

.....  
(Original Signature of Member)

119TH CONGRESS  
2D SESSION

**H. R.** \_\_\_\_\_

To promote the integrity and improve the administration of elections for  
Federal office, and for other purposes.

\_\_\_\_\_  
**IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES**

Mr. STEIL introduced the following bill; which was referred to the Committee  
on \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_  
**A BILL**

To promote the integrity and improve the administration  
of elections for Federal office, 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 “Make Elections Great

5       Again Act”.

6       **SEC. 2. TABLE OF CONTENTS.**

7       The table of contents for this Act is as follows:

Sec. 1. Short title.

Sec. 2. Table of Contents.

**TITLE I—ELECTION INTEGRITY**

Subtitle A—Requiring Photo ID for Voting

Sec. 101. Requiring voters to provide photo identification.

Subtitle B—Voter Registration and List Maintenance Requirements

Sec. 111. Repeal of requirements with respect to administration of voter registration.

Sec. 112. General requirements for administration of voter registration.

Sec. 113. Requirements with respect to removal of ineligible voters from official voter list.

Sec. 114. Computerized statewide voter registration list requirements.

Sec. 115. Requirements for applicants who register by mail.

Sec. 116. Civil enforcement and private right of action.

Sec. 117. Election Assistance Commission guidance.

Sec. 118. Inapplicability of Paperwork Reduction Act.

Sec. 119. Duty of Secretary of Homeland Security to notify election officials of naturalization.

Sec. 120. Rule of construction regarding provisional ballots.

Sec. 121. Rule of construction regarding effect on State exemptions from other Federal laws.

Sec. 122. Requiring applicants for motor vehicle driver's licenses in new state to indicate whether state serves as residence for voter registration purposes.

Sec. 123. Definitions.

Subtitle C—Information Sharing Agreements With Attorney General

Sec. 131. Information sharing agreements with Attorney General.

Subtitle D—Election Security

Sec. 141. Indication of citizenship on driver's licenses and identification cards.

Sec. 142. Requirement to notify State election officials of individuals recused from jury service on grounds of noncitizenship.

Sec. 143. Reports to Congress on foreign and domestic threats to elections.

Sec. 144. Preservation of election records.

Sec. 145. Definitions.

Subtitle E—Prohibition on Federal Agency Political Activities

Sec. 151. Prohibiting political activities in Federal agencies.

TITLE II—ELECTION ADMINISTRATION

Subtitle A—Improving Administration of Elections

Sec. 201. Use of HAVA funds for post-election audits of results.

Subtitle B—Treatment of Ballots

Sec. 211. Requiring paper ballots.

Sec. 212. Limitation on possession of mail-in ballots.

Sec. 213. Prohibiting States from using ranked choice voting in general elections for Federal office.

Sec. 214. Abolishing universal vote by mail.

Sec. 215. Barcode tracking for mail-in ballots.

Sec. 216. Receipt, processing, and counting of absentee and mail-in ballots.

1   **TITLE I—ELECTION INTEGRITY**  
2   **Subtitle A—Requiring Photo ID for**  
3                   **Voting**

4   **SEC. 101. REQUIRING VOTERS TO PROVIDE PHOTO IDENTI-**  
5                   **FICATION.**

6           (a) REQUIREMENT TO PROVIDE PHOTO IDENTIFICA-  
7   TION AS CONDITION OF CASTING BALLOT.—

8                   (1) IN GENERAL.—Title III of the Help Amer-  
9           ica Vote Act of 2002 (52 U.S.C. 21081 et seq.) is  
10          amended by inserting after section 303 the following  
11          new section:

12   **“SEC. 303A. PHOTO IDENTIFICATION REQUIREMENTS.**

13          “(a) PROVISION OF IDENTIFICATION REQUIRED AS  
14   CONDITION OF CASTING BALLOT.—

15                   “(1) INDIVIDUALS VOTING IN PERSON.—

16                           “(A) REQUIREMENT TO PROVIDE IDENTI-  
17                   FICATION.—Notwithstanding any other provi-  
18                   sion of law and except as provided in subpara-  
19                   graph (B), the appropriate State or local elec-  
20                   tion official may not provide a ballot for an  
21                   election for Federal office to an individual who  
22                   desires to vote in person unless the individual  
23                   presents to the official a valid physical photo  
24                   identification.

1                   “(B) AVAILABILITY OF PROVISIONAL BAL-  
2                   LOT.—

3                   “(i) IN GENERAL.—If an individual  
4                   does not present the identification required  
5                   under subparagraph (A), the individual  
6                   shall be permitted to cast a provisional bal-  
7                   lot with respect to the election under sec-  
8                   tion 302(a), except that the appropriate  
9                   State or local election official may not  
10                  make a determination under section  
11                  302(a)(4) that the individual is eligible  
12                  under State law to vote in the election un-  
13                  less, not later than 3 days after casting the  
14                  provisional ballot, the individual presents  
15                  to the official—

16                  “(I) the identification required  
17                  under subparagraph (A); or

18                  “(II) an affidavit developed and  
19                  made available to the individual by  
20                  the State attesting that the individual  
21                  does not possess the identification re-  
22                  quired under subparagraph (A) be-  
23                  cause the individual has a religious  
24                  objection to being photographed.

1                   “(ii) NO EFFECT ON OTHER PROVI-  
2                   SIONAL BALLOTING RULES.—Nothing in  
3                   clause (i) may be construed to apply to the  
4                   casting of a provisional ballot pursuant to  
5                   section 302(a) or any State law for reasons  
6                   other than the failure to present the identi-  
7                   fication required under subparagraph (A).

8                   “(2) INDIVIDUALS VOTING OTHER THAN IN  
9                   PERSON.—

10                   “(A) IN GENERAL.—Notwithstanding any  
11                   other provision of law and except as provided in  
12                   subparagraph (B), the appropriate State or  
13                   local election official may not accept any ballot  
14                   for an election for Federal office provided by an  
15                   individual who votes other than in person unless  
16                   the individual submits with the ballot—

17                   “(i) a copy of a valid photo identifica-  
18                   tion; or

19                   “(ii) the last four digits of the individ-  
20                   ual’s Social Security number and an affi-  
21                   davit developed and made available to the  
22                   individual by the State attesting that the  
23                   individual is unable to obtain a copy of a  
24                   valid photo identification after making rea-  
25                   sonable efforts to obtain such a copy.

1 “(B) EXCEPTIONS.—

2 “(i) IN GENERAL.—Subparagraph (A)  
3 does not apply with respect to a ballot pro-  
4 vided by—

5 “(I) an absent uniformed services  
6 voter who, by reason of active duty or  
7 service, is absent from the United  
8 States on the date of the election in-  
9 volved; or

10 “(II) an individual provided the  
11 right to vote otherwise than in person  
12 under section 3(b)(2)(B)(ii) of the  
13 Voting Accessibility for the Elderly  
14 and Handicapped Act (52 U.S.C.  
15 20102(b)(2)(B)(ii)).

16 “(ii) ABSENT UNIFORMED SERVICES  
17 VOTER DEFINED.—In this subparagraph,  
18 the term ‘absent uniformed services voter’  
19 has the meaning given such term in section  
20 107(1) of the Uniformed and Overseas  
21 Citizens Absentee Voting Act (52 U.S.C.  
22 20310(1)), other than an individual de-  
23 scribed in section 107(1)(C) of such Act.

24 “(b) PROVIDING PUBLIC ACCESS TO DIGITAL IMAG-  
25 ING DEVICES.—With respect to each State, the appro-

1 priate State or local government official of the State shall  
2 ensure, to the extent practicable, public access to a digital  
3 imaging device, which shall include a printer, copier,  
4 image scanner, or multifunction machine, at State and  
5 local government buildings in the State, including courts,  
6 libraries, and police stations, for the purpose of allowing  
7 individuals to use such a device at no cost to the individual  
8 to make a copy of a valid photo identification.

9 “(c) VALID PHOTO IDENTIFICATIONS DESCRIBED.—  
10 For purposes of this section, a ‘valid photo identification’  
11 means, with respect to an individual who seeks to vote in  
12 a State, any of the following:

13 “(1) A valid State-issued motor vehicle driver’s  
14 license that includes a photo of the individual and an  
15 expiration date.

16 “(2) A valid State-issued identification card  
17 that includes a photo of the individual and an expi-  
18 ration date.

19 “(3) A valid United States passport for the in-  
20 dividual.

21 “(4) A valid military identification for the indi-  
22 vidual.

23 “(5) A valid identification document issued by  
24 a Tribal government that includes a photo of the in-  
25 dividual and an expiration date.

1           “(6) Any other form of government-issued iden-  
2           tification that the State may specify as a valid photo  
3           identification for purposes of this subsection, exclud-  
4           ing identification cards provided by an educational  
5           institution.

6           “(d) NOTIFICATION OF IDENTIFICATION REQUIRE-  
7           MENT TO APPLICANTS FOR VOTER REGISTRATION.—

8           “(1) IN GENERAL.—Each State shall ensure  
9           that, at the time an individual applies to register to  
10          vote in elections for Federal office in the State, the  
11          appropriate State or local election official notifies  
12          the individual of the photo identification require-  
13          ments of this section.

14          “(2) SPECIAL RULE FOR INDIVIDUALS APPLY-  
15          ING TO REGISTER TO VOTE ONLINE.—Each State  
16          shall ensure that, in the case of an individual who  
17          applies to register to vote in elections for Federal of-  
18          fice in the State online, the online voter registration  
19          system notifies the individual of the photo identifica-  
20          tion requirements of this section before the indi-  
21          vidual completes the online registration process.

22          “(e) EFFECTIVE DATE.—This section shall apply  
23          with respect to elections for Federal office held in 2027  
24          or any succeeding year.”.



1           (2) CLERICAL AMENDMENT.—The table of con-  
2           tents of such Act is amended by inserting after the  
3           item relating to section 303 the following new item:

“Sec. 303A. Photo identification requirements.”.

4           (b) CONFORMING AMENDMENT RELATING TO VOL-  
5           UNTARY GUIDANCE BY ELECTION ASSISTANCE COMMIS-  
6           SION.—Section 311(b) of such Act (52 U.S.C. 21101(b))  
7           is amended—

8           (1) by striking “and” at the end of paragraph  
9           (2);

10          (2) by striking the period at the end of para-  
11          graph (3) and inserting “; and”; and

12          (3) by adding at the end the following new  
13          paragraph:

14          “(4) in the case of the recommendations with  
15          respect to section 303A, October 1, 2025.”.

16          (c) CONFORMING AMENDMENT RELATING TO EN-  
17          FORCEMENT.—Section 401 of such Act (52 U.S.C. 21111)  
18          is amended by striking “sections 301, 302, 303, and 304”  
19          and inserting “subtitle A of title III”.

20          (d) EFFECTIVE DATE.—This section and the amend-  
21          ments made by this section shall apply with respect to  
22          elections for Federal office held in 2027 or any succeeding  
23          year.

1     **Subtitle B—Voter Registration and**  
2     **List Maintenance Requirements**

3     **SEC. 111. REPEAL OF REQUIREMENTS WITH RESPECT TO**  
4             **ADMINISTRATION OF VOTER REGISTRATION.**

5             (a) REPEAL OF EXISTING REQUIREMENTS.—

6                 (1) NATIONAL VOTER REGISTRATION ACT OF  
7             1993.—Section 8 of the National Voter Registration  
8             Act of 1993 (52 U.S.C. 20507) is repealed.

9                 (2) HELP AMERICA VOTE ACT OF 2002.—

10                     (A) REPEAL.—Except as provided under  
11             subparagraph (B), section 303 of the Help  
12             America Vote Act of 2002 (52 U.S.C. 21083)  
13             is repealed.

