections to district-based
11	elections, or changing from district-based elections
12	to at-large elections), a State or political subdivision
13	shall provide reasonable public notice in such State
14	or political subdivision and on the website of a State
15	or political subdivision, of the demographic and elec-
16	toral data described in paragraph (3) for each of the
17	geographic areas described in paragraph (2).
18	"(2) Geographic areas described.—The ge-
19	ographic areas described in this paragraph are as
20	follows:
21	"(A) The State as a whole, if the change
22	applies statewide, or the political subdivision as
23	a whole, if the change applies across the entire
24	political subdivision.

1	"(B) If the change includes a plan to re-
2	place or eliminate voting units or electoral dis-
3	tricts, each voting unit or electoral district that
4	will be replaced or eliminated.
5	"(C) If the change includes a plan to es-
6	tablish new voting units or electoral districts,
7	each such new voting unit or electoral district.
8	"(3) Demographic and electoral data.—
9	The demographic and electoral data described in this
10	paragraph with respect to a geographic area de-
11	scribed in paragraph (2) are each of the following:
12	"(A) The voting-age population, broken
13	down by demographic group.
14	"(B) The number of registered voters, bro-
15	ken down by demographic group if such break-
16	down is reasonably available to the State or po-
17	litical subdivision involved.
18	"(C)(i) If the change applies to a State,
19	the actual number of votes, or (if it is not rea-
20	sonably practicable for the State to ascertain
21	the actual number of votes) the estimated num-
22	ber of votes received by each candidate in each
23	statewide election held during the 5-year period
24	which ends on the date the change involved is
25	made; and

1	"(ii) if the change applies to only one polit-
2	ical subdivision, the actual number of votes, or
3	(if it is not reasonably practicable for the polit-
4	ical subdivision to ascertain the actual number
5	of votes) the estimated number of votes in each
6	subdivision-wide election held during the 5-year
7	period which ends on the date the change in-
8	volved is made.
9	"(4) Voluntary compliance by smaller ju-
10	RISDICTIONS.—Compliance with this subsection shall
11	be voluntary for a political subdivision of a State un-
12	less the subdivision is one of the following:
13	"(A) A county or parish.
14	"(B) A municipality with a population
15	greater than 10,000, as determined by the Bu-
16	reau of the Census under the most recent de-
17	cennial census.
18	"(C) A school district with a population
19	greater than 10,000, as determined by the Bu-
20	reau of the Census under the most recent de-
21	cennial census. For purposes of this subpara-
22	graph, the term 'school district' means the geo-
23	graphic area under the jurisdiction of a local
24	educational agency (as defined in section 8101

1	of the Elementary and Secondary Education
2	Act of 1965).
3	"(d) Rules Regarding Format of Informa-
4	TION.—The Attorney General may issue rules specifying
5	a reasonably convenient and accessible format that States
6	and political subdivisions shall use to provide public notice
7	of information under this section.
8	"(e) No Denial of Right To Vote.—The right to
9	vote of any person shall not be denied or abridged because
10	the person failed to comply with any change made by a
11	State or political subdivision to a voting qualification, pre-
12	requisite, standard, practice, or procedure if the State or
13	political subdivision involved did not meet the applicable
14	requirements of this section with respect to the change
15	"(f) Definitions.—In this section—
16	"(1) the term 'demographic group' means each
17	group which section 2 protects from the denial or
18	abridgement of the right to vote on account of race
19	or color, or in contravention of the guarantees set
20	forth in section $4(f)(2)$;
21	"(2) the term 'election for Federal office' means
22	any general, special, primary, or runoff election held
23	solely or in part for the purpose of electing any can-
24	didate for the office of President, Vice President
25	Presidential elector, Senator, Member of the House

1	of Representatives, or Delegate or Resident Commis-
2	sioner to the Congress; and
3	"(3) the term 'persons with disabilities', means
4	individuals with a disability, as defined in section 3
5	of the Americans with Disabilities Act of 1990.".
6	(b) Effective Date.—The amendment made by
7	subsection (a)(1) shall apply with respect to changes which
8	are made on or after the expiration of the 60-day period
9	which begins on the date of the enactment of this Act
10	SEC. 107. AUTHORITY TO ASSIGN OBSERVERS.
11	(a) Clarification of Authority in Political
12	SUBDIVISIONS SUBJECT TO PRECLEARANCE.—Section
13	8(a)(2)(B) of the Voting Rights Act of 1965 (52 U.S.C
14	10305(a)(2)(B)) is amended to read as follows:
15	"(B) in the Attorney General's judgment
16	the assignment of observers is otherwise nec-
17	essary to enforce the guarantees of the 14th or
18	15th Amendment or any provision of this Act
19	or any other Federal law protecting the right of
20	citizens of the United States to vote; or".
21	(b) Assignment of Observers To Enforce Bi-
22	LINGUAL ELECTION REQUIREMENTS.—Section 8(a) of
23	such Act (52 U.S.C. 10305(a)) is amended—
24	(1) by striking "or" at the end of paragraph
25	(1);

1	(2) by inserting after paragraph (2) the fol-
2	lowing:
3	"(3) the Attorney General certifies with respect
4	to a political subdivision that—
5	"(A) the Attorney General has received
6	written meritorious complaints from residents,
7	elected officials, or civic participation organiza-
8	tions that efforts to violate section 203 are like-
9	ly to occur; or
10	"(B) in the Attorney General's judgment,
11	the assignment of observers is necessary to en-
12	force the guarantees of section 203;"; and
13	(3) by moving the margin for the continuation
14	text following paragraph (3), as added by paragraph
15	(2) of this subsection, 2 ems to the left.
16	(c) Transferral of Authority Over Observers
17	TO THE ATTORNEY GENERAL.—
18	(1) Enforcement proceedings.—Section
19	3(a) of the Voting Rights Act of 1965 (52 U.S.C.
20	10302(a)) is amended by striking "United States
21	Civil Service Commission in accordance with section
22	6" and inserting "Attorney General in accordance
23	with section 8".

1	(2) Observers; Appointment and com-
2	PENSATION.—Section 8 of the Voting Rights Act of
3	1965 (52 U.S.C. 10305) is amended—
4	(A) in subsection (a), in the flush matter
5	at the end, by striking "Director of the Office
6	of Personnel Management shall assign as many
7	observers for such subdivision as the Director"
8	and inserting "Attorney General shall assign as
9	many observers for such subdivision as the At-
10	torney General";
11	(B) in subsection (c), by striking "Director
12	of the Office of Personnel Management" and
13	inserting "Attorney General"; and
14	(C) in subsection (e), by adding at the end
15	the following: "The Director of the Office of
16	Personnel Management may, with the consent
17	of the Attorney General, assist in the selection,
18	recruitment, hiring, training, or deployment of
19	these or other individuals authorized by the At-
20	torney General for the purpose of observing
21	whether persons who are entitled to vote are
22	being permitted to vote and whether those votes
23	are being properly tabulated.".
24	(3) Termination of Certain appointments
25	OF OBSERVERS.—Section 13(a)(1) of the Voting

- 1 Rights Act of 1965 (52 U.S.C. 10309(a)(1)) is
- 2 amended by striking "notifies the Director of the Of-
- 3 fice of Personnel Management," and inserting "de-
- 4 termines,".

5 SEC. 108. CLARIFICATION OF AUTHORITY TO SEEK RELIEF.

- 6 (a) Poll Tax.—Section 10(b) of the Voting Rights
- 7 Act of 1965 (52 U.S.C. 10306(b)) is amended by striking
- 8 "the Attorney General is authorized and directed to insti-
- 9 tute forthwith in the name of the United States such ac-
- 10 tions," and inserting "an aggrieved person or (in the name
- 11 of the United States) the Attorney General may institute
- 12 such actions".
- 13 (b) Cause of Action.—Section 12(d) of the Voting
- 14 Rights Act of 1965 (52 U.S.C. 10308(d)) is amended to
- 15 read as follows:
- 16 "(d) Whenever there are reasonable grounds to be-
- 17 lieve that any person has engaged in, or is about to engage
- 18 in, any act or practice that would (1) deny any citizen
- 19 the right to register, to cast a ballot, or to have that ballot
- 20 counted properly and included in the appropriate totals
- 21 of votes cast in violation of the 14th, 15th, 19th, 24th,
- 22 or 26th Amendments to the Constitution of the United
- 23 States, (2) violate subsection (a) or (b) of section 11, or
- 24 (3) violate any other provision of this Act or any other
- 25 Federal voting rights law that prohibits discrimination on

- 1 the basis of race, color, or membership in a language mi-
- 2 nority group, an aggrieved person or (in the name of the
- 3 United States) the Attorney General may institute an ac-
- 4 tion for preventive relief, including an application for a
- 5 temporary or permanent injunction, restraining order, or
- 6 other appropriate order. Nothing in this subsection shall
- 7 be construed to create a cause of action for civil enforce-
- 8 ment of criminal provisions of this or any other Act.".
- 9 (c) Judicial Relief.—Section 204 of the Voting
- 10 Rights Act of 1965 (52 U.S.C. 10504) is amended by
- 11 striking the first sentence and inserting the following:
- 12 "Whenever there are reasonable grounds to believe that
- 13 a State or political subdivision has engaged or is about
- 14 to engage in any act or practice prohibited by a provision
- 15 of this title, an aggrieved person or (in the name of the
- 16 United States) the Attorney General may institute an ac-
- 17 tion in a district court of the United States, for a restrain-
- 18 ing order, a preliminary or permanent injunction, or such
- 19 other order as may be appropriate.".
- 20 (d) Enforcement of Twenty-sixth Amend-
- 21 Ment.—Section 301(a)(1) of the Voting Rights Act of
- 22 1965 (52 U.S.C. 10701(a)(1)) is amended to read as fol-
- 23 lows:
- 24 "(a)(1) An aggrieved person or (in the name of the
- 25 United States) the Attorney General may institute an ac-

- 1 tion in a district court of the United States, for a restrain-
- 2 ing order, a preliminary or permanent injunction, or such
- 3 other order as may be appropriate to implement the 26th
- 4 Amendment to the Constitution of the United States.".
- 5 SEC. 109. PREVENTIVE RELIEF.
- 6 Section 12(d) of the Voting Rights Act of 1965 (52)
- 7 U.S.C. 10308(d)), as amended by section 108, is further
- 8 amended by adding at the end the following:
- 9 "(2)(A) In considering any motion for preliminary re-
- 10 lief in any action for preventive relief described in this sub-
- 11 section, the court shall grant the relief if the court deter-
- 12 mines that the complainant has raised a serious question
- 13 as to whether the challenged voting qualification or pre-
- 14 requisite to voting or standard, practice, or procedure vio-
- 15 lates any of the provisions listed in section 111(a)(1) of
- 16 the John R. Lewis Voting Rights Advancement Act and,
- 17 on balance, the hardship imposed on the defendant by the
- 18 grant of the relief will be less than the hardship which
- 19 would be imposed on the plaintiff if the relief were not
- 20 granted.
- 21 "(B) In making its determination under this para-
- 22 graph with respect to a change in any voting qualification,
- 23 prerequisite to voting, or standard, practice, or procedure
- 24 with respect to voting, the court shall consider all relevant

