PROVIDING FOR CONSIDERATION OF THE BILL (H.R. 1) TO EXPAND AMERICANS' ACCESS TO THE BALLOT BOX, REDUCE THE INFLUENCE OF BIG MONEY IN POLITICS, STRENGTHEN ETHICS RULES FOR PUBLIC SERVANTS, AND IMPLEMENT OTHER ANTI-CORRUPTION MEASURES FOR THE PURPOSE OF FORTIFYING OUR DEMOCRACY, AND FOR OTHER PURPOSES; PROVIDING FOR CONSIDERATION OF THE BILL (H.R. 1280) TO HOLD LAW ENFORCEMENT ACCOUNTABLE FOR MISCONDUCT IN COURT, IMPROVE TRANSPARENCY THROUGH DATA COLLECTION, AND REFORM POLICE TRAINING AND POLICIES: AND FOR OTHER PURPOSES.

March 1, 2021.—Referred to the House Calendar and ordered to be printed.

MR. MORELLE, from the Committee on Rules, submitted the following

## REPORT

[To accompany H. Res.\_\_]

The Committee on Rules, having had under consideration House Resolution \_\_\_\_\_, by a record vote of 7 to 4, report the same to the House with the recommendation that the resolution be adopted.

## SUMMARY OF PROVISIONS OF THE RESOLUTION

The resolution provides for consideration of H.R. 1, the For the People Act of 2021, under a structured rule. The resolution provides one hour of general debate equally divided and controlled by the chair and ranking minority member of the Committee on House Administration or their designees. The resolution waives all points of order against consideration of the bill. The resolution provides that the amendment printed in part A of this report shall be considered as adopted and the bill, as amended, shall be considered as read. The resolution waives all points of order against provisions in the bill, as amended. The resolution provides that following debate, each further amendment printed in part B of this report not earlier considered as part of amendments en bloc pursuant to section 3 shall be considered only in the order printed in this report, may be offered only by a Member designated in this report, shall be considered as

read, shall be debatable for the time specified in this report equally divided and controlled by the proponent and an opponent, may be withdrawn by the proponent at any time before the question is put thereon, shall not be subject to amendment, and shall not be subject to a demand for division of the question. The resolution provides that at any time after debate the chair of the Committee on House Administration or her designee may offer amendments en bloc consisting of further amendments printed in part B of this report not earlier disposed of. Amendments en bloc shall be considered as read, shall be debatable for 20 minutes equally divided and controlled by the chair and ranking minority member of the Committee on House Administration or their designees, shall not be subject to amendment, and shall not be subject to a demand for division of the question. The resolution waives all points of order against the amendments printed in this report or amendments en bloc described in section 3 of the resolution. The resolution provides one motion to recommit. The resolution provides for consideration of H.R. 1280, the George Floyd Justice in Policing Act of 2021, under a closed rule. The resolution provides one hour of general debate equally divided and controlled by the chair and ranking minority member of the Committee on the Judiciary or their designees. The resolution waives all points of order against consideration of the bill. The resolution provides that the bill shall be considered as read. The resolution waives all points of order against provisions in the bill. The resolution provides one motion to recommit. The resolution provides that House Resolution 176 and House Resolution 177 are hereby adopted.

#### EXPLANATION OF WAIVERS

The waiver of all points of order against consideration of H.R. 1 includes waivers of the following:

- Clause 5 of rule XII, which prohibits consideration of a bill or an amendment thereto if it establishes or expresses a commemoration.
- Section 303(a) of the Congressional Budget Act, which prohibits consideration of legislation providing new budget authority, change in revenues, change in public debt, new entitlement authority or new credit authority for a fiscal year until the budget resolution for that year has been agreed to.

Although the resolution waives all points of order against provisions in H.R. 1, as amended, the Committee is not aware of any points of order. The waiver is prophylactic in nature.

Although the resolution waives all points of order against the amendments printed in Part B of this report or against amendments en bloc described in Section 3 of the resolution, the Committee is not aware of any points of order. The waiver is prophylactic in nature.

The waiver of all points of order against consideration of H.R. 1280 includes waivers of the following:

- Clause 10 of rule XXI, which prohibits consideration of a measure that has a net effect of increasing the deficit or reducing the surplus over the five-or 10-year period.
- Section 302(f)(1) of the Congressional Budget Act, which prohibits consideration of legislation providing new budget authority in excess of a 302(a) or 302(b) allocation of such authority.

- Section 303(a) of the Congressional Budget Act, which prohibits consideration of legislation providing new budget authority, change in revenues, change in public debt, new entitlement authority or new credit authority for a fiscal year until the budget resolution for that year has been agreed to.
- Section 425 of the Congressional Budget Act, which prohibits consideration of any legislation that would increase the direct costs of Federal intergovernmental mandates beyond \$50,000,000 (adjusted for inflation) unless the legislation provides for new budget authority or the legislation appropriates sufficient funds to cover the new costs.

Although the resolution waives all points of order against provisions in H.R. 1280, the Committee is not aware of any points of order. The waiver is prophylactic in nature.

#### COMMITTEE VOTES

The results of each record vote on an amendment or motion to report, together with the names of those voting for and against, are printed below:

#### Rules Committee Record Vote No. 46

Motion by Mr. Cole to report an open rule for H.R. 1 and H.R. 1280. Defeated: 4–7

Majority Members	Vote	Minority Members	Vote
Mr. Hastings		Mr. Cole	Yea
Mrs. Torres	Nay	Mr. Burgess	Yea
Mr. Perlmutter	Nay	Mr. Reschenthaler	Yea
Mr. Raskin	Nay	Mrs. Fischbach	Yea
Ms. Scanlon	Nay		
Mr. Morelle	Nay		
Mr. DeSaulnier	Nay		

#### Rules Committee Record Vote No. 47

Nay

Ms. Ross.....

Mr. McGovern, Chairman......

Motion by Mr. Cole to amend the rule to H.R. 1280 to make in order amendment #1, offered by Rep. Stauber (MN), which replaces the language of H.R. 1280 with the language of the Just and Unifying Solutions to Invigorate Communities Everywhere (JUSTICE) Act. Defeated: 4–7

Majority Members	Vote	Minority Members	Vote
Mr. Hastings	<u>-</u>	Mr. Cole	Yea
Mrs. Torres	Nay	Mr. Burgess	Yea
Mr. Perlmutter	Nay	Mr. Reschenthaler	Yea
Mr. Raskin	Nay	Mrs. Fischbach	Yea
Ms. Scanlon	Nay		
Mr. Morelle	Nay		
Mr. DeSaulnier	Nay		
Ms. Ross	Nay		
Mr. McGovern, Chairman			

#### Rules Committee Record Vote No. 48

Motion by Mr. Cole to amend the rule to H.R. 1 to make in order amendment #147, offered by Rep. Davis (IL), which strikes Section 5111 the "Small Dollar Financing of Congressional Election Campaigns" section, which creates a 6:1 match program with public funds to politicians. Defeated: 4–7

Majority Members	Vote	Minority Members	Vote
Mr. Hastings	-	Mr. Cole	Yea
Mrs. Torres	Nay	Mr. Burgess	Yea
Mr. Perlmutter	Nay	Mr. Reschenthaler	Yea
Mr. Raskin	Nay	Mrs. Fischbach	Yea
Ms. Scanlon	Nay		
Mr. Morelle	Nay		
Mr. DeSaulnier	Nay		
Ms. Ross	Nay		
Mr. McGovern, Chairman			

## Rules Committee Record Vote No. 49

Motion by Rep. Reschenthaler to amend the rule to H.R. 1 to make in order amendment #183, offered by Rep. Kelly (PA), which strikes Section 4501, which would allow the IRS to use political positions as criteria for determining whether to grant an organization tax-exempt status. Defeated: 4–7

Majority Members	Vote	Minority Members	Vote
Mr. Hastings	<u>-</u>	Mr. Cole	Yea
Mrs. Torres	Nay	Mr. Burgess	Yea
Mr. Perlmutter	Nay	Mr. Reschenthaler	Yea
Mr. Raskin	Nay	Mrs. Fischbach	Yea
Ms. Scanlon	Nay		
Mr. Morelle	Nay		
Mr. DeSaulnier	Nay		
Ms. Ross	Nay		
Mr. McGovern, Chairman			

#### Rules Committee Record Vote No. 50

Motion by Rep. Fischbach to amend the rule to H.R. 1 to make in order amendment #112, offered by Rep. Davis (IL), which adds the Voluntary Minimum Standards for Software, which directs the EAC to set voluntary minimum standards for signature verification software. Defeated: 4–7

Majority Members	Vote	Minority Members	Vote
Mr. Hastings		Mr. Cole	Yea
Mrs. Torres	Nay	Mr. Burgess	Yea
Mr. Perlmutter	Nay	Mr. Reschenthaler	Yea
Mr. Raskin	Nay	Mrs. Fischbach	Yea
Ms. Scanlon	Nay		
Mr. Morelle	Nay		
Mr. DeSaulnier	Nay		
Ms. Ross	Nay		
Mr. McGovern, Chairman			

## Rules Committee Record Vote No. 51

Motion by Rep. Fischbach to amend the rule to H.R. 1 to make in order the following amendments: amendment #73, offered by Rep. Biggs (AZ), which strikes Section 6002 of the bill; and amendment #75, offered by Rep. Biggs (AZ), which strikes section 6003 of the bill. Defeated: 4–7

Majority Members	Vote	Minority Members	Vote
Mr. Hastings	-	Mr. Cole	Yea
Mr. Hastings  Mrs. Torres		Mr. Burgess	Yea
Mr. Perlmutter	Nay	Mr. Reschenthaler	Yea
Mr. Raskin	Nay	Mrs. Fischbach	Yea
Ms. Scanlon	Nay		
Mr. Morelle	Nay		
Mr. DeSaulnier	Nay		
Ms. Ross	Nay		
Mr. McGovern, Chairman			

#### Rules Committee Record Vote No. 52

Motion by Rep. Fischbach to amend the rule to H.R. 1280 to make in order amendment #7, offered by Rep. Zeldin (NY), which creates a "bill of rights" for law enforcement and encourages states to adopt these measures as well as create a minimum standard to protect a police officer's inherent right to self-defense and protection from harassment. Additionally, the amendment recognizes the bravery of law enforcement and encourages dialogue between law enforcement and their respective communities to improve public safety. Defeated: 4–7

Majority Members	Vote	Minority Members	Vote
Mr. Hastings		Mr. Cole	Yea
Mrs. Torres	Nay	Mr. Burgess	Yea
Mr. Perlmutter	Nay	Mr. Reschenthaler	Yea
Mr. Raskin	Nay	Mrs. Fischbach	Yea
Ms. Scanlon	Nay		
Mr. Morelle	Nay		
Mr. DeSaulnier	Nay		
Ms. Ross	Nay		
Mr. McGovern, Chairman			

Rules Committee Record Vote No. 53

Motion by Mr. Morelle to report the rule. Adopted: 7-4

Majority Members	Vote	Minority Members	Vote
/Ir. Hastings		Mr. Cole	Nay
Irs. Torres	Yea	Mr. Burgess	Nay
Ir. Perlmutter	Yea	Mr. Reschenthaler	Nay
Ir. Raskin	Yea	Mrs. Fischbach	Nay
Is. Scanlon	Yea		
r. Morelle	Yea		
r. DeSaulnier	Yea		
s. Ross	Yea		
r. McGovern, nairman			

# SUMMARY OF THE AMENDMENT TO H.R. 1 IN PART A CONSIDERED AS ADOPTED

Lofgren (CA): Makes technical and confirming edits; augments section on findings of general constitutional authority; clarifies standards for judicial review; requires mail-in ballots to use the Postal Service barcode service; clarifies that the definition of a "thing of value" in the Federal Election Campaign Act prohibition on foreign donations to political campaigns and candidates includes information sought or obtained for political advantage; strikes section related to the inadmissibility and deportability of aliens engaged in improper interference in United States elections; updates the findings reaffirming commitment of Congress to restore the Voting Rights Act; requires the Federal Election Commission to gather corporate governance data for separate segregated funds and to initiate a rulemaking on changing the name of the same; adds findings language related to youth voting; makes clarifying edits to the redistricting requirements, including requiring the Department of Justice to conducted an administrative review of final plans; provides for an Election Day holiday; directs the EAC, in consultation with the Access Board and CISA, to study voting systems to enhance the accessibility of voting and verification for individuals with disabilities; and amends certain effective dates.

# SUMMARY OF THE AMENDMENTS TO H.R. 1 IN PART B MADE IN ORDER

- 1. Scanlon (PA): Expands state requirements for early voting locations to include college campuses. (10 minutes)
- 2. Adams (NC): Requires that, in order to be eligible for funds under the program for institutions of higher education demonstrating excellence in voter registration, institutions must have engaged in initiatives to facilitate the enfranchisement of groups of individuals that have historically faced barriers to voting. (10 minutes)
- 3. Adams (NC): Requires school districts to describe how they will prioritize access to initiatives for schools serving their most vulnerable students when applying for funds under the "Pilot Program for Providing Voter Registration Information to Secondary School Students." (10 minutes)
- 4. Adams (NC), Sewell (AL), Ross, Deborah (NC), Williams (GA): Requires an appropriations set-aside for minority-serving institutions (MSIs) under the grant program for institutions of higher education demonstrating excellence in voter registration. (10 minutes)
- 5. Adams (NC), DeFazio (OR): Inserts a provision requiring the US Postal Service to sweep its facilities and post offices daily to ensure that ballots are expeditiously transmitted to local election officials. (10 minutes)
- 6. Armstrong (ND): Exempts any state that does not utilize voter registration on enactment date of this Act and continuously thereafter from complying with voter registration requirements in the Act. (10 minutes)
- 7. Auchincloss (MA): Expands the requirements for states to receive grants for poll worker recruitment and training to ensure the state includes dedicated poll worker recruitment for youth and minors, including by

- recruiting at institutions of higher education and secondary education. (10 minutes)
- 8. Auchincloss (MA): Adds "age" to the list of bases upon which voter challenges by persons other than election officials will be presumed as lacking a good faith factual basis. (10 minutes)
- 9. Bourdeaux (GA), Williams (GA), McBath (GA): Protects the ability of third parties to provide an application for an absentee ballot; ensures that election officials can send voter registration applications unsolicited; ensures that the number of drop boxes and geographical distribution of drop boxes provide a reasonable opportunity for voters to submit their ballot; permits for the security of drop boxes through remote or electronic surveillance. (10 minutes)
- 10. Boyle (PA): Allows for voter education information at naturalization ceremonies for newly sworn in citizens. (10 minutes)
- 11. Brown (MD): Requires states to include an option for an absentee ballot in the next and subsequent federal elections on a voter registration application form as part of registering for a State motor vehicle driver's license. (10 minutes)
- 12. Burgess (TX): Requires a report to Congress on the impact of widespread mail-in voting on the suffrage of active duty military servicemembers, how quickly their votes are counted, and whether high volumes of mail-in votes makes it harder for those individuals to vote. (10 minutes)
- 13. Burgess (TX): Requires a report to Congress on the data collection practices, the required necessary security resources, and the impact of a potential data breach of local, state, or federal online voter registration systems. (10 minutes)
- 14. Bush, Cori (MO), Jones, Mondaire (NY), Bowman (NY), Ocasio-Cortez (NY), Omar (MN), Pressley (MA), Watson Coleman (NJ): Clarifies that felony convictions do not bar any eligible individual from voting in federal elections, including individuals who are currently incarcerated. (10 minutes)
- 15. Bush, Cori (MO): Expands accessibility requirements for ballot drop box locations to ensure unhoused communities can participate in federal elections. (10 minutes)
- Case (HI), Murphy, Stephanie (FL): Directs the Election Assistance Commission to conduct a study on the 2020 elections and compile a list of recommendations to help states administer vote-by-mail elections. (10 minutes)
- 17. Castor (FL): Adds campaign fund disbursement requirements for former candidates registering as an agent under the Foreign Agents Registration Act. (10 minutes)
- 18. Comer (KY): Adds provisions requiring the disclosure to Congress of ethics waivers granted to executive branch officials; requiring presidential transition team members to disclose positions they held outside the federal government for the previous year, including paid and unpaid positions; and a provision barring presidential transition team members from working on transition activities who do not disclose information required in the transition "ethics plan", all of which were included in H.R. 1 as introduced in the 116th Congress. (10 minutes)
- 19. Davis, Rodney (IL): Strikes Subtitle C of Title III "Enhancing Protections for United States Democratic Institutions" creating a 'national strategy' to protect US democratic institutions by establishing a national commission. (10 minutes)
- 20. DeSaulnier (CA): Adds the Bots Research Act to the bill, which requires the EAC to establish a task force to study and report on the impact of automated accounts, known as "bots," on social media, public discourse, and elections. (10 minutes)

