

117TH CONGRESS  
1ST SESSION

# H. R. 5008

To protect the voting rights of Native American and Alaska Native voters.

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## IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

AUGUST 13, 2021

Ms. DAVIDS of Kansas (for herself and Mr. COLE) introduced the following bill; which was referred to the Committee on House Administration, and in addition to the Committee on the Judiciary, for a period to be subsequently determined by the Speaker, in each case for consideration of such provisions as fall within the jurisdiction of the committee concerned

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## A BILL

To protect the voting rights of Native American and Alaska Native voters.

1       *Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representa-*  
2       *tives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,*

3       **SECTION 1. SHORT TITLE.**

4       This Act may be cited as the “Frank Harrison, Eliza-  
5       beth Peratrovich, and Miguel Trujillo Native American  
6       Voting Rights Act of 2021”.

7       **SEC. 2. FINDINGS AND PURPOSES.**

8       (a) FINDINGS.—Congress finds the following:

1                             (1) The Constitution explicitly and implicitly  
2 grants Congress broad general powers to legislate on  
3 issues relating to Indian Tribes, powers consistently  
4 described as plenary and exclusive. These powers  
5 arise from the grant of authority in the Indian Com-  
6 merce Clause and through legislative matters arising  
7 under the Treaty Clause.

8                             (2) The Federal Government is responsible for  
9 upholding the obligations to which the Federal Gov-  
10 ernment has agreed through treaties, legislation, and  
11 executive orders, referred to as the Federal trust re-  
12 sponsibility toward Indian Tribes and their mem-  
13 bers.

14                             (3) The Supreme Court has repeatedly relied on  
15 the nature of this “government to government” rela-  
16 tionship between the United States and sovereign  
17 Indian Tribes for congressional authority to enact  
18 “legislation that singles out Indians for particular  
19 and special treatment”. *Morton v. Mancari*, 417  
20 U.S. 535, 554–555 (1974).

21                             (4) Legislation removing barriers to Native  
22 American voting is vital for the fulfillment of Con-  
23 gress’ “unique obligation” toward Indians, particu-  
24 larly ensuring that Native American voters are fully  
25 included as “qualified members of the modern body

1        politic". Board of County Comm'rs v. Seber, 318  
2        U.S. 705, 715 (1943).

3                (5) Under the Elections Clause of article I, sec-  
4        tion 4 of the Constitution, Congress has additional  
5        power to regulate any election conducted to select  
6        Members of Congress. Taken together, the Indian  
7        Commerce Clause and the Election Clause give Con-  
8        gress broad authority to enact legislation to safe-  
9        guard the voting rights of Native American voters.

10                (6) Despite Congress' decision to grant Native  
11        Americans Federal citizenship, and with it the pro-  
12        tections of the Fifteenth Amendment, with passage  
13        of the Act of June 2, 1924 (Chapter 233; 43 Stat.  
14        253) (commonly known as the "Indian Citizenship  
15        Act of 1924"), States continued to deploy distinct  
16        methods for disenfranchising Indians by enacting  
17        statutes to exclude from voter rolls Indians living on  
18        Indian lands, requiring that Indians first terminate  
19        their relationship with their Indian Tribe, restricting  
20        the right to vote on account of a Tribal member's  
21        "guardianship" status, and imposing literacy tests.

22                (7) Barriers to voter access for Native Ameri-  
23        cans persist today, and such barriers range from ob-  
24        structing voter access to vote dilution and inten-  
25        tional malapportionment of electoral districts.

1                         (8) The Native American Voting Rights Coalition's nine field hearings in Indian Country and  
2                         four-State survey of voter discrimination revealed a  
3                         number of additional obstacles that Native Americans must overcome in some States, including—  
4

5                             (A) a lack of accessible registration and  
6                         polling sites, either due to conditions such as  
7                         geography, lack of paved roads, the absence of  
8                         reliable and affordable broadband connectivity,  
9                         and restrictions on the time, place, and manner  
10                        that eligible people can register and vote, in-  
11                        cluding unequal opportunities for absentee,  
12                        early, mail-in, and in-person voting;

13                             (B) nontraditional or nonexistent addresses  
14                         for residents on Indian reservations, lack of res-  
15                         idential mail delivery and pick up, reliance on  
16                         distant post offices with abbreviated operating  
17                        hours for mail services, insufficient housing  
18                        units, overcrowded homes, and high incidence of  
19                        housing insecurity and homelessness, lack of ac-  
20                        cess to vehicles, and disproportionate poverty  
21                        which make voter registration, acquisition and  
22                        dropping off of mail-in ballots, receipt of voting  
23                        information and materials, and securing re-  
24                        quired identification difficult, if not impossible;

1 (C) inadequate language assistance for  
2 Tribal members, including lack of outreach and  
3 publicity, the failure to provide complete, accu-  
4 rate, and uniform translations of all voting ma-  
5 terials in the relevant Native language, and an  
6 insufficient number of trained bilingual poll  
7 workers; and

(D) voter identification laws that discriminate against Native Americans.

(12) In Alaska, New Mexico, Oklahoma, and  
South Dakota, Native Americans, American Indians,

1 and Alaska Natives comprise approximately 10 per-  
2 cent or more of the voting population.

3 (13) The Native-American vote also holds great  
4 potential, with over 1,000,000 voters who are eligible  
5 to vote, but are not registered to vote.