1	factors and give due weight to the following factors, if they
2	are present:
3	"(i) Whether the qualification, prerequisite,
4	standard, practice, or procedure in effect prior to the
5	change was adopted as a remedy for a Federal court
6	judgment, consent decree, or admission regarding—
7	"(I) discrimination on the basis of race or
8	color in violation of the 14th or 15th Amend-
9	ment to the Constitution of the United States;
10	"(II) a violation of the 19th, 24th, or 26th
11	Amendments to the Constitution of the United
12	States;
13	"(III) a violation of this Act; or
14	"(IV) voting discrimination on the basis of
15	race, color, or membership in a language minor-
16	ity group in violation of any other Federal or
17	State law.
18	"(ii) Whether the qualification, prerequisite,
19	standard, practice, or procedure in effect prior to the
20	change served as a ground for the dismissal or set-
21	tlement of a claim alleging—
22	"(I) discrimination on the basis of race or
23	color in violation of the 14th or 15th Amend-
24	ment to the Constitution of the United States;

1	"(II) a violation of the 19th, 24th, or 26th
2	Amendment to the Constitution of the United
3	States;
4	"(III) a violation of this Act; or
5	"(IV) voting discrimination on the basis of
6	race, color, or membership in a language minor-
7	ity group in violation of any other Federal or
8	State law.
9	"(iii) Whether the change was adopted fewer
10	than 180 days before the date of the election with
11	respect to which the change is to take or takes ef-
12	fect.
13	"(iv) Whether the defendant has failed to pro-
14	vide timely or complete notice of the adoption of the
15	change as required by applicable Federal or State
16	law.
17	"(3) A jurisdiction's inability to enforce its voting or
18	election laws, regulations, policies, or redistricting plans,
19	standing alone, shall not be deemed to constitute irrep-
20	arable harm to the public interest or to the interests of
21	a defendant in an action arising under the Constitution
22	or any Federal law that prohibits discrimination on the
23	basis of race, color, or membership in a language minority
24	group in the voting process, for the purposes of deter-
25	mining whether a stay of a court's order or an interlocu-

1	tory appeal under section 1253 of title 28, United States
2	Code, is warranted.".
3	SEC. 110. BILINGUAL ELECTION REQUIREMENTS.
4	Section 203(b)(1) of the Voting Rights Act of 1965
5	(52 U.S.C. 10503(b)(1)) is amended by striking "2032"
6	and inserting "2037".
7	SEC. 111. RELIEF FOR VIOLATIONS OF VOTING RIGHTS
8	LAWS.
9	(a) In General.—
10	(1) Relief for violations of voting
11	RIGHTS LAWS.—In this section, the term "prohibited
12	act or practice" means—
13	(A) any act or practice—
14	(i) that creates an undue burden on
15	the fundamental right to vote in violation
16	of the 14th Amendment to the Constitu-
17	tion of the United States or violates the
18	Equal Protection Clause of the 14th
19	Amendment to the Constitution of the
20	United States; or
21	(ii) that is prohibited by the 15th,
22	19th, 24th, or 26th Amendment to the
23	Constitution of the United States, section
24	2004 of the Revised Statutes (52 U.S.C.
25	10101), the Voting Rights Act of 1965 (52

1	U.S.C. 10301 et seq.), the National Voter
2	Registration Act of 1993 (52 U.S.C.
3	20501 et seq.), the Uniformed and Over-
4	seas Citizens Absentee Voting Act (52
5	U.S.C. 20301 et seq.), the Help America
6	Vote Act of 2002 (52 U.S.C. 20901 et
7	seq.), the Voting Accessibility for the El-
8	derly and Handicapped Act (52 U.S.C.
9	20101 et seq.), or section 2003 of the Re-
10	vised Statutes (52 U.S.C. 10102); and
11	(B) any act or practice in violation of any
12	Federal law that prohibits discrimination with
13	respect to voting, including the Americans with
14	Disabilities Act of 1990 (42 U.S.C. 12101 et
15	seq.).
16	(2) Rule of Construction.—Nothing in this
17	section shall be construed to diminish the authority
18	or scope of authority of any person to bring an ac-
19	tion under any Federal law.
20	(3) Attorney's fees.—Section 722(b) of the
21	Revised Statutes (42 U.S.C. 1988(b)) is amended by
22	inserting "a provision described in section $111(a)(1)$
23	of the John R. Lewis Voting Rights Advancement
24	Act of 2021," after "title VI of the Civil Rights Act
25	of 1964,".

1 (b) Grounds for Equitable Relief.—In any ac-2 tion for equitable relief pursuant to a law listed under sub-3 section (a), proximity of the action to an election shall not 4 be a valid reason to deny such relief, or stay the operation 5 of or vacate the issuance of such relief, unless the party opposing the issuance or continued operation of relief 6 meets the burden of proving by clear and convincing evi-8 dence that the issuance of the relief would be so close in time to the election as to cause irreparable harm to the 10 public interest or that compliance with such relief would impose serious burdens on the party opposing relief. 12 (1) IN GENERAL.—In considering whether to 13 grant, deny, stay, or vacate any order of equitable 14 relief, the court shall give substantial weight to the 15 public's interest in expanding access to the right to 16 vote. A State's generalized interest in enforcing its 17 enacted laws shall not be a relevant consideration in 18 determining whether equitable relief is warranted. 19 (2) Presumptive safe harbor.—Where equi-20 table relief is sought either within 30 days of the 21 adoption or reasonable public notice of the chal-22 lenged policy or practice, or more than 60 days be-23 fore the date of an election to which the relief being 24 sought will apply, proximity to the election will be

1 presumed not to constitute a harm to the public in-

- 2 terest or a burden on the party opposing relief.
- 3 (c) Grounds for Stay or Vacatur in Federal
- 4 Claims Involving Voting Rights.—

- (1) Prospective effect.—In reviewing an application for a stay or vacatur of equitable relief granted pursuant to a law listed in subsection (a), a court shall give substantial weight to the reliance interests of citizens who acted pursuant to such order under review. In fashioning a stay or vacatur, a reviewing court shall not order relief that has the effect of denying or abridging the right to vote of any citizen who has acted in reliance on the order.
 - (2) Written explanation.—No stay or vacatur under this subsection shall issue unless the reviewing court makes specific findings that the public interest, including the public's interest in expanding access to the ballot, will be harmed by the continuing operation of the equitable relief or that compliance with such relief will impose serious burdens on the party seeking such a stay or vacatur such that those burdens substantially outweigh the benefits to the public interest. In reviewing an application for a stay or vacatur of equitable relief, findings

1	of fact made in issuing the order under review shall
2	not be set aside unless clearly erroneous.
3	SEC. 112. PROTECTION OF TABULATED VOTES.
4	The Voting Rights Act of 1965 (52 U.S.C. 10307)
5	is amended—
6	(1) in section 11—
7	(A) by amending subsection (a) to read as
8	follows:
9	"(a) No person acting under color of law shall—
10	"(1) fail or refuse to permit any person to vote
11	who is entitled to vote under Federal law or is other-
12	wise qualified to vote;
13	"(2) willfully fail or refuse to tabulate, count,
14	and report such person's vote; or
15	"(3) willfully fail or refuse to certify the aggre-
16	gate tabulations of such persons' votes or certify the
17	election of the candidates receiving sufficient such
18	votes to be elected to office."; and
19	(B) in subsection (b), by inserting "sub-
20	section (a) or" after "duties under"; and
21	(2) in section 12—
22	(A) in subsection (b)—
23	(i) by striking "a year following an
24	election in a political subdivision in which
25	an observer has been assigned" and insert-

1	ing "22 months following an election for
2	Federal office"; and
3	(ii) by adding at the end the fol-
4	lowing: "Whenever the Attorney General
5	has reasonable grounds to believe that any
6	person has engaged in or is about to en-
7	gage in an act in violation of this sub-
8	section, the Attorney General may institute
9	(in the name of the United States) a civil
10	action in Federal district court seeking ap-
11	propriate relief.";
12	(B) in subsection (c), by inserting "or so-
13	licits a violation of" after "conspires to violate";
14	and
15	(C) in subsection (e), by striking the first
16	and second sentences and inserting the fol-
17	lowing: "If, after the closing of the polls in an
18	election for Federal office, persons allege that
19	notwithstanding (1) their registration by an ap-
20	propriate election official and (2) their eligi-
21	bility to vote in the political subdivision, their
22	ballots have not been counted in such election,
23	and if upon prompt receipt of notifications of
24	these allegations, the Attorney General finds
25	such allegations to be well founded, the Attor-

1	ney General may forthwith file with the district
2	court an application for an order providing for
3	the counting and certification of the ballots of
4	such persons and requiring the inclusion of
5	their votes in the total vote for all applicable of-
6	fices before the results of such election shall be
7	deemed final and any force or effect given
8	thereto.".
9	SEC. 113. ENFORCEMENT OF VOTING RIGHTS BY ATTORNEY
10	GENERAL.
11	Section 12 of the Voting Rights Act of 1965 (52
12	U.S.C. 10308), as amended by this Act, is further amend-
13	ed by adding at the end the following:
14	"(g) Voting Rights Enforcement by Attorney
15	General.—
16	"(1) In general.—In order to fulfill the At-
17	torney General's responsibility to enforce this Act
18	and other Federal laws that protect the right to
19	vote, the Attorney General (or upon designation by
20	the Attorney General, the Assistant Attorney Gen-
21	eral for Civil Rights) is authorized, before com-
22	mencing a civil action, to issue a demand for inspec-
23	tion and information in writing to any State or polit-
24	ical subdivision, or other governmental representa-
25	tive or agent, with respect to any relevant documen-

1	tary material that the Attorney General has reason
2	to believe is within their possession, custody, or con-
3	trol. A demand by the Attorney General under this
4	subsection may require—
5	"(A) the production of such documentary
6	material for inspection and copying;
7	"(B) answers in writing to written ques-
8	tions with respect to such documentary mate-
9	rial; or
10	"(C) both the production described under
11	subparagraph (A) and the answers described
12	under subparagraph (B).
13	"(2) Contents of an attorney general
14	DEMAND.—
15	"(A) In General.—Any demand issued
16	under paragraph (1), shall include a sworn cer-
17	tificate to identify the voting qualification or
18	prerequisite to voting or standard, practice, or
19	procedure with respect to voting, or other vot-
20	ing related matter or issue, whose lawfulness
21	the Attorney General is investigating and to
22	identify the Federal law that protects the right
23	to vote under which the investigation is being
24	conducted. The demand shall be reasonably cal-
25	culated to lead to the discovery of documentary

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material and information relevant to such investigation. Documentary material includes any material upon which relevant information is recorded, and includes written or printed materials, photographs, tapes, or materials upon which information is electronically or magnetically recorded. Such demands shall be aimed at the Attorney General having the ability to inspect and obtain copies of relevant materials (as well as obtain information) related to voting and are not aimed at the Attorney General taking possession of original records, particularly those that are required to be retained by State and local election officials under Federal or State law.