- 21. Escobar (TX), Speier (CA), Frankel (FL), Lawrence (MI), Sarbanes (MD): Exempts cybersecurity assistance, including assistance in responding to threats or harassment online, from limits on coordinated political party expenditures. (10 minutes)
- 22. Gallego (AZ), Leger Fernandez (NM): Improves voting access for individuals with disabilities in the four corners region of AZ, NM, CO, and UT by making a technical fix to the Protection and Advocacy for Voting Access (PAVA) program to include all 57 Protection and Advocacy Systems as eligible funding recipients. (10 minutes)
- 23. Grijalva (AZ): Requires each State to submit to the Election Assistance Commission and Congress a report that includes the number of individuals who were purged from the official voter registration list or moved to inactive status, broken down by the reason for those actions, including the method used for identifying those voters. (10 minutes)
- 24. Grijalva (AZ): Ensures that posting of notices at polling locations take into consideration factors including the linguistic preferences of voters in the jurisdiction. (10 minutes)
- 25. Langevin (RI), Gallagher (WI): Implements a recommendation of the Cyberspace Solarium Commission to ensure the security of our elections and resilience of our democracy by creating the position of Senior Cyber Policy Advisor at the Election Assistance Commission (EAC) and specifying that the duties of the EAC include the development, maintenance and dissemination of cybersecurity guidelines. (10 minutes)
- 26. Lawrence (MI): Prevents the United States Postal Service from enacting any new operational change that slows the delivery of voting materials in the 120-day period before an election. (10 minutes)
- 27. Lawrence (MI): Requires the United States Postal Service to appoint Election Mail Coordinators to assist election officials with any voting material questions. (10 minutes)
- 28. Lesko (AZ): Strikes Sec. 4208, which expands political record requirements for online platforms. (10 minutes)
- 29. Levin, Andy (MI): Amends Sec. 8042 (requiring disclosures of political donations and fundraising by certain Senate-confirmed nominees and other senior appointees) to add "chiefs of mission," as defined by the Foreign Service Act of 1980, to the list of covered individuals. (10 minutes)
- 30. Luria (VA), Murphy, Stephanie (FL): Prohibits taxpayer funds from being added into Freedom From Influence fund. (10 minutes)
- 31. Manning (NC), Price (NC), Ross, Deborah (NC), Butterfield (NC), Maloney, Sean (NY): Directs the Election Assistance Commission (EAC) and the Government Accountability Office (GAO) to submit a joint study to Congress of how to best enforce the fair and equitable waiting times standards set forth in Sec. 1906 of H.R. 1. Requires that no individual waits longer than 30 minutes to cast a ballot at a polling place. (10 minutes)
- 32. Phillips (MN), McCollum (MN): Requires state election officials to undertake accessible public education campaigns to inform voters of any changes to election processes made in response to public emergencies. (10 minutes)
- 33. Plaskett (VI): Amends the National Voter Registration Act of 1993 to equitably include territories of the United States. (10 minutes)
- 34. Plaskett (VI): Applies federal voter protection laws to territories of the United States. (10 minutes)
- 35. Plaskett (VI): Permits each of the territories of the United States to provide and furnish statues honoring their United States citizen residents for placement in Statuary Hall in the same manner as statues

- honoring United States citizen residents of the several States are provided for placement in Statuary Hall. (10 minutes)
- 36. Plaskett (VI): Includes territories of the United States in the Automatic Voter Registration Act of 2021 in the same manner as the 50 States and the District of Columbia. (10 minutes)

- 37. Pressley (MA), Meng (NY), Schakowsky (IL): Lowers the Mandatory Minimum Voting Age in Federal Elections to 16 years of age. (10 minutes)
- 38. Schneider (IL), Case (HI): Requires disclosure of donations of \$5,000 or more to political committees, including super PACs, made 20 days or less before an election in order to ensure transparency of contributions not likely to be disclosed through regular reporting requirements before an election. (10 minutes)
- 39. Schweikert (AZ): Directs the Election Assistance Commission to conduct a study regarding the use of blockchain technology to enhance voter security in Federal elections. (10 minutes)
- 40. Spanberger (VA), Case (HI), Moulton (MA): Requires disclaimers within the content of social media posts for foreign-backed political content shared on online platforms. The amendment is the text of the bipartisan Foreign Agents Disclaimer Enhancement Act. (10 minutes)
- 41. Speier (CA): Requires large online platforms to maintain a public record of political advertisements which includes information on the total number of views generated by the advertisement, the number of views by unique individuals, and the number of shares. (10 minutes)
- 42. Speier (CA), Moore (WI), Lawrence (MI), Schakowsky (IL), Frankel (FL), Dingell (MI), Escobar (TX), Bush, Cori (MO), Kuster (NH), Lee, Barbara (CA): Requires states to establish privacy programs to keep personally identifiable information in voter files, such as addresses, confidential to protect survivors of domestic violence, dating violence, stalking, sexual assault, and trafficking. For automatic voter registration, requires that individuals receive an explanation of what information is needed to access voter information online, how that information is shared or sold, and what privacy programs are available to survivors. (10 minutes)
- 43. Speier (CA), Carson (IN): Extends the statute of limitations for criminal violations of Federal Election Campaign Act from 5 years to 10 years; and for civil violations from 5 years to 15 years. (10 minutes)
- 44. Speier (CA): Requires a sufficient number of ballot marking machines equipped for individuals with disabilities, as defined by the Election Assistance Commission in consultation with the Access Board and the National Institute of Standards and Technology, for all in person voting options. (10 minutes)
- 45. Swalwell (CA): Ensures college student voters are not subjected to intimidation or deceptive practices when exercising their right to vote in their college towns. (10 minutes)
- 46. Swalwell (CA): Clarifies prohibitions on polling places or ballot drop boxes that falsely purport to be an official location established for an election. (10 minutes)
- 47. Swalwell (CA): Adds colleges' and universities' duty to better provide students with voter information on the school's website and transmitted via social media. (10 minutes)
- 48. Tlaib (MI): Prioritizes local education agencies that receive Title I funding from the Elementary and Secondary Education Act for the pilot program to provide voter registration information to secondary school students prior to graduation. (10 minutes)
- 49. Tlaib (MI): Requires that every polling location has available free of charge the required forms from the relevant State for an individual to

- register to vote, or revise the individual's voter registration information. (10 minutes)
- 50. Tlaib (MI): Requires all polling stations to be open for a minimum of 4 total hours outside of the regular working hours from 9am to 5pm in the time zone of the polling location. (10 minutes)
- 51. Torres, Ritchie (NY), Bush, Cori (MO): Requires the Federal Election Commission to (1) study the efficacy of political voucher programs in expanding and diversifying who gives to candidates and who runs for office and (2) issue a report on how a national political voucher program could be implemented. (10 minutes)
- 52. Torres, Ritchie (NY): Requires GAO to conduct a study on turnout rates based on age in States and localities that permit voters to participate in elections before reaching the age of 18. (10 minutes)
- 53. Torres, Ritchie (NY): Requires GAO to conduct a study on the implementation and impact of ranked choice voting in States and localities with a focus on how to best implement a model for Federal elections nation wide. The study shall include the impact on voter turnout, negative campaigning, and who decides to run for office. (10 minutes)
- 54. Underwood (IL): Requires the Comptroller General's report on small dollar financing to include an assessment of impacts on candidate diversity. (10 minutes)
- 55. Waters (CA): Prohibits misinformation which threatens potential voters with civil or other legal penalties if they exercise their right to vote. (10 minutes)
- 56. Williams (GA): Requires the Consumer Financial Protection Bureau, in coordination with the Election Assistance Commission, to provide a uniform statement that would be included with certain leases and vouchers for federally assisted rental housing as well as with mortgage applications to inform recipients how they can register to vote and their voting rights under law. (10 minutes)

# PART A—TEXT OF AMENDMENT TO H.R. 1 CONSIDERED AS ADOPTED

Page 2, line 9, strike "Finance" and insert "Finance.".

In the item relating to section 9001 in the table of contents of the bill, strike "Congresst" and insert "Congress".

Page 16, line 5, strike "and" and insert "to prevent and remedy discrimination in voting, and".

Page 17, line 18, strike the period and insert the following: ", and to address partisan gerrymandering, Rucho v. Common Cause, 588 U. S. \_\_\_\_\_, 32-33 (2019)."

Page 18, line 25, strike "is denied" and insert "is abridged or denied".

Page 22, line 9, strike "If any action is brought" and insert "For any action brought".

Page 22, line 11, insert "or lawfulness" after "constitutionality".

Page 22, line 19, add after the period the following: "These courts, and the Supreme Court of the United States on a writ of certiorari (if such a writ is issued), shall have exclusive jurisdiction to hear such actions.".

Page 22, strike line 24 and all that follows through page 23, line 5 and insert the following (and redesignate the succeeding provision accordingly):

- (3) It shall be the duty of the United States District Court for the District of Columbia and the Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia Circuit to advance on the docket and to expedite to the greatest possible extent the disposition of the action and appeal.
- (b) CLARIFYING Scope Of Jurisdiction.—If an action at the time of its commencement is not subject to subsection (a), but an amendment, counterclaim, cross-claim, affirmative defense, or any other pleading or motion is filed challenging, whether facially or as-applied, the constitutionality or lawfulness of this Act or any amendment made by this Act or any rule or regulation promulgated under this Act, the district court shall transfer the action to the District Court for the District of Columbia, and the action shall thereafter be conducted pursuant to subsection (a).

Page 27, strike lines 6 through 8 and insert the following:

(1) the ability of all eligible citizens of the United States to access and exercise their constitutional right to vote in a free, fair, and timely manner must be vigilantly enhanced, protected, and maintained; and

Page 53, line 22, strike "Each" and insert "Except as otherwise provided in this section, each".

Page 53, line 25, strike "or, in the case of an institution of higher education, each registration of a student for enrollment in a course of study".

Page 54, line 7, strike "the contributing agency informs the individual of the information described in paragraph (1)," and insert "a contributing agency as described in paragraph (1) informs an individual of the information described in such paragraph, unless the individual has declined to be registered to vote or informs the agency that they are already registered to vote,".

Page 54, line 14, strike ", unless during such 30-day period the individual declined to be registered to vote".

Page 55, strike lines 3 through 5 and insert the following:

(G) Except in the case in which the contributing agency is a covered institution of higher education, in the case of a State in which affiliation or enrollment with a political party is required in order to participate in an election to select the party's candidate in an election for Federal office, information regarding the individual's

affiliation or enrollment with a political party, but only if the individual provides such information.

Page 59, strike line 21 and all that follows through page 61, line 6 (and redesignate the succeeding provisions accordingly).

Page 61, insert after line 17 the following:

- (f) Institutions Of Higher Education .-
- (1) IN GENERAL.—Each covered institution of higher education shall be treated as a contributing agency in the State in which the institution is located with respect to in-State students.

#### (2) PROCEDURES.—

- (A) IN GENERAL.—Notwithstanding section 444 of the General Education Provisions Act (20 U.S.C. 1232g; commonly referred to as the 'Family Educational Rights and Privacy Act of 1974") or any other provision of law, each covered institution of higher education shall comply with the requirements of subsection (b) with respect to each in-State student.
- (B) RULES FOR COMPLIANCE.—In complying with the requirements described in subparagraph (A), the institution—
  - (i) may use information provided in the Free Application for Federal Student Aid described in section 483 of the Higher Education Act of 1965 (20 U.S.C. 1090) to collect information described in paragraph (3) of such subsection for purposes of transmitting such information to the appropriate State election official pursuant to such paragraph; and
  - (ii) shall not be required to prevent or delay students from enrolling in a course of study or otherwise impede the completion of the enrollment process; and (iii) shall not withhold, delay, or impede the provision of Federal financial aid provided under title IV of the Higher Education Act of 1965.
- (C) CLARIFICATION.—Nothing in this part may be construed to require an institution of higher education to request each student to affirm whether or not the student is a United States citizen or otherwise collect information with respect to citizenship.

#### (3) DEFINITIONS.—

- (A) COVERED INSTITUTION OF HIGHER EDUCATION.—In this section, the term "covered institution of higher education" means an institution of higher education that—
  - (i) has a program participation agreement in effect with the Secretary of Education under section 487 of the Higher Education Act of 1965 (20 U.S.C. 1094);
  - (ii) in its normal course of operations, requests each in-State student enrolling in the institution to affirm whether or not the student is a United States citizen; and
  - (iii) is located in a State to which section 4(b)(1) of the National Voter Registration Act of 1993 (52 U.S.C. 20503(b)(1)) does not apply.
- (B) IN-STATE STUDENT.—In this section, the term "in-State student"—
  - (i) means a student enrolled in a covered institution of higher education who, for purposes related to in-State tuition, financial aid eligibility, or other similar purposes, resides in the State; and
  - (ii) includes a student described in clause (i) who is enrolled in a program of distance education, as defined in section 103 of the Higher Education Act of 1965 (20 U.S.C. 1003).

Page 89, line 9, strike "fiscal year 2020" and insert "fiscal year 2022".

Page 155, line 2, strike "Paper Ballot Verification Mechanisms" and insert "Voting Options".

Page 155, line 11, strike "PAPER BALLOT VERIFICATION MECHANISMS" and insert "VOTING OPTIONS".

Page 155, strike lines 13 through 23 and insert the following:

"(a) Grants To Study And Report.—The Commission, in coordination with the Access Board and the Cybersecurity and Infrastructure Security Agency, shall make grants to not fewer than three eligible entities to study, test, and develop accessible and secure remote voting systems and voting, verification, and casting devices to enhance the accessibility of voting and verification for individuals with disabilities."

Page 155, line 25, strike "Director" and insert "Commission".

Page 156, line 1, strike "Director" and insert "Commission".

Page 156, strike lines 3 through 9 (and redesignate the succeeding provisions accordingly).

Page 156, line 12, strike "December 31, 2022" and insert "January 1, 2024".

Page 156, line 14, strike "Director" and insert "Commission".

Page 156, line 21, strike "Director" and insert "Commission".

Page 157, line 1, strike "Director and Commission determine" and insert "Commission determines".

Page 157, line 5, strike "\$5,000,000" and insert "\$10,000,000".

Page 157, in the item inserted after line 11, strike "paper ballot verification mechanisms" and insert "voting options".

Page 166, line 16, insert "of the jurisdiction in which the individual is registered" after "official".

Page 170, line 6, strike "during early voting" and insert "during inperson early voting".

Page 173, strike lines 10 through 15 (and redesignate the succeeding provision accordingly).

Page 177, line 24, strike "and".

Page 178, line 3, strike the period and insert "; and".

Page 178, insert after line 3 the following:

"(iii) of the officials who make the determination, at least one is affiliated with the political party whose candidate received the most votes in the most recent statewide election for Federal office held in the State and at least one is affiliated with the political party whose candidate received the second most votes in the most recent statewide election for Federal office held in the State."

Page 178, line 8, insert "and the Commission" after "Congress".

Page 179, strike line 15 and all that follows through page 181, line 8 and insert the following:

- "(c) Transmission Of Applications, Ballots, And Balloting Materials To Voters.—
  - "(1) AUTOMATIC TRANSMISSION OF ABSENTEE BALLOT APPLICATIONS BY MAIL.—
    - "(A) TRANSMISSION OF APPLICATIONS.—Not later than 60 days before the date of an election for Federal office, the appropriate State or local election official shall transmit by mail an application for an absentee ballot for the election to each individual who is registered to vote in the election, or, in the case of any State that does not register voters, all individuals who are in the State's central voter file (or if the State does not keep a central voter file, all individuals who are eligible to vote in such election).
    - "(B) EXCEPTION FOR INDIVIDUALS ALREADY RECEIVING APPLICATIONS AUTOMATICALLY.—Subparagraph (A) does not apply with respect to an individual to whom the State is already required to transmit an application for an absentee ballot for the election because the individual exercised the option described in subparagraph (D) of paragraph (2) to treat an application for an absentee ballot in a previous election for Federal office in the State as an application for an absentee ballot in all subsequent elections for Federal office in the State.

- "(C) EXCEPTION FOR STATES TRANSMITTING BALLOTS WITHOUT APPLICATION.—Subparagraph (A) does not apply with respect to a State which transmits a ballot in an election for Federal office in the State to a voter prior to the date of the election without regard to whether or not the voter submitted an application for the ballot to the State.
- "(D) RULE OF CONSTRUCTION.—Nothing in this paragraph may be construed to prohibit an individual from submitting to the appropriate State or local election official an application for an absentee ballot in an election for Federal office, including through the methods described in paragraph (2).
- "(2) OTHER METHODS FOR APPLYING FOR ABSENTEE BALLOT.—
  - "(A) IN GENERAL.—In addition to such other methods as the State may establish for an individual to apply for an absentee ballot, the State shall permit an individual—
    - "(i) to submit an application for an absentee ballot online; and
    - "(ii) to submit an application for an absentee ballot through the use of an automated telephone-based system, subject to the same terms and conditions applicable under this paragraph to the services made available online.
  - "(B) TREATMENT OF WEBSITES.—The State shall be considered to meet the requirements of subparagraph (A)(i) if the website of the appropriate State or local election official allows an application for an absentee ballot to be completed and submitted online and if the website permits the individual—
    - "(i) to print the application so that the individual may complete the application and return it to the official; or
    - "(ii) request that a paper copy of the application be transmitted to the individual by mail or electronic mail so that the individual may complete the application and return it to the official.
  - "(C) ENSURING DELIVERY PRIOR TO ELECTION.—If an individual who is eligible to vote in an election for Federal office submits an application for an absentee ballot in the election, the appropriate State or local election official shall ensure that the ballot and relating voting materials are received by the individual prior to the date of the election so long as the individual's application is received by the official not later than 5 days (excluding Saturdays, Sundays, and legal public holidays) before the date of the election, except that nothing in this paragraph shall preclude a State or local jurisdiction from allowing for the acceptance and processing of absentee ballot applications submitted or received after such required period.
  - "(D) APPLICATION FOR ALL FUTURE ELECTIONS.—At the option of an individual, a State shall treat the individual's application to vote by absentee ballot by mail in an election for Federal office as an application for an absentee ballot by mail in all subsequent Federal elections held in the State."

Page 181, line 24, strike "postmarked, signed, or otherwise" and insert "postmarked or otherwise".

Page 182, line 2, strike the semicolon and insert the following: ", or has been signed by the voter on or before the date of the election;".

Page 186, line 21, strike "Counted" and insert "Accepted".

Page 186, line 24, strike "counted" and insert "accepted".

Page 186, line 25, strike "not counted" and insert "rejected".

Page 192, insert after line 15 the following (and redesignate the succeeding provisions accordingly):

- "(b) In the case of any election mail carried by the Postal Service that consists of a ballot, the Postal Service shall indicate on the ballot envelope, using a postmark or otherwise—
  - "(1) the fact that the ballot was carried by the Postal Service; and
  - "(2) the date on which the ballot was mailed.".

Page 193, insert after line 5 the following (and redesignate the succeeding provision accordingly):

- (2) MAIL-IN BALLOTS AND POSTAL SERVICE BARCODE SERVICE.—
  - (A) IN GENERAL.—Section 3001 of title 39, United States Code, is amended by adding at the end the following:
- "(p) Any ballot sent within the United States for an election for Federal office is nonmailable and shall not be carried or delivered by mail unless the ballot is mailed in an envelope that—
  - "(1) contains a Postal Service barcode (or successive service or marking) that enables tracking of each individual ballot;
  - "(2) satisfies requirements for ballot envelope design that the Postal Service may promulgate by regulation;
  - "(3) satisfies requirements for machineable letters that the Postal Service may promulgate by regulation; and
  - "(4) includes the Official Election Mail Logo (or any successor label that the Postal Service may establish for ballots).".
    - (B) APPLICATION.—The amendment made by subsection (a) shall apply to any election for Federal office occurring after the date of enactment of this Act.