14                     (B) EXCEPTION.—Subparagraph (A) does  
15             not apply with respect to section 303(a)(5)(C)  
16             of such Act.

17             (b) CONFORMING AMENDMENTS.—The National  
18     Voter Registration Act of 1993 (52 U.S.C. 20501 et seq.)  
19     is amended—

20                 (1) in section 5(c)(2)(D)(i), by striking “section  
21             8(a)(5) (A) and (B)” and inserting “subparagraphs  
22             (A) and (B) of section 112(a)(6) of the Make Elec-  
23             tions Great Again Act”;

24                 (2) in section 6(d) (52 U.S.C. 20505(d))—

1 (A) by striking “section 8(a)(2)” and in-  
2 serting “section 112(a)(2) of the Make Elec-  
3 tions Great Again Act”; and

4 (B) by striking “section 8(d)” and insert-  
5 ing “section 113(c) of the Make Elections Great  
6 Again Act”; and

7 (3) by amending section 9 to read as follows:

8 **“SEC. 9. FEDERAL COORDINATION AND REGULATIONS.**

9 “The Election Assistance Commission—

10 “(1) in consultation with the chief State elec-  
11 tion official of each State, shall prescribe such regu-  
12 lations as are necessary to carry out paragraphs (2)  
13 and (3);

14 “(2) in consultation with the chief State elec-  
15 tion official of each State, shall develop a mail voter  
16 registration application form for elections for Fed-  
17 eral office;

18 “(3) not later than June 30 of each odd-num-  
19 bered year, shall submit to the Congress a report as-  
20 sessing the impact of this Act on the administration  
21 of elections for Federal office during the preceding  
22 2-year period and including recommendations for  
23 improvements in Federal and State procedures,  
24 forms, and other matters affected by this Act; and

1           “(4) shall provide information to the States  
2       with respect to the responsibilities of the States  
3       under this Act.”.

4   **SEC. 112. GENERAL REQUIREMENTS FOR ADMINISTRATION**  
5                   **OF VOTER REGISTRATION.**

6       (a) IN GENERAL.—In the administration of voter  
7       registration for elections for Federal office, each State  
8       shall—

9           (1) ensure that any eligible applicant is reg-  
10      istered to vote in an election if the applicant’s voter  
11      registration form is authenticated by the chief State  
12      election official of the State and—

13           (A) in the case of registration with a motor  
14      vehicle application under section 5 of the Na-  
15      tional Voter Registration Act of 1993 (52  
16      U.S.C. 20504), if the applicant submits the  
17      valid voter registration form and required docu-  
18      mentary proof described in paragraph (5) to the  
19      appropriate State motor vehicle authority not  
20      later than the lesser of 30 days, or the period  
21      provided by State law, before the date of the  
22      election in the case of registration with a motor  
23      vehicle application under section 5 of such Act;

24           (B) in the case of registration by mail  
25      under section 6 of the National Voter Registra-

1           tion Act of 1993 (52 U.S.C. 20505), if the valid  
2           voter registration form and required documen-  
3           tary proof described in paragraph (5) of the ap-  
4           plicant are postmarked not later than the lesser  
5           of 30 days, or the period provided by State law,  
6           before the date of the election;

7           (C) in the case of registration at a voter  
8           registration agency, if the valid voter registra-  
9           tion form and required documentary proof de-  
10          scribed in paragraph (5) of the applicant are  
11          accepted at the voter registration agency not  
12          later than the lesser of 30 days, or the period  
13          provided by State law, before the date of the  
14          election; and

15          (D) in any other case, if the valid voter  
16          registration form and required documentary  
17          proof described in paragraph (5) of the appli-  
18          cant are received by the appropriate State elec-  
19          tion official not later than the lesser of 30 days,  
20          or the period provided by State law, before the  
21          date of the election;

22          (2) require the appropriate State election offi-  
23          cial to send notice to each applicant of the disposi-  
24          tion of the application;

1           (3) provide that the name of a registrant may  
2           not be removed from the official list of eligible voters  
3           except pursuant to a reason described in section  
4           113(a)(1);

5           (4) take such affirmative steps as are necessary  
6           to remove ineligible voters pursuant to the require-  
7           ments under section 113;

8           (5) ensure that the State does not accept and  
9           process an application to register to vote in an elec-  
10          tion for Federal office unless the applicant satisfies  
11          the eligibility requirements as described in sub-  
12          section (c)(1), including with respect to the presen-  
13          tation of documentary proof of United States citi-  
14          zenship;

15          (6) inform applicants under sections 5, 6, and  
16          7 of the National Voter Registration Act of 1993  
17          (52 U.S.C. 20504, 20505, and 20506) of—

18                 (A) voter eligibility requirements; and

19                 (B) penalties provided by law for submis-  
20          sion of a false voter registration application;  
21          and

22          (7) ensure that the identity of the voter reg-  
23          istration agency through which any particular reg-  
24          istrant is registered is not disclosed to the public.

1 (b) CONFIRMATION OF VOTER REGISTRATION.—Any  
2 State program or activity to protect the integrity of the  
3 electoral process by ensuring the maintenance of an accu-  
4 rate and current voter registration roll for elections for  
5 Federal office—

6 (1) shall be uniform, nondiscriminatory, and in  
7 compliance with the Voting Rights Act of 1965 (52  
8 U.S.C. 10301 et seq.); and

9 (2) shall not result in the removal of the name  
10 of any person from the official list of voters reg-  
11 istered to vote in an election for Federal office by  
12 reason of the person’s failure to vote, except as oth-  
13 erwise provided under subsections (a)(2) and (d) of  
14 section 113.

15 (c) VERIFICATION OF VOTER REGISTRATION INFOR-  
16 MATION.—

17 (1) REQUIRING PROVISION OF CERTAIN INFOR-  
18 MATION BY APPLICANTS.—

19 (A) IN GENERAL.—Except as provided in  
20 subparagraph (B), notwithstanding any other  
21 provision of law, an application for voter reg-  
22 istration for an election for Federal office, in-  
23 cluding an application using the mail voter reg-  
24 istration form developed under section 6 of the  
25 National Voter Registration Act of 1993 (52

1 U.S.C. 20505), may not be accepted or proc-  
2 essed by a State unless the application includes  
3 documentary proof of United States citizenship  
4 and—

5 (i) the last 4 digits of the applicant's  
6 social security number; and

7 (ii) a current and valid driver's license  
8 or other documentary proof of residence in  
9 the State.

10 (B) SPECIAL RULE FOR APPLICANTS WITH-  
11 OUT SOCIAL SECURITY NUMBER.—If an appli-  
12 cant for voter registration for an election for  
13 Federal office has not been issued a social secu-  
14 rity number or a current and valid driver's li-  
15 cense, the State shall assign the applicant a  
16 number which will serve to identify the appli-  
17 cant for voter registration purposes. To the ex-  
18 tent that the State has a computerized list in  
19 effect pursuant to section 114 and the list as-  
20 signs unique identifying numbers to registrants,  
21 the number assigned under this clause shall be  
22 the unique identifying number assigned under  
23 the list.

24 (C) DETERMINATION OF VALIDITY OF  
25 NUMBERS PROVIDED.—The State shall deter-



1           mine whether the information provided by an  
2           individual is sufficient to meet the requirements  
3           of this paragraph, in accordance with State law.

4           (2) REQUIREMENTS FOR STATE OFFICIALS.—

5           To the extent required to verify the accuracy of the  
6           information provided on applications for voter reg-  
7           istration and to receive such pertinent information  
8           and data as is necessary to ascertain the eligibility  
9           of applicants to register to vote and maintain voter  
10          eligibility records—

11                 (A) the chief State election official and the  
12                 official responsible for the State motor vehicle  
13                 authority of a State shall enter into an agree-  
14                 ment to match information in the database of  
15                 the statewide voter registration system with in-  
16                 formation in the database of the motor vehicle  
17                 authority;

18                 (B) the official responsible for the State  
19                 motor vehicle authority shall enter into an  
20                 agreement with the Commissioner of Social Se-  
21                 curity under section 205(r)(8) of the Social Se-  
22                 curity Act;

23                 (C) the chief State election official of each  
24                 State shall enter into an agreement with the  
25                 Attorney General to promptly transmit and re-

1           ceive data regarding felony convictions and in-  
2           carcerations; and

3           (D) the chief State election official of each  
4           State shall enter into an agreement with the  
5           Secretary for Homeland Security to promptly  
6           transmit and receive records and data per-  
7           taining to citizenship, naturalization, and appli-  
8           cations for citizenship.

9           (3) SPECIAL RULE FOR CERTAIN STATES.—In  
10          the case of a State which is permitted to use social  
11          security numbers, and provides for the use of social  
12          security numbers, on applications for voter registra-  
13          tion, in accordance with section 7 of the Privacy Act  
14          of 1974 (5 U.S.C. 552a note), the provisions of this  
15          subsection shall be optional.

16          (d) PERMITTED USE OF LAST 4 DIGITS OF SOCIAL  
17          SECURITY NUMBERS.—The last 4 digits of a social secu-  
18          rity number described in subsection (c)(1)(A)(i) shall not  
19          be considered to be a social security number for purposes  
20          of section 7 of the Privacy Act of 1974 (5 U.S.C. 552a  
21          note).

22          (e) ADDITIONAL PROCESSES IN CERTAIN CASES  
23          WITH RESPECT TO PROOF OF CITIZENSHIP.—

24                  (1) PROCESS FOR THOSE WITHOUT DOCUMEN-  
25          TARY PROOF.—

1           (A) IN GENERAL.—Subject to any relevant  
2           guidance adopted by the Election Assistance  
3           Commission, each State shall establish a proc-  
4           ess under which an applicant who cannot pro-  
5           vide documentary proof of United States citi-  
6           zenship under subsection (c)(1)(A) may, if the  
7           applicant signs an attestation under penalty of  
8           perjury that the applicant is a citizen of the  
9           United States and eligible to vote in elections  
10          for Federal office, submit such other evidence  
11          to the appropriate State or local official dem-  
12          onstrating that the applicant is a citizen of the  
13          United States and such official shall make a de-  
14          termination as to whether the applicant has  
15          sufficiently established United States citizen-  
16          ship for purposes of registering to vote in elec-  
17          tions for Federal office in the State.

18          (B) AFFIDAVIT REQUIREMENT.—If a State  
19          or local official makes a determination under  
20          subparagraph (A) that an applicant has suffi-  
21          ciently established United States citizenship for  
22          purposes of registering to vote in elections for  
23          Federal office in the State, such determination  
24          shall be accompanied by an affidavit developed  
25          under subparagraph (C) signed by the official

1           swearing or affirming the applicant sufficiently  
2           established United States citizenship for pur-  
3           poses of registering to vote.

4           (C) DEVELOPMENT OF AFFIDAVIT BY THE  
5           ELECTION ASSISTANCE COMMISSION.—The  
6           Election Assistance Commission shall develop a  
7           uniform affidavit for use by State and local offi-  
8           cials under subparagraph (B), which shall—

9                   (i) include an explanation of the min-  
10                  imum standards required for a State or  
11                  local official to register an applicant who  
12                  cannot provide documentary proof of  
13                  United States citizenship to vote in elec-  
14                  tions for Federal office in the State; and

15                   (ii) require the official to explain the  
16                  basis for registering such applicant to vote  
17                  in such elections.

18           (2) PROCESS IN CASE OF CERTAIN DISCREP-  
19           ANCIES IN DOCUMENTATION.—Subject to any rel-  
20           evant guidance adopted by the Election Assistance  
21           Commission, each State shall establish a process  
22           under which an applicant can provide such addi-  
23           tional documentation to the appropriate election offi-  
24           cial of the State as may be necessary to establish  
25           that the applicant is a citizen of the United States

1 in the event of a discrepancy with respect to the ap-  
2 plicant's documentary proof of United States citizen-  
3 ship.