6 (b) PURPOSES.—The purposes of this Act are—

7 (1) to fulfill the Federal Government's trust re-  
8 sponsibility to protect and promote Native-Ameri-  
9 cans' exercise of their constitutionally guaranteed  
10 right to vote, including the right to register to vote  
11 and the ability to access all mechanisms for voting;

12 (2) to establish Tribal administrative review  
13 procedures for a specific subset of State actions that  
14 have been used to restrict access to the polls on In-  
15 dian lands;

16 (3) to expand voter registration under the Na-  
17 tional Voter Registration Act of 1993 (52 U.S.C.  
18 20501 et seq.) to cover Federal facilities;

19 (4) to afford equal treatment to forms of identi-  
20 fication unique to Indian Tribes and their members;

21 (5) to ensure American Indians and Alaska Na-  
22 tives experiencing homelessness, housing insecurity,  
23 or lacking residential mail pickup and delivery can  
24 pool resources to pick up and return ballots;

1                         (6) to clarify the obligations of States and political  
2                         subdivisions regarding the provision of translated voting materials for American Indians and  
3                         Alaska Natives under section 203 of the Voting Rights Act of 1965 (52 U.S.C. 10503);

6                         (7) to provide Tribal leaders with a direct pathway to request Federal election observers and to allow public access to the reports of those election  
7                         observers;

10                         (8) to study the prevalence of nontraditional or nonexistent mailing addresses in Native communities and identify solutions to voter access that arise from  
11                         the lack of an address; and

14                         (9) to direct the Department of Justice to consult on an annual basis with Indian Tribes on issues  
15                         related to voting.

17 **SEC. 3. DEFINITIONS.**

18                         In this Act:

19                         (1) ATTORNEY GENERAL.—The term “Attorney  
20                         General” means the United States Attorney General.

21                         (2) INDIAN.—The term “Indian” has the meaning given the term in section 4 of the Indian Self-Determination and Education Assistance Act (25  
22                         U.S.C. 5304).

1                             (3) INDIAN LANDS.—The term “Indian lands”  
2     includes—

3                                 (A) Indian country as defined under sec-  
4     tion 1151 of title 18, United States Code;  
5                                 (B) any land in Alaska owned, pursuant to  
6     the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act (43  
7     U.S.C. 1601 et seq.), by an Indian Tribe that  
8     is a Native village (as defined in section 3 of  
9     that Act (43 U.S.C. 1602)) or by a Village Cor-  
10   poration that is associated with an Indian Tribe  
11   (as defined in section 3 of that Act (43 U.S.C.  
12   1602));

13                                 (C) any land on which the seat of the Trib-  
14   al government is located; and

15                                 (D) any land that is part or all of a Tribal  
16   designated statistical area associated with an  
17   Indian Tribe, or is part or all of an Alaska Na-  
18   tive village statistical area associated with an  
19   Indian Tribe, as defined by the Census Bureau  
20   for the purposes of the most recent decennial  
21   census.

22                             (4) INDIAN TRIBE.—The term “Indian Tribe”  
23   means the recognized governing body of any Indian  
24   or Alaska Native Tribe, band, nation, pueblo, village,  
25   community, component band, or component reserva-

1       tion, individually identified (including parenthetically  
2       cally) in the list published most recently as of the  
3       date of enactment of this Act pursuant to section  
4       104 of the Federally Recognized Indian Tribe List  
5       Act of 1994 (25 U.S.C. 5131).

6                         (5) POLLING PLACE.—The term “polling place”  
7                         means any location where a ballot is cast in elections  
8                         for Federal office, and includes a voter center, poll,  
9                         polling location, or polling place, depending on the  
10                         State nomenclature.

11 SEC. 4. ESTABLISHMENT OF A NATIVE AMERICAN VOTING  
12 TASK FORCE GRANT PROGRAM.

(a) IN GENERAL.—The United States Election Assistance Commission (referred to in this section as the “Commission”) shall establish and administer, in coordination with the Department of the Interior, a Native American voting task force grant program, through which the Commission shall provide financial assistance to eligible applicants to enable those eligible applicants to establish and operate a Native American Voting Task Force in each State with a federally recognized Indian Tribe.

22 (b) PURPOSES.—The purposes of the Native Amer-  
23 ican voting task force grant program are to—

24 (1) increase voter outreach, education, registration,  
25 and turnout in Native American communities;

1                         (2) increase access to the ballot for Native  
2                         American communities, including additional satellite,  
3                         early voting, and absentee voting locations;

4                         (3) streamline and reduce inconsistencies in the  
5                         voting process for Native Americans;

6                         (4) provide, in the community's dominant lan-  
7                         guage, educational materials and classes on Indian  
8                         lands about candidacy filing;

9                         (5) train and educate State and local employ-  
10                         ees, including poll workers, about—

11                         (A) the language assistance and voter as-  
12                         sistance requirements under sections 203 and  
13                         208 of the Voting Rights Act of 1965 (52  
14                         U.S.C. 10503; 10508);

15                         (B) voter identification laws as affected by  
16                         section 8 of this Act; and

17                         (C) the requirements of Tribes, States, and  
18                         precincts established under this Act;

19                         (6) identify model programs and best practices  
20                         for providing language assistance to Native Amer-  
21                         ican communities;

22                         (7) provide nonpartisan poll watchers on elec-  
23                         tion day in Native American communities;

24                         (8) participate in and evaluate future redis-  
25                         tricting efforts;

1                             (9) address issues of internet connectivity as it  
2                             relates to voter registration and ballot access in Na-  
3                             tive American communities;

4                             (10) work with Indian Tribes, States, and the  
5                             Federal Government to establish mailing addresses  
6                             that comply with applicable State and Federal re-  
7                             quirements for receipt of voting information and ma-  
8                             terials; and

9                             (11) facilitate collaboration between local elec-  
10                             tion officials, Native American communities, and  
11                             Tribal elections offices.

12                             (c) ELIGIBLE APPLICANT.—The term “eligible appli-  
13                             cant” means—

14                             (1) an Indian Tribe;

15                             (2) a Secretary of State of a State, or another  
16                             official of a State entity responsible for overseeing  
17                             elections; or

18                             (3) a consortium of the entities described in  
19                             paragraphs (1) and (2).