Page 207, line 15, strike "November 2020" and insert "November 2022".

Page 219, line 21, strike "2020" and insert "2021".

Page 226, line 3, strike "2020" and insert "2021".

Page 255, insert before line 17 the following:

## SEC. 1909. ELECTION DAY AS LEGAL PUBLIC HOLIDAY.

- (a) IN GENERAL.—Section 6103(a) of title 5, United States Code, is amended by inserting after the item relating to Columbus Day the following:
  - " Election Day, the Tuesday next after the first Monday in November of every even-numbered year.".
- (b) Effective Date.—The amendment made by subsection (a) shall apply with respect to the regularly scheduled general elections for Federal office held in November 2022 or any succeeding year.

Page 262, line 19, strike "PART 3" and insert "PART 4".

Strike page 268, line 4, through page 270, line 17, and insert the following:

# SEC. 2001. FINDINGS REAFFIRMING COMMITMENT OF CONGRESS TO RESTORE THE VOTING RIGHTS ACT.

- (a) FINDINGS.—Congress finds the following:
- (1) The right to vote for all Americans is a fundamental right guaranteed by the United States Constitution.
- (2) Federal, State, and local governments should protect the right to vote and promote voter participation across all demographics.
- (3) The Voting Rights Act has empowered the Department of Justice and Federal courts for nearly a half a century to block discriminatory voting practices before their implementation in States and localities with the most troubling histories, ongoing records of racial discrimination, and demonstrations of lower participation rates for protected classes.
- (4) There continues to be an alarming movement to erect barriers to make it more difficult for Americans to participate in our Nation's democratic process. The Nation has witnessed unprecedented efforts to turn back the clock and enact suppressive laws that block access to the franchise for communities of color which have faced historic and continuing discrimination, as well as disabled, young, elderly, and low-income Americans.

- (5) The Supreme Court's decision in *Shelby Countyv*. *Holder*(570 U.S. 529 (2013)), gutted decades-long Federal protections for communities of color and language-minority populations facing ongoing discrimination, emboldening States and local jurisdictions to pass voter suppression laws and implement procedures, like those requiring photo identification, limiting early voting hours, eliminating same-day registration, purging voters from the rolls, and reducing the number of polling places.
- (6) Racial discrimination in voting is a clear and persistent problem. The actions of States and localities around the country post-Shelby County, including at least 10 findings by Federal courts of intentional discrimination, underscored the need for Congress to conduct investigatory and evidentiary hearings to determine the legislation necessary to restore the Voting Rights Act and combat continuing efforts in America that suppress the free exercise of the franchise in Black and other communities of color.
- (7) Evidence of discriminatory voting practice spans from decades ago through to the past several election cycles. The 2018 midterm elections, for example, demonstrated ongoing discrimination in voting.
- (8) During the 116th Congress, congressional committees in the House of Representatives held numerous hearings, collecting substantial testimony and other evidence which underscored the need to pass a restoration of the Voting Rights Act.
- (9) On December 6, 2019, the House of Representatives passed the John R. Lewis Voting Rights Advancement Act, which would restore and modernize the Voting Rights Act, in accordance with language from the *Shelby County* decision. Congress reaffirms that the barriers faced by too many voters across this Nation when trying to cast their ballot necessitate reintroduction of many of the protections once afforded by the Voting Rights Act.
- (10) The 2020 primary and general elections provide further evidence that systemic voter discrimination and intimidation continues to occur in communities of color across the country, making it clear that full access to the franchise will not be achieved until Congress restores key provisions of the Voting Rights Act.
- (11) As of late-February 2021, 43 States had introduced, prefiled, or carried over 253 bills to restrict voting access that, primarily, limit mail voting access, impose stricter voter ID requirements, slash voter registration opportunities, and/or enable more aggressive voter roll purges.
- (b) Purposes.—The purposes of this Act are as follows:
  - (1) To improve access to the ballot for all citizens.
- (2) To establish procedures by which States and localities, in accordance with past actions, submit voting practice changes for preclearance by the Federal Government.
  - (3) To enhance the integrity and security of our voting systems.
- (4) To ensure greater accountability for the administration of elections by States and localities.
- (5) To restore protections for voters against practices in States and localities plagued by the persistence of voter disenfranchisement.
- (6) To ensure that Federal civil rights laws protect the rights of voters against discriminatory and deceptive practices.

Page 285, line 7, strike "who not" and insert "who are not".

Page 286, insert after line 9 the following:

# SEC. 2403. CRITERIA FOR REDISTRICTING.

- (a) CRITERIA.—Under the redistricting plan of a State, there shall be established single-member congressional districts using the following criteria as set forth in the following order of priority:
  - (1) Districts shall comply with the United States Constitution, including the requirement that they equalize total population.

- (2) Districts shall comply with the Voting Rights Act of 1965 (52 U.S.C. 10301 et seq.), including by creating any districts where two or more politically cohesive groups protected by such Act are able to elect representatives of choice in coalition with one another, and all applicable Federal laws.
- (3) Districts shall be drawn, to the extent that the totality of the circumstances warrant, to ensure the practical ability of a group protected under the Voting Rights Act of 1965 (52 U.S.C. 10301 et seq.) to participate in the political process and to nominate candidates and to elect representatives of choice is not diluted or diminished, regardless of whether or not such protected group constitutes a majority of a district's citizen voting age population.
- (4) Districts shall respect communities of interest, neighborhoods, and political subdivisions to the extent practicable and after compliance with the requirements of paragraphs (1) through (3). A community of interest is defined as an area with recognized similarities of interests, including but not limited to ethnic, racial, economic, tribal, social, cultural, geographic or historic identities. The term communities of interest may, in certain circumstances, include political subdivisions such as counties, municipalities, tribal lands and reservations, or school districts, but shall not include common relationships with political parties or political candidates.
- (b) No Favoring Or Disfavoring Of Political Parties.—
- (1) PROHIBITION.—The redistricting plan enacted by a State shall not, when considered on a Statewide basis, be drawn with the intent or the effect of unduly favoring or disfavoring any political party.

#### (2) DETERMINATION OF EFFECT.—

- (A) TOTALITY OF CIRCUMSTANCES.—For purposes of paragraph (1), the determination of whether a redistricting plan has the effect of unduly favoring or disfavoring a political party shall be based on the totality of circumstances, including evidence regarding the durability and severity of a plan's partisan bias.
- (B) PLANS DEEMED TO HAVE EFFECT OF UNDULY FAVORING OR DISFAVORING A POLITICAL PARTY.—Without limiting other ways in which a redistricting plan may be determined to have the effect of unduly favoring or disfavoring a political party under the totality of circumstances under subparagraph (A), a redistricting plan shall be deemed to have the effect of unduly favoring or disfavoring a political party if—
  - (i) modeling based on relevant historical voting patterns shows that the plan is statistically likely to result in a partisan bias of more than one seat in States with 20 or fewer congressional districts or a partisan bias of more than 2 seats in States with more than 20 congressional districts, as determined using quantitative measures of partisan fairness, which may include, but are not limited to, the seats-to-votes curve for an enacted plan, the efficiency gap, the declination, partisan asymmetry, and the mean-median difference, and
  - (ii) alternative plans, which may include, but are not limited to, those generated by redistricting algorithms, exist that could have complied with the requirements of law and not been in violation of paragraph (1).
- (3) DETERMINATION OF INTENT.—For purposes of paragraph (A), a rebuttable presumption shall exist that a redistricting plan enacted by the legislature of a State was not enacted with the intent of unduly favoring or disfavoring a political party if the plan was enacted with the support of at least a third of the members of the second largest political party in each house of the legislature.
- (4) NO VIOLATION BASED ON CERTAIN CRITERIA.—No redistricting plan shall be found to be in violation of paragraph (1)

because of partisan bias attributable to the application of the criteria set forth in paragraphs (1), (2), or (3) of subsection (a), unless one or more alternative plans could have complied with such paragraphs without having the effect of unduly favoring or disfavoring a political party.

- (c) Factors Prohibited From Consideration.—In developing the redistricting plan for the State, the independent redistricting commission may not take into consideration any of the following factors, except to the extent necessary to comply with the criteria described in paragraphs (1) through (3) of subsection (a), subsection (b), and to enable the redistricting plan to be measured against the external metrics described in section 2413(d):
  - (1) The residence of any Member of the House of Representatives or candidate.
  - (2) The political party affiliation or voting history of the population of a district.
- (d) Applicability.—This section applies to any authority, whether appointed, elected, judicial, or otherwise, that designs or enacts a congressional redistricting plan of a State.
- (e) Severability Of Criteria.—If any of the criteria set forth in this section, or the application of such criteria to any person or circumstance, is held to be unconstitutional, the remaining criteria set forth in this section, and the application of such criteria to any person or circumstance, shall not be affected by the holding.

Page 307, line 13, strike "shall" and insert "shall, by majority vote".

Page 309, line 2, strike "shall" and insert "shall, by majority vote".

Page 310, line 17, strike "shall" and insert "shall, by majority vote".

Amend section 2413 to read as follows:

## SEC. 2413. PUBLIC NOTICE AND INPUT.

- (a) Public Notice And Input.—
- (1) USE OF OPEN AND TRANSPARENT PROCESS.—The independent redistricting commission of a State shall hold each of its meetings in public, shall solicit and take into consideration comments from the public, including proposed maps, throughout the process of developing the redistricting plan for the State, and shall carry out its duties in an open and transparent manner which provides for the widest public dissemination reasonably possible of its proposed and final redistricting plans.

#### (2) WEBSITE.—

- (A) FEATURES.—The commission shall maintain a public Internet site which is not affiliated with or maintained by the office of any elected official and which includes the following features:
  - (i) General information on the commission, its role in the redistricting process, and its members, including contact information.
  - (ii) An updated schedule of commission hearings and activities, including deadlines for the submission of comments.
  - (iii) All draft redistricting plans developed by the commission under subsection (b) and the final redistricting plan developed under subsection (c), including the accompanying written evaluation under subsection (d).
  - (iv) All comments received from the public on the commission's activities, including any proposed maps submitted under paragraph (1).
  - (v) Live streaming of commission hearings and an archive of previous meetings, including any documents considered at any such meeting, which the commission shall post not later than 24 hours after the conclusion of the meeting.
  - (vi) Access in an easily useable format to the demographic and other data used by the commission to develop and analyze the proposed redistricting plans, together with access to any

software used to draw maps of proposed districts and to any reports analyzing and evaluating any such maps.

- (vii) A method by which members of the public may submit comments and proposed maps directly to the commission.
- (viii) All records of the commission, including all communications to or from members, employees, and contractors regarding the work of the commission.
- (ix) A list of all contractors receiving payment from the commission, together with the annual disclosures submitted by the contractors under section 2411(c)(3).
- (x) A list of the names of all individuals who submitted applications to serve on the commission, together with the applications submitted by individuals included in any selection pool, except that the commission may redact from such applications any financial or other personally sensitive information.
- (B) SEARCHABLE FORMAT.—The commission shall ensure that all information posted and maintained on the site under this paragraph, including information and proposed maps submitted by the public, shall be maintained in an easily searchable format.
- (C) DEADLINE.—The commission shall ensure that the public internet site under this paragraph is operational (in at least a preliminary format) not later than January 1 of the year ending in the numeral one.
- (3) PUBLIC COMMENT PERIOD.—The commission shall solicit, accept, and consider comments from the public with respect to its duties, activities, and procedures at any time during the period—
  - (A) which begins on January 1 of the year ending in the numeral one; and
  - (B) which ends 7 days before the date of the meeting at which the commission shall vote on approving the final redistricting plan for enactment into law under subsection (c)(2).
- (4) MEETINGS AND HEARINGS IN VARIOUS GEOGRAPHIC LOCATIONS.—To the greatest extent practicable, the commission shall hold its meetings and hearings in various geographic regions and locations throughout the State.
- (5) MULTIPLE LANGUAGE REQUIREMENTS FOR ALL NOTICES.—The commission shall make each notice which is required to be posted and published under this section available in any language in which the State (or any jurisdiction in the State) is required to provide election materials under section 203 of the Voting Rights Act of 1965.
- (b) DEVELOPMENT AND PUBLICATION OF PRELIMINARY REDISTRICTING PLAN.—
  - (1) IN GENERAL.—Prior to developing and publishing a final redistricting plan under subsection (c), the independent redistricting commission of a State shall develop and publish a preliminary redistricting plan.
  - (2) MINIMUM PUBLIC HEARINGS AND OPPORTUNITY FOR COMMENT PRIOR TO DEVELOPMENT.—
    - (A) 3 HEARINGS REQUIRED.—Prior to developing a preliminary redistricting plan under this subsection, the commission shall hold not fewer than 3 public hearings at which members of the public may provide input and comments regarding the potential contents of redistricting plans for the State and the process by which the commission will develop the preliminary plan under this subsection.
    - (B) MINIMUM PERIOD FOR NOTICE PRIOR TO HEARINGS.—Not fewer than 14 days prior to the date of each hearing held under this paragraph, the commission shall post notices of the hearing in on the website maintained under

subsection (a)(2), and shall provide for the publication of such notices in newspapers of general circulation throughout the State. Each such notice shall specify the date, time, and location of the hearing.

(C) SUBMISSION OF PLANS AND MAPS BY MEMBERS OF THE PUBLIC.—Any member of the public may submit maps or portions of maps for consideration by the commission. As provided under subsection (a)(2)(A), any such map shall be made publicly available on the commission's website and open to comment.

#### (3) PUBLICATION OF PRELIMINARY PLAN.—

- (A) IN GENERAL.—The commission shall post the preliminary redistricting plan developed under this subsection, together with a report that includes the commission's responses to any public comments received under subsection (a)(3), on the website maintained under subsection (a)(2), and shall provide for the publication of each such plan in newspapers of general circulation throughout the State.
- (B) MINIMUM PERIOD FOR NOTICE PRIOR TO PUBLICATION.—Not fewer than 14 days prior to the date on which the commission posts and publishes the preliminary plan under this paragraph, the commission shall notify the public through the website maintained under subsection (a)(2), as well as through publication of notice in newspapers of general circulation throughout the State, of the pending publication of the plan.
- (4) MINIMUM POST-PUBLICATION PERIOD FOR PUBLIC COMMENT.—The commission shall accept and consider comments from the public (including through the website maintained under subsection (a)(2)) with respect to the preliminary redistricting plan published under paragraph (3), including proposed revisions to maps, for not fewer than 30 days after the date on which the plan is published.

#### (5) POST-PUBLICATION HEARINGS.—

- (A) 3 HEARINGS REQUIRED.—After posting and publishing the preliminary redistricting plan under paragraph (3), the commission shall hold not fewer than 3 public hearings in different geographic areas of the State at which members of the public may provide input and comments regarding the preliminary plan.
- (B) MINIMUM PERIOD FOR NOTICE PRIOR TO HEARINGS.—Not fewer than 14 days prior to the date of each hearing held under this paragraph, the commission shall post notices of the hearing in on the website maintained under subsection (a)(2), and shall provide for the publication of such notices in newspapers of general circulation throughout the State. Each such notice shall specify the date, time, and location of the hearing.
- (6) PERMITTING MULTIPLE PRELIMINARY PLANS.—At the option of the commission, after developing and publishing the preliminary redistricting plan under this subsection, the commission may develop and publish subsequent preliminary redistricting plans, so long as the process for the development and publication of each such subsequent plan meets the requirements set forth in this subsection for the development and publication of the first preliminary redistricting plan.

## (c) Process For Enactment Of Final Redistricting Plan.—

- (1) IN GENERAL.—After taking into consideration comments from the public on any preliminary redistricting plan developed and published under subsection (b), the independent redistricting commission of a State shall develop and publish a final redistricting plan for the State.
- (2) MEETING; FINAL VOTE.—Not later than the deadline specified in subsection (e), the commission shall hold a public hearing at

which the members of the commission shall vote on approving the final plan for enactment into law.

- (3) PUBLICATION OF PLAN AND ACCOMPANYING MATERIALS.—Not fewer than 14 days before the date of the meeting under paragraph (2), the commission shall provide the following information to the public through the website maintained under subsection (a)(2), as well as through newspapers of general circulation throughout the State:
  - (A) The final redistricting plan, including all relevant maps.
  - (B) A report by the commission to accompany the plan which provides the background for the plan and the commission's reasons for selecting the plan as the final redistricting plan, including responses to the public comments received on any preliminary redistricting plan developed and published under subsection (b).
  - (C) Any dissenting or additional views with respect to the plan of individual members of the commission.
- (4) ENACTMENT.—Subject to paragraph (5), the final redistricting plan developed and published under this subsection shall be deemed to be enacted into law upon the expiration of the 45-day period which begins on the date on which—
  - (A) such final plan is approved by a majority of the whole membership of the commission; and
  - (B) at least one member of the commission appointed from each of the categories of the approved selection pool described in section 2412(b)(1) approves such final plan.
  - (5) REVIEW BY DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE.—
  - (A) REQUIRING SUBMISSION OF PLAN FOR REVIEW.— The final redistricting plan shall not be deemed to be enacted into law unless the State submits the plan to the Department of Justice for an administrative review to determine if the plan is in compliance with the criteria described in subparagraphs (B) and (C) of section 2413(a)(1).
  - (B) TERMINATION OF REVIEW.—The Department of Justice shall terminate any administrative review under subparagraph (A) if, during the 45-day period which begins on the date the plan is enacted into law, an action is filed in a United States district court alleging that the plan is not in compliance with the criteria described in subparagraphs (B) and (C) of section 2413(a)(1).
- (d) Written Evaluation Of Plan Against External Metrics.—The independent redistricting commission shall include with each redistricting plan developed and published under this section a written evaluation that measures each such plan against external metrics which cover the criteria set forth in section 2403(a), including the impact of the plan on the ability of communities of color to elect candidates of choice, measures of partisan fairness using multiple accepted methodologies, and the degree to which the plan preserves or divides communities of interest.
- (e) Timing.—The independent redistricting commission of a State may begin its work on the redistricting plan of the State upon receipt of relevant population information from the Bureau of the Census, and shall approve a final redistricting plan for the State in each year ending in the numeral one not later than 8 months after the date on which the State receives the State apportionment notice or October 1, whichever occurs later.