4 (3) AVAILABILITY OF INFORMATION.—

5 (A) IN GENERAL.—At the request of a  
6 State election official (including a request re-  
7 lated to a process established by a State under  
8 paragraph (1) or (2)), any head of a Federal  
9 department or agency possessing information  
10 relevant to determining the eligibility of an indi-  
11 vidual to vote in elections for Federal office  
12 shall, not later than 24 hours after receipt of  
13 such request, provide the official with such in-  
14 formation as may be necessary to enable the of-  
15 ficial to verify that an applicant for voter reg-  
16 istration in elections for Federal office held in  
17 the State or a registrant on the official list of  
18 eligible voters in elections for Federal office  
19 held in the State is a citizen of the United  
20 States, which shall include providing the official  
21 with such batched information as may be re-  
22 quested by the official.

23 (B) USE OF SAVE SYSTEM.—The Secretary  
24 of Homeland Security may respond to a request  
25 received under subparagraph (A) by using the

1 system for the verification of immigration sta-  
2 tus under the applicable provisions of section  
3 1137 of the Social Security Act (42 U.S.C.  
4 1320b-7), as established pursuant to section  
5 121(c) of the Immigration Reform and Control  
6 Act of 1986 (Public Law 99-603).

7 (C) SHARING OF INFORMATION.—The  
8 heads of Federal departments and agencies  
9 shall share information with each other with re-  
10 spect to an individual who is the subject of a  
11 request received under subparagraph (A) in  
12 order to enable them to respond to the request.

13 (D) INVESTIGATION FOR PURPOSES OF RE-  
14 MOVAL.—The Secretary of Homeland Security  
15 shall conduct an investigation to determine  
16 whether to initiate removal proceedings under  
17 section 239 of the Immigration and Nationality  
18 Act (8 U.S.C. 1229) if it is determined pursu-  
19 ant to subparagraph (A) or (B) that an alien  
20 (as such term is defined in section 101 of the  
21 Immigration and Nationality Act (8 U.S.C.  
22 1101)) is unlawfully registered to vote in elec-  
23 tions for Federal office.

24 (E) PROHIBITING FEES.—The head of a  
25 Federal department or agency may not charge

1 a fee for responding to a State's request under  
2 subparagraph (A).

3 (4) REQUIREMENT IN CASES OF NAME DIS-  
4 CREPANCIES IN DOCUMENTATION.—Notwithstanding  
5 the requirements of subsection (c)(1)(A), a State  
6 shall accept and process an application to register to  
7 vote in an election for Federal office if the appli-  
8 cant—

9 (A) presents with the application docu-  
10 mentation that would constitute documentary  
11 proof of United States citizenship, except that  
12 the name on the documentation is not the name  
13 of the applicant; and

14 (B) provides, through a process established  
15 by the State (which shall be subject to any rel-  
16 evant guidance adopted by the Election Assist-  
17 ance Commission)—

18 (i) additional documentation as nec-  
19 essary to establish that the name on the  
20 documentation is a previous name of the  
21 applicant; or

22 (ii) an affidavit signed by the appli-  
23 cant attesting that the name on the docu-  
24 mentation is a previous name of the appli-  
25 cant.

1 (f) CONFORMING AMENDMENTS TO ENSURE ONLY  
2 CITIZENS ARE REGISTERED TO VOTE IN ELECTIONS FOR  
3 FEDERAL OFFICE.—

4 (1) REGISTRATION WITH APPLICATION FOR  
5 MOTOR VEHICLE DRIVER’S LICENSE.—Section 5 of  
6 the National Voter Registration Act of 1993 (52  
7 U.S.C. 20504) is amended—

8 (A) in subsection (a)(1), by striking “Each  
9 State motor vehicle driver’s license application”  
10 and inserting “Subject to the requirements  
11 under section 112(c) of the Make Elections  
12 Great Again Act, each State motor vehicle driv-  
13 er’s license application”;

14 (B) in subsection (c)(1), by striking “Each  
15 State shall include” and inserting “Subject to  
16 the requirements under section 112(c) of the  
17 Make Elections Great Again Act, each State  
18 shall include”;

19 (C) in subsection (c)(2)(B)—

20 (i) in clause (i), by striking “and” at  
21 the end;

22 (ii) in clause (ii), by adding “and” at  
23 the end; and

24 (iii) by adding at the end the fol-  
25 lowing new clause:



1 “(iii) verify that the applicant is a citizen  
2 of the United States;”;

3 (D) in subsection (c)(2)(C)(i), by striking  
4 “(including citizenship)” and inserting “, in-  
5 cluding the requirement that the applicant pro-  
6 vides documentary proof of United States citi-  
7 zenship”; and

8 (E) in subsection (c)(2)(D)(iii), by striking  
9 “; and” and inserting “, other than as evidence  
10 in a criminal proceeding or immigration pro-  
11 ceeding brought against an applicant who  
12 knowingly attempts to register to vote and  
13 knowingly makes a false declaration under pen-  
14 alty of perjury that the applicant meets the eli-  
15 gibility requirements to register to vote in an  
16 election for Federal office; and”.

17 (2) REQUIRING DOCUMENTARY PROOF OF  
18 UNITED STATES CITIZENSHIP WITH NATIONAL MAIL  
19 VOTER REGISTRATION FORM.—Section 6 of such Act  
20 (52 U.S.C. 20505) is amended—

21 (A) in subsection (a)(1)—

22 (i) by striking “Each State shall ac-  
23 cept and use” and inserting “Subject to  
24 the requirements under section 112(c) of

1 the Make Elections Great Again Act, each  
2 State shall accept and use”; and

3 (ii) by striking “Federal Election  
4 Commission” and inserting “Election As-  
5 sistance Commission”;

6 (B) in subsection (b), by adding at the end  
7 the following: “The chief State election official  
8 of a State shall take such steps as may be nec-  
9 essary to ensure that residents of the State are  
10 aware of the requirement to provide documen-  
11 tary proof of United States citizenship to reg-  
12 ister to vote in elections for Federal office in  
13 the State.”; and

14 (C) in subsection (c)(1)—

15 (i) in subparagraph (A), by striking  
16 “and” at the end;

17 (ii) in subparagraph (B) by striking  
18 the period at the end and inserting “;  
19 and”; and

20 (iii) by adding at the end the fol-  
21 lowing new subparagraph:

22 “(C) the person did not provide documentary  
23 proof of United States citizenship when registering  
24 to vote.”.

1           (3) REQUIREMENTS FOR VOTER REGISTRATION  
2       AGENCIES.—Section 7 of such Act (52 U.S.C.  
3       20506) is amended—

4                   (A) in subsection (a)—

5                           (i) in paragraph (4)(A), by adding at  
6                   the end the following new clause:

7                   “(iv) Receipt of documentary proof of United  
8       States citizenship of each applicant to register to  
9       vote in elections for Federal office in the State.”;  
10      and

11                   (ii) in paragraph (6)—

12                           (I) in subparagraph (A)(i)(I), by  
13                   striking “(including citizenship)” and  
14                   inserting “, including the requirement  
15                   that the applicant provides documen-  
16                   tary proof of United States citizen-  
17                   ship”; and

18                           (II) by redesignating subpara-  
19                   graph (B) as subparagraph (C); and

20                           (III) by inserting after subpara-  
21                   graph (A) the following new subpara-  
22                   graph:

23                   “(B) ask the applicant the question, ‘Are you a  
24       citizen of the United States?’ and if the applicant  
25       answers in the affirmative require documentary

1 proof of United States citizenship prior to providing  
2 the form under subparagraph (C);” and

3 (B) in subsection (c)(1), by inserting “who  
4 are citizens of the United States” after “for  
5 persons”.

6 (4) CRIMINAL PENALTIES.—Section 12(2) of  
7 such Act (52 U.S.C. 20511(2)) is amended—

8 (A) by striking “or” at the end of subpara-  
9 graph (A);

10 (B) by redesignating subparagraph (B) as  
11 subparagraph (D); and

12 (C) by inserting after subparagraph (A)  
13 the following new subparagraphs:

14 “(B) in the case of an officer or employee  
15 of the executive branch, providing material as-  
16 sistance to a noncitizen in attempting to reg-  
17 ister to vote or vote in an election for Federal  
18 office;

19 “(C) registering an applicant to vote in an  
20 election for Federal office who fails to present  
21 documentary proof of United States citizenship;  
22 or”.

23 (5) APPLICABILITY OF REQUIREMENTS TO CER-  
24 TAIN STATES.—

1           (A) IN GENERAL.—Subsection (b) of sec-  
2           tion 4 of the National Voter Registration Act of  
3           1993 (52 U.S.C. 20503) is amended by striking  
4           “This Act does not apply to a State” and in-  
5           serting “Except with respect to the require-  
6           ments under section 112(c) and section 113(j)  
7           of the Make Elections Great Again Act in the  
8           case of a State described in paragraph (2), this  
9           Act does not apply to a State”.

10           (B) PERMITTING STATES TO ADOPT RE-  
11           QUIREMENTS AFTER ENACTMENT.—Section 4  
12           of such Act (52 U.S.C. 20503) is amended by  
13           adding at the end the following new subsection:  
14           “(c) PERMITTING STATES TO ADOPT CERTAIN RE-  
15           QUIREMENTS AFTER ENACTMENT.—Section 112(c) and  
16           section 113(j) of the Make Elections Great Again Act shall  
17           not apply to a State described in subsection (b)(2) if the  
18           State, by law or regulation, adopts requirements which are  
19           identical to the requirements under such subsections not  
20           later than 60 days prior to the date of the first election  
21           for Federal office which is held in the State after the date  
22           of the enactment of this subsection.”.

1 **SEC. 113. REQUIREMENTS WITH RESPECT TO REMOVAL OF**  
2 **INELIGIBLE VOTERS FROM OFFICIAL VOTER**  
3 **LIST.**

4 (a) AFFIRMATIVE STEPS TO MAINTAIN ACCURATE  
5 VOTER REGISTRATION LISTS.—

6 (1) IN GENERAL.—Each State shall take such  
7 affirmative steps as are necessary on an ongoing  
8 basis, but in no case less frequently than once every  
9 30 days, to verify the eligibility of registrants on the  
10 official list of eligible voters in elections for Federal  
11 office in the State through the use of all verification  
12 resources available to the State, including through  
13 the use of information supplied by the Department  
14 of Homeland Security through the Systematic Alien  
15 Verification for Entitlements (“SAVE”) system,  
16 and, pursuant to the requirement under section  
17 112(a)(4), to remove from the official list of eligible  
18 voters in elections for Federal office in the State  
19 registrants who are determined to be ineligible vot-  
20 ers by reason of—

21 (A) the request of the registrant;

22 (B) criminal conviction or mental inca-  
23 pacity pursuant to State law;

24 (C) the death of the registrant;

1 (D) a change in the residence of the reg-  
2 istrant, in accordance with paragraph (2) and  
3 subsection (c);

4 (E) the registrant's status as a noncitizen,  
5 including on the basis of the immigration adju-  
6 dication or status for naturalized citizenship of  
7 the registrant as provided by the Director of  
8 the United States Citizenship and Immigration  
9 Services or any other information with respect  
10 to citizenship status supplied by the Depart-  
11 ment of Homeland Security through the Sys-  
12 tematic Alien Verification for Entitlements  
13 ("SAVE") system that demonstrates a reg-  
14 istrant is not a citizen of the United States; or

15 (F) duplicate registrations of a registrant  
16 otherwise eligible to vote.