"(B) No REQUIREMENT FOR PRODUC-TION.—Any demand issued under paragraph (1) may not require the production of any documentary material or the submission of any answers in writing to written questions if such material or answers would be protected from disclosure under the standards applicable to discovery requests under the Federal Rules of Civil Procedure in an action in which the Attorney General or the United States is a party.

1	"(C) Documentary material.—If the
2	demand issued under paragraph (1) requires
3	the production of documentary material, it
4	shall—
5	"(i) identify the class of documentary
6	material to be produced with such definite-
7	ness and certainty as to permit such mate-
8	rial to be fairly identified; and
9	"(ii) prescribe a return date for pro-
10	duction of the documentary material at
11	least 20 days after issuance of the demand
12	to give the State or political subdivision, or
13	other governmental representative or
14	agent, a reasonable period of time for as-
15	sembling the documentary material and
16	making it available for inspection and
17	copying.
18	"(D) Answers to written ques-
19	TIONS.—If the demand issued under paragraph
20	(1) requires answers in writing to written ques-
21	tions, it shall—
22	"(i) set forth with specificity the writ-
23	ten question to be answered; and
24	"(ii) prescribe a date at least 20 days
25	after the issuance of the demand for sub-

1	mitting answers in writing to the written
2	questions.
3	"(E) Service.—A demand issued under
4	paragraph (1) may be served by a United
5	States marshal or a deputy marshal, or by cer-
6	tified mail, at any place within the territorial
7	jurisdiction of any court of the United States.
8	"(3) Responses to an attorney general
9	DEMAND.—A State or political subdivision, or other
10	governmental representative or agent, shall, with re-
11	spect to any documentary material or any answer in
12	writing produced under this subsection, provide a
13	sworn certificate, in such form as the demand issued
14	under paragraph (1) designates, by a person having
15	knowledge of the facts and circumstances relating to
16	such production or written answer, authorized to act
17	on behalf of the State or political subdivision, or
18	other governmental representative or agent, upon
19	which the demand was served. The certificate—
20	"(A) shall state that—
21	"(i) all of the documentary material
22	required by the demand and in the posses-
23	sion, custody, or control of the State or po-
24	litical subdivision, or other governmental
25	representative or agent, has been produced;

1	"(ii) with respect to every answer in
2	writing to a written question, all informa-
3	tion required by the question and in the
4	possession, custody, control, or knowledge
5	of the State or political subdivision, or
6	other governmental representative or
7	agent, has been submitted; or
8	"(iii) the requirements described in
9	both clause (i) and clause (ii) have been
10	met; or
11	"(B) provide the basis for any objection to
12	producing the documentary material or answer-
13	ing the written question.
14	To the extent that any information is not furnished,
15	the information shall be identified and reasons set
16	forth with particularity regarding the reasons why
17	the information was not furnished.
18	"(4) Judicial proceedings.—
19	"(A) PETITION FOR ENFORCEMENT.—
20	Whenever any State or political subdivision, or
21	other governmental representative or agent,
22	fails to comply with demand issued by the At-
23	torney General under paragraph (1), the Attor-
24	ney General may file, in a district court of the
25	United States in which the State or political

1	subdivision, or other governmental representa-
2	tive or agent, is located, a petition for a judicial
3	order enforcing the Attorney General demand
4	issued under paragraph (1).
5	"(B) Petition to modify.—
6	"(i) In general.—Any State or po-
7	litical subdivision, or other governmental
8	representative or agent, that is served with
9	a demand issued by the Attorney General
10	under paragraph (1) may file in the United
11	States District Court for the District of
12	Columbia a petition for an order of the
13	court to modify or set aside the demand of
14	the Attorney General.
15	"(ii) Petition to modify.—Any pe-
16	tition to modify or set aside a demand of
17	the Attorney General issued under para-
18	graph (1) must be filed within 20 days
19	after the date of service of the Attorney
20	General's demand or at any time before
21	the return date specified in the Attorney
22	General's demand, whichever date is ear-
23	lier.
24	"(iii) Contents of Petition.—The
25	petition shall specify each ground upon

which the petitioner relies in seeking relief
under clause (i), and may be based upon
any failure of the Attorney General's de-
mand to comply with the provisions of this
section or upon any constitutional or other
legal right or privilege of the State or po-
litical subdivision, or other governmental
representative or agent. During the pend-
ency of the petition in the court, the court
may stay, as it deems proper, the running
of the time allowed for compliance with the
Attorney General's demand, in whole or in
part, except that the State or political sub-
division, or other governmental representa-
tive or agent, filing the petition shall com-
ply with any portions of the Attorney Gen-
eral's demand not sought to be modified or
set aside.".

19 SEC. 114. DEFINITIONS.

- Title I of the Voting Rights Act of 1965 (52 U.S.C.
- 21 10301) is amended by adding at the end the following:
- 22 "SEC. 21. DEFINITIONS.
- 23 "In this Act:
- 24 "(1) INDIAN.—The term 'Indian' has the mean-25 ing given the term in section 4 of the Indian Self-

1	Determination and Education Assistance Act (25
2	U.S.C. 5304).
3	"(2) Indian Lands.—The term 'Indian lands'
4	means—
5	"(A) any Indian country of an Indian
6	tribe, as such term is defined in section 1151
7	of title 18, United States Code;
8	"(B) any land in Alaska that is owned,
9	pursuant to the Alaska Native Claims Settle-
10	ment Act, by an Indian tribe that is a Native
11	village (as such term is defined in section 3 of
12	such Act), or by a Village Corporation that is
13	associated with the Indian tribe (as such term
14	is defined in section 3 of such Act);
15	"(C) any land on which the seat of govern-
16	ment of the Indian tribe is located; and
17	"(D) any land that is part or all of a tribal
18	designated statistical area associated with the
19	Indian tribe, or is part or all of an Alaska Na-
20	tive village statistical area associated with the
21	tribe, as defined by the Bureau of the Census
22	for the purposes of the most recent decennial
23	census.
24	"(3) Indian Tribe.—The term 'Indian Tribe'
25	means the recognized governing body of any Indian

- 1 or Alaska Native Tribe, band, nation, pueblo, village, 2 community, component band, or component reserva-3 tion, individually identified (including parenthetically) in the list published most recently pursuant to 4 5 section 104 of the Federally Recognized Indian 6 Tribe List Act of 1994 (25 U.S.C. 5131). 7 "(4) Tribal Government.—The term 'Tribal 8 Government' means the recognized governing body 9 of an Indian Tribe. 10 "(5) VOTING-AGE POPULATION.—The 11 'voting-age population' means the numerical size of 12 the population within a State, within a political sub-13 division, or within a political subdivision that con-14 tains Indian lands, as the case may be, that consists 15 of persons age 18 or older, as calculated by the Bu-16 reau of the Census under the most recent decennial 17 census.". 18 SEC. 115. ATTORNEYS' FEES. 19
- Section 14(c) of the Voting Rights Act of 1965 (52)
- 20 U.S.C. 10310(c)) is amended by adding at the end the
- 21 following:
- 22 "(4) The term 'prevailing party' means a party to an
- 23 action that receives at least some of the benefit sought
- by such action, states a colorable claim, and can establish

- 1 that the action was a significant cause of a change to the
- 2 status quo.".
- 3 SEC. 116. OTHER TECHNICAL AND CONFORMING AMEND-
- 4 MENTS.
- 5 (a) ACTIONS COVERED UNDER SECTION 3.—Section
- 6 3(c) of the Voting Rights Act of 1965 (52 U.S.C.
- 7 10302(c)) is amended—
- 8 (1) by striking "any proceeding instituted by
- 9 the Attorney General or an aggrieved person under
- any statute to enforce" and inserting "any action
- 11 under any statute in which a party (including the
- 12 Attorney General) seeks to enforce"; and
- 13 (2) by striking "at the time the proceeding was
- commenced" and inserting "at the time the action
- was commenced".
- 16 (b) Clarification of Treatment of Members of
- 17 Language Minority Groups.—Section 4(f) of such Act
- 18 (52 U.S.C. 10303(f)) is amended—
- 19 (1) in paragraph (1), by striking the second
- sentence; and
- 21 (2) by striking paragraphs (3) and (4).
- (c) Period During Which Changes in Voting
- 23 Practices Are Subject to Preclearance Under
- 24 Section 5.—Section 5 of such Act (52 U.S.C. 10304)
- 25 is amended—

1	(1) in subsection (a), by striking "based upon
2	determinations made under the first sentence of sec-
3	tion 4(b) are in effect" and inserting "are in effect
4	during a calendar year";
5	(2) in subsection (a), by striking "November 1,
6	1964" and all that follows through "November 1,
7	1972" and inserting "the applicable date of cov-
8	erage''; and
9	(3) by adding at the end the following new sub-
10	section:
11	"(e) The term 'applicable date of coverage' means,
12	with respect to a State or political subdivision—
13	"(1) January 1, 2021, if the most recent deter-
14	mination for such State or subdivision under section
15	4(b) was made during the first calendar year in
16	which determinations are made following the date of
17	enactment of the John R. Lewis Voting Rights Ad-
18	vancement Act of 2021; or
19	"(2) the date on which the most recent deter-
20	mination for such State or subdivision under section
21	4(b) was made following the date of enactment of
22	the John R. Lewis Voting Rights Advancement Act
23	of 2021, if the most recent determination for such
24	State or subdivision under section 4(b) was made
25	after the first calendar year in which determinations

- 1 are made following the date of enactment of the
- 2 John R. Lewis Voting Rights Advancement Act of
- 3 2021.".
- 4 (d) Review of Preclearance Submission Under
- 5 Section 5 Due to Exigency.—Section 5 of such Act
- 6 (52 U.S.C. 10304) is amended, in subsection (a), by in-
- 7 serting "An exigency, including a natural disaster, inclem-
- 8 ent weather, or other unforeseeable event, requiring such
- 9 different qualification, prerequisite, standard, practice, or
- 10 procedure within 30 days of a Federal, State, or local elec-
- 11 tion shall constitute good cause requiring the Attorney
- 12 General to expedite consideration of the submission. To
- 13 the extent feasible, expedited consideration shall consider
- 14 the views of individuals affected by the different qualifica-
- 15 tion, prerequisite, standard, practice, or procedure." after
- 16 "will not be made.".