20                             (d) APPLICATION AND SELECTION PROCESS.—

21                             (1) IN GENERAL.—The Commission, in coordi-  
22                             nation with the Department of the Interior and fol-  
23                             lowing consultation with Indian Tribes about the im-  
24                             plementation of the Native American voting task  
25                             force grant program, shall establish guidelines for

1       the process by which eligible applicants will submit  
2       applications.

3                     (2) APPLICATIONS.—Each eligible applicant de-  
4       siring a grant under this section shall submit an ap-  
5       plication, according to the process established under  
6       paragraph (1), and at such time, in such manner,  
7       and containing such information as the Commission  
8       may require. Such application shall include—

9                         (A) a certification that the applicant is an  
10      eligible applicant;

11                         (B) a proposed work plan addressing how  
12      the eligible applicant will establish and admin-  
13      ister a Native American Voting Task Force  
14      that achieves the purposes described in sub-  
15      section (b);

16                         (C) if the eligible applicant is a consortium  
17      as described in subsection (c)(3), a description  
18      of the proposed division of responsibilities be-  
19      tween the participating entities;

20                         (D) an explanation of the time period that  
21      the proposed Native American Voting Task  
22      Force will cover, which shall be a time period  
23      that is not more than 3 years; and

24                         (E) the goals that the eligible applicant de-  
25      sires to achieve with the grant funds.

1       (e) USES OF FUNDS.—A grantee receiving funds  
2 under this section shall use such funds to carry out one  
3 or more of the activities described in subsection (b),  
4 through the grantee's Native American Voting Task  
5 Force.

6       (f) REPORTS.—

7               (1) REPORT TO THE COMMISSION.—

8                       (A) IN GENERAL.—Not later than 1 year  
9 after the date on which an eligible applicant re-  
10 ceives grant funds under this section, and annu-  
11 ally thereafter for the duration of the grant,  
12 each eligible applicant shall prepare and submit  
13 a written report to the Commission describing  
14 the eligible applicant's progress in achieving the  
15 goals outlined in the application under sub-  
16 section (d)(2).

17                       (B) RESPONSE.—Not later than 30 days  
18 after the date on which the Commission receives  
19 the report described in paragraph (1), the Com-  
20 mission will provide feedback, comments, and  
21 input to the eligible applicant in response to  
22 such report.

23                       (2) REPORT TO CONGRESS.—Not later than 1  
24 year after the date of enactment of this Act, and an-  
25 nually thereafter, the Commission shall prepare and

1 submit a report to the Committee on Indian Affairs  
2 of the Senate and Committee on Natural Resources  
3 of the House of Representatives containing the re-  
4 sults of the reports described under paragraph (1).

5 (g) RELATIONSHIP WITH OTHER LAWS.—Nothing in  
6 this section reduces State or local obligations provided for  
7 by the Voting Rights Act of 1965 (52 U.S.C. 10301 et  
8 seq.), the National Voter Registration Act of 1993 (52  
9 U.S.C. 20501 et seq.), the Help America Vote Act of 2002  
10 (52 U.S.C. 20901 et seq.), or any other Federal law or  
11 regulation related to voting or the electoral process.

12 (h) AUTHORIZATION OF APPROPRIATIONS.—There  
13 are authorized to be appropriated to carry out this section  
14 \$10,000,000 for each of fiscal years 2022 through 2037.

15 **SEC. 5. VOTER REGISTRATION SITES AT INDIAN SERVICE  
16 PROVIDERS AND ON INDIAN LANDS.**

17 Section 7(a) of the National Voter Registration Act  
18 of 1993 (52 U.S.C. 20506(a)) is amended—

19 (1) in paragraph (2)—

20 (A) in subparagraph (A), by striking  
21 “and” after the semicolon;

22 (B) in subparagraph (B), by striking the  
23 period at the end and inserting a semicolon;  
24 and

25 (C) by adding at the end the following:

1               “(C) any Federal facility or federally fund-  
2       ed facility that is primarily engaged in pro-  
3       viding services to an Indian Tribe; and

4               “(D) not less than one Federal facility or  
5       federally funded facility that is located within  
6       the Indian lands of an Indian Tribe, as applica-  
7       ble, (which may be the Federal facility or feder-  
8       ally funded facility described in subparagraph  
9       (C)).”; and

10              (2) by adding at the end the following:

11             “(8) Where practicable, each Federal agency  
12       that operates a Federal facility or a federally funded  
13       facility that is a designated voter registration agency  
14       in accordance with subparagraph (C) or (D) of para-  
15       graph (2) shall designate one or more special days  
16       per year at a centralized location within the bound-  
17       aries of the Indian lands of each applicable Indian  
18       Tribe for the purpose of informing members of the  
19       Indian Tribe of the timing, registration require-  
20       ments, and voting procedures in elections for Fed-  
21       eral office, at no cost to the Indian Tribe.”.

22 **SEC. 6. ACCESSIBLE TRIBAL DESIGNATED POLLING SITES.**

23              (a) IN GENERAL.—

24              (1) DESIGNATION OF STATE OFFICER.—Each  
25       of the several States whose territory contains all or

1       part of an Indian Tribe's Indian lands shall des-  
2       ignate an officer within that State who will be re-  
3       sponsible for compliance with the provisions of this  
4       section and who shall periodically consult with the  
5       Indian Tribes located wholly or partially within that  
6       State regarding compliance with the provisions of  
7       this section and coordination between the State and  
8       Tribal government. The State shall provide written  
9       notice to each such Indian Tribe of the officer so  
10      designated.