Page 328, insert after line 22 the following:

(5) RULE OF CONSTRUCTION.—Nothing in this subsection may be construed to prohibit the leader of any political party in a legislature from appointment to the Select Committee on Redistricting.

Page 330, line 19, strike "2413(a)" and insert "2403".

Page 332, line 3, strike "2413(e)" and insert "2413(d)".

Page 333, line 19, strike "2413(f)" and insert "2413(e)".

Page 338, insert after line 4 the following (and redesignate the succeeding provisions accordingly):

#### (c) Remedies.—

## (1) ADOPTION OF REPLACEMENT PLAN.—

- (A) IN GENERAL.—If the district court in an action under this section finds that the congressional redistricting plan of a State violates, in whole or in part, the requirements of this subtitle—
  - (i) the Court shall adopt a replacement congressional redistricting plan for the State in accordance with the process set forth in section 2421; or
  - (ii) if circumstances warrant and no delay to an upcoming regularly scheduled election for the House of Representatives in the State would result, the district court may allow a State to develop and propose a remedial congressional redistricting plan for consideration by the court, and such remedial plan may be developed by the State by adopting such appropriate changes to the State's enacted plan as may be ordered by the court.
- (B) SPECIAL RULE IN CASE FINAL ADJUDICATION NOT EXPECTED WITHIN 3 MONTHS OF ELECTION.—If final adjudication of an action under this section is not reasonably expected to be completed at least three months prior to the next regularly scheduled election for the House of Representatives in the State, the district court shall, as the balance of equities warrant,—
  - (i) order development, adoption, and use of an interim congressional redistricting plan in accordance with section 2421(e) to address any claims under this title for which a party seeking relief has demonstrated a substantial likelihood of success; or
  - (ii) order adjustments to the timing of primary elections for the House of Representatives, as needed, to allow sufficient opportunity for adjudication of the matter and adoption of a remedial or replacement plan for use in the next regularly scheduled general elections for the House of Representatives.
- (2) NO INJUNCTIVE RELIEF PERMITTED.—Any remedial or replacement congressional redistricting plan ordered under this subsection shall not be subject to temporary or preliminary injunctive relief from any court unless the record establishes that a writ of mandamus is warranted.
- (3) NO STAY PENDING APPEAL.—Notwithstanding the appeal of an order finding that a congressional redistricting plan of a State violates, in whole or in part, the requirements of this subtitle, no stay shall issue which shall bar the development or adoption of a replacement or remedial plan under this subsection, as may be directed by the district court, pending such appeal.

Page 339, insert after line 24 the following:

# PART 5—REQUIREMENTS FOR REDISTRICTING CARRIED OUT PURSUANT TO 2020 CENSUS

# Subpart A—Application Of Certain Requirements For Redistricting Carried Out Pursuant To 2020 Census SEC. 2441. APPLICATION OF CERTAIN REQUIREMENTS FOR REDISTRICTING CARRIED OUT PURSUANT TO 2020 CENSUS.

Notwithstanding section 2435, parts 1, 3, and 4 of this subtitle and the amendments made by such parts shall apply with respect to congressional redistricting carried out pursuant to the decennial census conducted during 2020 in the same manner as such parts and the amendments made by such parts apply with respect to redistricting carried out pursuant to the decennial census conducted during 2030, except as follows:

- (1) Except as provided in subsection (c) and subsection (d) of section 2401, the redistricting shall be conducted in accordance with—
  - (A) the redistricting plan developed and enacted into law by the independent redistricting commission established in the State in

accordance with subpart B; or

- (B) if a plan developed by such commission is not enacted into law, the redistricting plan developed and enacted into law by a 3-judge court in accordance with section 2421.
- (2) If any of the triggering events described in section 2442 occur with respect to the State, the United States district court for the applicable venue shall develop and publish the redistricting plan for the State, in accordance with section 2421, not later than December 15, 2021.
- (3) For purposes of section 2431(d)(1), the Election Assistance Commission may not make a payment to a State under such section until the State certifies to the Commission that the nonpartisan agency established or designated by a State under section 2454(a) has, in accordance with section 2452(b)(1), submitted a selection pool to the Select Committee on Redistricting for the State established under section 2454(b).

## SEC. 2442. TRIGGERING EVENTS.

For purposes of the redistricting carried out pursuant to the decennial census conducted during 2020, the triggering events described in this section are as follows:

- (1) The failure of the State to establish or designate a nonpartisan agency under section 2454(a) prior to the expiration of the deadline under section 2454(a)(6).
- (2) The failure of the State to appoint a Select Committee on Redistricting under section 2454(b) prior to the expiration of the deadline under section 2454(b)(4).
- (3) The failure of the Select Committee on Redistricting to approve a selection pool under section 2452(b) prior to the expiration of the deadline under section 2452(b)(7).
- (4) The failure of the independent redistricting commission of the State to approve a final redistricting plan for the State under section 2453 prior to the expiration of the deadline under section 2453(e).

# Subpart B—Independent Redistricting Commissions For Redistricting Carried Out Pursuant To 2020 Census SEC. 2451. USE OF INDEPENDENT REDISTRICTING COMMISSIONS FOR REDISTRICTING CARRIED OUT PURSUANT TO 2020 CENSUS.

- (a) Appointment Of Members.—
- (1) IN GENERAL.—The nonpartisan agency established or designated by a State under section 2454(a) shall establish an independent redistricting commission under this part for the State, which shall consist of 15 members appointed by the agency as follows:
  - (A) Not later than August 5, 2021, the agency shall, at a public meeting held not earlier than 15 days after notice of the meeting has been given to the public, first appoint 6 members as follows:
    - (i) The agency shall appoint 2 members on a random basis from the majority category of the approved selection pool (as described in section 2452(b)(1)(A)).
    - (ii) The agency shall appoint 2 members on a random basis from the minority category of the approved selection pool (as described in section 2452(b)(1)(B)).
    - (iii) The agency shall appoint 2 members on a random basis from the independent category of the approved selection pool (as described in section 2452(b)(1)(C)).
  - (B) Not later than August 15, 2021, the members appointed by the agency under subparagraph (A) shall, at a public meeting held not earlier than 15 days after notice of the meeting has been given to the public, then appoint 9 members as follows:
    - (i) The members shall appoint 3 members from the majority category of the approved selection pool (as described in section 2452(b)(1)(A)).

- (ii) The members shall appoint 3 members from the minority category of the approved selection pool (as described in section 2452(b)(1)(B)).
- (iii) The members shall appoint 3 members from the independent category of the approved selection pool (as described in section 2452(b)(1)(C)).
- (2) RULES FOR APPOINTMENT OF MEMBERS APPOINTED BY FIRST MEMBERS.—
  - (A) AFFIRMATIVE VOTE OF AT LEAST 4 MEMBERS.—The appointment of any of the 9 members of the independent redistricting commission who are appointed by the first members of the commission pursuant to subparagraph (B) of paragraph (1) shall require the affirmative vote of at least 4 of the members appointed by the nonpartisan agency under subparagraph (A) of paragraph (1), including at least one member from each of the categories referred to in such subparagraph.
  - (B) ENSURING DIVERSITY.—In appointing the 9 members pursuant to subparagraph (B) of paragraph (1), the first members of the independent redistricting commission shall ensure that the membership is representative of the demographic groups (including racial, ethnic, economic, and gender) and geographic regions of the State, and provides racial, ethnic, and language minorities protected under the Voting Rights Act of 1965 with a meaningful opportunity to participate in the development of the State's redistricting plan.
- (3) REMOVAL.—A member of the independent redistricting commission may be removed by a majority vote of the remaining members of the commission if it is shown by a preponderance of the evidence that the member is not eligible to serve on the commission under section 2452(a).
- (b) Procedures For Conducting Commission Business.—
- (1) REQUIRING MAJORITY APPROVAL FOR ACTIONS.—The independent redistricting commission of a State under this part may not publish and disseminate any draft or final redistricting plan, or take any other action, without the approval of at least—
  - (A) a majority of the whole membership of the commission; and
  - (B) at least one member of the commission appointed from each of the categories of the approved selection pool described in section 2452(b)(1).
- (2) QUORUM.—A majority of the members of the commission shall constitute a quorum.
- (c) STAFF; CONTRACTORS.—
- (1) STAFF.—Under a public application process in which all application materials are available for public inspection, the independent redistricting commission of a State under this part shall appoint and set the pay of technical experts, legal counsel, consultants, and such other staff as it considers appropriate, subject to State law.
- (2) CONTRACTORS.—The independent redistricting commission of a State may enter into such contracts with vendors as it considers appropriate, subject to State law, except that any such contract shall be valid only if approved by the vote of a majority of the members of the commission, including at least one member appointed from each of the categories of the approved selection pool described in section 2452(b)(1).
- (3) GOAL OF IMPARTIALITY.—The commission shall take such steps as it considers appropriate to ensure that any staff appointed under this subsection, and any vendor with whom the commission enters into a contract under this subsection, will work in an impartial manner.
- (d) Preservation Of Records.—The State shall ensure that the records of the independent redistricting commission are retained in the

appropriate State archive in such manner as may be necessary to enable the State to respond to any civil action brought with respect to congressional redistricting in the State.

# SEC. 2452. ESTABLISHMENT OF SELECTION POOL OF INDIVIDUALS ELIGIBLE TO SERVE AS MEMBERS OF COMMISSION.

- (a) Criteria For Eligibility.—
- (1) IN GENERAL.—An individual is eligible to serve as a member of an independent redistricting commission under this part if the individual meets each of the following criteria:
  - (A) As of the date of appointment, the individual is registered to vote in elections for Federal office held in the State.
  - (B) During the 3-year period ending on the date of the individual's appointment, the individual has been continuously registered to vote with the same political party, or has not been registered to vote with any political party.
  - (C) The individual submits to the nonpartisan agency established or designated by a State under section 2453, at such time and in such form as the agency may require, an application for inclusion in the selection pool under this section, and includes with the application a written statement, with an attestation under penalty of perjury, containing the following information and assurances:
    - (i) The full current name and any former names of, and the contact information for, the individual, including an electronic mail address, the address of the individual's residence, mailing address, and telephone numbers.
    - (ii) The individual's race, ethnicity, gender, age, date of birth, and household income for the most recent taxable year.
    - (iii) The political party with which the individual is affiliated, if any.
    - (iv) The reason or reasons the individual desires to serve on the independent redistricting commission, the individual's qualifications, and information relevant to the ability of the individual to be fair and impartial, including, but not limited to
      - (I) any involvement with, or financial support of, professional, social, political, religious, or community organizations or causes;
      - (II) the individual's employment and educational history.
    - (v) An assurance that the individual shall commit to carrying out the individual's duties under this subtitle in an honest, independent, and impartial fashion, and to upholding public confidence in the integrity of the redistricting process.
    - (vi) An assurance that, during such covered period as the State may establish with respect to any of the subparagraphs of paragraph (2), the individual has not taken and will not take any action which would disqualify the individual from serving as a member of the commission under such paragraph.
- (2) DISQUALIFICATIONS.—An individual is not eligible to serve as a member of the commission if any of the following applies with respect to such covered period as the State may establish:
  - (A) The individual or an immediate family member of the individual holds public office or is a candidate for election for public office.
  - (B) The individual or an immediate family member of the individual serves as an officer of a political party or as an officer, employee, or paid consultant of a campaign committee of a candidate for public office or of any political action committee (as determined in accordance with the law of the State).

- (C) The individual or an immediate family member of the individual holds a position as a registered lobbyist under the Lobbying Disclosure Act of 1995 (2 U.S.C. 1601 et seq.) or an equivalent State or local law.
- (D) The individual or an immediate family member of the individual is an employee of an elected public official, a contractor with the government of the State, or a donor to the campaign of any candidate for public office or to any political action committee (other than a donor who, during any of such covered periods, gives an aggregate amount of \$1,000 or less to the campaigns of all candidates for all public offices and to all political action committees).
- (E) The individual paid a civil money penalty or criminal fine, or was sentenced to a term of imprisonment, for violating any provision of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 (52 U.S.C. 30101 et seq.).
- (F) The individual or an immediate family member of the individual is an agent of a foreign principal under the Foreign Agents Registration Act of 1938, as amended (22 U.S.C. 611 et seq.).
- (3) IMMEDIATE FAMILY MEMBER DEFINED.—In this subsection, the term "immediate family member" means, with respect to an individual, a father, stepfather, mother, stepmother, son, stepson, daughter, stepdaughter, brother, stepbrother, sister, stepsister, husband, wife, father-in-law, or mother-in-law.
- (b) DEVELOPMENT AND SUBMISSION OF SELECTION POOL.—
- (1) IN GENERAL.—Not later than July 15, 2021, the nonpartisan agency established or designated by a State under section 2454(a) shall develop and submit to the Select Committee on Redistricting for the State established under section 2454(b) a selection pool of 36 individuals who are eligible to serve as members of the independent redistricting commission of the State under this part, consisting of individuals in the following categories:
  - (A) A majority category, consisting of 12 individuals who are affiliated with the political party whose candidate received the most votes in the most recent Statewide election for Federal office held in the State.
  - (B) A minority category, consisting of 12 individuals who are affiliated with the political party whose candidate received the second most votes in the most recent Statewide election for Federal office held in the State.
  - (C) An independent category, consisting of 12 individuals who are not affiliated with either of the political parties described in subparagraph (A) or subparagraph (B).
- (2) FACTORS TAKEN INTO ACCOUNT IN DEVELOPING POOL. —In selecting individuals for the selection pool under this subsection, the nonpartisan agency shall—
  - (A) ensure that the pool is representative of the demographic groups (including racial, ethnic, economic, and gender) and geographic regions of the State, and includes applicants who would allow racial, ethnic, and language minorities protected under the Voting Rights Act of 1965 a meaningful opportunity to participate in the development of the State's redistricting plan; and
  - (B) take into consideration the analytical skills of the individuals selected in relevant fields (including mapping, data management, law, community outreach, demography, and the geography of the State) and their ability to work on an impartial basis.
- (3) DETERMINATION OF POLITICAL PARTY AFFILIATION OF INDIVIDUALS IN SELECTION POOL.—For purposes of this section, an individual shall be considered to be affiliated with a political party only if the nonpartisan agency is able to verify (to the greatest extent

possible) the information the individual provides in the application submitted under subsection (a)(1)(C), including by considering additional information provided by other persons with knowledge of the individual's history of political activity.

- (4) ENCOURAGING RESIDENTS TO APPLY FOR INCLUSION IN POOL.—The nonpartisan agency shall take such steps as may be necessary to ensure that residents of the State across various geographic regions and demographic groups are aware of the opportunity to serve on the independent redistricting commission, including publicizing the role of the panel and using newspapers, broadcast media, and online sources, including ethnic media, to encourage individuals to apply for inclusion in the selection pool developed under this subsection.
- (5) REPORT ON ESTABLISHMENT OF SELECTION POOL.—At the time the nonpartisan agency submits the selection pool to the Select Committee on Redistricting under paragraph (1), it shall publish a report describing the process by which the pool was developed, and shall include in the report a description of how the individuals in the pool meet the eligibility criteria of subsection (a) and of how the pool reflects the factors the agency is required to take into consideration under paragraph (2).
- (6) PUBLIC COMMENT ON SELECTION POOL.—During the 14-day period which begins on the date the nonpartisan agency publishes the report under paragraph (5), the agency shall accept comments from the public on the individuals included in the selection pool. The agency shall transmit all such comments to the Select Committee on Redistricting immediately upon the expiration of such period.

#### (7) ACTION BY SELECT COMMITTEE.—

- (A) IN GENERAL.—Not later than August 1, 2021, the Select Committee on Redistricting shall—
  - (i) approve the pool as submitted by the nonpartisan agency, in which case the pool shall be considered the approved selection pool for purposes of section 2451(a)(1); or
  - (ii) reject the pool, in which case the redistricting plan for the State shall be developed and enacted in accordance with part 3.
- (B) INACTION DEEMED REJECTION.—If the Select Committee on Redistricting fails to approve or reject the pool within the deadline set forth in subparagraph (A), the Select Committee shall be deemed to have rejected the pool for purposes of such subparagraph.

#### SEC. 2453. CRITERIA FOR REDISTRICTING PLAN; PUBLIC NOTICE AND INPUT.

#### (a) Public Notice And Input.—

- (1) USE OF OPEN AND TRANSPARENT PROCESS.—The independent redistricting commission of a State under this part shall hold each of its meetings in public, shall solicit and take into consideration comments from the public, including proposed maps, throughout the process of developing the redistricting plan for the State, and shall carry out its duties in an open and transparent manner which provides for the widest public dissemination reasonably possible of its proposed and final redistricting plans.
- (2) PUBLIC COMMENT PERIOD.—The commission shall solicit, accept, and consider comments from the public with respect to its duties, activities, and procedures at any time until 7 days before the date of the meeting at which the commission shall vote on approving the final redistricting plan for enactment into law under subsection (c)(2).
- (3) MEETINGS AND HEARINGS IN VARIOUS GEOGRAPHIC LOCATIONS.—To the greatest extent practicable, the commission shall hold its meetings and hearings in various geographic regions and locations throughout the State.

- (4) MULTIPLE LANGUAGE REQUIREMENTS FOR ALL NOTICES.—The commission shall make each notice which is required to be published under this section available in any language in which the State (or any jurisdiction in the State) is required to provide election materials under section 203 of the Voting Rights Act of 1965.
- (b) DEVELOPMENT AND PUBLICATION OF PRELIMINARY REDISTRICTING PLAN.—
  - (1) IN GENERAL.—Prior to developing and publishing a final redistricting plan under subsection (c), the independent redistricting commission of a State under this part shall develop and publish a preliminary redistricting plan.
  - (2) MINIMUM PUBLIC HEARINGS AND OPPORTUNITY FOR COMMENT PRIOR TO DEVELOPMENT.—
    - (A) 2 HEARINGS REQUIRED.—Prior to developing a preliminary redistricting plan under this subsection, the commission shall hold not fewer than 2 public hearings at which members of the public may provide input and comments regarding the potential contents of redistricting plans for the State and the process by which the commission will develop the preliminary plan under this subsection.
    - (B) NOTICE PRIOR TO HEARINGS.—The commission shall provide for the publication of notices of each hearing held under this paragraph, including in newspapers of general circulation throughout the State. Each such notice shall specify the date, time, and location of the hearing.
    - (C) SUBMISSION OF PLANS AND MAPS BY MEMBERS OF THE PUBLIC.—Any member of the public may submit maps or portions of maps for consideration by the commission.
  - (3) PUBLICATION OF PRELIMINARY PLAN.—The commission shall provide for the publication of the preliminary redistricting plan developed under this subsection, including in newspapers of general circulation throughout the State, and shall make publicly available a report that includes the commission's responses to any public comments received under this subsection, .
  - (4) PUBLIC COMMENT AFTER PUBLICATION.—The commission shall accept and consider comments from the public with respect to the preliminary redistricting plan published under paragraph (3), including proposed revisions to maps, until 14 days before the date of the meeting under subsection (c)(2) at which the members of the commission shall vote on approving the final redistricting plan for enactment into law.