17 SEC. 117. SEVERABILITY.

- 18 If any provision of the John R. Lewis Voting Rights
- 19 Advancement Act of 2021 or any amendment made by this
- 20 title, or the application of such a provision or amendment
- 21 to any person or circumstance, is held to be unconstitu-
- 22 tional or is otherwise enjoined or unenforceable, the re-
- 23 mainder of this title and amendments made by this title,
- 24 and the application of the provisions and amendments to
- 25 any other person or circumstance, and any remaining pro-

- 1 vision of the Voting Rights Act of 1965 (52 U.S.C. 10301
- 2 et seq.), shall not be affected by the holding. In addition,
- 3 if any provision of the Voting Rights Act of 1965 (52)
- 4 U.S.C. 10301 et seq.), or any amendment to the Voting
- 5 Rights Act of 1965, or the application of such a provision
- 6 or amendment to any person or circumstance, is held to
- 7 be unconstitutional or is otherwise enjoined or unenforce-
- 8 able, the application of the provision and amendment to
- 9 any other person or circumstance, and any remaining pro-
- 10 visions of the Voting Rights Act of 1965, shall not be af-
- 11 fected by the holding.
- 12 SEC. 118. GRANTS TO ASSIST WITH NOTICE REQUIREMENTS
- 13 UNDER THE VOTING RIGHTS ACT OF 1965.
- 14 (a) IN GENERAL.—The Attorney General shall make
- 15 grants each fiscal year to small jurisdictions who submit
- 16 applications under subsection (b) for purposes of assisting
- 17 such small jurisdictions with compliance with the require-
- 18 ments of the Voting Rights Act of 1965 to submit or pub-
- 19 lish notice of any change to a qualification, prerequisite,
- 20 standard, practice or procedure affecting voting.
- 21 (b) APPLICATION.—To be eligible for a grant under
- 22 this section, a small jurisdiction shall submit an applica-
- 23 tion to the Attorney General in such form and containing
- 24 such information as the Attorney General may require re-

- 1 garding the compliance of such small jurisdiction with the
- 2 provisions of the Voting Rights Act of 1965.
- 3 (c) Small Jurisdiction Defined.—For purposes
- 4 of this section, the term "small jurisdiction" means any
- 5 political subdivision of a State with a population of 10,000
- 6 or less.

7 TITLE II—ELECTION WORKER

8 AND POLLING PLACE PRO-

9 **TECTION**

- 10 SEC. 201. SHORT TITLE.
- 11 This title may be cited as the "Election Worker and
- 12 Polling Place Protection Act".
- 13 SEC. 202. ELECTION WORKER AND POLLING PLACE PRO-
- 14 TECTION.
- 15 Section 11 of the Voting Rights Act of 1965 (52)
- 16 U.S.C. 10307) is amended by adding at the end the fol-
- 17 lowing:
- 18 "(f)(1) Whoever, whether or not acting under color
- 19 of law, by force or threat of force, or violence, or threat
- 20 of harm to any person or property, willfully intimidates
- 21 or interferes with, or attempts to intimidate or interfere
- 22 with, the ability of any person or any class of persons to
- 23 vote or qualify to vote, or to qualify or act as a poll watch-
- 24 er, or any legally authorized election official, in any pri-
- 25 mary, special, or general election, or any person who is,

1 or is employed by, an agent, contractor, or vendor of a

- 2 legally authorized election official assisting in the adminis-
- 3 tration of any primary, special, or general election, shall
- 4 be fined not more than \$5,000, or imprisoned not more
- 5 than one year, or both; and if bodily injury results from
- 6 the acts committed in violation of this paragraph or if
- 7 such acts include the use, attempted use, or threatened
- 8 use of a dangerous weapon, explosives, or fire, shall be
- 9 fined not more than \$5,000 or imprisoned not more than
- 10 5 years, or both.
- 11 "(2) Whoever, whether or not acting under color of
- 12 law, willfully physically damages or threatens to physically
- 13 damage any physical property being used as a polling
- 14 place or tabulation center or other election infrastructure,
- 15 with the intent to interfere with the administration of an
- 16 election or the tabulation or certification of votes, shall
- 17 be fined not more than \$5,000, or imprisoned not more
- 18 than one year, or both; and if bodily injury results from
- 19 the acts committed in violation of this paragraph or if
- 20 such acts include the use, attempted use, or threatened
- 21 use of a dangerous weapon, explosives, or fire, shall be
- 22 fined not more than \$5,000 or imprisoned not more than
- 23 5 years, or both.

1 "(3) For purposes of this subsection, de minimus 2 damage or threats of de minimus damage to physical prop-3 erty shall not be considered a violation of this subsection. 4 "(4) For purposes of this subsection, the term 'elec-5 tion infrastructure' means any office of an election official, staff, worker, or volunteer or any physical, mechanical, or 6 7 electrical device, structure, or tangible item used in the 8 process of creating, distributing, voting, returning, counting, tabulating, auditing, storing, or other handling of 10 voter registration or ballot information. 11 "(g) No prosecution of any offense described in this 12 subsection may be undertaken by the United States, ex-13 cept under the certification in writing of the Attorney Gen-14 eral, or a designee, that— 15 "(1) the State does not have jurisdiction; "(2) the State has requested that the Federal 16 17 Government assume jurisdiction; or 18 "(3) a prosecution by the United States is in 19 the public interest and necessary to secure substan-

20

tial justice.".

1 TITLE III—NATIVE AMERICAN 2 VOTING RIGHTS ACT

3 SEC. 301. SHORT TITLE.

- 4 This title may be cited as the "Frank Harrison, Eliz-
- 5 abeth Peratrovich, and Miguel Trujillo Native American
- 6 Voting Rights Act of 2021".

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7 SEC. 302. FINDINGS AND PURPOSES.

- 8 (a) FINDINGS.—Congress finds the following:
- 9 (1) The Constitution explicitly and implicitly
 10 grants Congress broad general powers to legislate on
 11 issues relating to Indian Tribes, powers consistently
 12 described as plenary and exclusive. These powers
 13 arise from the grant of authority in the Indian Com14 merce Clause and through legislative matters arising
 15 under the Treaty Clause.
 - (2) The Federal Government is responsible for upholding the obligations to which the Federal Government has agreed through treaties, legislation, and executive orders, referred to as the Federal trust responsibility toward Indian Tribes and their members.
 - (3) The Supreme Court has repeatedly relied on the nature of this "government to government" relationship between the United States and sovereign Indian Tribes for congressional authority to enact

"legislation that singles out Indians for particular
and special treatment". Morton v. Mancari, 417
U.S. 535, 554-555 (1974).

- (4) Legislation removing barriers to Native American voting is vital for the fulfillment of Congress' "unique obligation" toward Indians, particularly ensuring that Native American voters are fully included as "qualified members of the modern body politic". Board of County Comm'rs v. Seber, 318 U.S. 705, 715 (1943).
- (5) Under the Elections Clause of article I, section 4 of the Constitution, Congress has additional power to regulate any election conducted to select Members of Congress. Taken together, the Indian Commerce Clause and the Election Clause give Congress broad authority to enact legislation to safeguard the voting rights of Native American voters.
- (6) Despite Congress' decision to grant Native Americans Federal citizenship, and with it the protections of the Fifteenth Amendment, with passage of the Act of June 2, 1924 (Chapter 233; 43 Stat. 253) (commonly known as the "Indian Citizenship Act of 1924"), States continued to deploy distinct methods for disenfranchising Indians by enacting statutes to exclude from voter rolls Indians living on

1 Indian lands, requiring that Indians first terminate 2 their relationship with their Indian Tribe, restricting 3 the right to vote on account of a Tribal member's "guardianship" status, and imposing literacy tests. 4 5 (7) Barriers to voter access for Native Ameri-6 cans persist today, and such barriers range from ob-7 structing voter access to vote dilution and inten-8 tional malapportionment of electoral districts. 9 (8) The Native American Voting Rights Coali-10 tion's nine field hearings in Indian Country and 11 four-State survey of voter discrimination revealed a 12 number of additional obstacles that Native Ameri-13 cans must overcome in some States, including— 14 (A) a lack of accessible registration and 15 polling sites, either due to conditions such as 16 geography, lack of paved roads, the absence of 17 reliable and affordable broadband connectivity, 18 and restrictions on the time, place, and manner 19 that eligible people can register and vote, in-20 cluding unequal opportunities for absentee, 21 early, mail-in, and in-person voting; 22 (B) nontraditional or nonexistent addresses 23 for residents on Indian reservations, lack of res-24 idential mail delivery and pick up, reliance on 25 distant post offices with abbreviated operating

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hours for mail services, insufficient housing units, overcrowded homes, and high incidence of housing insecurity and homelessness, lack of access to vehicles, and disproportionate poverty which make voter registration, acquisition and dropping off of mail-in ballots, receipt of voting information and materials, and securing required identification difficult, if not impossible; (C) inadequate language assistance for Tribal members, including lack of outreach and publicity, the failure to provide complete, accurate, and uniform translations of all voting materials in the relevant Native language, and an insufficient number of trained bilingual poll workers; and (D) voter identification laws that discriminate against Native Americans. (9) The Department of Justice and courts also recognized that some jurisdictions have been unresponsive to reasonable requests from federally recognized Indian Tribes for more accessible voter registration sites and in-person voting locations. (10) According to the National Congress of American Indians, there is a wide gap between the voter registration and turnout rates of eligible Amer-