17 (2) USE OF CHANGE-OF-ADDRESS INFORMA-  
18 TION FROM POSTAL SERVICE.—Any process of a  
19 State described under paragraph (1) shall include  
20 the State establishing a process under which change-  
21 of-address information supplied by the Postal Serv-  
22 ice through its licensees is used to identify reg-  
23 istrants whose addresses may have changed and if it  
24 appears from such information provided that a reg-  
25 istrant has moved to a different residence address—

1 (A) in the same registrar's jurisdiction in  
2 which the registrant is currently registered, the  
3 registrar changes the registration records to  
4 show the new address and sends the registrant  
5 a notice of the change by forwardable mail and  
6 a postage prepaid pre-addressed return form by  
7 which the registrant may verify or correct the  
8 address information; or

9 (B) not in the same registrar's jurisdiction,  
10 the registrar uses the notice procedure de-  
11 scribed in subsection (c)(2) to confirm the  
12 change of address.

13 (b) DEADLINE PRIOR TO GENERAL ELECTIONS FOR  
14 FEDERAL OFFICE.—A State shall complete any process  
15 under subsection (a) to remove the names of voters deter-  
16 mined to be ineligible from the official list of eligible voters  
17 in Federal elections held in the State not later than 15  
18 days prior to the date established under section 25 of the  
19 Revised Statutes of the United States (2 U.S.C. 7) for  
20 each general election for Federal office, except that this  
21 subsection shall not be construed to preclude—

22 (1) the removal of names from official lists of  
23 voters at any time on a basis described in paragraph  
24 (1)(A), (1)(B), or (1)(E) of subsection (a); or



1           (2) the correction of registration records pursu-  
2           ant to this subtitle.

3           (c) PROCEDURE FOR REMOVAL OF NAMES FROM  
4 VOTER ROLLS BY REASON OF RESIDENCE CHANGE.—

5           (1) IN GENERAL.—A State shall remove the  
6           name of a registrant from the official list of eligible  
7           voters in elections for Federal office when the State  
8           becomes aware that the registrant has changed resi-  
9           dence through one of the following actions:

10           (A) The registrant confirms in person or in  
11           writing that the registrant has changed resi-  
12           dence to a place outside the registrar’s jurisdic-  
13           tion in which the registrant is registered.

14           (B) An election official determines, from  
15           review of postal service records or other avail-  
16           able databases or sources of address verification  
17           relied upon by the registrar for maintaining an  
18           accurate list of eligible voters, that the reg-  
19           istrant no longer resides at the address shown  
20           in the registration, has failed to respond to a  
21           notice described in paragraph (2), or that such  
22           notice has been returned as undeliverable.

23           (2) NOTICE DESCRIBED.—A notice is described  
24           in this paragraph if it is a postage prepaid and pre-  
25           addressed return card, sent by nonforwardable mail,

1 on which the registrant may state his or her current  
2 address, together with a notice to the following ef-  
3 fect:

4 (A) If the registrant did not change his or  
5 her residence, or changed residence but re-  
6 mained in the registrar's jurisdiction, the reg-  
7 istrant should return the card not later than  
8 the time provided for mail registration under  
9 section section 112(a)(1)(B).

10 (B) If the registrant has changed residence  
11 to a place outside the registrar's jurisdiction in  
12 which the registrant is registered, information  
13 concerning how the registrant can continue to  
14 be eligible to vote.

15 (3) REMOVAL AND NOTICE OF REMOVAL.—If  
16 the pre-addressed return card described in para-  
17 graph (2) is not returned, or if the notice described  
18 in such paragraph is returned as undeliverable—

19 (A) the registrant shall be removed from  
20 the official list of eligible voters as described in  
21 paragraph (1); and

22 (B) the registrant shall be notified of such  
23 removal by notice sent by forwardable mail.

24 (4) CORRECTION OF OFFICIAL LIST OF ELIGI-  
25 BLE VOTERS.—A voting registrar shall correct an of-

1        ficial list of eligible voters in elections for Federal of-  
2        fice in accordance with change of residence informa-  
3        tion obtained in conformance with this subsection.

4        (d) PROCEDURE FOR VOTING FOLLOWING FAILURE  
5 TO RETURN CARD.—

6            (1) IN GENERAL.—A registrant who has moved  
7        from an address in the area covered by a polling  
8        place to an address in the same area shall, notwith-  
9        standing failure to notify the registrar of the change  
10       of address prior to the date of an election, be per-  
11       mitted to vote at that polling place if the registrant  
12       provides documentary proof of the change of address  
13       to an election official at that polling place.

14          (2) PROCEDURES FOR REGISTRANTS WHO HAVE  
15 MOVED IN CERTAIN CASES.—

16            (A) IN GENERAL.—A registrant who has  
17        moved from an address in the area covered by  
18        one polling place to an address in an area cov-  
19        ered by a second polling place within the same  
20        registrar's jurisdiction and the same congres-  
21        sional district and who has failed to notify the  
22        registrar of the change of address prior to the  
23        date of an election, at the option of the reg-  
24        istrant—

1 (i) shall be permitted to correct the  
2 voting records and vote at the registrant's  
3 former polling place, if the registrant pro-  
4 vides documentary proof of the new ad-  
5 dress to an election official at that polling  
6 place;

7 (ii) shall be permitted to correct the  
8 voting records and vote at a central loca-  
9 tion within the same registrar's jurisdiction  
10 designated by the registrar where a list of  
11 eligible voters is maintained, upon written  
12 affirmation by the registrant of the new  
13 address on a standard form provided by  
14 the registrar at the central location; or

15 (iii) shall be permitted to correct the  
16 voting records for purposes of voting in fu-  
17 ture elections at the appropriate polling  
18 place for the current address and, if per-  
19 mitted by State law, shall be permitted to  
20 vote in the present election, upon confirma-  
21 tion by the registrant of the new address  
22 by such means as are required by law.

23 (B) DOCUMENTARY PROOF OF NEW AD-  
24 DRESS.—If State law permits the registrant to  
25 vote in the current election upon documentary

1 proof by the registrant of the new address at a  
2 polling place described in subparagraph (A)(i)  
3 or subparagraph (A)(iii), voting at the other lo-  
4 cations described in subparagraph (A) need not  
5 be provided as options.

6 (C) DOCUMENTARY PROOF OF NO CHANGE  
7 IN RESIDENCE.—If the registration records in-  
8 dicate that a registrant has moved from an ad-  
9 dress in the area covered by a polling place, the  
10 registrant shall, upon documentary proof by the  
11 registrant before an election official at that  
12 polling place that the registrant continues to re-  
13 side at the address previously made known to  
14 the registrar, be permitted to vote at that poll-  
15 ing place.

16 (e) CHANGE OF VOTING ADDRESS WITHIN A JURIS-  
17 DICTION.—In the case of a change of address, for voting  
18 purposes, of a registrant to another address within the  
19 same registrar’s jurisdiction, the registrar shall correct the  
20 voting registration list accordingly, and the registrant’s  
21 name may not be removed from the official list of eligible  
22 voters by reason of such a change of address except as  
23 provided in subsection (c).

24 (f) SPECIAL REQUIREMENTS TO ENSURE ONLY CITI-  
25 ZENS ARE REGISTERED TO VOTE.—Any process of a

1 State described under subsection (a)(1) with respect to  
2 verifying that an individual is a United States citizen shall  
3 include using information supplied by one or more of the  
4 following sources:

5 (1) The Department of Homeland Security  
6 through the Systematic Alien Verification for Enti-  
7 tlements (“SAVE”) or otherwise.

8 (2) The Social Security Administration through  
9 the Social Security Number Verification Service, or  
10 otherwise.

11 (3) State agencies that supply State identifica-  
12 tion cards or driver’s licenses where the agency con-  
13 firms the United States citizenship status of appli-  
14 cants.

15 (4) Other sources, including databases, which  
16 provide confirmation of United States citizenship  
17 status.

18 (g) REMOVAL OF NONCITIZENS FROM REGISTRATION  
19 ROLLS.—A State shall remove an individual who is not  
20 a citizen of the United States from the official list of eligi-  
21 ble voters for elections for Federal office held in the State  
22 at any time upon receipt of documentation or verified in-  
23 formation that a registrant is not a United States citizen.

24 (h) PUBLIC LIST OF INELIGIBLE VOTERS.—If a  
25 voter is deemed ineligible under this section, the chief

1 State election official of the State concerned shall put the  
2 voter's name on a publicly available list and send a notice  
3 described in subsection (c)(2) and provide the voter with  
4 an opportunity to cure any defect with respect to the indi-  
5 vidual's eligibility to vote in elections for Federal office  
6 in the State.

7 (i) NOTICE REQUIREMENT WITH RESPECT TO CON-  
8 VICTION IN FEDERAL COURT.—

9 (1) IN GENERAL.—On the conviction of a per-  
10 son of a felony in a district court of the United  
11 States, the United States attorney shall immediately  
12 give written notice of the conviction to the chief  
13 State election official of the State of the person's  
14 residence.

15 (2) NOTICE REQUIREMENTS.—A notice given  
16 pursuant to paragraph (1) shall include—

17 (A) the name of the offender;

18 (B) the offender's age and residence ad-  
19 dress;

20 (C) the date of entry of the judgment;

21 (D) a description of the offenses of which  
22 the offender was convicted; and

23 (E) the sentence imposed by the court.

24 (3) INFORMATION FROM UNITED STATES AT-  
25 TORNEY.—On request of the chief State election of-

1        ficial of a State or other State official with responsi-  
2        bility for determining the effect that a conviction  
3        may have on an offender's qualification to vote, the  
4        United States attorney shall provide such additional  
5        information as the United States attorney may have  
6        concerning the offender and the offense of which the  
7        offender was convicted.

8            (4) NOTICE OF OVERTURNED CONVICTION.—If  
9        a conviction of which notice was given pursuant to  
10       paragraph (1) is overturned, the United States at-  
11       torney shall give the official to whom the notice was  
12       given written notice of the vacation of the judgment.

13           (5) NOTIFICATION BY CHIEF STATE ELECTION  
14        OFFICIAL.—The chief State election official of a  
15        State shall notify the voter registration officials of  
16        the local jurisdiction in which an offender resides of  
17        the information received under this subsection.

18        (j) PUBLIC DISCLOSURE OF VOTER REGISTRATION  
19        ACTIVITIES.—

20           (1) IN GENERAL.—Each State shall maintain  
21        for at least 2 years and shall make available for pub-  
22        lic inspection in electronic form at a reasonable cost  
23        all records concerning the implementation of pro-  
24        grams and activities conducted for the purpose of  
25        ensuring the accuracy and currency of official lists



1 of eligible voters, except to the extent that such  
2 records relate to a declination to register to vote or  
3 to the identity of a voter registration agency through  
4 which any particular voter is registered.

5 (2) CONTENT OF RECORDS.—The records main-  
6 tained pursuant to paragraph (1) shall include lists  
7 of the names and addresses of all persons to whom  
8 notices described in subsection (c)(2) are sent, and  
9 information concerning whether or not each such  
10 person has responded to the notice as of the date  
11 that inspection of the records is made.

12 **SEC. 114. COMPUTERIZED STATEWIDE VOTER REGISTRA-**  
13 **TION LIST REQUIREMENTS.**

14 (a) IN GENERAL.—

15 (1) IMPLEMENTATION.—Each State, acting  
16 through the chief State election official, shall imple-  
17 ment, in a uniform and nondiscriminatory manner,  
18 a single, uniform, official, centralized, interactive  
19 computerized statewide voter registration list de-  
20 fined, maintained, and administered at the State  
21 level that contains the name and registration infor-  
22 mation of every legally registered voter in the State  
23 and assigns a unique identifier to each legally reg-  
24 istered voter in the State (in this section referred to

1 as the “computerized list”), and includes the fol-  
2 lowing:

3 (A) The computerized list shall serve as  
4 the single system for storing and managing the  
5 official list of registered voters throughout the  
6 State.