#### (5) POST-PUBLICATION HEARINGS.—

- (A) 2 HEARINGS REQUIRED.—After publishing the preliminary redistricting plan under paragraph (3), and not later than 14 days before the date of the meeting under subsection (c)(2) at which the members of the commission shall vote on approving the final redistricting plan for enactment into law, the commission shall hold not fewer than 2 public hearings in different geographic areas of the State at which members of the public may provide input and comments regarding the preliminary plan.
- (B) NOTICE PRIOR TO HEARINGS.—The commission shall provide for the publication of notices of each hearing held under this paragraph, including in newspapers of general circulation throughout the State. Each such notice shall specify the date, time, and location of the hearing.
- (6) PERMITTING MULTIPLE PRELIMINARY PLANS.—At the option of the commission, after developing and publishing the preliminary redistricting plan under this subsection, the commission may develop and publish subsequent preliminary redistricting plans, so long as the process for the development and publication of each such subsequent plan meets the requirements set forth in this subsection for

the development and publication of the first preliminary redistricting plan.

- (c) Process For Enactment Of Final Redistricting Plan.—
- (1) IN GENERAL.—After taking into consideration comments from the public on any preliminary redistricting plan developed and published under subsection (b), the independent redistricting commission of a State under this part shall develop and publish a final redistricting plan for the State.
- (2) MEETING; FINAL VOTE.—Not later than the deadline specified in subsection (e), the commission shall hold a public hearing at which the members of the commission shall vote on approving the final plan for enactment into law.
- (3) PUBLICATION OF PLAN AND ACCOMPANYING MATERIALS.—Not fewer than 14 days before the date of the meeting under paragraph (2), the commission shall make the following information to the public, including through newspapers of general circulation throughout the State:
  - (A) The final redistricting plan, including all relevant maps.
  - (B) A report by the commission to accompany the plan which provides the background for the plan and the commission's reasons for selecting the plan as the final redistricting plan, including responses to the public comments received on any preliminary redistricting plan developed and published under subsection (b).
  - (C) Any dissenting or additional views with respect to the plan of individual members of the commission.
- (4) ENACTMENT.—The final redistricting plan developed and published under this subsection shall be deemed to be enacted into law upon the expiration of the 45-day period which begins on the date on which—
  - (A) such final plan is approved by a majority of the whole membership of the commission; and
  - (B) at least one member of the commission appointed from each of the categories of the approved selection pool described in section 2452(b)(1) approves such final plan.
- (d) Written Evaluation Of Plan Against External Metrics.—The independent redistricting commission of a State under this part shall include with each redistricting plan developed and published under this section a written evaluation that measures each such plan against external metrics which cover the criteria set forth section 2403(a), including the impact of the plan on the ability of communities of color to elect candidates of choice, measures of partisan fairness using multiple accepted methodologies, and the degree to which the plan preserves or divides communities of interest.
- (e) Deadline.—The independent redistricting commission of a State under this part shall approve a final redistricting plan for the State not later than November 15, 2021.

#### SEC. 2454. ESTABLISHMENT OF RELATED ENTITIES.

- (a) Establishment Or Designation Of Nonpartisan Agency Of State Legislature.—
  - (1) IN GENERAL.—Each State shall establish a nonpartisan agency in the legislative branch of the State government to appoint the members of the independent redistricting commission for the State under this part in accordance with section 2451.
  - (2) NONPARTISANSHIP DESCRIBED.—For purposes of this subsection, an agency shall be considered to be nonpartisan if under law the agency—
    - (A) is required to provide services on a nonpartisan basis;
    - (B) is required to maintain impartiality; and
    - (C) is prohibited from advocating for the adoption or rejection of any legislative proposal.

- (3) DESIGNATION OF EXISTING AGENCY.—At its option, a State may designate an existing agency in the legislative branch of its government to appoint the members of the independent redistricting commission plan for the State under this subtitle, so long as the agency meets the requirements for nonpartisanship under this subsection.
- (4) TERMINATION OF AGENCY SPECIFICALLY ESTABLISHED FOR REDISTRICTING.—If a State does not designate an existing agency under paragraph (3) but instead establishes a new agency to serve as the nonpartisan agency under this section, the new agency shall terminate upon the enactment into law of the redistricting plan for the State.
- (5) PRESERVATION OF RECORDS.—The State shall ensure that the records of the nonpartisan agency are retained in the appropriate State archive in such manner as may be necessary to enable the State to respond to any civil action brought with respect to congressional redistricting in the State.
- (6) DEADLINE.—The State shall meet the requirements of this subsection not later than June 1, 2021.
- (b) Establishment Of Select Committee On Redistricting.—
- (1) IN GENERAL.—Each State shall appoint a Select Committee on Redistricting to approve or disapprove a selection pool developed by the independent redistricting commission for the State under this part under section 2452.
- (2) APPOINTMENT.—The Select Committee on Redistricting for a State under this subsection shall consist of the following members:
  - (A) One member of the upper house of the State legislature, who shall be appointed by the leader of the party with the greatest number of seats in the upper house.
  - (B) One member of the upper house of the State legislature, who shall be appointed by the leader of the party with the second greatest number of seats in the upper house.
  - (C) One member of the lower house of the State legislature, who shall be appointed by the leader of the party with the greatest number of seats in the lower house.
  - (D) One member of the lower house of the State legislature, who shall be appointed by the leader of the party with the second greatest number of seats in the lower house.
- (3) SPECIAL RULE FOR STATES WITH UNICAMERAL LEGISLATURE.—In the case of a State with a unicameral legislature, the Select Committee on Redistricting for the State under this subsection shall consist of the following members:
  - (A) Two members of the State legislature appointed by the chair of the political party of the State whose candidate received the highest percentage of votes in the most recent Statewide election for Federal office held in the State.
  - (B) Two members of the State legislature appointed by the chair of the political party whose candidate received the second highest percentage of votes in the most recent Statewide election for Federal office held in the State.
- (4) DEADLINE.—The State shall meet the requirements of this subsection not later than June 15, 2021.
- (5) RULE OF CONSTRUCTION.—Nothing in this subsection may be construed to prohibit the leader of any political party in a legislature from appointment to the Select Committee on Redistricting.

SEC. 2455. REPORT ON DIVERSITY OF MEMBERSHIPS OF INDEPENDENT REDISTRICTING COMMISSIONS.

Not later than November 15, 2021, the Comptroller General of the United States shall submit to Congress a report on the extent to which the memberships of independent redistricting commissions for States established under this part with respect to the immediately preceding year

ending in the numeral zero meet the diversity requirements as provided for in sections 2451(a)(2)(B) and 2452(b)(2).

Page 345, insert after line 17 the following (and redesignate the succeeding provision accordingly):

# Subtitle I—Findings Relating To Youth Voting

SEC. 2801. FINDINGS RELATING TO YOUTH VOTING.

Congress finds the following:

- (1) The right to vote is a fundamental right of citizens of the United States.
- (2) The twenty-sixth amendment of the United States Constitution guarantees that "The right of citizens of the United States, who are eighteen years of age or older, to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of age.".
- (3) The twenty-sixth amendment of the United States Constitution grants Congress the power to enforce the amendment by appropriate legislation.
- (4) The language of the twenty-sixth amendment closely mirrors that of the fifteenth amendment and the nineteenth amendment. Like those amendments, the twenty-sixth amendment not only prohibits denial of the right to vote but also prohibits any actions that abridge the right to vote.
- (5) Youth voter suppression undercuts participation in our democracy by introducing arduous obstacles to new voters and discouraging a culture of democratic engagement.
- (6) Voting is habit forming, and allowing youth voters unobstructed access to voting ensures that more Americans will start a life-long habit of voting as soon as possible.
- (7) Youth voter suppression is a clear, persistent, and growing problem. The actions of States and political subdivisions resulting in at least four findings of twenty-sixth amendment violations as well as pending litigation demonstrate the need for Congress to take action to enforce the twenty-sixth amendment.
- (8) In League of Women Voters of Florida, Inc. v. Detzner (2018), the United States District Court in the Northern District of Florida found that the Secretary of State's actions that prevented in-person early voting sites from being located on university property revealed a stark pattern of discrimination that was unexplainable on grounds other than age and thus violated university students' twenty-sixth Amendment rights.
- (9) In 2019, Michigan agreed to a settlement to enhance college-age voters' access after a twenty-sixth amendment challenge was filed in federal court. The challenge prompted the removal of a Michigan voting law which required first time voters who registered by mail or through a third-party voter registration drive to vote in person for the first time, as well as the removal of another law which required the address listed on a voter's driver license to match the address listed on their voter registration card.
- (10) Youth voter suppression tactics are often linked to other tactics aimed at minority voters. For example, students at Prairie View A&M University (PVAMU), a historically black university in Texas, have been the targets of voter suppression tactics for decades. Before the 2018 election, PVAMU students sued Waller County on the basis of both racial and age discrimination over the County's failure to ensure equal early voting opportunities for students, spurring the County to reverse course and expand early voting access for students.
- (11) The more than 25 million United States citizens ages 18-24 deserve equal opportunity to participate in the electoral process as guaranteed by the twenty-sixth amendment.

Page 447, line 9, strike "paid".

Page 447, strike lines 19 through 23 and insert the following:

"(ii) which promotes, supports, attacks, or opposes the nomination or Senate confirmation of an individual as a Federal judge or justice."

Page 448, insert after line 6 the following (and redesignate the succeeding provision accordingly):

"(3) EXCEPTION.—The term 'campaign-related disbursement' does not include any news story, commentary, or editorial distributed through the facilities of any broadcasting station or any print, online, or digital newspaper, magazine, publication, or periodical, unless such facilities are owned or controlled by any political party, political committee, or candidate."

Page 457, line 11, insert "or lawfulness" after "constitutionality".

Page 458, line 2, strike "the District of Columbia, the Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia Circuit, and the Supreme Court of the United States" and insert "the District of Columbia and the Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia Circuit".

Page 458, insert after line 7 the following (and redesignate the succeeding provisions accordingly):

"(b) Clarifying Scope Of Jurisdiction.—If an action at the time of its commencement is not subject to subsection (a), but an amendment, counterclaim, cross-claim, affirmative defense, or any other pleading or motion is filed challenging, whether facially or as-applied, the constitutionality or lawfulness of this Act or of chapter 95 or 96 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986, or is brought to with respect to any action of the Commission under chapter 95 or 96 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986, the district court shall transfer the action to the District Court for the District of Columbia, and the action shall thereafter be conducted pursuant to subsection (a)."

Page 459, insert after line 16 the following (and redesignate the succeeding provision accordingly:

(3) Section 310 of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 (52 U.S.C. 30110) is repealed.

Page 484, insert after line 16 the following:

- SEC. 4211.REQUIRING ONLINE PLATFORMS TO DISPLAY NOTICES IDENTIFYING SPONSORS OF POLITICAL ADVERTISEMENTS AND TO ENSURE NOTICES CONTINUE TO BE PRESENT WHEN ADVERTISEMENTS ARE SHARED.
- (a) REQUIREMENT.—Section 304 of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 (52 U.S.C. 30104), as amended by section 4002 and section 4208(a), is amended by adding at the end the following new subsection:
- "(I) Ensuring Display And Sharing Of Sponsor Identification In Online Political Advertisements.—
  - "(1) REQUIREMENT.— An online platform displaying a qualified political advertisement shall—
    - "(A) display with the advertisement a visible notice identifying the sponsor of the advertisement (or, if it is not practical for the platform to display such a notice, a notice that the advertisement is sponsored by a person other than the platform); and
    - "(B) ensure that the notice will continue to be displayed if a viewer of the advertisement shares the advertisement with others on that platform.
    - "(2) DEFINITIONS.—In this subsection,—
    - "(A) the term 'online platform' has the meaning given such term in subsection (k)(3); and
    - "(B) the term 'qualified political advertisement' has the meaning given such term in subsection (k)(4)."
- (b) Effective Date.—The amendment made by subsection (a) shall apply with respect to advertisements displayed on or after the 120-day period which begins on the date of the enactment of this Act.

Page 505, insert after line 15 the following:

#### SEC. 4404. CLARIFICATION OF APPLICATION OF FOREIGN MONEY BAN.

- (a) CLARIFICATION OF TREATMENT OF PROVISION OF CERTAIN INFORMATION AS CONTRIBUTION OR DONATION OF A THING OF VALUE.—Section 319 of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 (52 U.S.C. 30121), as amended by section 4101(a), section 4101(b), section 4209, section 4401, and section 4403, is amended by adding at the end the following new subsection:
- "(h) CLARIFICATION OF TREATMENT OF PROVISION OF CERTAIN INFORMATION AS CONTRIBUTION OR DONATION OF A THING OF VALUE.—For purposes of this section, a 'contribution or donation of money or other thing of value' includes the provision of opposition research, polling, or other non-public information relating to a candidate for election for a Federal, State, or local office for the purpose of influencing the election, regardless of whether such research, polling, or information has monetary value, except that nothing in this subsection shall be construed to treat the mere provision of an opinion about a candidate as a thing of value for purposes of this section."
- (b) CLARIFICATION OF APPLICATION OF FOREIGN MONEY BAN TO ALL CONTRIBUTIONS AND DONATIONS OF THINGS OF VALUE AND TO ALL SOLICITATIONS OF CONTRIBUTIONS AND DONATIONS OF THINGS OF VALUE.—Section 319(a) of such Act (52 U.S.C. 30121(a)) is amended—
  - (1) in paragraph (1)(A), by striking "promise to make a contribution or donation" and inserting "promise to make such a contribution or donation":
  - (2) in paragraph (1)(B), by striking "donation" and inserting "donation of money or other thing of value, or to make an express or implied promise to make such a contribution or donation,"; and
    - (3) by amending paragraph (2) to read as follows:
  - "(2) a person to solicit, accept, or receive (directly or indirectly) a contribution, donation, or disbursement described in paragraph (1), or to solicit, accept, or receive (directly or indirectly) an express or implied promise to make such a contribution or donation, from a foreign national."

Strike part 2 of subtitle E of title IV (and redesignate the succeeding provisions accordingly).

Page 515, line 9, strike "116-\_\_\_" and insert "116-260".

Amend section 4502 to read as follows:

#### SEC. 4502. REPEAL OF REGULATIONS.

The final regulations of the Department of the Treasury relating to guidance under section 6033 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 regarding the reporting requirements of exempt organizations (published at 85 Fed. Reg. 31959 (May 28, 2020)) shall have no force and effect.

Page 515, line 25, strike "116-\_\_\_" and insert "116-260".

Page 517, line 3, strike "shall not be considered to meet" and insert "shall not be subject to".

Page 521, insert after line 21 the following:

# SEC. 4603. GOVERNANCE AND OPERATIONS OF CORPORATE PACS.

- (a) Assessment Of Governance.—Section 316 of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 (52 U.S.C. 30118) is amended by adding at the end the following new subsection:
- "(d) Assessment Of Governance.—The Commission shall, on an ongoing basis, collect information on the governance of the separate segregated funds of corporations under this section, using the most recent statements of organization provided by such funds under section 303(a), including information on the following:
  - "(1) The extent to which such funds have by-laws which govern their operations.
  - "(2) The extent to which those funds which have by-laws which govern their operations use a board of directors to oversee the operation of the fund.
  - "(3) The characteristics of those individuals who serve on boards of directors which oversee the operations of such funds, including the

relation of such individuals to the corporation.".

- (b) Analysis Of Donors.—
- (1) ANALYSIS.—The Federal Election Commission shall conduct an analysis of the composition of the base of donors to separate segregated funds of corporations under section 316 of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 (52 U.S.C. 30118).
- (2) REPORT.—Not later than 180 days after the date of the enactment of this Act, the Commission shall submit to Congress a report on the analysis conducted under paragraph (1), and shall initiate the promulgation of a regulation to establish a new designation and classification of such separate segregated funds.

Page 522, line 9, strike "116-\_\_\_" and insert "116-260".

Page 573, line 16, strike "shall elect, in accordance with section 304(b)(3) (A), to include" and insert "shall, in accordance with section 304(b)(3)(A), include".

Page 640, line 22, strike "subparagraph (E)" and insert "subparagraph (D)".

Page 646, line 25, strike "2024" and insert "2022".

Page 651, line 12, strike "2024" and insert "2022".

Page 651, line 19, strike "2024" and insert "2022".

Page 660, line 5, strike "and".

Page 661, line 12, strike lines 12 and 13.

Page 664, line 11, strike "2020" and insert "2021".

Page 666, line 6, strike "2024" and insert "2022".

Page 666, line 12, strike "2023" and insert "2021".

Page 666, line 18, strike "2023" and insert "2021".

Page 667, line 25, strike "section 4431" and insert "section 4421".

#### PART B—TEXT OF AMENDMENTS TO H.R. 1 MADE IN ORDER

1. AN AMENDMENT TO BE OFFERED BY REPRESENTATIVE SCANLON OF PENNSYLVANIA OR HER DESIGNEE, DEBATABLE FOR 10 MINUTES

Page 169, insert after line 14 the following:

"(3) COLLEGE CAMPUSES.—The State shall ensure that polling places which allow voting during an early voting period under subsection (a) will be located on campuses of institutions of higher education in the State.".

Page 222, line 22, insert ", including initiatives to facilitate the enfranchisement of groups of individuals that have historically faced barriers to voting" before the period.