11                     (2) PROVISION OF POLLING PLACES.—For each  
12        Indian Tribe that satisfies the obligations of sub-  
13        section (c), and for each election for a Federal offi-  
14        cial or State official that is held 180 days or later  
15        after the date on which the Indian Tribe initially  
16        satisfies such obligations, any State or political sub-  
17        division whose territory contains all or part of an In-  
18        dian Tribe's Indian lands—

19                     (A) shall provide a minimum of one polling  
20        place in each precinct in which there are eligible  
21        voters who reside on Indian lands, in a location  
22        selected by the Indian Tribe and at no cost to  
23        the Indian Tribe, regardless of the population  
24        or number of registered voters residing on In-  
25        dian lands;

1                         (B) shall not reduce the number of polling  
2                         locations on Indian lands based on population  
3                         numbers;

4                         (C) shall provide, at no cost to the Indian  
5                         Tribe, additional polling places in locations on  
6                         Indian lands selected by an Indian Tribe and  
7                         requested under subsection (e) if, based on the  
8                         totality of circumstances described in subsection  
9                         (b), it is shown that not providing those addi-  
10                         tional polling places would result in members of  
11                         the Indian Tribe and living on Indian lands or  
12                         other individuals residing on the Indian Tribe's  
13                         Indian lands having less opportunity to vote  
14                         than eligible voters in that State or political  
15                         subdivision who are not members of an Indian  
16                         Tribe or do not reside on Indian lands;

17                         (D) shall, at each polling place located on  
18                         Indian lands and at no cost to the Indian Tribe,  
19                         make voting machines, tabulation machines, of-  
20                         ficial receptacles designated for the return of  
21                         completed absentee ballots, ballots, provisional  
22                         ballots, and other voting materials available to  
23                         the same or greater extent that such equipment  
24                         and materials are made available at other poll-

1                   ing places in the State or political subdivision  
2                   that are not located on Indian lands;

3                   (E) shall, at each polling place located on  
4                   Indian lands, conduct the election using the  
5                   same voting procedures that are used at other  
6                   polling places in the State or political subdivi-  
7                   sion that are not located on Indian lands, or  
8                   other voting procedures that provide greater ac-  
9                   cess for voters;

10                  (F) shall, at each polling place located on  
11                  Indian lands and at no cost to the Indian Tribe,  
12                  make voter registration available during the pe-  
13                  riod the polling place is open to the maximum  
14                  extent allowable under State law;

15                  (G) shall, at each polling place located on  
16                  Indian lands, provide training, compensation,  
17                  and other benefits to election officials and poll  
18                  workers at no cost to the Indian Tribe and, at  
19                  a minimum, to the same or greater extent that  
20                  such training, compensation, and benefits are  
21                  provided to election officials and poll workers at  
22                  other polling places in the State or political  
23                  subdivision that are not located on Indian  
24                  lands;

1                         (H) shall, in all cases, provide the Indian  
2                         Tribe an opportunity to designate election offi-  
3                         cials and poll workers to staff polling places  
4                         within the Indian lands of the applicable Indian  
5                         Tribe on every day that the polling places will  
6                         be open;

7                         (I) shall allow for any eligible voting mem-  
8                         ber of the Indian Tribe or any eligible voting  
9                         individual residing on Indian lands to vote early  
10                         or in person at any polling place on Indian  
11                         lands, regardless of that member or individual's  
12                         residence or residential address, and shall not  
13                         reject the ballot of any such member or indi-  
14                         vidual on the grounds that the ballot was cast  
15                         at the wrong polling place; and

16                         (J) may fulfill the State's obligations  
17                         under subparagraphs (A) and (C) by relocating  
18                         existing polling places, by creating new polling  
19                         places, or both.

20                         (b) EQUITABLE OPPORTUNITIES TO VOTE.—

21                         (1) IN GENERAL.—When assessing the opportu-  
22                         nities to vote provided to members of an Indian  
23                         Tribe and to other eligible voters in the State resid-  
24                         ing on Indian lands in order to determine the num-  
25                         ber of additional polling places (if any) that a State

1       or political subdivision must provide in accordance  
2       with subsection (a)(2)(C), the State, political sub-  
3       division, or any court applying this section, shall  
4       consider the totality of circumstances of—

5                 (A) the number of voting-age citizens as-  
6       signed to each polling place;

7                 (B) the distances that voters must travel  
8       to reach the polling places;

9                 (C) the time that voters must spend trav-  
10       eling to reach the polling places, including  
11       under inclement weather conditions;

12                 (D) the modes of transportation, if any,  
13       that are regularly and broadly available to vot-  
14       ers to use to reach the polling places;

15                 (E) the existence of and access to frequent  
16       and reliable public transportation to the polling  
17       places;

18                 (F) the length of lines and time voters  
19       waited to cast a ballot in previous elections; and

20                 (G) any other factor relevant to effec-  
21       tuating the aim of achieving equal voting oppor-  
22       tunity for individuals living on Indian lands.

23                 (2) ABSENCE OF FACTORS.—When assessing  
24       the opportunities to vote in accordance with para-  
25       graph (1), the State, political subdivision, or court

1 shall ensure that each factor described in paragraph  
2 (1) is considered regardless of whether any one fac-  
3 tor would lead to a determination not to provide ad-  
4 ditional polling places under subsection (a)(2)(C).

5 (c) FORM; PROVISION OF FORM; OBLIGATIONS OF  
6 THE INDIAN TRIBE.—

7 (1) FORM.—The Attorney General shall estab-  
8 lish the form described in this subsection through  
9 which an Indian Tribe can fulfill its obligations  
10 under this subsection.

11 (2) PROVISION OF FORM.—Each State or polit-  
12 ical subdivision whose territory contains all or part  
13 of an Indian Tribe's Indian lands—

14 (A) shall provide the form established  
15 under paragraph (1) to each applicable Indian  
16 Tribe not less than 30 days prior to the dead-  
17 line set by the State or political subdivision for  
18 completion of the obligations under this sub-  
19 section (which deadline shall be not less than  
20 30 days prior to a Federal election) whereby an  
21 Indian Tribe can fulfill its obligations under  
22 this subsection by providing the information de-  
23 scribed in paragraph (3) on that form and sub-  
24 mitting the form back to the applicable State or  
25 political subdivision by such deadline;

5 (C) shall cooperate in good faith with the  
6 efforts of the Indian Tribe to satisfy the re-  
7 quirements of this subsection.