I	ican Indians and Alaska Natives and the voter reg-
2	istration and turnout rates of non-Hispanic White
3	and other racial and ethnic groups.
4	(11) Despite these obstacles, the Native Amer-
5	ican vote continues to play a significant role in Fed-
6	eral, State, and local elections.
7	(12) In Alaska, New Mexico, Oklahoma, and
8	South Dakota, Native Americans, American Indians,
9	and Alaska Natives comprise approximately 10 per-
10	cent or more of the voting population.
11	(13) The Native American vote also holds great
12	potential, with over 1,000,000 voters who are eligible
13	to vote, but are not registered to vote.
14	(b) Purposes.—The purposes of this title are—
15	(1) to fulfill the Federal Government's trust re-
16	sponsibility to protect and promote Native Ameri-
17	cans' exercise of their constitutionally guaranteed
18	right to vote, including the right to register to vote
19	and the ability to access all mechanisms for voting;
20	(2) to establish Tribal administrative review
21	procedures for a specific subset of State actions that
22	have been used to restrict access to the polls on In-
23	dian lands;

1	(3) to expand voter registration under the Na-
2	tional Voter Registration Act of 1993 (52 U.S.C
3	20501 et seq.) to cover Federal facilities;
4	(4) to afford equal treatment to forms of identi-
5	fication unique to Indian Tribes and their members
6	(5) to ensure American Indians and Alaska Na
7	tives experiencing homelessness, housing insecurity
8	or lacking residential mail pickup and delivery car
9	pool resources to pick up and return ballots;
10	(6) to clarify the obligations of States and polit
11	ical subdivisions regarding the provision of trans-
12	lated voting materials for American Indians and
13	Alaska Natives under section 203 of the Voting
14	Rights Act of 1965 (52 U.S.C. 10503);
15	(7) to provide Tribal leaders with a direct path
16	way to request Federal election observers and to
17	allow public access to the reports of those election
18	observers;
19	(8) to study the prevalence of nontraditional or
20	nonexistent mailing addresses in Native communities
21	and identify solutions to voter access that arise from
22	the lack of an address; and
23	(9) to direct the Department of Justice to con-
24	sult on an annual basis with Indian Tribes on issues
25	related to voting.

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CLC	909	DEFINITIONS

1	SEC. 303. DEFINITIONS.
2	In this title:
3	(1) Attorney general.—The term "Attorney
4	General" means the United States Attorney General
5	(2) Indian; indian lands; indian tribe.—
6	The terms "Indian", "Indian lands", and "Indian
7	Tribe" have the meanings given those terms in sec
8	tion 21 of the Voting Rights Act of 1965 (as added
9	by section 114 of this Act).
10	(3) Polling place.—The term "polling place"
11	means any location where a ballot is cast in elections
12	for Federal office, and includes a voter center, poll
13	polling location, or polling place, depending on the
14	State nomenclature.
15	SEC. 304. ESTABLISHMENT OF A NATIVE AMERICAN VOT
16	ING TASK FORCE GRANT PROGRAM.
17	(a) In General.—The United States Election As
18	sistance Commission (referred to in this section as the
19	"Commission") shall establish and administer, in coordi
20	nation with the Department of the Interior, a Native
21	American voting task force grant program, through which
22	the Commission shall provide financial assistance to eligi
23	ble applicants to enable those eligible applicants to estab
24	lish and operate a Native American Voting Task Force

in each State with a federally recognized Indian Tribe.

1	(b) Purposes.—The purposes of the Native Amer-
2	ican voting task force grant program are to—
3	(1) increase voter outreach, education, registra-
4	tion, and turnout in Native American communities;
5	(2) increase access to the ballot for Native
6	American communities, including additional satellite,
7	early voting, and absentee voting locations;
8	(3) streamline and reduce inconsistencies in the
9	voting process for Native Americans;
10	(4) provide, in the community's dominant lan-
11	guage, educational materials and classes on Indian
12	lands about candidacy filing;
13	(5) train and educate State and local employ-
14	ees, including poll workers, about—
15	(A) the language assistance and voter as-
16	sistance requirements under sections 203 and
17	208 of the Voting Rights Act of 1965 (52
18	U.S.C. 10503; 10508);
19	(B) voter identification laws as affected by
20	section 108 of this title; and
21	(C) the requirements of Tribes, States, and
22	precincts established under this title;
23	(6) identify model programs and best practices
24	for providing language assistance to Native Amer-
25	ican communities;

1	(7) provide nonpartisan poll watchers on elec-
2	tion day in Native American communities;
3	(8) participate in and evaluate future redis-
4	tricting efforts;
5	(9) address issues of internet connectivity as it
6	relates to voter registration and ballot access in Na-
7	tive American communities;
8	(10) work with Indian Tribes, States, and the
9	Federal Government to establish mailing addresses
10	that comply with applicable State and Federal re-
11	quirements for receipt of voting information and ma-
12	terials; and
13	(11) facilitate collaboration between local elec-
14	tion officials, Native American communities, and
15	Tribal elections offices.
16	(c) Eligible Applicant.—The term "eligible appli-
17	cant" means—
18	(1) an Indian Tribe;
19	(2) a Secretary of State of a State, or another
20	official of a State entity responsible for overseeing
21	elections;
22	(3) a nonprofit organization that works, in
23	whole or in part, on voting issues; or
24	(4) a consortium of entities described in para-
25	graphs (1) through (3).

1	(d) Application and Selection Process.—
2	(1) In general.—The Commission, in coordi-
3	nation with the Department of the Interior and fol-
4	lowing consultation with Indian Tribes about the im-
5	plementation of the Native American voting task
6	force grant program, shall establish guidelines for
7	the process by which eligible applicants will submit
8	applications.
9	(2) APPLICATIONS.—Each eligible applicant de-
10	siring a grant under this section shall submit an ap-
11	plication, according to the process established under
12	paragraph (1), and at such time, in such manner,
13	and containing such information as the Commission
14	may require. Such application shall include—
15	(A) a certification that the applicant is an
16	eligible applicant;
17	(B) a proposed work plan addressing how
18	the eligible applicant will establish and admin-
19	ister a Native American Voting Task Force
20	that achieves the purposes described in sub-
21	section (b);
22	(C) if the eligible applicant is a consortium
23	as described in subsection $(e)(4)$, a description
24	of the proposed division of responsibilities be-
25	tween the participating entities;

1	(D) an explanation of the time period that
2	the proposed Native American Voting Task
3	Force will cover, which shall be a time period
4	that is not more than 3 years; and
5	(E) the goals that the eligible applicant de-
6	sires to achieve with the grant funds.
7	(e) Uses of Funds.—A grantee receiving funds
8	under this section shall use such funds to carry out one
9	or more of the activities described in subsection (b)
10	through the grantee's Native American Voting Task
11	Force.
12	(f) Reports.—
13	(1) Report to the commission.—
14	(A) In general.—Not later than 1 year
15	after the date on which an eligible applicant re-
16	ceives grant funds under this section, and annu-
17	ally thereafter for the duration of the grant
18	each eligible applicant shall prepare and submit
19	a written report to the Commission describing
20	the eligible applicant's progress in achieving the
21	goals outlined in the application under sub-
22	section $(d)(2)$.
23	(B) Response.—Not later than 30 days
24	after the date on which the Commission receives
25	the report described in paragraph (1), the Com-

1 mission will provide feedback, comments, and 2 input to the eligible applicant in response to 3 such report. 4 (2) Report to congress.—Not later than 1 5 year after the date of enactment of this title, and 6 annually thereafter, the Commission shall prepare 7 and submit a report to the Committee on Indian Af-8 fairs of the Senate and Committee on Natural Re-9 sources of the House of Representatives containing 10 the results of the reports described under paragraph 11 (1).12 (g) RELATIONSHIP WITH OTHER LAWS.—Nothing in 13 this section reduces State or local obligations provided for by the Voting Rights Act of 1965 (52 U.S.C. 10301 et 14 15 seq.), the National Voter Registration Act of 1993 (52) U.S.C. 20501 et seq.), the Help America Vote Act of 2002 16 17 (52 U.S.C. 20901 et seq.), or any other Federal law or 18 regulation related to voting or the electoral process. 19 (h) AUTHORIZATION OF APPROPRIATIONS.—There 20 are authorized to be appropriated to carry out this section 21 \$10,000,000 for each of fiscal years 2022 through 2037. 22 SEC. 305. VOTER REGISTRATION SITES AT INDIAN SERVICE 23 PROVIDERS AND ON INDIAN LANDS. 24 Section 7(a) of the National Voter Registration Act of 1993 (52 U.S.C. 20506(a)) is amended—

1	(1) in paragraph (2)—
2	(A) in subparagraph (A), by striking
3	"and" after the semicolon;
4	(B) in subparagraph (B), by striking the
5	period at the end and inserting a semicolon;
6	and
7	(C) by adding at the end the following:
8	"(C) any Federal facility or federally fund-
9	ed facility that is primarily engaged in pro-
10	viding services to an Indian Tribe; and
11	"(D) not less than one Federal facility or
12	federally funded facility that is located within
13	the Indian lands of an Indian Tribe, as applica-
14	ble, (which may be the Federal facility or feder-
15	ally funded facility described in subparagraph
16	(C))."; and
17	(2) by adding at the end the following:
18	"(8) Where practicable, each Federal agency
19	that operates a Federal facility or a federally funded
20	facility that is a designated voter registration agency
21	in accordance with subparagraph (C) or (D) of para-
22	graph (2) shall designate one or more special days
23	per year at a centralized location within the bound-
24	aries of the Indian lands of each applicable Indian
25	Tribe for the purpose of informing members of the

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1	Indian Tribe of the timing, registration require-
2	ments, and voting procedures in elections for Fed-
3	eral office, at no cost to the Indian Tribe.".
4	SEC. 306. ACCESSIBLE TRIBAL DESIGNATED POLLING
5	SITES.
6	(a) In General.—
7	(1) Designation of State officer.—Each
8	of the several States whose territory contains all or
9	part of an Indian Tribe's Indian lands shall des-
10	ignate an officer within that State who will be re-
11	sponsible for compliance with the provisions of this
12	section and who shall periodically consult with the
13	Indian Tribes located wholly or partially within that
14	State regarding compliance with the provisions of
15	this section and coordination between the State and
16	the Indian Tribe. The State shall provide written no-
17	tice to each such Indian Tribe of the officer so des-
18	ignated.
19	(2) Provision of Polling Places.—For each
20	Indian Tribe that satisfies the obligations of sub-
21	section (c), and for each election for a Federal offi-
22	cial or State official that is held 180 days or later

after the date on which the Indian Tribe initially

satisfies such obligations, any State or political sub-

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1	division whose territory contains all or part of an In-
2	dian Tribe's Indian lands—
3	(A) shall provide a minimum of one polling
4	place in each precinct in which there are eligible
5	voters who reside on Indian lands, in a location
6	selected by the Indian Tribe and at no cost to
7	the Indian Tribe, regardless of the population
8	or number of registered voters residing on In-
9	dian lands;
10	(B) shall not reduce the number of polling
11	locations on Indian lands based on population
12	numbers;
13	(C) shall provide, at no cost to the Indian
14	Tribe, additional polling places in locations on
15	Indian lands selected by an Indian Tribe and
16	requested under subsection (c) if, based on the
17	totality of circumstances described in subsection
18	(b), it is shown that not providing those addi-
19	tional polling places would result in members of
20	the Indian Tribe and living on Indian lands or
21	other individuals residing on the Indian Tribe's
22	Indian lands having less opportunity to vote
23	than eligible voters in that State or political
24	subdivision who are not members of an Indian
25	Tribe or do not reside on Indian lands;