Page 94, after line 21, insert the following:

- (2) a description of how the agency will prioritize access to such initiatives for schools that serve—
  - (A) the highest numbers or percentages of students counted under section 1124(c) of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 (20 U.S.C. 6333(c)); and
  - (B) the highest percentages of students who are eligible for a free or reduced price lunch under the Richard B. Russell National School Lunch Act (42 U.S.C. 1751 et seq.) (which, in the case of a high school, may be calculated using comparable data from the schools that feed into the high school), as compared to other public schools in the jurisdiction of the agency;

Page 94, line 22, strike "(2)" and insert "(3)".

Page 94, line 24, strike "(3)" and insert "(4)".

Page 223, line 10, insert "Of the funds appropriated, the Secretary shall ensure that 25 percent is reserved for Minority Institutions described in section 371(a) of the Higher Education Act of 1965 (20 U.S.C. 1067q(a))." after the period.

Page 181, after line 8, insert the following:

(3) SAME-DAY PROCESSING.—The United States Postal Service shall ensure, to the maximum extent practicable, that ballots are processed and cleared from any postal facility or post office on the same day the ballots are received at such a facility or post office.

Page 266, insert after line 5 the following:

### SEC. 1934. CLARIFICATION OF EXEMPTION FOR STATES WITHOUT VOTER REGISTRATION.

To the extent that any provision of this title or any amendment made by this title imposes a requirement on a State relating to registering individuals to vote in elections for Federal office, such provision shall not apply in the case of any State in which, under law that is in effect continuously on and after the date of the enactment of this Act, there is no voter registration requirement for any voter in the State with respect to an election for Federal office.

7. AN AMENDMENT TO BE OFFERED BY REPRESENTATIVE AUCHINCLOSS OF MASSACHUSETTS OR HIS DESIGNEE, DEBATABLE FOR 10 MINUTES

Page 210, line 18, strike "and".

Page 210, after line 18, insert the following new subparagraph (and redesignate the succeeding subparagraph accordingly):

(D) provide assurances that the State will dedicate poll worker recruitment efforts with respect to youth and minors, including by recruiting at institutions of higher education and secondary education; and

8. AN AMENDMENT TO BE OFFERED BY REPRESENTATIVE AUCHINCLOSS OF MASSACHUSETTS OR HIS DESIGNEE, DEBATABLE FOR 10 MINUTES

Page 119, beginning line 15, strike "based on the race" and insert "based on the age, race".

9. AN AMENDMENT TO BE OFFERED BY REPRESENTATIVE BOURDEAUX OF GEORGIA OR HER DESIGNEE, DEBATABLE FOR 10 MINUTES

Page 184, insert after line 6 the following (and redesignate the succeeding provisions accordingly):

- "(h) Prohibiting Certain Restrictions On Access To Voting Materials.—
  - "(1) DISTRIBUTION OF ABSENTEE BALLOT APPLICATIONS BY THIRD PARTIES.—A State may not prohibit any person from providing an application for an absentee ballot in the election to any individual who is eligible to vote in the election.
  - "(2) UNSOLICITED PROVISION OF VOTER REGISTRATION APPLICATIONS BY ELECTION OFFICIALS.—A State may not prohibit an election official from providing an unsolicited application to register to vote in an election for Federal office to any individual who is eligible to register to vote in the election."

Page 251, insert after line 18 the following:

"(C) The State shall ensure that the number of drop boxes provided is sufficient to provide a reasonable opportunity for voters to submit their voted ballots in a timely manner."

Page 252, line 9, strike "and".

Page 252, line 13, strike the period and insert "; and".

Page 252, insert after line 13 the following:

"(6) geographically distributed to provide a reasonable opportunity for voters to submit their voted ballot in a timely manner".

Page 253, insert after line 13 the following (and redesignate the succeeding provision accordingly):

"(i) Remote Surveillance Permitted.—The State may provide for the security of drop boxes through remote or electronic surveillance.".".

10. AN AMENDMENT TO BE OFFERED BY REPRESENTATIVE BOYLE OF PENNSYLVANIA OR HIS DESIGNEE, DEBATABLE FOR 10 MINUTES

Page 88, after line 8, insert the following: SEC. 1055. PERMISSION TO PLACE EXHIBITS.

The Secretary of Homeland Security shall implement procedures to allow the chief election officer of a State to provide information about voter registration, including through a display or exhibit, after the conclusion of an administrative naturalization ceremony in that State.

# 11. AN AMENDMENT TO BE OFFERED BY REPRESENTATIVE BROWN OF MARYLAND OR HIS DESIGNEE, DEBATABLE FOR 10 MINUTES

Page 45, insert after line 13 the following (and redesignate the succeeding provision accordingly):

### SEC. 1006. PERMITTING VOTER REGISTRATION APPLICATION FORM TO SERVE AS APPLICATION FOR ABSENTEE BALLOT.

Section 5(c)(2) of the National Voter Registration Act of 1993 (52 U.S.C. 20504(c)(2)) is amended—

- (1) by striking "and" at the end of subparagraph (D);
- (2) by striking the period at the end of subparagraph (E) and inserting "; and"; and
  - (3) by adding at the end the following new subparagraph:
- "(F) at the option of the applicant, shall serve as an application to vote by absentee ballot in the next election for Federal office held in the State and in each subsequent election for Federal office held in the State.".

# 12. AN AMENDMENT TO BE OFFERED BY REPRESENTATIVE BURGESS OF TEXAS OR HIS DESIGNEE, DEBATABLE FOR 10 MINUTES

Page 208, after line 7, insert the following (and redesignate subsequent sections appropriately):

SEC. 1707. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE REPORT ON VOTER DISENFRANCHISEMENT.

Not later than 1 year of enactment of this Act, the Attorney General shall submit to Congress a report on the impact of wide-spread mail-in voting on the ability of active duty military servicemembers to vote, how quickly their votes are counted, and whether higher volumes of mail-in votes makes it harder for such individuals to vote in federal elections.

# 13. AN AMENDMENT TO BE OFFERED BY REPRESENTATIVE BURGESS OF TEXAS OR HIS DESIGNEE, DEBATABLE FOR 10 MINUTES

Page 45, after line 13, insert the following (and redesignate subsequent sections accordingly):

#### SEC. 1006. REPORT ON DATA COLLECTION.

Not later than 1 year after the date of enactment of this Act, the Attorney General shall submit to Congress a report on local, State, and Federal personally identifiable information data collections efforts, the cyber security resources necessary to defend such efforts from online attacks, and the impact of a potential data breach of local, State, or Federal online voter registration systems.

### 14. AN AMENDMENT TO BE OFFERED BY REPRESENTATIVE BUSH OF MISSOURI OR HER DESIGNEE, DEBATABLE FOR 10 MINUTES

Page 141, line 19, strike "unless such individual is serving a felony sentence in a correctional institution or facility at the time of the election".

Page 143, strike line 9 and all that follows through page 144, line 2 and insert the following:

(2) DATE OF NOTIFICATION.—The notification required under paragraph (1) shall be given on the date on which the individual is sentenced for the offense involved.

Page 145, strike lines 1 through 8 and insert the following:

(ii) in the case of any individual committed to the custody of the Bureau of Prisons, by the Director of the Bureau of Prisons, on the date in which the individual is sentenced.

Page 145, strike lines 17 through 24 (and redesignate the succeeding provisions accordingly).

## 15. AN AMENDMENT TO BE OFFERED BY REPRESENTATIVE BUSH OF MISSOURI OR HER DESIGNEE, DEBATABLE FOR 10 MINUTES

Page 250, line 9, strike "and".

Page 250, line 11, strike the period and insert "; and".

Page 250, insert after line 11 the following:

"(C) by homeless individuals (as defined in section 103 of the McKinney–Vento Homeless Assistance Act of 1987 (42 U.S.C. 11302)) of the State.".

### 16. AN AMENDMENT TO BE OFFERED BY REPRESENTATIVE CASE OF HAWAII OR HIS DESIGNEE, DEBATABLE FOR 10 MINUTES

At the end of subtitle I of title I, insert the following (and conform the table of contents accordingly):

#### SEC. 1624. STUDY AND REPORT ON VOTE-BY-MAIL PROCEDURES.

- (a) Study.—The Election Assistance Commission shall conduct a study on the 2020 elections and compile a list of recommendations to—
  - (1) help States transitioning to vote-by-mail procedures; and
  - (2) improve their current vote-by-mail systems.
- (b) Report.—Not later than January 1, 2022, the Election Assistance Commission shall submit to Congress a report on the study conducted under subsection (a).

Page 681, line 2, strike "or".

Page 681, line 7, strike the period and insert "; or".

Page 681, insert after line 7 the following:

"(C) in the case of an individual who becomes an agent of a foreign principal that would require registration under section 2 of the Foreign Agents Registration Act of 1938, as amended (22 U.S.C. 612), before the date on which such individual becomes such an agent of a foreign principal."

Page 681, line 14, strike "1995)" and insert the following: "1995, or, in the case of an individual described in subparagraph (C) of such paragraph, the date on which the individual becomes a registered agent of a foreign principal under the Foreign Agents Registration Act of 1938, as amended)".

### 18. AN AMENDMENT TO BE OFFERED BY REPRESENTATIVE COMER OF KENTUCKY OR HIS DESIGNEE, DEBATABLE FOR 10 MINUTES

Strike section 8022 and insert the following:

### SEC. 8022. PROCEDURE FOR WAIVERS AND AUTHORIZATIONS RELATING TO ETHICS REQUIREMENTS.

- (a) In General.—Notwithstanding any other provision of law, not later than 30 days after an officer or employee issues or approves a waiver or authorization pursuant to section 3 of Executive Order No. 13770 (82 6 Fed. Reg. 9333), or any subsequent similar order, such officer or employee shall—
  - (1) transmit a written copy of such waiver or authorization to the Director of the Office of Government Ethics; and
  - (2) make a written copy of such waiver or authorization available to the public on the website of the employing agency of the covered employee.
- (b) Retroactive Application.—In the case of a waiver or authorization described in subsection (a) issued during the period beginning on January 20, 2017, and ending on the date of enactment of this Act, the issuing officer or employee of such waiver or authorization shall comply with the requirements of paragraphs (1) and (2) of such subsection not later than 30 days after the date of enactment of this Act.
- (c) Office Of Government Ethics Public Availability.—Not later than 30 days after receiving a written copy of a waiver or authorization under subsection (a)(1), the Director of the Office of Government Ethics shall make such waiver or authorization available to the public on the website of the Office of Government Ethics.
- (d) Report To Congress.—Not later than 45 days after the date of enactment of this Act, the Director of the Office of Government Ethics shall submit a report to Congress on the impact of the application of subsection (b), including the name of any individual who received a waiver or authorization described in subsection (a) and who, by operation of subsection (b), submitted the information required by such subsection.
- (e) Definition Of Covered Employee.—In this section, the term "covered employee"—
  - (1) means a non-career Presidential or Vice Presidential appointee, non-career appointee in the Senior Executive Service (or other SES-type system), or an appointee to a position that has been excepted from the competitive service by reason of being of a confidential or policymaking character (Schedule C and other positions excepted under comparable criteria) in an executive agency; and
  - (2) does not include any individual appointed as a member of the Senior Foreign Service or solely as a uniformed service commissioned officer.

Strike section 8052 and insert the following:

#### SEC. 8052. PRESIDENTIAL TRANSITION ETHICS PROGRAMS.

The Presidential Transition Act of 1963 (3 U.S.C. 102 note) is amended

(1) in section 3(f), by adding at the end the following:

"(3) Not later than 10 days after submitting an application for a security clearance for any individual, and not later than 10 days after any such individual is granted a security clearance (including an interim clearance), each eligible candidate (as that term is described in subsection (h)(4)(A)) or the President-elect (as the case may be) shall submit a report containing the name of such individual to the Committee on Oversight and Reform of the

House of Representatives and the Committee on Homeland Security and Governmental Affairs of the Senate."; and

- (2) in section 6(b)—
  - (A) in paragraph (1)—
    - (i) in subparagraph (A), by striking "and" at the end;
  - (ii) in subparagraph (B), by striking the period at the end and inserting a semicolon; and
    - (iii) by adding at the end the following:
- "(C) a list of all positions each transition team member has held outside the Federal Government for the previous 12-month period, including paid and unpaid positions;
- "(D) sources of compensation for each transition team member exceeding \$5,000 a year for the previous 12-month period;
- "(E) a description of the role of each transition team member, including a list of any policy issues that the member expects to work on, and a list of agencies the member expects to interact with, while serving on the transition team;
- "(F) a list of any issues from which each transition team member will be recused while serving as a member of the transition team pursuant to the transition team ethics plan outlined in section 4(g)(3); and
- "(G) an affirmation that no transition team member has a financial conflict of interest that precludes the member from working on the matters described in subparagraph (E).";
  - (B) in paragraph (2), by inserting "not later than 2 business days" after "public"; and
    - (C) by adding at the end the following:
- "(3) The head of a Federal department or agency, or their designee, shall not permit access to the Federal department or agency, or employees of such department or agency, that would not be provided to a member of the public for any transition team member who does not make the disclosures listed under paragraph (1).".

19. AN AMENDMENT TO BE OFFERED BY REPRESENTATIVE DAVIS OF ILLINOIS OR HIS DESIGNEE, DEBATABLE FOR 10 MINUTES

Strike subtitle C of title III.

20. AN AMENDMENT TO BE OFFERED BY REPRESENTATIVE DESAULNIER OF CALIFORNIA OR HIS DESIGNEE, DEBATABLE FOR 10 MINUTES

After subtitle H of title III, insert the following (and redesignate the succeeding subtitle accordingly):

### Subtitle I—Study And Report On Bots

#### SEC. 3801.SHORT TITLE.

This subtitle may be cited as the "Bots Research Act". SEC. 3802.TASK FORCE.

- (a) ESTABLISHMENT.—Not later than 90 days after the date of enactment of this Act, the Election Assistance Commission, in consultation with the Cybersecurity and Infrastructure Security Agency, shall establish a task force to carry out the study and report required under section 3803.
- (b) Number And Appointment.—The task force shall be comprised of the following:
  - (1) At least 1 expert representing the Government.
  - (2) At least 1 expert representing academia.
  - (3) At least 1 expert representing non-profit organizations.
  - (4) At least 1 expert representing the social media industry.
  - (5) At least 1 election official.
  - (6) Any other expert that the Commission determines appropriate.
- (c) QUALIFICATIONS.—The Commission shall select task force members to serve by virtue of their expertise in automation technology.
- (d) DEADLINE FOR APPOINTMENT.—Not later than 90 days after the date of enactment of this Act, the Commission shall appoint the members of the task force.
- (e) Compensation.—Members of the task force shall serve without pay and shall not receive travel expenses.
- (f) Task Force Support.—The Commission shall ensure appropriate staff and officials of the Commission are available to support any task force-related work.

#### SEC. 3803. STUDY AND REPORT.

- (a) Study.—The task force established in this subtitle shall conduct a study of the impact of automated accounts on social media, public discourse, and elections. Such study shall include an assessment of—
  - (1) what qualifies as a bot or automated account;
  - (2) the extent to which automated accounts are used;
  - (3) how the automated accounts are used; and
  - (4) how to most effectively combat any use of automated accounts that negatively effects social media, public discourse, and elections while continuing to promote the protection of the First Amendment on the internet.
- (b) TASK FORCE CONSIDERATIONS.—In carrying out the requirements of this section, the task force shall consider, at a minimum—
  - (1) the promotion of technological innovation;
  - (2) the protection of First Amendment and other constitutional rights of social media users;
  - (3) the need to improve cybersecurity to ensure the integrity of elections; and
  - (4) the importance of continuously reviewing relevant regulations to ensure that such regulations respond effectively to changes in

technology.

(c) Report.—Not later than 1 year after the establishment of the task force, the task force shall develop and submit to Congress and relevant Federal agencies the results and conclusions of the study conducted under subsection (a).

21. AN AMENDMENT TO BE OFFERED BY REPRESENTATIVE ESCOBAR OF TEXAS OR HER DESIGNEE, DEBATABLE FOR 10 MINUTES

Page 397, insert after line 7 the following: SEC. 3305.EXEMPTION OF CYBERSECURITY ASSISTANCE FROM LIMITATIONS ON AMOUNT OF COORDINATED POLITICAL PARTY EXPENDITURES.

- (a) Exemption.—Section 315(d)(5) of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 (52 U.S.C. 30116(d)(5)) is amended—
  - (1) by striking "(5)" and inserting "(5)(A)";
  - (2) by striking the period at the end and inserting ", or to expenditures (whether provided as funds or provided as in-kind services) for secure information communications technology or for a cybersecurity product or service or for any other product or service which assists in responding to threats or harassment online."; and
    - (3) by adding at the end the following new subparagraph:
  - "(B) In subparagraph (A)—
  - "(i) the term 'secure information communications technology' means a commercial-off-the-shelf computing device which has been configured to restrict unauthorized access and uses publicly-available baseline configurations; and
  - "(ii) the term 'cybersecurity product or service' means a product or service which helps an organization to achieve the set of standards, guidelines, best practices, methodologies, procedures, and processes to cost-effectively identify, detect, protect, respond to, and recover from cyber risks as developed by the National Institute of Standards and Technology pursuant to subsections (c)(15) and (e) of section 2 of the National Institute of Standards and Technology Act (15 U.S.C. 272)."
- (b) Effective Date.—The amendments made by subsection (a) shall apply with respect to expenditures made on or after the date of the enactment of this Act.

22. AN AMENDMENT TO BE OFFERED BY REPRESENTATIVE GALLEGO OF ARIZONA OR HIS DESIGNEE, DEBATABLE FOR 10 MINUTES

Page 264, after line 20, insert the following new section (and redesignate the succeeding section accordingly):

- SEC. 1933. AUTHORIZING PAYMENTS TO VOTING ACCESSIBILITY PROTECTION AND ADVOCACY SYSTEMS SERVING THE AMERICAN INDIAN CONSORTIUM.
- (a) RECIPIENTS DEFINED.—Section 291 of the Help America Vote Act of 2002 (52 U.S.C. 21061) is amended—
  - (1) by redesignating subsection (c) as subsection (d); and
  - (2) by inserting after subsection (b) the following new subsection:
- "(c) AMERICAN INDIAN CONSORTIUM ELIGIBILITY.—A system serving the American Indian Consortium for which funds have been reserved under section 509(c)(1)(B) of the Rehabilitation Act of 1973 (29 U.S.C. 794e(c)(1)(B)) shall be eligible for payments under subsection (a) in the same manner as a protection and advocacy system of a State."
- (b) Grant Minimums For American Indian Consortium.— Section 291(b) of such Act (52 U.S.C. 21061(b)) is amended—
  - (1) by inserting "(c)(1)(B)," after "as set forth in subsections"; and
  - (2) by striking "subsections (c)(3)(B) and (c)(4)(B) of that section shall be not less than \$70,000 and \$35,000, respectively" and inserting "subsection (c)(3)(B) shall not be less than \$70,000, and the amount of the grants to systems referred to in subsections (c)(1)(B) and (c)(4)(B) shall not be less than \$35,000".
- (c) Effective Date.—The amendments made by this section shall take effect at the start of the first fiscal year following the date of enactment of this Act.