23 (C) The Indian Tribe certifies that the In-  
24 dian Tribe will ensure that each such requested  
25 polling place will be open and available to all el-

1           igible voters who reside in the precinct or other  
2           geographic area assigned to such polling place,  
3           regardless of whether such eligible voters are  
4           members of the Indian Tribe or of any other  
5           Indian Tribe.

6                 (D) The Indian Tribe requests that the  
7                 State or political subdivision shall designate  
8                 election officials and poll workers to staff such  
9                 requested polling places, or certifies that the In-  
10                 dian Tribe will designate election officials and  
11                 poll workers to staff such polling places on  
12                 every day that the polling places will be open.

13                 (E) The Indian Tribe may request that the  
14                 State or political subdivision provide absentee  
15                 ballots without requiring an excuse, an absentee  
16                 ballot request, or residential address to all eligi-  
17                 ble voters who reside in the precinct or other  
18                 geographic area assigned to such polling place,  
19                 regardless of whether such eligible voters are  
20                 members of the Indian Tribe or of any other  
21                 Indian Tribe.

22                 (4) ESTABLISHED POLLING PLACES.—Once a  
23                 polling place is established under subsection  
24                 (a)(2)(A) or subsection (a)(2)(C) the Tribe need not  
25                 fill out the form designated under paragraph (1)

1 again unless or until that Indian Tribe requests  
2 modifications to the requests specified in the most  
3 recent form under paragraph (1).

4 (5) OPT OUT.—At any time that is 60 days or  
5 more before the date of an election, an Indian Tribe  
6 that previously has satisfied the obligations of para-  
7 graph (3) may notify the State or political subdivi-  
8 sion that the Indian Tribe intends to opt out of the  
9 standing obligation for one or more polling places  
10 that were established in accordance with subsection  
11 (a)(2)(A) or subsection (a)(2)(C) for a particular  
12 election or for all future elections. A Tribe may opt  
13 back in at any time.

14 (d) FEDERAL POLLING SITES.—Each State shall  
15 designate as voter polling facilities any of the facilities  
16 identified in accordance with subparagraph (C) or (D) of  
17 section 7(a)(2) of the National Voter Registration Act of  
18 1993 (52 U.S.C. 20506(a)(2)), at no cost to the Indian  
19 Tribe, provided that the facility meets the requirements  
20 of Federal and State law as applied to other polling places  
21 within the State or political subdivision. The applicable  
22 agency of the Federal Government shall ensure that such  
23 designated facilities are made available as polling places.

24 (e) MAIL-IN BALLOTTING.—In States or political sub-  
25 divisions that permit absentee or mail-in balloting, the fol-

1 lowing shall apply with respect to an election for Federal  
2 office:

3                 (1) For each ballot cast by a member of an In-  
4 dian Tribe living on Indian lands, all postage shall  
5 be prepaid by the Federal Government and each bal-  
6 lot postmarked the day the ballot is received at a  
7 postal facility located on Indian lands.

8                 (2) An Indian Tribe may designate at least one  
9 building per precinct as a ballot pickup and collec-  
10 tion location (referred to in this section as a “trib-  
11 ally designated buildings”) at no cost to the Indian  
12 Tribe. The applicable State or political subdivision  
13 shall collect and timely deposit all ballots from each  
14 tribally designated building.

15                 (3) At the applicable Tribe’s request, the State  
16 or political subdivision shall provide mail-in and ab-  
17 sentee ballots to each registered voter residing on  
18 Indian lands in the State or political subdivision  
19 without requiring a residential address, a mail-in or  
20 absentee ballot request, or an excuse for a mail-in or  
21 absentee ballot.

22                 (4) The address of a tribally designated build-  
23 ing may serve as the residential address and mailing  
24 address for voters living on Indian lands if the trib-

1 ally designated building is in the same precinct as  
2 that voter.

3 (5) If there is no tribally designated building  
4 within the precinct of a voter residing on Indian  
5 lands (including if the tribally designated building is  
6 on Indian lands but not in the same precinct as the  
7 voter), the voter may—

8 (A) use another tribally designated build-  
9 ing within the Indian lands where the voter is  
10 located; or

11 (B) use such tribally designated building  
12 as a mailing address and may separately des-  
13 ignate the voter's appropriate precinct through  
14 a description of the voter's address, as specified  
15 in section 9428.4(a)(2) of title 11, Code of Fed-  
16 eral Regulations.

17 (6) In the case of a State or political subdivi-  
18 sion that is a covered State or political subdivision  
19 under section 203 of the Voting Rights Act of 1965  
20 (52 U.S.C. 10503), that State or political subdivi-  
21 sion shall provide absentee or mail-in voting mate-  
22 rials with respect to an election for Federal office in  
23 the language of the applicable minority group as well  
24 as in the English language, bilingual election voting  
25 assistance, and written translations of all voting ma-

1       terials in the language of the applicable minority  
2       group, as required by section 203 of the Voting  
3       Rights Act of 1965 (52 U.S.C. 10503), as amended  
4       by this Act.

5               (7) A State or political division shall make rea-  
6       sonable efforts to contact a voter who resides within  
7       Indian lands located within its jurisdiction and offer  
8       such voter a reasonable opportunity to cure any de-  
9       fект in an absentee ballot issued to and completed  
10      and returned by the voter, or appearing on or per-  
11      taining to the materials provided for the purpose of  
12      returning the absentee ballot, if State law would oth-  
13      erwise require the absentee ballot to be rejected due  
14      to such defect and the defect does not compromise  
15      ballot secrecy or involve a lack of witness or assist-  
16      ant signature, where such signature is mandated by  
17      State law.