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(D) shall, at each polling place located on 2 Indian lands and at no cost to the Indian Tribe, 3 make voting machines, tabulation machines, official receptacles designated for the return of 4 5 completed absentee ballots, ballots, provisional 6 ballots, and other voting materials available to 7 the same or greater extent that such equipment 8 and materials are made available at other poll-9 ing places in the State or political subdivision 10 that are not located on Indian lands; (E) shall, at each polling place located on 12 Indian lands, conduct the election using the 13 same voting procedures that are used at other 14 polling places in the State or political subdivi-15 sion that are not located on Indian lands, or 16 other voting procedures that provide greater ac-17 cess for voters; 18 (F) shall, at each polling place located on 19 Indian lands and at no cost to the Indian Tribe, 20 make voter registration available during the period the polling place is open to the maximum 22 extent allowable under State law; 23 (G) shall, at each polling place located on 24 Indian lands, provide training, compensation, 25 and other benefits to election officials and poll

1 workers at no cost to the Indian Tribe and, at 2 a minimum, to the same or greater extent that 3 such training, compensation, and benefits are 4 provided to election officials and poll workers at 5 other polling places in the State or political 6 subdivision that are not located on Indian 7 lands: 8 (H) shall, in all cases, provide the Indian 9 Tribe an opportunity to designate election offi-10 cials and poll workers to staff polling places 11 within the Indian lands of the applicable Indian 12 Tribe on every day that the polling places will 13 be open; 14 (I) shall allow for any eligible voting mem-15 ber of the Indian Tribe or any eligible voting 16 individual residing on Indian lands to vote early 17 or in person at any polling place on Indian 18 lands, regardless of that member or individual's 19 residence or residential address, and shall not 20 reject the ballot of any such member or indi-21 vidual on the grounds that the ballot was cast 22 at the wrong polling place; and 23 (J) may fulfill the State's obligations under subparagraphs (A) and (C) by relocating 24

1	existing polling places, by creating new polling
2	places, or both.
3	(b) Equitable Opportunities To Vote.—
4	(1) In general.—When assessing the opportu-
5	nities to vote provided to members of an Indian
6	Tribe and to other eligible voters in the State resid-
7	ing on Indian lands in order to determine the num-
8	ber of additional polling places (if any) that a State
9	or political subdivision must provide in accordance
10	with subsection (a)(2)(C), the State, political sub-
11	division, or any court applying this section, shall
12	consider the totality of circumstances of—
13	(A) the number of voting-age citizens as-
14	signed to each polling place;
15	(B) the distances that voters must trave
16	to reach the polling places;
17	(C) the time that voters must spend trav-
18	eling to reach the polling places, including
19	under inclement weather conditions;
20	(D) the modes of transportation, if any
21	that are regularly and broadly available to vot-
22	ers to use to reach the polling places;
23	(E) the existence of and access to frequent
24	and reliable public transportation to the polling
25	places;

1	(F) the length of lines and time voters
2	waited to cast a ballot in previous elections; and
3	(G) any other factor relevant to effec-
4	tuating the aim of achieving equal voting oppor-
5	tunity for individuals living on Indian lands.
6	(2) Absence of factors.—When assessing
7	the opportunities to vote in accordance with para-
8	graph (1), the State, political subdivision, or court
9	shall ensure that each factor described in paragraph
10	(1) is considered regardless of whether any one fac-
11	tor would lead to a determination not to provide ad-
12	ditional polling places under subsection $(a)(2)(C)$.
13	(c) Form; Provision of Form; Obligations of
14	THE INDIAN TRIBE.—
15	(1) FORM.—The Attorney General shall estab-
16	lish the form described in this subsection through
17	which an Indian Tribe can fulfill its obligations
18	under this subsection.
19	(2) Provision of form.—Each State or polit-
20	ical subdivision whose territory contains all or part
21	of an Indian Tribe's Indian lands—
22	(A) shall provide the form established
23	under paragraph (1) to each applicable Indian
24	Tribe not less than 30 days prior to the dead-
25	line set by the State or political subdivision for

1	completion of the obligations under this sub-
2	section (which deadline shall be not less than
3	30 days prior to a Federal election) whereby an
4	Indian Tribe can fulfill its obligations under
5	this subsection by providing the information de-
6	scribed in paragraph (3) on that form and sub-
7	mitting the form back to the applicable State or
8	political subdivision by such deadline;
9	(B) shall not edit the form established
10	under paragraph (1) or apply any additional ob-
11	ligations on the Indian Tribe with respect to
12	this section; and
13	(C) shall cooperate in good faith with the
14	efforts of the Indian Tribe to satisfy the re-
15	quirements of this subsection.
16	(3) Obligations of the Indian Tribe.—The
17	requirements for a State and political subdivision
18	under subsection (a)(2) shall apply with respect to
19	an Indian Tribe once an Indian Tribe meets the fol-
20	lowing obligations by completing the form specified
21	in paragraph (1):
22	(A) The Indian Tribe specifies the number
23	and locations of requested polling places, early
24	voting locations, and ballot drop boxes to be

1	provided on the Indian lands of that Indian
2	Tribe.
3	(B) The Indian Tribe certifies that
4	curbside voting will be available for any facili-
5	ties that lack accessible entrances and exits in
6	accordance with Federal and State law.
7	(C) The Indian Tribe certifies that the In-
8	dian Tribe will ensure that each such requested
9	polling place will be open and available to all el-
10	igible voters who reside in the precinct or other
11	geographic area assigned to such polling place,
12	regardless of whether such eligible voters are
13	members of the Indian Tribe or of any other
14	Indian Tribe.
15	(D) The Indian Tribe requests that the
16	State or political subdivision shall designate
17	election officials and poll workers to staff such
18	requested polling places, or certifies that the In-
19	dian Tribe will designate election officials and
20	poll workers to staff such polling places on
21	every day that the polling places will be open.
22	(E) The Indian Tribe may request that the
23	State or political subdivision provide absentee
24	ballots without requiring an excuse, an absentee
25	ballot request, or residential address to all eligi-

ble voters who reside in the precinct or other geographic area assigned to such polling place, regardless of whether such eligible voters are members of the Indian Tribe or of any other Indian Tribe.

(4) ESTABLISHED POLLING PLACES.—Once a

- (4) ESTABLISHED POLLING PLACES.—Once a polling place is established under subsection (a)(2)(A) or subsection (a)(2)(C) the Tribe need not fill out the form designated under paragraph (1) again unless or until that Indian Tribe requests modifications to the requests specified in the most recent form under paragraph (1).
- (5) OPT OUT.—At any time that is 60 days or more before the date of an election, an Indian Tribe that previously has satisfied the obligations of paragraph (3) may notify the State or political subdivision that the Indian Tribe intends to opt out of the standing obligation for one or more polling places that were established in accordance with subsection (a)(2)(A) or subsection (a)(2)(C) for a particular election or for all future elections. A Tribe may opt back in at any time.
- 23 (d) Federal Polling Sites.—Each State shall 24 designate as voter polling facilities any of the facilities 25 identified in accordance with subparagraph (C) or (D) of

section 7(a)(2) of the National Voter Registration Act of 1 2 1993 (52 U.S.C. 20506(a)(2)), at no cost to the Indian 3 Tribe, provided that the facility meets the requirements 4 of Federal and State law as applied to other polling places 5 within the State or political subdivision. The applicable 6 agency of the Federal Government shall ensure that such 7 designated facilities are made available as polling places. 8 (e) Mail-In Balloting.—In States or political subdivisions that permit absentee or mail-in balloting, the fol-10 lowing shall apply with respect to an election for Federal office: 11 12 (1) An Indian Tribe may designate at least one 13 building per precinct as a ballot pickup and collec-14 tion location (referred to in this section as a "trib-15 ally designated buildings") at no cost to the Indian 16 Tribe. The applicable State or political subdivision 17 shall collect and timely deposit all ballots from each 18 tribally designated building. 19 (2) At the applicable Tribe's request, the State 20 or political subdivision shall provide mail-in and ab-21 sentee ballots to each registered voter residing on 22 Indian lands in the State or political subdivision 23 without requiring a residential address, a mail-in or

absentee ballot request, or an excuse for a mail-in or

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absentee ballot.

(3) The address of a tribally designated build-1 2 ing may serve as the residential address and mailing 3 address for voters living on Indian lands if the trib-4 ally designated building is in the same precinct as 5 that voter. 6 (4) If there is no tribally designated building 7 within the precinct of a voter residing on Indian 8 lands (including if the tribally designated building is 9 on Indian lands but not in the same precinct as the 10 voter), the voter may— 11 (A) use another tribally designated build-12 ing within the Indian lands where the voter is 13 located; or 14 (B) use such tribally designated building 15 as a mailing address and may separately des-16 ignate the voter's appropriate precinct through 17 a description of the voter's address, as specified 18 in section 9428.4(a)(2) of title 11, Code of Fed-19 eral Regulations. 20 (5) In the case of a State or political subdivi-21 sion that is a covered State or political subdivision 22 under section 203 of the Voting Rights Act of 1965 23 (52 U.S.C. 10503), that State or political subdivi-24 sion shall provide absentee or mail-in voting mate-25 rials with respect to an election for Federal office in

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the language of the applicable minority group as well as in the English language, bilingual election voting assistance, and written translations of all voting materials in the language of the applicable minority group, as required by section 203 of the Voting Rights Act of 1965 (52 U.S.C. 10503), as amended by this title.

(6) A State or political division shall make reasonable efforts to contact a voter who resides within Indian lands located within its jurisdiction and offer such voter a reasonable opportunity to cure any defect in an absentee ballot issued to and completed and returned by the voter, or appearing on or pertaining to the materials provided for the purpose of returning the absentee ballot, if State law would otherwise require the absentee ballot to be rejected due to such defect and the defect does not compromise ballot secrecy or involve a lack of witness or assistant signature, where such signature is mandated by State law.