# 23. AN AMENDMENT TO BE OFFERED BY REPRESENTATIVE GRIJALVA OF ARIZONA OR HIS DESIGNEE, DEBATABLE FOR 10 MINUTES

Page 84, after line 10, insert the following:

(7) The number of individuals who were purged from the official voter registration list or moved to inactive status, broken down by the reason for those actions, including the method used for identifying those voters.

# 24. AN AMENDMENT TO BE OFFERED BY REPRESENTATIVE GRIJALVA OF ARIZONA OR HIS DESIGNEE, DEBATABLE FOR 10 MINUTES

Page 164, line 14, after the period insert the following: "The notice shall take into consideration factors including the linguistic preferences of voters in the jurisdiction.".

Page 225, line 4, insert before the period the following: ", taking into consideration factors which include the linguistic preferences of voters in the jurisdiction.".

Page 225, line 13, insert before the colon the following: ", taking into consideration factors which include the linguistic preferences of voters in the jurisdiction.".

## 25. AN AMENDMENT TO BE OFFERED BY REPRESENTATIVE LANGEVIN OF RHODE ISLAND OR HIS DESIGNEE, DEBATABLE FOR 10 MINUTES

Page 361, strike lines 6 through 10 and insert the following:

- (a) Duties Of Election Assistance Commission.—Section 202 of the Help America Vote Act of 2002 (52 U.S.C. 20922) is amended—
  - (1) in the matter preceding paragraph (1), by striking "by" and inserting "and the security of election infrastructure by"; and
  - (2) by striking the semicolon at the end of paragraph (1) and inserting the following: ", and the development, maintenance and dissemination of cybersecurity guidelines to identify vulnerabilities that could lead to, protect against, detect, respond to and recover from cybersecurity incidents;".

Page 364, insert after line 24 the following:

- (g) Senior Cyber Policy Advisor.—Section 204(a) of such Act (52 U.S.C. 20924(a)) is amended—
  - (1) by redesignating paragraphs (5) and (6) as paragraphs (6) and (7); and
    - (2) by inserting after paragraph (4) the following new paragraph:
  - "(5) SENIOR CYBER POLICY ADVISOR.—The Commission shall have a Senior Cyber Policy Advisor, who shall be appointed by the Commission and who shall serve under the Executive Director, and who shall be the primary policy advisor to the Commission on matters of cybersecurity for Federal elections."

26. AN AMENDMENT TO BE OFFERED BY REPRESENTATIVE LAWRENCE OF MICHIGAN OR HER DESIGNEE, DEBATABLE FOR 10 MINUTES

Page 192, line 10, strike "materials" and insert "materials; restrictions on operational changes prior to elections".

Page 192, insert after line 15 the following (and redesignate the succeeding provisions accordingly):

"(b) During the 120-day period which ends on the date of an election for Federal office, the Postal Service may not carry out any new operational change that would restrict the prompt and reliable delivery of voting materials with respect to the election, including voter registration applications, absentee ballot applications, and absentee ballots. This paragraph applies to operational changes which include removing or eliminating any mail collection box without immediately replacing it, and removing, decommissioning, or any other form of stopping the operation of mail sorting machines, other than for routine maintenance."

# 27. AN AMENDMENT TO BE OFFERED BY REPRESENTATIVE LAWRENCE OF MICHIGAN OR HER DESIGNEE, DEBATABLE FOR 10 MINUTES

Page 192, after line 15, insert the following (and redesignate subsection (b) as subsection (c)):

"(b) The Postal Service shall appoint an Election Mail Coordinator in every Postal Area and District to facilitate relevant information sharing with State, territorial, local, and tribal election officials in regards to the mailing of voter registration applications, absentee ballot applications, and absentee ballots.".

Strike section 4208.

## 29. AN AMENDMENT TO BE OFFERED BY REPRESENTATIVE LEVIN OF MICHIGAN OR HIS DESIGNEE, DEBATABLE FOR 10 MINUTES

Page 745, on line 9 strike "and", and after line 15, insert the following new clause:

"(v) a chief of mission (as defined in section 102(a)(3) of the Foreign Service Act of 1980); and".

## 30. AN AMENDMENT TO BE OFFERED BY REPRESENTATIVE LURIA OF VIRGINIA OR HER DESIGNEE, DEBATABLE FOR 10 MINUTES

Page 583, insert after line 14 the following (and redesignate the succeeding provision accordingly):

"(e) No Taxpayer Funds Permitted.—No taxpayer funds may be deposited into the Fund.".

Page 248, insert after line 15 the following (and redesignate the succeeding provision accordingly):

- (b) Study Of Methods To Enforce Fair And Equitable Waiting Times.—
  - (1) STUDY.—The Election Assistance Commission and the Comptroller General of the United States shall conduct a joint study of the effectiveness of various methods of enforcing the requirements of section 310(a) of the Help America Vote Act of 2002, as added by subsection (a), including methods of best allocating resources to jurisdictions which have had the most difficulty in providing a fair and equitable waiting time at polling places to all voters, and to communities of color in particular.
  - (2) REPORT.—Not later than 18 months after the date of the enactment of this Act, the Election Assistance Commission and the Comptroller General of the United States shall publish and submit to Congress a report on the study conducted under paragraph (1).

## 32. AN AMENDMENT TO BE OFFERED BY REPRESENTATIVE PHILLIPS OF MINNESOTA OR HIS DESIGNEE, DEBATABLE FOR 10 MINUTES

Page 266, insert after line 5 the following (and redesignate the succeeding provision accordingly):

#### PART 5—VOTER NOTICE

#### SEC. 1941.SHORT TITLE.

This part may be cited as the "Voter Notification of Timely Information about Changes in Elections Act" or the "Voter Notice Act".

### SEC. 1942. PUBLIC EDUCATION CAMPAIGNS IN EVENT OF CHANGES IN ELECTIONS IN RESPONSE TO EMERGENCIES.

- (a) REQUIREMENT FOR ELECTION OFFICIALS TO CONDUCT CAMPAIGNS.—Section 302 of the Help America Vote Act of 2002 (52 U.S.C. 21082), as amended by section 1601(a) and section 1901(a), is amended—
  - (1) by redesignating subsection (g) as subsection (h); and
  - (2) by inserting after subsection (f) the following new subsection:
- "(g) Public Education Campaigns In Event Of Changes In Elections In Response To Emergencies.—
  - "(1) REQUIREMENT.—If the administration of an election for Federal office, including the methods of voting or registering to vote in the election, is changed in response to an emergency affecting public health and safety, the appropriate State or local election official shall conduct a public education campaign through at least one direct mailing to each individual who is registered to vote in the election, and through additional direct mailings, newspaper advertisements, broadcasting (including through television, radio, satellite, and the Internet), and social media, to notify individuals who are eligible to vote or to register to vote in the election of the changes.
  - "(2) FREQUENCY AND METHODS OF PROVIDING INFORMATION.—The election official shall carry out the public education campaign under this subsection at such frequency, and using such methods, as will have the greatest likelihood of providing timely knowledge of the change in the administration of the election to those individuals who will be most adversely affected by the change.
  - "(3) LANGUAGE ACCESSIBILITY.—In the case of a State or political subdivision that is a covered State or political subdivision under section 203 of the Voting Rights Act of 1965 (52 U.S.C. 10503), the appropriate election official shall ensure that the information disseminated under a public education campaign conducted under this subsection is provided in the language of the applicable minority group as well as in the English language, as required by section 203 of such Act.
  - "(4) EFFECTIVE DATE.—This subsection shall apply with respect to the regularly scheduled general election for Federal office held in November 2020 and each succeeding election for Federal office."
- (b) Conforming Amendment Relating To Effective Date.—Section 302(h) of such Act (52 U.S.C. 21082(h)), as redesignated by subsection (a) and as amended by section 1601(b) and section 1901(b), is amended by striking "and (f)(4)" and inserting "(f)(4), and (g)(4)".

  SEC. 1943. REQUIREMENTS FOR WEBSITES OF ELECTION OFFICIALS.
- (a) Requirements.—Subtitle A of title III of the Help America Vote Act of 2002 (52 U.S.C. 21081 et seq.), as amended by section 1031(a), section 1101(a), section 1621(a), section 1622(a), section 1906(a), section 1907(a), and 1908(a), is amended—

- (1) by redesignating sections 313 and 314 as sections 314 and 315; and
- (2) by inserting after section 312 the following new section: "SEC. 313. REQUIREMENTS FOR WEBSITES OF ELECTION OFFICIALS.
- "(a) Accessibility.—Each State and local election official shall ensure that the official public website of the official is fully accessible for individuals with disabilities, including the blind and visually impaired, in a manner that provides the same opportunity for access and participation as the website provides for other individuals.
  - "(b) Continuing Operation In Case Of Emergencies.—
    - "(1) ESTABLISHMENT OF BEST PRACTICES.—
    - "(A) IN GENERAL.—The Director of the National Institute of Standards and Technology shall establish and regularly update best practices for ensuring the continuing operation of the official public websites of State and local election officials during emergencies affecting public health and safety.
    - "(B) DEADLINE.—The Director shall first establish the best practices required under this paragraph as soon as practicable after the date of the enactment of this section, but in no case later than August 15, 2021.
  - "(2) REQUIRING WEBSITES TO MEET BEST PRACTICES.— Each State and local election official shall ensure that the official public website of the official is in compliance with the best practices established by the Director of the National Institute of Standards and Technology under paragraph (2).
- "(c) Effective Date.—This section shall apply with respect to the regularly scheduled general election for Federal office held in November 2020 and each succeeding election for Federal office."
- (b) Conforming Amendment Relating To Adoption Of Voluntary Guidance By Election Assistance Commission.—Section 321(b) of such Act (52 U.S.C. 21101(b)), as redesignated and amended by section 1101(b) and section 1611(b), is amended—
  - (1) by striking "and" at the end of paragraph (4):
  - (2) by striking the period at the end of paragraph (5) and inserting "; and"; and
    - (3) by adding at the end the following new paragraph:
  - "(6) in the case of the recommendations with respect to section 304, as soon as practicable after the date of the enactment of this paragraph, but in no case later than August 15, 2021.".
- (c) CLERICAL AMENDMENT.—The table of contents of such Act, as amended by section 1031(c), section 1101(d), section 1611(c), section 1621(c), section 1622(c), section 1623(a), section 1906(b), section 1907(b), and section 1908(b), is amended—
  - (1) by redesignating the items relating to sections 313 and 314 as relating to sections 314 and 315; and
  - (2) by inserting after the item relating to section 312 the following new item:

"Sec. 313. Requirements for websites of election officials.".

### SEC. 1944. PAYMENTS BY ELECTION ASSISTANCE COMMISSION TO STATES FOR COSTS OF COMPLIANCE.

- (b) AVAILABILITY OF PAYMENTS.—Title IX of the Help America Vote Act of 2002 (52 U.S.C. 21141 et seq.) is amended by adding at the end the following new section:
- "SEC. 907. PAYMENTS FOR COSTS OF COMPLIANCE WITH CERTAIN REQUIREMENTS RELATING TO PUBLIC NOTIFICATION.
  - "(a) PAYMENTS.—
  - "(1) AVAILABILITY AND USE OF PAYMENTS.—The Commission shall make a payment to each eligible State to cover the costs the State incurs or expects to incur in meeting the requirements of section 302(g) (relating to public education campaigns in event of changes in elections

in response to emergencies) and section 313 (relating to requirements for the websites of election officials).

- "(2) SCHEDULE OF PAYMENTS.—As soon as practicable after the date of the enactment of this section, and not less frequently than once each calendar year thereafter, the Commission shall make payments under this section.
- "(3) ADMINISTRATION OF PAYMENTS.—The chief State election official of the State shall receive the payment made to a State under this section, and may use the payment for the purposes set forth in this section without intervening action by the legislature of the State.
- "(b) Amount Of Payment.—
- "(1) IN GENERAL.—The amount of a payment made to an eligible State for a year under this section shall be determined by the Commission on the basis of the information provided by the State in its application under subsection (c).
- "(2) CONTINUING AVAILABILITY OF FUNDS AFTER APPROPRIATION.—A payment made to an eligible State under this section shall be available without fiscal year limitation.
- "(c) REQUIREMENTS FOR ELIGIBILITY.—
- "(1) APPLICATION.—Each State that desires to receive a payment under this section for a fiscal year shall submit an application for the payment to the Commission at such time and in such manner and containing such information as the Commission shall require.
- "(2) CONTENTS OF APPLICATION.—Each application submitted under paragraph (1) shall—
  - "(A) describe the activities for which assistance under this section is sought; and
  - "(B) provide an estimate of the costs the State has incurred or expects to incur in carrying out the provisions described in subsection (a), together with such additional information and certifications as the Commission determines to be essential to ensure compliance with the requirements of this section.
- "(d) AUTHORIZATION OF APPROPRIATIONS.—There are authorized to be appropriated for payments under this section such sums as may be necessary for each of the fiscal years 2022 through 2025.
  - "(e) Reports.—
  - "(1) REPORTS BY RECIPIENTS.—Not later than the 6 months after the end of each fiscal year for which an eligible State received a payment under this section, the State shall submit a report to the Commission on the activities conducted with the funds provided during the year.
  - "(2) REPORTS BY COMMISSION TO COMMITTEES.—With respect to each fiscal year for which the Commission makes payments under this section, the Commission shall submit a report on the activities carried out under this part to the Committee on House Administration of the House of Representatives and the Committee on Rules and Administration of the Senate."
- (c) CLERICAL AMENDMENT.—The table of contents of such Act is amended by adding at the end of the items relating to title IX the following:

<sup>&</sup>quot;Sec. 907. Payments for costs of compliance with certain requirements relating to public notification".

Page 262, line 20, strike "LAWS TO COMMONWEALTH OF NORTHERN MARIANA ISLANDS" and insert "FEDERAL ELECTION ADMINISTRATION LAWS TO TERRITORIES OF THE UNITED STATES".

Page 263, line 1, strike "and" and insert the following: "the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico, Guam, American Samoa, the United States Virgin Islands, and".

Page 264, insert before line 21 the following (and redesignate the succeeding provision accordingly):

- SEC. 1933. APPLICATION OF FEDERAL VOTER PROTECTION LAWS TO TERRITORIES OF THE UNITED STATES.
- (a) Intimidation Of Voters.—Section 594 of title 18, United States Code, is amended by striking "Delegate from the District of Columbia, or Resident Commissioner," and inserting "or Delegate or Resident Commissioner to the Congress".
- (b) Interference By Government Employees.—Section 595 of title 18, United States Code, is amended by striking "Delegate from the District of Columbia, or Resident Commissioner," and inserting "or Delegate or Resident Commissioner to the Congress".
- (c) VOTING BY NONCITIZENS.—Section 611(a) of title 18, United States Code, is amended by striking "Delegate from the District of Columbia, or Resident Commissioner," and inserting "or Delegate or Resident Commissioner to the Congress".

Page 264, insert before line 21 the following (and redesignate the succeeding provision accordingly):

#### SEC. 1933.PLACEMENT OF STATUES OF CITIZENS OF TERRITORIES OF THE UNITED STATES IN STATUARY HALL.

- (a) IN GENERAL.—Section 1814 of the Revised Statutes of the United States (2 U.S.C. 2131) is amended by adding at the end the following new sentence: "For purposes of this section, the term 'State' includes American Samoa, Guam, the Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands, the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico, and the United States Virgin Islands, and the term 'citizen' includes a national of the United States, as defined in section 101(a)(22) of the Immigration and Nationality Act (8 U.S.C. 1101(a) (22))."
- (b) CONFORMING AMENDMENT RELATING TO PROCEDURES FOR REPLACEMENT OF STATUES.—Section 311 of the Legislative Branch Appropriations Act, 2001 (2 U.S.C. 2132) is amended by adding at the end the following new subsection:
- "(f) For purposes of this section, the term 'State' includes American Samoa, Guam, the Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands, the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico, and the United States Virgin Islands.".

Page 77, line 18, strike "States and the District of Columbia" and insert "States, the District of Columbia, the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico, the United States Virgin Islands, Guam, American Samoa, and the Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands".

37. AN AMENDMENT TO BE OFFERED BY REPRESENTATIVE PRESSLEY OF MASSACHUSETTS OR HER DESIGNEE, DEBATABLE FOR 10 MINUTES

Page 88, after line 8, insert the following: SEC. 1055. LOWERING MANDATORY MINIMUM VOTING AGE IN FEDERAL ELECTIONS.

- (a) Lowering Voting Age To 16 Years Of Age.—A State may not refuse to permit an individual to register to vote or vote in an election for Federal office held in the State on the grounds of the individual's age if the individual will be at least 16 years of age on the date of the election.
- (b) Effective Date.—This section shall apply with respect to elections held in 2022 or any succeeding year.

Page 459, insert after line 22 the following:

# PART 4—DISCLOSURE OF CONTRIBUTIONS TO POLITICAL COMMITTEES IMMEDIATELY PRIOR TO ELECTION SEC. 4131. DISCLOSURE OF CONTRIBUTIONS TO POLITICAL COMMITTEES IMMEDIATELY PRIOR TO ELECTION.