18               (8) In a State or political subdivision that does  
19      not permit absentee or mail-in balloting for all eligi-  
20      ble voters in the State or political subdivision, that  
21      State or political subdivision shall nonetheless pro-  
22      vide for absentee or mail-in balloting for voters who  
23      reside on Indian lands consistent with this section if  
24      the State, political subdivision, or any court applying  
25      this section determines that the totality of cir-

1       cumstances described in subsection (b) warrants es-  
2       tablishment of absentee or mail-in balloting for vot-  
3       ers who reside on Indian lands located within the ju-  
4       risdiction of the State or political subdivision.

5       (f) BALLOT DROP BOXES.—Each State shall—

6              (1) provide not less than one ballot drop box for  
7       each precinct on Indian lands, at no cost to the In-  
8       dian Tribe, at either the tribally designated building  
9       under subsection (e)(2) or an alternative site se-  
10       lected by the applicable Indian Tribe; and

11              (2) provide additional drop boxes at either the  
12       tribally designated building under subsection (e)(2)  
13       or an alternative site selected by the applicable In-  
14       dian Tribe if the State or political subdivision deter-  
15       mines that additional ballot drop boxes should be  
16       provided based on the criteria considered under the  
17       totality of circumstances enumerated under sub-  
18       section (b).

19       (g) EARLY VOTING.—

20              (1) EARLY VOTING LOCATIONS.—In a State or  
21       political subdivision that permits early voting in an  
22       election for Federal office, that State or political  
23       subdivision shall provide not less than one early vot-  
24       ing location for each precinct on Indian lands, at no  
25       cost to the Indian Tribe, at a site selected by the ap-

1 plicable Indian Tribe, to allow individuals living on  
2 Indian lands to vote during an early voting period in  
3 the same manner as early voting is allowed on such  
4 date in the rest of the State or precinct. Additional  
5 early voting sites shall be determined based on the  
6 criteria considered under the totality of circum-  
7 stances described in subsection (b).

8                 (2) LENGTH OF PERIOD.—In a State or political  
9 subdivision that permits early voting in an elec-  
10 tion for Federal office, that State or political subdivi-  
11 sion shall provide an early voting period with re-  
12 spect to that election that shall consist of a period  
13 of consecutive days (including weekends) which be-  
14 gins on the 15th day before the date of the election  
15 (or, at the option of the State or political subdivi-  
16 sion, on a day prior to the 15th day before the date  
17 of the election) and ends on the date of the election  
18 for all locations on Indian Lands.

19                 (3) MINIMUM EARLY VOTING REQUIRE-  
20 MENTS.—Each polling place that allows voting dur-  
21 ing an early voting period under this subsection  
22 shall—

23                         (A) allow such voting for no less than 10  
24 hours on each day;

(B) have uniform hours each day for which such voting occurs; and

7                   (4) BALLOT PROCESSING AND SCANNING RE-  
8                 QUIREMENTS.—

**20 (h) PROVISIONAL BALLOTS.—**

1 lots under the State's applicable law governing the  
2 voting processes for those voters whose eligibility to  
3 vote is determined to be uncertain by election offi-  
4 cials, election officials shall—

5                 (A) provide clear written instructions indi-  
6 cating the reason the voter was given a provi-  
7 sional ballot, the information or documents the  
8 voter needs to prove eligibility, the location at  
9 which the voter must appear to submit these  
10 materials or alternative methods, including  
11 email or facsimile, that the voter may use to  
12 submit these materials, and the deadline for  
13 submitting these materials;

14                 (B) permit any voter who votes provision-  
15 ally at any polling place on Indian lands to ap-  
16 pear at any polling place or at the central loca-  
17 tion for the election board to submit the docu-  
18 mentation or information to prove eligibility;

19                 (C) permit any voter who votes provision-  
20 ally at any polling place to submit the required  
21 information or documentation via email or fac-  
22 simile, if the voter prefers to use such methods  
23 as an alternative to appearing in person to sub-  
24 mit the required information or documentation  
25 to prove eligibility;

7                         (E) provide the reason for rejection if the  
8 voter's provisional ballot was rejected after the  
9 voter provided the required information or doc-  
10 umentation on eligibility.

(B) provide a verbal translation of any written instructions to the voter.

**21 (i) ENFORCEMENT.—**

1                             (2) PRIVATE RIGHT OF ACTION.—

2                             (A) A person or Indian Tribe who is ag-  
3                             grieved by a violation of this section may pro-  
4                             vide written notice of the violation to the chief  
5                             election official of the State involved.

6                             (B) An aggrieved person or Indian Tribe  
7                             may bring a civil action in an appropriate dis-  
8                             trict court for declaratory or injunctive relief  
9                             with respect to a violation of this section, if—

10                             (i) that person or Indian Tribe pro-  
11                             vides the notice described in subparagraph  
12                             (A); and

13                             (ii)(I) in the case of a violation that  
14                             occurs more than 120 days before the date  
15                             of an election for Federal office, the viola-  
16                             tion remains and 90 days or more have  
17                             passed since the date on which the chief  
18                             election official of the State receives the  
19                             notice under subparagraph (A); or

20                             (II) in the case of a violation that  
21                             occurs 120 days or less but more than  
22                             30 days before the date of an election  
23                             for Federal office, the violation re-  
24                             mains and 20 days or more have  
25                             passed since the date on which the

1                   chief election official of the State re-  
2                   ceives the notice under subparagraph  
3                   (A).

4                   (C) In the case of a violation of this sec-  
5                   tion that occurs 30 days or less before the date  
6                   of an election for Federal office, an aggrieved  
7                   person or Indian Tribe may bring a civil action  
8                   in an appropriate district court for declaratory  
9                   or injunctive relief with respect to the violation  
10                  without providing notice to the chief election of-  
11                  ficial of the State under subparagraph (A).

12                  (3) RULE OF CONSTRUCTION.—Nothing in this  
13                  section shall be construed to prevent a State or po-  
14                  litical subdivision from providing additional polling  
15                  places or early voting locations on Indian lands.