7 (B) The computerized list contains the  
8 name and registration information of every le-  
9 gally registered voter in the State.

10 (C) Under the computerized list, a unique  
11 identifier is assigned to each legally registered  
12 voter in the State.

13 (D) The computerized list shall be coordi-  
14 nated with other agency databases within the  
15 State.

16 (E) Any election official in the State, in-  
17 cluding any local election official, may obtain  
18 immediate electronic access to the information  
19 contained in the computerized list.

20 (F) All voter registration information ob-  
21 tained by any local election official in the State  
22 shall be electronically entered into the comput-  
23 erized list on an expedited basis at the time the  
24 information is provided to the local official.

1 (G) The chief State election official shall  
2 provide such support as may be required so  
3 that local election officials are able to enter in-  
4 formation as described in subparagraph (F).

5 (H) The computerized list shall serve as  
6 the official voter registration list for the con-  
7 duct of all elections for Federal office in the  
8 State.

9 (2) COMPUTERIZED LIST MAINTENANCE.—

10 (A) IN GENERAL.—The appropriate State  
11 or local election official shall perform list main-  
12 tenance with respect to the computerized list on  
13 a regular basis as follows:

14 (i) If an individual is to be removed  
15 from the computerized list, such individual  
16 shall be removed in accordance with the  
17 provisions of section 112(a)(3) and section  
18 113(a).

19 (ii) For purposes of removing names  
20 of ineligible voters from the official list of  
21 eligible voters—

22 (I) under section 113(a)(1)(B),  
23 the State shall coordinate the comput-  
24 erized list with State agency records  
25 on felony status; and

1 (II) by reason of the death of the  
2 registrant under section 113(a)(1)(C),  
3 the State shall coordinate the comput-  
4 erized list with State agency records  
5 on death.

6 (B) CONDUCT.—The list maintenance per-  
7 formed under subparagraph (A) shall be con-  
8 ducted in a manner that ensures that—

9 (i) the name of each registered voter  
10 appears in the computerized list;

11 (ii) only voters who are not registered  
12 or who are not eligible to vote are removed  
13 from the computerized list; and

14 (iii) duplicate names are eliminated  
15 from the computerized list.

16 (3) TECHNOLOGICAL SECURITY OF COMPUTER-  
17 IZED LIST.—The appropriate State or local official  
18 shall provide adequate technological security meas-  
19 ures to prevent the unauthorized access to the com-  
20 puterized list established under this section.

21 (4) MINIMUM STANDARD FOR ACCURACY OF  
22 STATE VOTER REGISTRATION RECORDS.—The State  
23 election system shall include provisions to ensure  
24 that voter registration records in the State are accu-

1 rate and are updated regularly, including the fol-  
2 lowing:

3 (A) A system of file maintenance that  
4 makes an affirmative effort to remove reg-  
5 istrants who are ineligible to vote from the offi-  
6 cial list of eligible voters. Under such system,  
7 consistent with this subtitle, registrants who  
8 have not responded to a notice and who have  
9 not voted in 2 consecutive general elections for  
10 Federal office shall be removed from the official  
11 list of eligible voters, except that no registrant  
12 may be removed solely by reason of a failure to  
13 vote.

14 (B) Safeguards to ensure that eligible vot-  
15 ers are not removed in error from the official  
16 list of eligible voters.

17 (b) EFFECTIVE DATE.—

18 (1) IN GENERAL.—Except as provided in para-  
19 graph (2), each State and jurisdiction shall be re-  
20 quired to comply with the requirements of subsection  
21 (a) on and after January 1, 2027.

22 (2) WAIVER.—If a State or jurisdiction certifies  
23 to the Commission not later than January 1, 2027,  
24 that the State or jurisdiction will not meet the dead-  
25 line described in paragraph (1) for good cause and

1 includes in the certification the reasons for the fail-  
2 ure to meet such deadline, paragraph (1) shall apply  
3 to the State or jurisdiction as if the reference in  
4 such paragraph to “January 1, 2027” were a ref-  
5 erence to “January 1, 2028”.

6 **SEC. 115. REQUIREMENTS FOR APPLICANTS WHO REG-**  
7 **ISTER BY MAIL.**

8 (a) CONTENTS OF MAIL VOTER REGISTRATION  
9 FORM.—

10 (1) IN GENERAL.—A mail voter registration  
11 form developed under section 6 of the National  
12 Voter Registration Act of 1993 (52 U.S.C. 20505)—

13 (A) may require only such identifying in-  
14 formation (including the signature of the appli-  
15 cant) and other information (including data re-  
16 lating to previous registration by the applicant),  
17 as is necessary to enable the appropriate State  
18 election official to assess the eligibility of the  
19 applicant and to administer voter registration  
20 and other parts of the election process;

21 (B) shall include a statement that—

22 (i) specifies each eligibility require-  
23 ment (including citizenship and an expla-  
24 nation of what is required to present docu-

1           mentary proof of United States citizen-  
2           ship);

3           (ii) contains an attestation that the  
4           applicant meets each such requirement;  
5           and

6           (iii) requires the signature of the ap-  
7           plicant, under penalty of perjury;

8           (C) may not include any requirement for  
9           notarization or other formal authentication;

10          (D) shall include a section, for use only by  
11          a State or local election official, to record the  
12          type of document the applicant presented as  
13          documentary proof of United States citizenship,  
14          including the date of issuance, the date of expi-  
15          ration (if any), the office which issued the docu-  
16          ment, and any unique identification number as-  
17          sociated with the document; and

18          (E) shall include, in print that is identical  
19          to that used in the attestation portion of the  
20          application—

21               (i) the information required in sub-  
22               paragraphs (A) and (B) of section  
23               112(a)(6);

24               (ii) a statement that, if an applicant  
25               declines to register to vote, the fact that

1 the applicant has declined to register will  
2 remain confidential and will be used only  
3 for voter registration purposes;

4 (iii) a statement that if an applicant  
5 does register to vote, the office at which  
6 the applicant submits a voter registration  
7 application will remain confidential and  
8 will be used only for voter registration pur-  
9 poses, other than as evidence in a criminal  
10 proceeding or immigration proceeding  
11 brought against an applicant who attempts  
12 to register to vote and makes a false dec-  
13 laration under penalty of perjury that the  
14 applicant meets the eligibility requirements  
15 to register to vote in an election for Fed-  
16 eral office;

17 (iv) the question “Are you a citizen of  
18 the United States of America?” and boxes  
19 for the applicant to check to indicate  
20 whether the applicant is or is not a citizen  
21 of the United States;

22 (v) the question “Will you be 18 years  
23 of age on or before election day?” and  
24 boxes for the applicant to check to indicate



1           whether or not the applicant will be 18  
2           years of age or older on election day;

3           (vi) the statement “If you checked  
4           ‘no’ in response to either of these ques-  
5           tions, do not complete this form.”;

6           (vii) the question “If you checked  
7           ‘yes’ in response to either of those ques-  
8           tions, do you have documentary proof of  
9           such response?” and boxes for the appli-  
10          cant to check to indicate whether the appli-  
11          cant does or does not have documentary  
12          proof for any affirmative response to either  
13          question; and

14          (viii) a statement informing the indi-  
15          vidual that if the form is submitted by  
16          mail and the individual is registering for  
17          the first time, the appropriate information  
18          required under this section must be sub-  
19          mitted with the mail voter registration  
20          form in order to avoid the additional iden-  
21          tification requirements upon voting for the  
22          first time.

23           (2) INCOMPLETE FORMS.—If an applicant for  
24          voter registration fails to answer the question in-  
25          cluded on the mail voter registration form pursuant

1 to paragraph (1)(E)(iv), the registrar shall notify  
2 the applicant of the failure and provide the applicant  
3 with an opportunity to complete the form in a timely  
4 manner to allow for the completion of the registra-  
5 tion form prior to the next election for Federal office  
6 (subject to State law).

7 (b) ENSURING PROOF OF UNITED STATES CITIZEN-  
8 SHIP.—

9 (1) PRESENTING PROOF OF UNITED STATES  
10 CITIZENSHIP TO ELECTION OFFICIAL.—An applicant  
11 who submits the mail voter registration application  
12 form prescribed by the Election Assistance Commis-  
13 sion pursuant to section 9(a)(2) of the National  
14 Voter Registration Act of 1993 (52 U.S.C. 20508)  
15 shall not be registered to vote in an election for Fed-  
16 eral office unless—

17 (A) the applicant provides with such appli-  
18 cation documentary proof of United States citi-  
19 zenship pursuant to the requirements under  
20 section 112(c)(1) or presents such documentary  
21 proof in person to the office of the appropriate  
22 election official not later than the deadline pro-  
23 vided by State law for the receipt of a com-  
24 pleted voter registration application for the elec-  
25 tion; or

1 (B) in the case of a State which permits  
2 an individual to register to vote in an election  
3 for Federal office at a polling place on the day  
4 of the election and on any day when voting, in-  
5 cluding early voting, is permitted for the elec-  
6 tion, the applicant presents documentary proof  
7 of United States citizenship to the appropriate  
8 election official at the polling place not later  
9 than the date of the election.

10 (2) NOTIFICATION OF REQUIREMENT.—Upon  
11 receiving an otherwise completed mail voter registra-  
12 tion application form prescribed by the Election As-  
13 sistance Commission pursuant to section 9(a)(2) of  
14 such Act that does not include documentary proof of  
15 United States citizenship, the appropriate election  
16 official shall transmit a notice to the applicant of the  
17 requirement to present documentary proof of United  
18 States citizenship under this subsection, and shall  
19 include in the notice instructions to enable the appli-  
20 cant to meet the requirement.

21 (3) ACCESSIBILITY.—Each State shall, in con-  
22 sultation with the Election Assistance Commission,  
23 ensure that reasonable accommodations are made to  
24 allow an individual with a disability who submits the  
25 mail voter registration application form prescribed

1 by the Election Assistance Commission pursuant to  
2 section 9(a)(2) of such Act to present documentary  
3 proof of United States citizenship to the appropriate  
4 election official.

5 (c) RULE OF CONSTRUCTION.—Nothing in this sec-  
6 tion shall be construed to prevent the chief State election  
7 official of a State from requiring documentary proof for  
8 purposes of confirming an applicant’s eligibility to vote in  
9 elections for Federal office in the State.

10 (d) EFFECTIVE DATE.—

11 (1) IN GENERAL.—Each State and jurisdiction  
12 shall be required to comply with the requirements of  
13 this section on and after January 1, 2027, and shall  
14 be prepared to receive registration materials sub-  
15 mitted by individuals described in paragraph (2) on  
16 and after the date described in such subparagraph.

17 (2) APPLICABILITY WITH RESPECT TO INDIVID-  
18 UALS.—The provisions of this section shall apply to  
19 any individual who registers to vote on or after Jan-  
20 uary 1, 2027.

21 **SEC. 116. CIVIL ENFORCEMENT AND PRIVATE RIGHT OF**  
22 **ACTION.**

23 (a) ATTORNEY GENERAL.—The Attorney General  
24 may bring a civil action against any State or jurisdiction  
25 in an appropriate United States District Court for such

1 declaratory and injunctive relief (including a temporary  
2 restraining order, a permanent or temporary injunction,  
3 or other order) as may be necessary to carry out the uni-  
4 form and nondiscriminatory election technology and ad-  
5 ministration requirements under this subtitle.