- (a) Disclosure.—Section 304(a)(6) of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 (52 U.S.C. 30104(a)(6)) is amended—
  - (1) by redesignating subparagraphs (D) and (E) as subparagraphs (E) and (F); and
  - (2) by inserting after subparagraph (C) the following new subparagraph:
- "(D)(i) A political committee, including a super PAC, shall notify the Commission of any contribution or donation of more than \$5,000 received by the committee during the period beginning on the 20th day before any election in connection with which the committee makes a contribution or expenditure and ending 48 hours before such an election.
- "(ii) The committee shall make the notification under clause (i) not later than 48 hours after the receipt of the contribution or donation involved, and shall include the name of the committee, the name of the person making the contribution or donation, and the date and amount of the contribution or donation.
- "(iii) For purposes of this subparagraph, a pledge, promise, understanding, or agreement to make a contribution or expenditure with respect to an election shall be treated as the making of a contribution or expenditure with respect to the election.
- "(iv) This subparagraph does not apply to an authorized committee of a candidate or any committee of a political party.
- "(v) In this subparagraph, the term 'super PAC' means a political committee which accepts donations or contributions that do not comply with the limitations, prohibitions, and reporting requirements of this Act, and includes an account of such a committee which is established for the purpose of accepting such donations or contributions."
- (b) Effective Date.—The amendment made by subsection (a) shall apply with respect to elections occurring during 2022 or any succeeding year.

Page 394, after line 4, insert the following new subsection:

- (c) BLOCKCHAIN TECHNOLOGY STUDY AND REPORT.—
- (1) IN GENERAL.—The Election Assistance Commission shall conduct a study with respect to the use of blockchain technology to enhance voter security in an election for Federal office.
- (2) REPORT.—Not later than 90 days after the date of enactment of this Act, the Commission shall submit to Congress a report on the study conducted under paragraph (1).

Add at the end of subtitle B of title VII the following:

- SEC. 7105. DISCLAIMER REQUIREMENTS FOR MATERIALS POSTED ON ONLINE PLATFORMS BY AGENTS OF FOREIGN PRINCIPALS ON BEHALF OF CLIENTS.
- (a) Method And Form Of Disclaimer; Preservation Of Disclaimers By Certain Social Media Platforms.—
  - (1) REQUIREMENTS DESCRIBED.—Section 4(b) of the Foreign Agents Registration Act of 1938, as amended (22 U.S.C. 614(b)) is amended—
    - (A) by striking "(b) It shall be unlawful" and inserting "(b)(1) It shall be unlawful"; and
      - (B) by adding at the end the following new paragraph:
- "(2) In the case of informational materials for or in the interests of a foreign principal which are transmitted or caused to be transmitted by an agent of a foreign principal by posting on an online platform, the agent shall ensure that the conspicuous statement required to be placed in such materials under this subsection is placed directly with the material posted on the platform and is not accessible only through a hyperlink or other reference to another source.
- "(3) If the Attorney General determines that the application of paragraph (2) to materials posted on an online platform is not feasible because the length of the conspicuous statement required to be placed in materials under this subsection makes the inclusion of the entire statement incompatible with the posting of the materials on that platform, an agent may meet the requirements of paragraph (2) by ensuring that an abbreviated version of the statement, stating that the materials are distributed by a foreign agent on behalf of a clearly identified foreign principal, is placed directly with the material posted on the platform.
- "(4) An online platform on which informational materials described in paragraph (2) are posted shall ensure that the conspicuous statement described in such paragraph (or, if applicable, the abbreviated statement described in paragraph (3)) is maintained with such materials at all times, including after the material is shared in a social media post on the platform, but only if the platform has 50,000,000 or more unique monthly United States visitors or users for a majority of months during the 12 months preceding the dissemination of the materials."
  - (2) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendments made by paragraph (1) shall apply with respect to materials disseminated on or after the expiration of the 60-day period which begins on the date of the enactment of this Act, without regard to whether or not the Attorney General has promulgated regulations to carry out such amendments prior to the expiration of such period.
- (b) Application Of Requirements To Persons Outside The United States.—
  - (1) IN GENERAL.—Section 4(b)(1) of such Act (22 U.S.C. 614(b)(1)), as amended by subsection (a), is amended by striking "any person within the United States" and inserting "any person".
  - (2) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendment made by paragraph (1) shall apply with respect to materials disseminated on or after the expiration of the 60-day period which begins on the date of the enactment of this Act, without regard to whether or not the Attorney

General has promulgated regulations to carry out such amendments prior to the expiration of such period.

- (c) REQUIREMENTS FOR ONLINE PLATFORMS DISSEMINATING INFORMATIONAL MATERIALS TRANSMITTED BY AGENTS OF FOREIGN PRINCIPALS.—
  - (1) IN GENERAL.—Section 4 of such Act (22 U.S.C. 614) is amended by adding at the end the following new subsection:
- "(g) If the Attorney General determines that an agent of a foreign principal transmitted or caused to be transmitted informational materials on an online platform for or in the interests of the foreign principal and did not meet the requirements of subsection (b)(2) (relating to the conspicuous statement required to be placed in such materials)—
  - "(1) the Attorney General shall notify the online platform; and
  - "(2) the online platform shall remove such materials and use reasonable efforts to inform recipients of such materials that the materials were disseminated by a foreign agent on behalf of a foreign principal.".
  - (2) EFFECTIVE DATE.—The amendment made by paragraph (1) shall apply with respect to materials disseminated on or after the expiration of the 60-day period which begins on the date of the enactment of this Act.
- (d) Definition.—Section 1 of such Act (22 U.S.C. 611) is amended by inserting after subsection (i) the following new subsection:
- "(j) The term 'online platform' means any public-facing website, web application, or digital application (including a social network, ad network, or search engine).".

### SEC. 7106. CLARIFICATION OF TREATMENT OF INDIVIDUALS WHO ENGAGE WITH THE UNITED STATES IN POLITICAL ACTIVITIES FOR A FOREIGN PRINCIPAL IN ANY PLACE AS AGENTS OF FOREIGN PRINCIPALS.

Section 1(c)(1)(i) of the Foreign Agents Registration Act of 1938, as amended (22 U.S.C. 611(c)(1)(i)) is amended by inserting after "United States" the following: "(whether within or outside of the United States)".

#### SEC. 7107. ANALYSIS AND REPORT ON CHALLENGES TO ENFORCEMENT OF FOREIGN AGENTS REGISTRATION ACT OF 1938.

- (a) ANALYSIS.—The Attorney General shall conduct an analysis of the legal, policy, and procedural challenges to the effective enforcement of the Foreign Agents Registration Act of 1938, as amended (22 U.S.C. 611 et seq.).
- (b) Report.—Not later than 180 days after the date of the enactment of this Act, the Attorney General shall submit to Congress a report on the analysis conducted under subsection (a), and shall include in the report such recommendations, including recommendations for revisions to the Foreign Agents Registration Act of 1938, as the Attorney General considers appropriate to promote the effective enforcement of such Act.

Page 476, strike lines 5 through 9 and insert the following:

"(B) a description of the audience targeted by the advertisement, the number of views generated from the advertisement, the number of views by unique individuals generated by the advertisement, the number of times the advertisement was shared, and the date and time that the advertisement is first displayed and last displayed.".

Page 50, line 14, strike "and" at then end.

Page 50, line 20, insert "and" at the end.

Page 50, after line 20, insert the following:

(G) an explanation of what information the State and local election officials maintain with respect to an individual voter registration status for purposes of elections for Federal office in the State, how that information is shared or sold and with whom, what information is automatically kept confidential, what information is needed to access voter information online, and what privacy programs are available, such as those described in section 1055;

Page 88, after line 8 insert the following (and conform the table of contents accordingly):

#### SEC. 1055. REQUIRING STATES TO ESTABLISH AND OPERATE VOTER PRIVACY PROGRAMS.

- (a) IN General.—Each State shall establish and operate a privacy program to enable victims of domestic violence, dating violence, stalking, sexual assault, and trafficking to have personally identifiable information that the State or local election officials maintain with respect to an individual voter registration status for purposes of elections for Federal office in the State, including addresses, be kept confidential.
- (b) Notice.—Each State shall notify residents of that State of the information that State and local election officials maintain with respect to an individual voter registration status for purposes of elections for Federal office in the State, how that information is shared or sold and with whom, what information is automatically kept confidential, what information is needed to access voter information online, and the privacy programs that are available.
- (c) Public Availability.—Each State shall make information about the program established under subsection (a) available on a publicly accessible website.
  - (d) Definitions.—In this section:
  - (1) The terms "domestic violence", "stalking", "sexual assault", and "dating violence" have the meanings given such terms in section 40002 of the Violence Against Women Act of 1994 (34 U.S.C. 12291).
  - (2) The term "trafficking" means an act or practice described in paragraph (11) or (12) of section 103 of the Trafficking Victims Protection Act of 2000 (22 U.S.C. 7102).

Page 666, insert after line 2 the following new section (and redesignate the succeeding section accordingly):

SECTION 6010.EXTENSION OF STATUTE OF LIMITATIONS FOR OFFENSES UNDER FEDERAL ELECTION CAMPAIGN ACT OF 1971.

- (a) CIVIL OFFENSES.—Section 309(a) of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 (52 U.S.C. 30109(a)) is amended by inserting after paragraph (9) the following new paragraph:
- "(10) No person shall be subject to a civil penalty under this subsection with respect to a violation of this Act unless a complaint is filed with the Commission with respect to the violation under paragraph (1), or the Commission responds to information with respect to the violation which is ascertained in the normal course of carrying out its supervisory responsibilities under paragraph (2), not later than 15 years after the date on which the violation occurred."
- (b) Criminal Offenses.—Section 406(a) of such Act (52 U.S.C. 30145(a)) is amended by striking "5 years" and inserting "10 years".
- (c) Effective Date.—The amendments made by this section shall apply with respect to violations occurring on or after the date of the enactment of this Act.

Page 154, beginning line 2, strike "at least one voting system" and insert "a sufficient number, but at least one, of voting systems, as determined by the Commission in consultation with the United States Access Board and the National Institute of Standards and Technology,".

Page 154, beginning line 3, strike "for individuals with disabilities" and insert "to serve individuals with and without disabilities".

Page 154, beginning line 7, strike "at each polling place" and insert "for all in person voting options".

Page 223, line 18 , insert ", without being subjected to intimidation or deceptive practices," after "vote".

Page 129, line 8, insert ", including by operating a polling place or ballot box that falsely purports to be an official location established for such an election by a unit of government" before the period.

Page 220, line 20, strike "clause" and insert "clause, and shall include on the institution's website and boost awareness on the institution's social media platforms,".

Page 94, insert after line 25 the following (and redesignate the succeeding provisions accordingly):

(c) Priority For Schools Receiving Title I Funds.—In selecting among eligible local educational agencies for receiving funds under the pilot program under this part, the Commission shall give priority to local educational agencies that receive funds under part A of title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 (20 U.S.C. 6311 et seq).

Page 79, insert after line 9 the following (and redesignate the succeeding provisions accordingly):

"(c) Ensuring Availability Of Forms.—The State shall ensure that each polling place has copies of any forms an individual may be required to complete in order to register to vote or revise the individual's voter registration information under this section.".

Page 248, line 15, strike the closing quotation mark and the second period.

Page 248, insert after line 15 the following:

"(c) MINIMUM HOURS OF OPERATION OUTSIDE OF TYPICAL WORKING HOURS.—Each State shall establish hours of operation for all polling places in the State on the date of any election for Federal office held in the State such that no polling place is open for less than a total of 4 hours outside of the hours between 9:00 am and 5:00 pm in time zone in which the polling place is located."

51. AN AMENDMENT TO BE OFFERED BY REPRESENTATIVE TORRES OF NEW YORK OR HIS DESIGNEE, DEBATABLE FOR 10 MINUTES

Page 548, strike lines 3 through 12 and insert the following:

- (c) Study And Report On Impact And Effectiveness Of Voucher Programs.—
  - (1) STUDY.—The Federal Election Commission shall conduct a study on the efficacy of political voucher programs, including the program under this part and other similar programs, in expanding and diversifying the pool of individuals who participate in the electoral process, including those who participate as donors and those who participate as candidates.
  - (2) REPORT.—Not later than 1 year after the date of the enactment of this Act, the Commission shall publish and submit to Congress a report on the study conducted under subsection (a), and shall include in the report such recommendations as the Commission considers appropriate which would enable political voucher programs to be implemented on a national scale.

52. AN AMENDMENT TO BE OFFERED BY REPRESENTATIVE TORRES OF NEW YORK OR HIS DESIGNEE, DEBATABLE FOR 10 MINUTES

Page 255, after line 16, insert the following: SEC. 1909. GAO STUDY ON VOTER TURNOUT RATES.

The Comptroller General of the United States shall conduct a study on voter turnout rates delineated by age in States and localities that permit voters to participate in elections before reaching the age of 18, with a focus on localities that permit voting upon reaching the age of 16.

### 53. AN AMENDMENT TO BE OFFERED BY REPRESENTATIVE TORRES OF NEW YORK OR HIS DESIGNEE, DEBATABLE FOR 10 MINUTES

Page 255, insert before line 17, the following new section (and conform the table of contents accordingly):

#### SEC. 1909. STUDY ON RANKED-CHOICE VOTING.

- (a) Study.—The Comptroller General shall conduct a study on the implementation and impact of ranked-choice voting in States and localities with a focus on how to best implement a model for Federal elections nationwide. The study shall include the impact on voter turnout, negative campaigning, and who decides to run for office.
- (b) Report.—Not later than 1 year after the date of enactment of this section, the Comptroller General shall transmit to Congress a report on the study conducted under subsection (a), including any recommendations on how to best implement a ranked-choice voting for Federal elections nationwide.

In section 542(a)(1) of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, as added by section 5111 of the bill—

(1)

strike "and" at the end of subparagraph (D);

(2)

redesignate subparagraph (E) as subparagraph (F); and

(3)

insert after subparagraph (D) the following new subparagraph:

(E) the extent to which the program increased opportunities for participation by candidates of diverse racial, gender, and socioeconomic backgrounds; and

On page 124, line 1, strike "criminal penalties" and insert "criminal, civil, or other legal penalties".

On page 128, line 17, strike "criminal penalties" and insert "criminal, civil, or other legal penalties".

Page 88, after line 8, insert the following:

SEC. 1055. INCLUSION OF VOTER REGISTRATION INFORMATION WITH CERTAIN LEASES AND VOUCHERS FOR FEDERALLY ASSISTED RENTAL HOUSING AND MORTGAGE APPLICATIONS.

- (a) Development Of Uniform Statement.—The Director of the Bureau of Consumer Financial Protection, in coordination with the Election Assistance Commission, shall develop a uniform statement designed to provide recipients of such statement pursuant to this section of how they can register to vote and their voting rights under law.
- (b) Leases And Vouchers For Federally Assisted Rental Housing.—The Secretary of Housing and Urban Development shall require
  - (1) each public housing agency to provide a copy of the uniform statement developed pursuant to subsection (a) to each lessee of a dwelling unit in public housing administered by such agency—
    - (A) together with the lease for such a dwelling unit, at the same time such lease is provided to the lessee; and
    - (B) together with any income verification form, at the same time such form is provided to the lessee;
  - (2) each public housing agency that administers rental assistance under the Housing Choice Voucher program under section 8(o) of the United States Housing Act of 1937 (42 U.S.C. 1437f(o)), including the program under paragraph (13) of such section 8(o), to provide a copy of the uniform statement developed pursuant to subsection (a) to each assisted family or individual—
    - (A) together with the voucher for such assistance, at the time such voucher is issued for such family or individual; and
    - (B) together with any income verification form, at the same time such form is provided to the applicant or assisted family or individual; and
  - (3) each owner of a dwelling unit assisted with Federal project-based rental assistance to provide a copy of the uniform statement developed pursuant to subsection (a) to provide to the lessee of such dwelling unit—
    - (A) together with the lease for such dwelling unit, at the same time such form is provided to the lessee; and
    - (B) together with any income verification form, at the same time such form is provided to the applicant or tenant;
  - except that the Secretary of Agriculture shall administer the requirement under this paragraph with respect to Federal project-based rental assistance specified in subsection (e)(1)(D),
- (c) Applications For Residential Mortgage Loans.—The Director of the Bureau of Consumer Financial Protection shall require each creditor that receives an application (within the meaning of such term as used in the Equal Credit Opportunity Act (15 U.S.C. 1691)) for a residential mortgage loan to provide a copy of the uniform statement developed pursuant to subsection (a) in written form to the applicant for such residential mortgage loan, within 5 business days of the date of application.
- (d) Optional Completion Of Application.—Nothing in this section may be construed to require any individual to complete an application for voter registration.

- (e) Definitions.—As used in this section:
- (1) FEDERAL PROJECT-BASED RENTAL ASSISTANCE.—The term "Federal project-based rental assistance" means project-based rental assistance provided under—
  - (A) section 8 of the United States Housing Act of 1937 (42 U.S.C. 1437f);
    - (B) section 202 of the Housing Act of 1959 (12 U.S.C. 1701q);
  - (C) section 811 of the Cranston-Gonzalez National Affordable Housing Act (42 U.S.C. 8013);
  - (D) title V of the Housing Act of 1949 (42 U.S.C. 1471 et seq.), including voucher assistance under section 542 of such title (42 U.S.C. 1490r);
  - (E) subtitle D of title VIII of the Cranston-Gonzalez National Affordable Housing Act (42 U.S.C. 12901 et seq.);
  - (F) title II of the Cranston-Gonzalez National Affordable Housing Act (42 U.S.C. 12721 et seq.);
  - (G) the Housing Trust Fund program under section 1338 of the federal Housing Enterprises Financial Safety and Soundness Act of 1992 (12 U.S.C. 4588); or
  - (H) subtitle C of title IV of the McKinney-Vento Homeless Assistance Act (42 U.S.C. 11381 et seq.).
- (2) OWNER.—The term "owner" has the meaning given such term in section 8(f) of the United States Housing Act of 1937 (42 U.S.C. 1437f(f)).
- (3) PUBLIC HOUSING; PUBLIC HOUSING AGENCY.—The terms "public housing" and "public housing agency" have the meanings given such terms in section 3(b) of the United States Housing Act of 1937 (42 U.S.C. 1437a(b)).
- (4) RESIDENTIAL MORTGAGE LOAN.—The term "residential mortgage loan" includes any loan which is secured by a first or subordinate lien on residential real property (including individual units of condominiums and cooperatives) designed principally for the occupancy of from 1- to 4- families.
- (f) Regulations.—The Secretary of Housing and Urban Development, the Secretary of Agriculture, and the Director of the Consumer Financial Protection Bureau may issue such regulations as may be necessary to carry out this section.