16                  **SEC. 7. PROCEDURES FOR REMOVAL OF POLLING PLACES**  
17                  **AND VOTER REGISTRATION SITES ON INDIAN**  
18                  **LANDS.**

19                  (a) ACTIONS REQUIRING TRIBAL ADMINISTRATIVE  
20                  REVIEW.—No State or political subdivision may carry out  
21                  any of the following activities in an election for Federal  
22                  office unless the requirements of subsection (b) have been  
23                  met:

24                  (1) Eliminating polling places or voter regis-  
25                  tration sites on the Indian lands of an Indian Tribe.

1                   (2) Moving or consolidating a polling place or  
2 voter registration site on the Indian lands of an In-  
3 dian Tribe to a location 1 mile or further from the  
4 existing location of the polling place or voter reg-  
5 istration site.

6                   (3) Moving or consolidating a polling place on  
7 the Indian lands of an Indian Tribe to a location  
8 across a river, lake, mountain, or other natural  
9 boundary such that it increases travel time for a  
10 voter, regardless of distance.

11                  (4) Eliminating in-person voting on the Indian  
12 lands of an Indian Tribe by designating an Indian  
13 reservation as a permanent absentee voting location,  
14 unless the Indian Tribe requests such a designation  
15 and has not later requested that the designation as  
16 a permanent absentee voting location be reversed.

17                  (5) Removing an early voting location or other-  
18 wise diminishing early voting opportunities on In-  
19 dian lands.

20                  (6) Removing a ballot drop box or otherwise di-  
21 minishing ballot drop boxes on Indian lands.

22                  (7) Decreasing the number of days or hours  
23 that an in-person or early voting polling place is  
24 open on Indian lands only or changing the dates of

1       in-person or early voting only on the Indian lands of  
2       an Indian Tribe.

3                     (b) TRIBAL ADMINISTRATIVE REVIEW.—

4                         (1) IN GENERAL.—The requirements of this  
5       subsection have been met if—

6                             (A) the impacted Indian Tribe submits to  
7       the Attorney General the Indian Tribe's written  
8       consent to the proposed activity described in  
9       subsection (a);

10                             (B) the State or political subdivision, after  
11       consultation with the impacted Indian Tribe  
12       and after attempting to have the impacted In-  
13       dian Tribe give consent as described in sub-  
14       paragraph (A), institutes an action in the  
15       United States District Court for the District of  
16       Columbia for a declaratory judgment, and a de-  
17       claratory judgment is issued based upon affirm-  
18       ative evidence provided by the State or political  
19       subdivision, that conclusively establishes that  
20       the specified activity described in subsection (a)  
21       proposed by the State or political subdivision  
22       neither has the purpose nor will have the effect  
23       of denying or abridging the right to vote on ac-  
24       count of race or color, membership in an Indian

1           Tribe, or membership in a language minority  
2           group; or

3                 (C) the chief legal officer or other appro-  
4                 priate official of such State or political subdivi-  
5                 sion, after consultation with the impacted In-  
6                 dian Tribe and after attempting to have the im-  
7                 pacted Indian Tribe give consent as described  
8                 in subparagraph (A), submits a request to carry  
9                 out the specified activity described in subsection  
10                 (a) to the Attorney General and the Attorney  
11                 General affirmatively approves the specified ac-  
12                 tivity.

13                 (2) NO LIMITATION ON FUTURE ACTIONS.—

14                 (A) NO BAR TO SUBSEQUENT ACTION.—  
15                 Neither an affirmative indication by the Attor-  
16                 ney General that no objection will be made, nor  
17                 the Attorney General's failure to object, nor a  
18                 declaratory judgment entered under this sec-  
19                 tion, nor a written consent issued under para-  
20                 graph (1)(A) shall bar a subsequent action to  
21                 enjoin enforcement of an activity described in  
22                 subsection (a).

23                 (B) REEXAMINATION.—The Attorney Gen-  
24                 eral reserves the right to reexamine any submis-  
25                 sion under paragraph (1)(C) if additional rel-

1           event information comes to the Attorney Gen-  
2           eral's attention.

3           (C) DISTRICT COURT.—Any action under  
4           this section shall be heard and determined by a  
5           district court of 3 judges in accordance with the  
6           provisions of section 2284 of title 28, United  
7           States Code, and any appeal shall lie to the Su-  
8           preme Court.

9 **SEC. 8. TRIBAL VOTER IDENTIFICATION.**

10          (a) TRIBAL IDENTIFICATION.—If a State or political  
11 subdivision requires an individual to present identification  
12 for the purposes of voting or registering to vote in an elec-  
13 tion for Federal office, an identification card issued by a  
14 federally recognized Indian Tribe, the Bureau of Indian  
15 Affairs, the Indian Health Service, or any other Tribal or  
16 Federal agency issuing identification cards to eligible In-  
17 dian voters shall be treated as a valid form of identifica-  
18 tion for such purposes.

19          (b) ONLINE REGISTRATION.—If a State or political  
20 subdivision requires an identification card for an indi-  
21 vidual to register to vote online or to vote online, that  
22 State or political subdivision shall annually consult with  
23 an Indian Tribe to determine whether a tribal identifica-  
24 tion can feasibly be used to register to vote online or vote  
25 online.

1       (c) LIMITATION ON REQUIRING MULTIPLE FORMS  
2 OF IDENTIFICATION.—If a State or political subdivision  
3 requires an individual to present more than one form of  
4 identification for the purposes of voting or registering to  
5 vote in an election for Federal office, or for registering  
6 to vote online or to vote online, that State or political sub-  
7 division shall not require any member of an Indian Tribe  
8 to provide more than one form of identification if the  
9 member provides orally or in writing that the member does  
10 not possess more than one form of identification.