6 (b) PRIVATE RIGHT OF ACTION.—

7 (1) NOTICE OF VIOLATION.—A person who is  
8 aggrieved by a violation of this subtitle, including  
9 the act of an election official who registers an appli-  
10 cant to vote in an election for Federal office who  
11 fails to present documentary proof of United States  
12 citizenship, may provide written notice of the viola-  
13 tion to the chief State election official of the State  
14 involved.

15 (2) CIVIL ACTION.—If the violation is not cor-  
16 rected within 90 days after receipt of a notice under  
17 paragraph (1), or within 20 days after receipt of the  
18 notice if the violation occurred within 120 days be-  
19 fore the date of an election for Federal office, the  
20 aggrieved person may bring a civil action in an ap-  
21 propriate district court for declaratory or injunctive  
22 relief with respect to the violation.

23 (3) WAIVER OF NOTICE REQUIREMENT IN CER-  
24 TAIN CASES.—If the violation occurred within 30  
25 days before the date of an election for Federal office,

1 the aggrieved person need not provide notice to the  
2 chief election official of the State under paragraph  
3 (1) before bringing a civil action under paragraph  
4 (2).

5 (4) ATTORNEY’S FEES.—In a civil action under  
6 this subsection, the court may allow the prevailing  
7 party reasonable attorney fees, including litigation  
8 expenses, and costs.

9 **SEC. 117. ELECTION ASSISTANCE COMMISSION GUIDANCE.**

10 Not later than 30 days after the date of the enact-  
11 ment of this Act, the Election Assistance Commission shall  
12 adopt and transmit to the chief State election official of  
13 each State guidance with respect to the implementation  
14 of the requirements under the this subtitle.

15 **SEC. 118. INAPPLICABILITY OF PAPERWORK REDUCTION**  
16 **ACT.**

17 Subchapter I of chapter 35 of title 44 (commonly re-  
18 ferred to as the “Paperwork Reduction Act”) shall not  
19 apply with respect to the development or modification of  
20 voter registration materials under the National Voter Reg-  
21 istration Act of 1993 (52 U.S.C. 20501 et seq.), as  
22 amended by this subtitle, including the development or  
23 modification of any voter registration application forms.

1 **SEC. 119. DUTY OF SECRETARY OF HOMELAND SECURITY**  
2 **TO NOTIFY ELECTION OFFICIALS OF NATU-**  
3 **RALIZATION.**

4       Upon receiving information that an individual has be-  
5 come a naturalized citizen of the United States, the Sec-  
6 retary of Homeland Security shall promptly provide notice  
7 of such information to the appropriate chief election offi-  
8 cial of the State in which such individual is domiciled.

9 **SEC. 120. RULE OF CONSTRUCTION REGARDING PROVI-**  
10 **SIONAL BALLOTS.**

11       Nothing in this subtitle or in any amendment made  
12 by this subtitle may be construed to supercede, restrict,  
13 or otherwise affect the ability of an individual to cast a  
14 provisional ballot in an election for Federal office or to  
15 have the ballot counted in the election if the individual  
16 is verified as a citizen of the United States.

17 **SEC. 121. RULE OF CONSTRUCTION REGARDING EFFECT**  
18 **ON STATE EXEMPTIONS FROM OTHER FED-**  
19 **ERAL LAWS.**

20       Nothing in this subtitle or in any amendment made  
21 by this subtitle may be construed to affect the exemption  
22 of a State from any requirement of any Federal law other  
23 than the National Voter Registration Act of 1993 (52  
24 U.S.C. 20501 et seq.).

1 **SEC. 122. REQUIRING APPLICANTS FOR MOTOR VEHICLE**  
2 **DRIVER'S LICENSES IN NEW STATE TO INDICATE WHETHER STATE SERVES AS RESI-**  
3 **CATE WHETHER STATE SERVES AS RESI-**  
4 **DENCE FOR VOTER REGISTRATION PUR-**  
5 **POSES.**

6 (a) REQUIREMENTS FOR APPLICANTS FOR LI-  
7 CENSES.—Section 5(d) of the National Voter Registration  
8 Act of 1993 (42 U.S.C. 1973gg–3(d)) is amended—

9 (1) by striking “Any change” and inserting  
10 “(1) Any change”; and

11 (2) by adding at the end the following new  
12 paragraph:

13 “(2)(A) A State motor vehicle authority shall require  
14 each individual applying for a motor vehicle driver’s li-  
15 cense in the State—

16 “(i) to indicate whether the individual resides in  
17 another State or resided in another State prior to  
18 applying for the license, and, if so, to identify the  
19 State involved; and

20 “(ii) to indicate whether the individual intends  
21 for the State to serve as the individual’s residence  
22 for purposes of registering to vote in elections for  
23 Federal office.

24 “(B) If pursuant to subparagraph (A)(ii) an indi-  
25 vidual indicates to the State motor vehicle authority that  
26 the individual intends for the State to serve as the individ-



1 ual’s residence for purposes of registering to vote in elec-  
2 tions for Federal office, the authority shall notify the  
3 motor vehicle authority of the State identified by the indi-  
4 vidual pursuant to subparagraph (A)(i), who shall notify  
5 the chief State election official of such State that the indi-  
6 vidual no longer intends for that State to serve as the indi-  
7 vidual’s residence for purposes of registering to vote in  
8 elections for Federal office.”.

9 (b) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendments made by  
10 subsection (a) shall take effect with respect to elections  
11 occurring in 2027 or any succeeding year.

12 **SEC. 123. DEFINITIONS.**

13 In this subtitle, the following definitions apply:

14 (1) CHIEF STATE ELECTION OFFICIAL.—The  
15 term “chief State election official” with respect to a  
16 State means the individual designated by the State  
17 under section 10 of the National Voter Registration  
18 Act of 1993 (52 U.S.C. 20509) to be responsible for  
19 coordination of the State’s responsibilities under  
20 such Act.

21 (2) DOCUMENTARY PROOF OF UNITED STATES  
22 CITIZENSHIP.—The term “documentary proof of  
23 United States citizenship” means, with respect to an  
24 applicant for voter registration, any of the following:

1 (A) A form of identification issued con-  
2 sistent with the requirements of the REAL ID  
3 Act of 2005 that indicates the applicant is a  
4 citizen of the United States.

5 (B) A valid United States passport.

6 (C) The applicant's official United States  
7 military identification card, together with a  
8 United States military record of service showing  
9 that the applicant's place of birth was in the  
10 United States.

11 (D) A valid government-issued photo iden-  
12 tification card issued by a Federal, State, or  
13 Tribal government showing that the applicant's  
14 place of birth was in the United States.

15 (E) A valid government-issued photo iden-  
16 tification card issued by a Federal, State, or  
17 Tribal government other than an identification  
18 described in paragraphs (1) through (4), but  
19 only if presented together with one or more of  
20 the following:

21 (i) A certified birth certificate issued  
22 by a State, a unit of local government in  
23 a State, or a Tribal government which—

1 (I) was issued by the State, unit  
2 of local government, or Tribal govern-  
3 ment in which the applicant was born;

4 (II) was filed with the office re-  
5 sponsible for keeping vital records in  
6 the State;

7 (III) includes the full name, date  
8 of birth, and place of birth of the ap-  
9 plicant;

10 (IV) lists the full names of one or  
11 both of the parents of the applicant;

12 (V) has the signature of an indi-  
13 vidual who is authorized to sign birth  
14 certificates on behalf of the State,  
15 unit of local government, or Tribal  
16 government in which the applicant  
17 was born;

18 (VI) includes the date that the  
19 certificate was filed with the office re-  
20 sponsible for keeping vital records in  
21 the State; and

22 (VII) has the seal of the State,  
23 unit of local government, or Tribal  
24 government that issued the birth cer-  
25 tificate.

1                   (ii) An extract from a United States  
2                   hospital Record of Birth created at the  
3                   time of the applicant's birth which indi-  
4                   cates that the applicant's place of birth  
5                   was in the United States.

6                   (iii) A final adoption decree showing  
7                   the applicant's name and that the appli-  
8                   cant's place of birth was in the United  
9                   States.

10                  (iv) A Consular Report of Birth  
11                  Abroad of a citizen of the United States or  
12                  a certification of the applicant's Report of  
13                  Birth of a United States citizen issued by  
14                  the Secretary of State.

15                  (v) A Naturalization Certificate or  
16                  Certificate of Citizenship issued by the  
17                  Secretary of Homeland Security or any  
18                  other document or method of proof of  
19                  United States citizenship issued by the  
20                  Federal government pursuant to the Immi-  
21                  gration and Nationality Act.

22                  (vi) An American Indian Card issued  
23                  by the Department of Homeland Security  
24                  with the classification 'KIC'.

1           (3) ELECTION.—The term “election” has the  
2           meaning stated in section 301(1) of the Federal  
3           Election Campaign Act of 1971 (2 U.S.C. 431(1)).

4           (4) FEDERAL OFFICE.—The term “Federal of-  
5           fice” has the meaning stated in section 301(3) of the  
6           Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 (2 U.S.C.  
7           431(3)).

8           (5) REGISTRAR’S JURISDICTION.—The term  
9           “registrar’s jurisdiction” means—

10                   (A) an incorporated city, town, borough, or  
11                   other form of municipality;

12                   (B) if voter registration is maintained by a  
13                   county, parish, or other unit of government that  
14                   governs a larger geographic area than a munici-  
15                   pality, the geographic area governed by that  
16                   unit of government; or

17                   (C) if voter registration is maintained on a  
18                   consolidated basis for more than one munici-  
19                   pality or other unit of government by an office  
20                   that performs all of the functions of a voting  
21                   registrar, the geographic area of the consoli-  
22                   dated municipalities or other geographic units.

23           (6) STATE.—The term “State” means each of  
24           the 50 States, the District of Columbia, the Com-  
25           monwealth of Puerto Rico, the United States Virgin

1 Islands, Guam, American Samoa, and the Common-  
2 wealth of the Northern Mariana Islands.

3 (7) VOTER REGISTRATION AGENCY.—The term  
4 “voter registration agency” means an office des-  
5 ignated under section 7(a)(1) of the National Voter  
6 Registration Act of 1993 (52 U.S.C. 20506(a)(1)) to  
7 perform voter registration activities.

## 8 **Subtitle C—Information Sharing**

### 9 **Agreements With Attorney General**

#### 10 **SEC. 131. INFORMATION SHARING AGREEMENTS WITH AT-** 11 **TORNEY GENERAL.**

12 (a) REQUIRING STATES TO ENTER INTO AGREE-  
13 MENTS.—Title IX of the Help America Vote Act of 2002  
14 (52 U.S.C. 21141 et seq.) is amended by adding at the  
15 end the following new section:

#### 16 **“SEC. 907. INFORMATION SHARING AGREEMENTS WITH AT-** 17 **TORNEY GENERAL.**

18 “(a) REQUIREMENT.—Each State and the Attorney  
19 General shall have in effect an agreement under which the  
20 Attorney General and the State shall share information  
21 regarding the evidence of potential fraud in the adminis-  
22 tration of elections for Federal office in the State, includ-  
23 ing evidence of voting or attempted voting in elections for  
24 Federal office by individuals who are not eligible to vote  
25 in such elections.

1       “(b) INELIGIBILITY OF FUNDS FOR STATES WITH-  
2 OUT AGREEMENTS.—No Federal funds may be used to  
3 administer an election for Federal office in a State in a  
4 fiscal year unless the Attorney General certifies to the  
5 Commission that the State and the Attorney General have  
6 in effect an agreement under subsection (a) with respect  
7 to the fiscal year.”.