(7) In a State or political subdivision that does not permit absentee or mail-in balloting for all eligible voters in the State or political subdivision, that State or political subdivision shall nonetheless provide for absentee or mail-in balloting for voters who

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reside on Indian lands consistent with this section if the State, political subdivision, or any court applying this section determines that the totality of circumstances described in subsection (b) warrants establishment of absentee or mail-in balloting for voters who reside on Indian lands located within the jurisdiction of the State or political subdivision. (f) Ballot Drop Boxes.—Each State shall— (1) provide not less than one ballot drop box for each precinct on Indian lands, at no cost to the Indian Tribe, at either the tribally designated building under subsection (e)(2) or an alternative site selected by the applicable Indian Tribe; and (2) provide additional drop boxes at either the tribally designated building under subsection (e)(2) or an alternative site selected by the applicable Indian Tribe if the State or political subdivision determines that additional ballot drop boxes should be

or an alternative site selected by the applicable Indian Tribe if the State or political subdivision determines that additional ballot drop boxes should be provided based on the criteria considered under the totality of circumstances enumerated under subsection (b).

(g) Early Voting.—

(1) Early voting locations.—In a State or political subdivision that permits early voting in an election for Federal office, that State or political

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subdivision shall provide not less than one early voting location for each precinct on Indian lands, at no cost to the Indian Tribe, at a site selected by the applicable Indian Tribe, to allow individuals living on Indian lands to vote during an early voting period in the same manner as early voting is allowed on such date in the rest of the State or precinct. Additional early voting sites shall be determined based on the criteria considered under the totality of circumstances described in subsection (b).

(2) Length of Period.—In a State or political subdivision that permits early voting in an election for Federal office, that State or political subdivision shall provide an early voting period with respect to that election that shall consist of a period of consecutive days (including weekends) which begins on the 15th day before the date of the election (or, at the option of the State or political subdivision, on a day prior to the 15th day before the date of the election for all early voting locations on Indian lands.

(3) MINIMUM EARLY VOTING REQUIRE-MENTS.—Each polling place that allows voting during an early voting period under this subsection shall—

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1	(A) allow such voting for no less than 10
2	hours on each day;
3	(B) have uniform hours each day for which
4	such voting occurs; and
5	(C) allow such voting to be held for some
6	period of time prior to 9:00 a.m. (local time)
7	and some period of time after 5:00 p.m. (local
8	time).
9	(4) Ballot processing and scanning re-
10	QUIREMENTS.—
11	(A) IN GENERAL.—To the greatest extent
12	practicable, ballots cast during the early voting
13	period in an election for Federal office at voting
14	locations and drop boxes on Indian lands shall
15	be processed and scanned for tabulation in ad-
16	vance of the close of polls on the date of the
17	election.
18	(B) Limitation.—Nothing in this sub-
19	section shall be construed to permit a State or
20	political subdivision to tabulate and count bal-
21	lots in an election for Federal office before the
22	closing of the polls on the date of the election.
23	(h) Provisional Ballots.—
24	(1) In general.—In addition to the require-
25	ments under section 302(a) of the Help America

1 Vote Act of 2002 (52 U.S.C. 21082(a)), for each 2 State or political subdivision that provides voters 3 provisional ballots, challenge ballots, or affidavit bal-4 lots under the State's applicable law governing the 5 voting processes for those voters whose eligibility to 6 vote is determined to be uncertain by election offi-7 cials, election officials shall— 8 (A) provide clear written instructions indi-9 cating the reason the voter was given a provi-10 sional ballot, the information or documents the 11 voter needs to prove eligibility, the location at 12 which the voter must appear to submit these 13 materials or alternative methods, including 14 email or facsimile, that the voter may use to 15 submit these materials, and the deadline for 16 submitting these materials; 17 (B) permit any voter who votes provision-18 ally at any polling place on Indian lands to ap-19 pear at any polling place or at the central loca-20 tion for the election board to submit the docu-21 mentation or information to prove eligibility; 22 (C) permit any voter who votes provision-23 ally at any polling place to submit the required 24 information or documentation via email or fac-25 simile, if the voter prefers to use such methods

1	as an alternative to appearing in person to sub-
2	mit the required information or documentation
3	to prove eligibility;
4	(D) notify the voter on whether the voter's
5	provisional ballot was counted or rejected by
6	telephone, email, or postal mail, or any other
7	available method, including notifying the voter
8	of any online tracking website if State law pro-
9	vides for such a mechanism; and
10	(E) provide the reason for rejection if the
11	voter's provisional ballot was rejected after the
12	voter provided the required information or doc-
13	umentation on eligibility.
14	(2) Duties of election officials.—A State
15	or political subdivision described in paragraph (1)
16	shall ensure in each case in which a provisional bal-
17	lot is cast, that election officials—
18	(A) request and collect the voter's email
19	address, if the voter has one, and transmit any
20	written instructions issued to the voter in per-
21	son to the voter via email; and
22	(B) provide a verbal translation of any
23	written instructions to the voter.
24	(i) Enforcement.—

1	(1) Attorney General.—The Attorney Gen-
2	eral may bring a civil action in an appropriate dis-
3	trict court for such declaratory or injunctive relief as
4	is necessary to carry out this section.
5	(2) Private right of action.—
6	(A) A person or Indian Tribe who is ag-
7	grieved by a violation of this section may pro-
8	vide written notice of the violation to the chief
9	election official of the State involved.
10	(B) An aggrieved person or Indian Tribe
11	may bring a civil action in an appropriate dis-
12	trict court for declaratory or injunctive relief
13	with respect to a violation of this section, if—
14	(i) that person or Indian Tribe pro-
15	vides the notice described in subparagraph
16	(A); and
17	(ii)(I) in the case of a violation that
18	occurs more than 120 days before the date
19	of an election for Federal office, the viola-
20	tion remains and 90 days or more have
21	passed since the date on which the chief
22	election official of the State receives the
23	notice under subparagraph (A); or
24	(II) in the case of a violation that oc-
25	curs 120 days or less but more than 30

1	days before the date of an election for Fed-
2	eral office, the violation remains and 20
3	days or more have passed since the date on
4	which the chief election official of the State
5	receives the notice under subparagraph
6	(A).
7	(C) In the case of a violation of this sec-
8	tion that occurs 30 days or less before the date
9	of an election for Federal office, an aggrieved
10	person or Indian Tribe may bring a civil action
11	in an appropriate district court for declaratory
12	or injunctive relief with respect to the violation
13	without providing notice to the chief election of-
14	ficial of the State under subparagraph (A).
15	(3) Rule of Construction.—Nothing in this
15 16	(3) Rule of construction.—Nothing in this section shall be construed to prevent a State or po-
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	section shall be construed to prevent a State or po-
16 17	section shall be construed to prevent a State or political subdivision from providing additional polling
16 17 18 19	section shall be construed to prevent a State or political subdivision from providing additional polling places or early voting locations on Indian lands.
16 17 18	section shall be construed to prevent a State or political subdivision from providing additional polling places or early voting locations on Indian lands. SEC. 307. PROCEDURES FOR REMOVAL OF POLLING
16 17 18 19 20	section shall be construed to prevent a State or political subdivision from providing additional polling places or early voting locations on Indian lands. SEC. 307. PROCEDURES FOR REMOVAL OF POLLING PLACES AND VOTER REGISTRATION SITES ON
116 117 118 119 220 221	section shall be construed to prevent a State or political subdivision from providing additional polling places or early voting locations on Indian lands. SEC. 307. PROCEDURES FOR REMOVAL OF POLLING PLACES AND VOTER REGISTRATION SITES ON INDIAN LANDS.

office unless the requirements of subsection (b) have been 2 met: 3 (1) Eliminating polling places or voter registra-4 tion sites on the Indian lands of an Indian Tribe. 5 (2) Moving or consolidating a polling place or 6 voter registration site on the Indian lands of an In-7 dian Tribe to a location 1 mile or further from the 8 existing location of the polling place or voter reg-9 istration site. 10 (3) Moving or consolidating a polling place on 11 the Indian lands of an Indian Tribe to a location 12 across a river, lake, mountain, or other natural 13 boundary such that it increases travel time for a 14 voter, regardless of distance. 15 (4) Eliminating in-person voting on the Indian 16 lands of an Indian Tribe by designating an Indian 17 reservation as a permanent absentee voting location, 18 unless the Indian Tribe requests such a designation 19 and has not later requested that the designation as 20 a permanent absentee voting location be reversed. 21 (5) Removing an early voting location or other-22 wise diminishing early voting opportunities on In-23 dian lands. 24 (6) Removing a ballot drop box or otherwise di-25 minishing ballot drop boxes on Indian lands.

1	(7) Decreasing the number of days or hours
2	that an in-person or early voting polling place is
3	open on Indian lands only or changing the dates of
4	in-person or early voting only on the Indian lands of
5	an Indian Tribe.
6	(b) Tribal Administrative Review.—
7	(1) In general.—The requirements of this
8	subsection have been met if—
9	(A) the impacted Indian Tribe submits to
10	the Attorney General the Indian Tribe's written
11	consent to the proposed activity described in
12	subsection (a);
13	(B) the State or political subdivision, after
14	consultation with the impacted Indian Tribe
15	and after attempting to have the impacted In-
16	dian Tribe give consent as described in sub-
17	paragraph (A), institutes an action in the
18	United States District Court for the District of
19	Columbia for a declaratory judgment, and a de-
20	claratory judgment is issued based upon affirm-
21	ative evidence provided by the State or political
22	subdivision, that conclusively establishes that
23	the specified activity described in subsection (a)
24	proposed by the State or political subdivision

neither has the purpose nor will have the effect

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1	of denying or abridging the right to vote on ac-
2	count of race or color, membership in an Indian
3	Tribe, or membership in a language minority
4	group; or
5	(C) the chief legal officer or other appro-
6	priate official of such State or political subdivi-
7	sion, after consultation with the impacted In-
8	dian Tribe and after attempting to have the im-
9	pacted Indian Tribe give consent as described
10	in subparagraph (A), submits a request to carry
11	out the specified activity described in subsection
12	(a) to the Attorney General and the Attorney
13	General affirmatively approves the specified ac-
14	tivity.
15	(2) No limitation on future actions.—
16	(A) NO BAR TO SUBSEQUENT ACTION.—
17	Neither an affirmative indication by the Attor-
18	ney General that no objection will be made, nor
19	the Attorney General's failure to object, nor a
20	declaratory judgment entered under this sec-
21	tion, nor a written consent issued under para-
22	graph (1)(A) shall bar a subsequent action to
23	enjoin enforcement of an activity described in

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subsection (a).

1	(B) REEXAMINATION.—The Attorney Gen-
2	eral reserves the right to reexamine any submis-
3	sion under paragraph (1)(C) if additional rel-
4	evant information comes to the Attorney Gen-
5	eral's attention.
6	(C) DISTRICT COURT.—Any action under
7	this section shall be heard and determined by a
8	district court of 3 judges in accordance with the
9	provisions of section 2284 of title 28, United
10	States Code, and any appeal shall lie to the Su-
11	preme Court.
12	SEC. 308. TRIBAL VOTER IDENTIFICATION.
13	(a) Tribal Identification.—If a State or political
14	subdivision requires an individual to present identification
15	for the purposes of voting or registering to vote in an elec-
16	tion for Federal office, an identification card issued by a
17	federally recognized Indian Tribe, the Bureau of Indian
18	Affairs, the Indian Health Service, or any other Tribal or
19	Federal agency issuing identification cards to eligible In-
20	dian voters shall be treated as a valid form of identifica-
21	tion for such purposes.
22	(b) Online Registration.—If a State or political
23	subdivision requires an identification card for an indi-
24	vidual to register to vote online or to vote online, that
25	State or political subdivision shall annually consult with

110 an Indian Tribe to determine whether a tribal identifica-2 tion can feasibly be used to register to vote online or vote 3 online. 4 (c) Limitation on Requiring Multiple Forms 5 OF IDENTIFICATION.—If a State or political subdivision requires an individual to present more than one form of 6 identification for the purposes of voting or registering to 8 vote in an election for Federal office, or for registering to vote online or to vote online, that State or political sub-10 division shall not require any member of an Indian Tribe to provide more than one form of identification if the 11 12 member provides or ally or in writing that the member does not possess more than one form of identification. 13 14 SEC. 309. PERMITTING VOTERS TO DESIGNATE OTHER PER-15 SON TO RETURN BALLOT. 16 Each State or political subdivision— 17 (1) shall permit any family member (including 18 extended family member, such as a cousin, grand-19 child, or relation through marriage), caregiver, tribal

(1) shall permit any family member (including extended family member, such as a cousin, grand-child, or relation through marriage), caregiver, tribal assistance provider, or household member to return a sealed ballot of a voter that resides on Indian lands to a post office on Indian lands, a ballot drop box location in a State or political subdivision that provides ballot drop boxes, a tribally designated building under section 306(e)(2), or an election of-

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1 fice, so long as the person designated to return the 2 ballot or ballots on behalf of another voter does not 3 receive any form of compensation based on the num-4 ber of ballots that the person has returned and no 5 individual, group, or organization provides com-6 pensation on this basis; 7 (2) may not put any limit on how many voted 8 and sealed absentee ballots any designated person 9 can return to the post office, ballot drop box loca-10 tion, tribally designated building, or election office 11 under paragraph (1); and 12 (3) shall permit, at a minimum, any family 13 member (including extended family member, such as 14 a cousin, grandchild, or relation through marriage), 15 caregiver, tribal assistance provider, or household 16 member, including the voter, to return voter reg-17 istration applications, absentee ballot applications, 18 or absentee ballots to ballot drop box locations in a 19 State or political subdivision that provides ballot 20 drop boxes for these purposes. 21 SEC. 310. BILINGUAL ELECTION REQUIREMENTS. 22 Section 203 of the Voting Rights Act of 1965 (52) U.S.C. 10503) is amended— 23 24 (1) in subsection (b)(3)(C), by striking "1990" and inserting "most recent"; and 25

1	(2) by striking subsection (c) and inserting the
2	following:
3	"(c) Provision of Voting Materials in the Lan-
4	GUAGE OF A MINORITY GROUP.—
5	"(1) In General.—Whenever any State or po-
6	litical subdivision subject to the prohibition of sub-
7	section (b), provides any registration or voting no-
8	tices, forms, instructions, assistance, or other mate-
9	rials or information relating to the electoral process,
10	including ballots, it shall provide them in the lan-
11	guage of the applicable minority group as well as in
12	the English language.
13	"(2) Exceptions.—
14	"(A) In the case of a minority group that
15	is not American Indian or Alaska Native and
16	the language of that minority group is oral or
17	unwritten, the State or political subdivision
18	shall only be required to furnish, in the covered
19	language, oral instructions, assistance, trans-
20	lation of voting materials, or other information
21	relating to registration and voting.
22	"(B) In the case of a minority group that
23	is American Indian or Alaska Native, the State
24	or political subdivision shall only be required to
25	furnish in the covered language oral instruc-

1	tions, assistance, or other information relating
2	to registration and voting, including all voting
3	materials, if the Indian Tribe of that minority
4	group has certified that the language of the ap-
5	plicable American Indian or Alaska Native lan-
6	guage is presently unwritten or the Indian
7	Tribe does not want written translations in the
8	minority language.
9	"(3) Written translations for election
10	WORKERS.—Notwithstanding paragraph (2), the
11	State or political division may be required to provide
12	written translations of voting materials, with the
13	consent of any applicable Indian Tribe, to election
14	workers to ensure that the translations from English
15	to the language of a minority group are complete,
16	accurate, and uniform.".
17	SEC. 311. FEDERAL OBSERVERS TO PROTECT TRIBAL VOT-
18	ING RIGHTS.
19	(a) Amendment to the Voting Rights Act of
20	1965.—Section 8(a) of the Voting Rights Act of 1965 (52
21	U.S.C. 10305(a)) is amended—
22	(1) in paragraph (1), by striking "or" after the
23	semicolon;
24	(2) in paragraph (2)(B), by adding "or" after
25	the semicolon; and

1 (3) by inserting after paragraph (2) the fol-2 lowing: "(3) the Attorney General has received a writ-3 4 ten complaint from an Indian Tribe that efforts to 5 deny or abridge the right to vote under the color of 6 law on account of race or color, membership in an 7 Indian Tribe, or in contravention of the guarantees 8 set forth in section 4(f)(2), are likely to occur;". 9 (b) Publicly Available Reports.—The Attorney 10 General shall make publicly available the reports of a Fed-11 eral election observer appointed pursuant to section 12 (8)(a)(3) of the Voting Rights Act of 1965 (52 U.S.C. 13 10305(a)(3)), as added by subsection (a), not later than 14 6 months after the date that such reports are submitted 15 to the Attorney General, except that any personally identifiable information relating to a voter or the substance of 16 17 the voter's ballot shall not be made public. 18 SEC. 312. TRIBAL JURISDICTION. 19 (a) IN GENERAL.—Tribal law enforcement have the 20 right to exercise their inherent authority to detain and or 21 remove any non-Indian, not affiliated with the State, its political subdivision, or the Federal Government, from In-23 dian lands for intimidating, harassing, or otherwise impeding the ability of people to vote or of the State and its political subdivisions to conduct an election.

- 1 (b) CIVIL ACTION BY ATTORNEY GENERAL FOR RE-
- 2 LIEF.—Whenever any person has engaged or there are
- 3 reasonable grounds to believe that any person is about to
- 4 engage in any act or practice prohibited by this section,
- 5 the Attorney General may institute for the United States,
- 6 or in the name of the United States, an action for preven-
- 7 tive relief, including an application for a temporary or per-
- 8 manent injunction, restraining order, or other order, and
- 9 including an order directed to the State and State or local
- 10 election officials to require them to permit persons to vote
- 11 and to count such votes.
- 12 SEC. 313. TRIBAL VOTING CONSULTATION.
- 13 The Attorney General shall consult annually with In-
- 14 dian Tribes regarding issues related to voting in elections
- 15 for Federal office.
- 16 SEC. 314. ATTORNEYS' FEES, EXPERT FEES, AND LITIGA-
- 17 TION EXPENSES.
- In a civil action under this title, the court shall award
- 19 the prevailing party, other than the United States, reason-
- 20 able attorney fees, including litigation expenses, reason-
- 21 able expert fees, and costs.
- 22 SEC. 315. GAO STUDY AND REPORT.
- The Comptroller General shall study the prevalence
- 24 of nontraditional or nonexistent mailing addresses among
- 25 Indians, those who are members of Indian Tribes, and

- 1 those residing on Indian lands and identify alternatives
- 2 to remove barriers to voter registration, receipt of voter
- 3 information and materials, and receipt of ballots. The
- 4 Comptroller General shall report the results of that study
- 5 to Congress not later than 1 year after the date of enact-
- 6 ment of this title.
- 7 SEC. 316. UNITED STATES POSTAL SERVICE CONSULTA-
- 8 TION.
- 9 The Postmaster General shall consult with Indian
- 10 Tribes, on an annual basis, regarding issues relating to
- 11 the United States Postal Service that present barriers to
- 12 voting for eligible voters living on Indian lands.
- 13 SEC. 317. SEVERABILITY; RELATIONSHIP TO OTHER LAWS;
- 14 TRIBAL SOVEREIGN IMMUNITY.
- 15 (a) SEVERABILITY.—If any provision of this title, or
- 16 the application of such a provision to any person, entity,
- 17 or circumstance, is held to be invalid, the remaining provi-
- 18 sions of this title and the application of all provisions of
- 19 this title to any other person, entity, or circumstance shall
- 20 not be affected by the invalidity.
- 21 (b) Relationship to Other Laws.—Nothing in
- 22 this title shall invalidate, or limit the rights, remedies, or
- 23 procedures available under, or supersede, restrict, or limit
- 24 the application of, the Voting Rights Act of 1965 (52)
- 25 U.S.C. 10301 et seq.), the National Voter Registration

- 1 Act of 1993 (52 U.S.C. 20501 et seq.), the Help America
- 2 Vote Act of 2002 (52 U.S.C. 20901 et seq.), or any other
- 3 Federal law or regulation related to voting or the electoral
- 4 process. Notwithstanding any other provision of law, the
- 5 provisions of this title, and the amendments made by this
- 6 title, shall be applicable within the State of Maine.
- 7 (c) Tribal Sovereign Immunity.—Nothing in this
- 8 title shall be construed as—
- 9 (1) affecting, modifying, diminishing, or other-
- wise impairing the sovereign immunity from suit en-
- joyed by an Indian Tribe; or
- 12 (2) authorizing or requiring the termination of
- any existing trust responsibility of the United States
- with respect to Indian people.
- 15 SEC. 318. AUTHORIZATION OF APPROPRIATIONS.
- There are authorized to be appropriated such sums
- 17 as may be necessary to carry out this title.