8       (b) CLERICAL AMENDMENT.—The table of contents  
9 of such Act is amended by adding at the end of the items  
10 relating to title IX the following:

“Sec. 907. Information sharing agreements with Attorney General.”.

11       (c) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendment made by  
12 this section shall apply with respect to fiscal year 2026  
13 and each succeeding fiscal year.

## 14       **Subtitle D—Election Security**

### 15       **SEC. 141. INDICATION OF CITIZENSHIP ON DRIVER’S LI-** 16       **CENSES AND IDENTIFICATION CARDS.**

17       (a) IN GENERAL.—Section 202(b) of the Real ID Act  
18 of 2005 (49 U.S.C. 30301 note) is amended by adding  
19 at the end the following new paragraph:

20               “(10) If the person is a citizen of the United  
21 States, a clear and easily distinguishable indication  
22 of that citizenship.”.

23       (b) APPLICABILITY.—The amendment made by this  
24 section shall apply with respect to any driver’s license or

1 identification card issued by a State on or after the date  
2 of the enactment of this Act.

3 **SEC. 142. REQUIREMENT TO NOTIFY STATE ELECTION OF-**  
4 **FICIALS OF INDIVIDUALS RECUSED FROM**  
5 **JURY SERVICE ON GROUNDS OF NONCITIZEN-**  
6 **SHIP.**

7 (a) IN GENERAL.—If a United States district court  
8 recuses an individual from serving on a jury on the  
9 grounds that the individual is not a citizen of the United  
10 States, the court shall transmit a notice of the individual's  
11 recusal to—

12 (1) the chief State election official of the State  
13 in which the individual resides; and

14 (2) the Director of the United States Citizen-  
15 ship and Immigration Services.

16 (b) VERIFICATION AND REMOVAL FROM VOTER  
17 LIST.—Upon receipt of notice of an individual's recusal  
18 transmitted pursuant to subsection (a), a chief State elec-  
19 tion official, in consultation with the Director of the  
20 United States Citizenship and Immigration Services,  
21 shall—

22 (1) determine if such individual is a citizen of  
23 the United States; and



1           (2) in the case that such individual is not a cit-  
2       izen of the United States, remove such individual  
3       from the official list of eligible voters.

4   **SEC. 143. REPORTS TO CONGRESS ON FOREIGN AND DO-**  
5                   **MESTIC THREATS TO ELECTIONS.**

6       (a) IN GENERAL.—Not earlier than 60 days before  
7       the date established under section 25 of the Revised Stat-  
8       utes of the United States (2 U.S.C. 7) for each general  
9       election for Federal office and not later than 30 days be-  
10      fore such date, the Secretary of Homeland Security and  
11      the Director of National Intelligence, in coordination with  
12      the heads of the appropriate Federal entities, shall submit  
13      a joint report to the appropriate congressional committees  
14      and the chief State election official of each State on for-  
15      eign and domestic threats to elections in the United  
16      States, including physical and cybersecurity threats.

17      (b) DEFINITIONS.—In this section:

18           (1) APPROPRIATE CONGRESSIONAL COMMIT-  
19      TEES.—The term “appropriate congressional com-  
20      mittees” means—

21           (A) the Committee on House Administra-  
22           tion, the Committee on Homeland Security, the  
23           Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence,  
24           and the Committee on Foreign Affairs of the  
25           House of Representatives; and

1 (B) the Committee on Rules and Adminis-  
2 tration, the Committee on Homeland Security  
3 and Governmental Affairs, the Select Com-  
4 mittee on Intelligence, and the Committee on  
5 Foreign Relations of the Senate.

6 (2) APPROPRIATE FEDERAL ENTITIES.—The  
7 term “appropriate Federal entities” means—

8 (A) the Department of Commerce, includ-  
9 ing the National Institute of Standards and  
10 Technology;

11 (B) the Department of Defense;

12 (C) the Department of Homeland Security,  
13 including the component of the Department  
14 that reports to the Under Secretary responsible  
15 for overseeing critical infrastructure protection,  
16 cybersecurity, and other related programs of  
17 the Department;

18 (D) the Department of Justice, including  
19 the Federal Bureau of Investigation; and

20 (E) the Office of the Director of National  
21 Intelligence, the National Security Agency, and  
22 such other elements of the intelligence commu-  
23 nity (as defined in section 3 of the National Se-  
24 curity Act of 1947 (50 U.S.C. 3003)) as the

1 Director of National Intelligence determines are  
2 appropriate.

3 **SEC. 144. PRESERVATION OF ELECTION RECORDS.**

4 Section 301 of the Civil Rights Act of 1960 (52  
5 U.S.C. 20701) is amended by inserting “(including audit  
6 records, ballot cast images, canvassing reports, cast vote  
7 records, certification records, chain of custody records, in-  
8 cident reports, post-election records, reconciliation  
9 records, return envelopes, tabulation reports, technology  
10 records, and vote by mail records)” after “in such elec-  
11 tion”.

12 **SEC. 145. DEFINITIONS.**

13 In this subtitle:

14 (1) CHIEF STATE ELECTION OFFICIAL.—The  
15 term “chief State election official” means, with re-  
16 spect to a State, the individual designated by the  
17 State under section 10 of the National Voter Reg-  
18 istration Act of 1993 (52 U.S.C. 20509) to be re-  
19 sponsible for coordination of the State’s responsibil-  
20 ities under such Act.

21 (2) STATE.—The term “State” has the mean-  
22 ing given such term in section 901 of the Help  
23 America Vote Act of 2002 (52 U.S.C. 21141).

1   **Subtitle E—Prohibition on Federal**  
2           **Agency Political Activities**

3   **SEC. 151. PROHIBITING POLITICAL ACTIVITIES IN FEDERAL**  
4           **AGENCIES.**

5           (a) PROHIBITIONS.—

6               (1) IN GENERAL.—Except as specifically au-  
7           thorized by law, a Federal agency may not register  
8           an individual to vote in an election for Federal of-  
9           fice.

10           (2) AGREEMENTS WITH NONGOVERNMENTAL  
11           ORGANIZATIONS.—None of the funds made available  
12           for the salaries and expenses of a Federal agency  
13           may be used to solicit or enter into an agreement  
14           with a nongovernmental organization to conduct  
15           voter registration or voter mobilization activities, in-  
16           cluding registering voters or providing any person  
17           with voter registration materials, absentee or vote-  
18           by-mail ballot applications, voting instructions, or  
19           candidate-related information, on the property or  
20           website of the Federal agency.

21           (3) CONFIRMING AMENDMENTS RELATING TO  
22           VOTER REGISTRATION AGENCIES.—Section 7 of the  
23           National Voter Registration Act of 1993 (52 U.S.C.  
24           20506) is amended—

1 (A) in subsection (a)(3)(B)(ii), by striking  
2 “Federal and”; and

3 (B) by amending subsection (b) to read as  
4 follows:

5 “(b) PRIVATE SECTOR COOPERATION.—All non-  
6 governmental entities are encouraged, to the great-  
7 est extent practicable, to cooperate with the States  
8 in carrying out subsection (a).”.

9 (b) RULE OF CONSTRUCTION.—Nothing in this sec-  
10 tion or the amendments made by this section may be con-  
11 strued to prohibit a Federal agency from providing infor-  
12 mation to a State or local election official relating to the  
13 eligibility of any individual to register to vote in elections  
14 for Federal office, including information on an individual’s  
15 citizenship status.

16 (c) EXCEPTION.—The prohibitions under this section  
17 shall not apply to voter registration activities with respect  
18 to absent uniformed services voters (as such term is de-  
19 fined in section 107(1) of the Uniformed and Overseas  
20 Citizens Absentee Voting Act (52 U.S.C. 20310(1))).

21 (d) DEFINITION.—In this section, the term “Federal  
22 agency” has the meaning given the term “agency” in sec-  
23 tion 3502(1) of title 44, United States Code.

**TITLE II—ELECTION  
ADMINISTRATION  
Subtitle A—Improving  
Administration of Elections**

**SEC. 201. USE OF HAVA FUNDS FOR POST-ELECTION AU-  
DITS OF RESULTS.**

(a) AUTHORIZING USE OF FUNDS.—Section 251(b) of the Help America Vote Act of 2002 (52 U.S.C. 21001(b)) is amended—

(1) in paragraph (1), by striking “paragraphs (2) and (3)” and inserting “paragraphs (2), (3), and (4)”; and

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

“(4) USE OF FUNDS FOR CONDUCTING POST-ELECTION AUDITS OF RESULTS.—A State may use a requirements payment to conduct a post-election audit of the results of an election for Federal office if the State completes and releases the results of the audit prior to the applicable deadline for filing a challenge to the results of the election.”.

(b) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendments made by subsection (a) shall apply with respect to payments made for fiscal year 2026 or any succeeding fiscal year.

## 1     **Subtitle B—Treatment of Ballots**

### 2     **SEC. 211. REQUIRING PAPER BALLOTS.**

3         (a) IN GENERAL.—Section 301(a)(2) of the Help  
4 America Vote Act of 2002 (52 U.S.C. 21081(a)(2)) is  
5 amended to read as follows:

6             “(2) PAPER BALLOT REQUIREMENT.—

7                 “(A) VOTER-VERIFIABLE PAPER BAL-  
8             LOTS.—

9                 “(i) The voting system shall require  
10             the use of a paper ballot manually marked  
11             by the voter or a paper ballot marked  
12             through the use of a nontabulating ballot  
13             marking device or system, so long as the  
14             voter shall have the option at every in-per-  
15             son voting location to manually mark a  
16             printed ballot that includes all relevant  
17             contests and candidates.

18                 “(ii) The paper ballot shall be marked  
19             by the voter and presented to the voter for  
20             verification before the voter’s ballot is pre-  
21             served in accordance with subparagraph  
22             (B), and shall be counted manually or by  
23             counting device or read by a ballot tabula-  
24             tion device.

1                   “(iii) The voting system shall provide  
2                   the voter with an opportunity to correct  
3                   any error on the paper ballot before the  
4                   permanent voter-verifiable paper ballot is  
5                   preserved in accordance with subparagraph  
6                   (B).

7                   “(iv) The voting system shall not pre-  
8                   serve the voter-verifiable paper ballots in  
9                   any manner that makes it possible, at any  
10                  time after the ballot has been cast, to asso-  
11                  ciate a voter with the record of the voter’s  
12                  vote selections.

13                  “(v) The voting system shall prevent,  
14                  through mechanical means or through  
15                  independently verified protections, the  
16                  modification or addition of vote selections  
17                  on a printed or marked ballot at any time  
18                  after the voter has been provided an oppor-  
19                  tunity to correct errors on the ballot pur-  
20                  suant to clause (ii).

21                  “(B)     PRESERVATION     AS     OFFICIAL  
22                  RECORD.—The paper ballot required under sub-  
23                  paragraph (A) shall constitute the official ballot  
24                  and shall be preserved and used as the official  
25                  ballot for purposes of any recount or audit con-



1           ducted with respect to any election for Federal  
2           office in which the voting system is used.

3           “(C) MANUAL AUDIT SUITABILITY.—Each  
4           paper ballot used pursuant to subparagraph (A)  
5           shall be suitable for a manual audit.

6           “(D) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The require-  
7           ments of this paragraph shall take effect on the  
8           date that is 30 days after the date of the enact-  
9           ment of this Act.”.

10       (b) CONFORMING AMENDMENT CLARIFYING APPLI-  
11       CABILITY OF ALTERNATIVE LANGUAGE ACCESSIBILITY.—  
12       Section 301(a)(4) of such Act (52 U.S.C. 21081(a)(4))  
13       is amended by inserting “(including the paper ballots re-  
14       quired under paragraph (2))” after “voting system”.

15       **SEC. 212. LIMITATION ON POSSESSION OF MAIL-IN BAL-**  
16       **LOTS.**

17       (a) LIMITATION.—

18           (1) IN GENERAL.—It shall be unlawful for an  
19       individual to distribute, order, request, deliver, or  
20       possess—

21           (A) any ballot not associated with—

22                   (i) such individual;

23                   (ii) an immediate family member of  
24       such individual; or

1 (iii) another individual for whom such  
2 individual is a caregiver; and

3 (B) more than 4 mail-in ballots for an  
4 election for Federal office at a time.

5 (2) INCIDENTAL POSSESSION EXCEPTED.—The  
6 limitation under paragraph (1) shall not apply to the  
7 incidental possession of mail-in ballots by a postal  
8 worker or election official acting within the scope of  
9 the official capacity of such postal worker or election  
10 official.

11 (3) PENALTY.—An individual who knowingly  
12 receives, accepts, or agrees to receive or accept any-  
13 thing of value, personally or for any other person, in  
14 return for distributing, ordering, requesting, deliv-  
15 ering, or possessing a mail-in ballot in violation of  
16 paragraph (1) shall be fined in an amount not ex-  
17 ceeding \$25,000, or imprisoned not more than 5  
18 years, or both.

19 (b) FORM REQUIRED FOR BALLOT RETURN.—

20 (1) IN GENERAL.—An individual may not re-  
21 turn a mail-in ballot not associated with such indi-  
22 vidual, unless such individual—

23 (A) presents to an election official acting  
24 within the scope of the official capacity of such

1 official a government-issued photo identification  
2 of such individual; and

3 (B) provides to such election official, to-  
4 gether with such ballot, a completed affidavit  
5 described in paragraph (2) that—

6 (i) is signed by the voter with whom  
7 the ballot is associated, or if such voter  
8 cannot write because of a physical handi-  
9 cap or illiteracy, bears the mark of such  
10 voter and the signature of a witness to the  
11 making of the mark; and

12 (ii) is signed by such individual, or if  
13 such individual cannot write because of a  
14 physical handicap or illiteracy, bears the  
15 mark of such individual and the signature  
16 of a witness to the making of the mark.

17 (2) AFFIDAVIT DESCRIBED.—The affidavit de-  
18 scribed in this section is a form that—

19 (A) is prescribed by the Election Assist-  
20 ance Commission; and

21 (B) includes a space for an election official  
22 to record the form of identification presented  
23 pursuant to paragraph (1)(A).

24 (3) PRESERVATION OF RECORDS.—Each au-  
25 thorization form provided pursuant to paragraph

1 (1)(B) must be preserved for at least 2 years as part  
2 of the record of the election, and the county board  
3 of voter registration and elections must note the  
4 time and date of receipt of the authorization form,  
5 the name of the individual providing the authoriza-  
6 tion form, the relationship of the individual to the  
7 voter, and the form of identification presented pur-  
8 suant to paragraph (1)(A).

9 (c) DEFINITIONS.—In this section:

10 (1) CAREGIVER.—The term “caregiver” means  
11 an individual who provides frequent and regular  
12 medical or health care assistance to a person in a  
13 residence, nursing care institution, hospice facility,  
14 assisted living center, assisted living facility, assisted  
15 living home, or residential care institution.

16 (2) IMMEDIATE FAMILY MEMBER.—The term  
17 “immediate family member” means the spouse, par-  
18 ent, child, grandparent, grandchild, or sibling of the  
19 individual or of the spouse of the individual.

20 **SEC. 213. PROHIBITING STATES FROM USING RANKED**  
21 **CHOICE VOTING IN GENERAL ELECTIONS**  
22 **FOR FEDERAL OFFICE.**

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

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

3 (2) by inserting after section 304 the following  
4 new section:

5 **“SEC. 305. PROHIBITING STATES FROM USING CERTAIN**  
6 **VOTING SYSTEMS WITH RESPECT TO A GEN-**  
7 **ERAL ELECTION FOR FEDERAL OFFICE.**

8 “A State may not carry out a general election for  
9 Federal office in the State using a voting system that—

10 “(1) permits a voter to vote for more than one  
11 candidate for the same office;

12 “(2) permits a voter to rank multiple can-  
13 didates for the same office; or

14 “(3) reallocates the vote of a voter from one  
15 candidate to another candidate for the same office.”.

16 (b) CLERICAL AMENDMENT.—The table of contents  
17 of such Act is amended—

18 (1) by redesignating the items relating to sec-  
19 tions 305 and 306 as relating to sections 306 and  
20 307, respectively; and

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

“Sec. 305. Prohibiting States from using certain voting systems with respect to  
a general election for Federal office.”.

1 (c) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendments made by  
2 this section shall apply with respect to Federal elections  
3 held on or after the date of the enactment of this Act.

4 **SEC. 214. ABOLISHING UNIVERSAL VOTE BY MAIL.**

5 (a) IN GENERAL.—A State may only provide a mail-  
6 in ballot for an election for Federal office to a voter upon  
7 request of the voter submitted electronically or by postal  
8 mail using a standardized form described in subsection  
9 (b).

10 (b) FORM OF REQUEST.—A standardized form de-  
11 scribed in this subsection—

12 (1) has been approved for such requests by the  
13 appropriate chief State election official; and

14 (2) enables the appropriate election official to  
15 confirm—

16 (A) the identity of the individual submit-  
17 ting the request;

18 (B) that the individual is validly registered  
19 and eligible to vote in the jurisdiction for which  
20 the request is submitted; and

21 (C) that the individual resides at the phys-  
22 ical address for which the individual is reg-  
23 istered to vote (if different than the mailing ad-  
24 dress where the ballot is requested to be sent).

1 (c) DEADLINE FOR SUBMISSION.—Such request must  
2 be submitted and received by the appropriate State elec-  
3 tion official not later than 30 days before the date of each  
4 election for Federal office.

5 (d) EXCEPTION.—The requirements of subsection (a)  
6 shall not apply with respect to ballots provided to an over-  
7 seas voter or absent uniformed services voter (as such  
8 terms are defined in section 107 of the Uniformed and  
9 Overseas Citizens Absentee Voting Act (52 U.S.C.  
10 20310)).

11 **SEC. 215. BARCODE TRACKING FOR MAIL-IN BALLOTS.**

12 (a) IN GENERAL.—Title 39, United States Code, is  
13 amended by inserting after chapter 30 the following new  
14 chapter:

15 **“CHAPTER 31—ELECTION MAIL**

“Sec.

“3101. Trackable election mail.

16 **“§ 3101. Trackable election mail**

17 “(a) IN GENERAL.—No entity of government shall  
18 furnish a ballot envelope for the purpose of being carried  
19 or delivered by mail unless such envelope—

20 “(1) contains a Postal Service barcode (or suc-  
21 cessive service or marking) that enables tracking of  
22 each individual ballot consistent with parameters  
23 that the Postal Service may promulgate by regula-  
24 tion;

1           “(2) satisfies requirements for ballot envelope  
2           design that the Postal Service may promulgate by  
3           regulation;

4           “(3) satisfies requirements for machineable let-  
5           ters that the Postal Service may promulgate by reg-  
6           ulation; and

7           “(4) includes the Official Election Mail Logo  
8           (or any successor label that the Postal Service may  
9           establish for ballots).

10          “(b) APPLICATION.—Subsection (a) does not apply to  
11          a Federal write-in absentee ballot under section 103 of  
12          the Uniformed and Overseas Citizens Absentee Voting Act  
13          (52 U.S.C. 20303).

14          “(c) INFORMATION.—Not later than June 1 of each  
15          calendar year, the Postmaster General shall provide, to the  
16          entities described in the matter preceding paragraph (1)  
17          of subsection (a), the information necessary to comply  
18          with the requirements of this subsection, including how  
19          to access Postal Service tools to assist in generating the  
20          barcode or successive marking required by subsection  
21          (a)(1).”.

22          (b) CLERICAL AMENDMENT.—The table of chapters  
23          for part IV of title 39, United States Code, is amended  
24          by adding after the item relating to chapter 30 the fol-  
25          lowing:

**“31. Election Mail ..... 3101”.**



1       (c) APPLICATION.—The amendment made by sub-  
2 section (a) shall apply to any election for Federal office  
3 occurring on or after the date of the enactment of this  
4 Act.

5   **SEC. 216. RECEIPT, PROCESSING, AND COUNTING OF AB-**  
6                   **SENTEE AND MAIL-IN BALLOTS.**

7       (a) IN GENERAL.—Title III of the Help America  
8 Vote Act of 2002 (52 U.S.C. 20901 et seq.), as amended  
9 by section 214(a), is amended—

10           (1) by redesignating sections 306 and 307 as  
11 sections 307 and 308, respectively; and

12           (2) by inserting after section 305 the following  
13 new section:

14   **“SEC. 306. RECEIPT, PROCESSING, AND COUNTING OF AB-**  
15                   **SENTEE AND MAIL-IN BALLOTS.**

16       “(a) DEADLINE FOR RECEIPT OF BALLOTS.—

17           “(1) IN GENERAL.—To be considered validly  
18 cast and eligible to be counted in an election for  
19 Federal office, an absentee or mail-in ballot must be  
20 received by the appropriate election official no later  
21 than the time polls close on the date of the election  
22 and, in the case of a general election for Federal of-  
23 fice, no later than the time polls close on the date  
24 established under section 25 of the Revised Statutes

1 of the United States (2 U.S.C. 7) for each general  
2 election for Federal office.

3 “(2) UNTIMELY BALLOT.—No State may accept  
4 for tabulation an absentee or mail-in ballot that is  
5 received by the appropriate election official following  
6 the time polls close on the date of the election.

7 “(3) EXCEPTION.—The deadline described in  
8 subsection (a) shall not apply with respect to ballots  
9 cast by absent uniformed services voter or overseas  
10 voters, as defined in section 107 of the Uniformed  
11 and Overseas Citizens Absentee Voting Act (52  
12 U.S.C. 20310).

13 “(b) BALLOTS PROCESSED UPON RECEIPT.—The  
14 chief State election official shall ensure that mail-in ballots  
15 cast in an election for Federal office and received prior  
16 to the date of the election shall be processed upon receipt  
17 (except in the case of a mail-in ballot received prior to  
18 the date that is 22 days before the date of the election,  
19 no earlier than the date that is 22 days before the date  
20 of the election), including—

21 “(1) reviewing the ballots for defects that re-  
22 quire curing; and

23 “ (2) any other action necessary to prepare the  
24 ballots to be counted.

1       “(c) TABULATION OF MAIL-IN BALLOTS.—The chief  
2 State election official shall ensure that mail-in ballots in  
3 an election for Federal office are not counted for the pur-  
4 pose of determining and reporting election results before  
5 the time polls close on the date of the election.

6       “(d) PAYMENTS WITHHELD FOR NONCOMPLI-  
7 ANCE.—If the Attorney General determines that a State  
8 is not in compliance with this section with respect to an  
9 election for Federal office—

10           “(1) no payment described in section 101(a)  
11 may be made to such State; and

12           “(2) such State shall return any such payment  
13 made to such State during the period when such  
14 State was not in compliance with this section, as de-  
15 termined by the Attorney General.

16       “(e) EFFECTIVE DATE.—This section shall apply  
17 with respect to elections for Federal office held in 2027  
18 or any succeeding year.”.

19       (b) CLERICAL AMENDMENT.—The table of contents  
20 of such Act, as amended by section 214(c), is amended—

21           (1) by redesignating the items relating to sec-  
22 tions 306 and 307 as relating to sections 307 and  
23 308, respectively; and

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

“Sec. 306. Receipt, processing, and counting of mail-in ballots.”.