## 11 SEC. 9. PERMITTING VOTERS TO DESIGNATE OTHER PER-

**12 SON TO RETURN BALLOT.**

**13      Each State or political subdivision—**

(1) shall permit family members (including extended family such as cousins, grandchildren, and relations through marriage), caregivers, tribal assistance providers, or household members to return a sealed ballot of a voter that resides on Indian lands to a post office on Tribal lands, a ballot drop box location in a State or political subdivision that provides ballot drop boxes, a tribally designated building under section 6(e)(2), or an election office, so long as the person designated to return the ballot or ballots on behalf of another voter does not receive any form of compensation based on the number of

1       ballots that the person has returned and no individual, group, or organization provides compensation  
2       on this basis;

4               (2) may not put any limit on how many voted  
5       and sealed absentee ballots any designated person  
6       can return to the post office, ballot drop box location,  
7       tribally designated building, or election office  
8       under paragraph (1); and

9               (3) shall permit, at a minimum, any family  
10      member (including extended family such as cousins,  
11      grandchildren, and relations through marriage),  
12      caregiver, tribal assistance provider, or household  
13      member, including the voter, to return voter reg-  
14      istration applications, absentee ballot applications,  
15      or absentee ballots to ballot drop box locations in a  
16      State or political subdivision that provides ballot  
17      drop boxes for these purposes.

18 **SEC. 10. BILINGUAL ELECTION REQUIREMENTS.**

19       Section 203 of the Voting Rights Act of 1965 (52  
20      U.S.C. 10503) is amended—

21               (1) in subsection (b)(3)(C), by striking “1990”  
22       and inserting “most recent”; and

23               (2) by striking subsection (c) and inserting the  
24       following:

1       “(c) PROVISION OF VOTING MATERIALS IN THE LAN-  
2 GUAGE OF A MINORITY GROUP.—

3           “(1) IN GENERAL.—Whenever any State or po-  
4 litical subdivision subject to the prohibition of sub-  
5 section (b), provides any registration or voting no-  
6 tices, forms, instructions, assistance, or other mate-  
7 rials or information relating to the electoral process,  
8 including ballots, it shall provide them in the lan-  
9 guage of the applicable minority group as well as in  
10 the English language.

11          “(2) EXCEPTIONS.—

12           “(A) In the case of a minority group that  
13 is not American Indian or Alaska Native and  
14 the language of that minority group is oral or  
15 unwritten, the State or political subdivision  
16 shall only be required to furnish, in the covered  
17 language, oral instructions, assistance, trans-  
18 lation of voting materials, or other information  
19 relating to registration and voting.

20           “(B) In the case of a minority group that  
21 is American Indian or Alaska Native, the State  
22 or political subdivision shall only be required to  
23 furnish in the covered language oral instruc-  
24 tions, assistance, or other information relating  
25 to registration and voting, including all voting

1           materials, if the Indian Tribe of that minority  
2           group has certified that the language of the ap-  
3           plicable American Indian or Alaska Native lan-  
4           guage is presently unwritten or the Indian  
5           Tribe does not want written translations in the  
6           minority language.

7           “(3) WRITTEN TRANSLATIONS FOR ELECTION  
8           WORKERS.—Notwithstanding paragraph (2), the  
9           State or political division may be required to provide  
10          written translations of voting materials, with the  
11          consent of any applicable Indian Tribe, to election  
12          workers to ensure that the translations from English  
13          to the language of a minority group are complete,  
14          accurate, and uniform.”.

15 **SEC. 11. FEDERAL OBSERVERS TO PROTECT TRIBAL VOT-  
16           ING RIGHTS.**

17           (a) AMENDMENT TO THE VOTING RIGHTS ACT OF  
18          1965.—Section 8(a) of the Voting Rights Act of 1965 (52  
19          U.S.C. 10305(a)) is amended—

20               (1) in paragraph (1), by striking “or” after the  
21          semicolon;

22               (2) in paragraph (2)(B), by adding “or” after  
23          the semicolon; and

24               (3) by inserting after paragraph (2) the fol-  
25          lowing:

1           “(3) the Attorney General has received a writ-  
2       ten complaint from an Indian Tribe that efforts to  
3       deny or abridge the right to vote under the color of  
4       law on account of race or color, membership in an  
5       Indian Tribe, or in contravention of the guarantees  
6       set forth in section 4(f)(2), are likely to occur;”.

7           (b) PUBLICLY AVAILABLE REPORTS.—The Attorney  
8       General shall make publicly available the reports of a Fed-  
9       eral election observer appointed pursuant to section  
10      (8)(a)(3) of the Voting Rights Act of 1965 (52 U.S.C.  
11      10305(a)(3)), as added by subsection (a), not later than  
12      6 months after the date that such reports are submitted  
13      to the Attorney General, except that any personally identi-  
14      fiable information relating to a voter or the substance of  
15      the voter’s ballot shall not be made public.

16      **SEC. 12. TRIBAL JURISDICTION.**

17           (a) IN GENERAL.—Tribal law enforcement have the  
18       right to exercise their inherent authority to detain and or  
19       remove any non-Indian, not affiliated with the State, its  
20       political subdivision, or the Federal Government, from In-  
21       dian lands for intimidating, harassing, or otherwise imped-  
22       ing the ability of people to vote or of the State and its  
23       political subdivisions to conduct an election.

24           (b) CIVIL ACTION BY ATTORNEY GENERAL FOR RE-  
25       LIEF.—Whenever any person has engaged or there are

1 reasonable grounds to believe that any person is about to  
2 engage in any act or practice prohibited by this section,  
3 the Attorney General may institute for the United States,  
4 or in the name of the United States, an action for preven-  
5 tive relief, including an application for a temporary or per-  
6 manent injunction, restraining order, or other order, and  
7 including an order directed to the State and State or local  
8 election officials to require them to permit persons to vote  
9 and to count such votes.

10 **SEC. 13. TRIBAL VOTING CONSULTATION.**

11 The Attorney General shall consult annually with In-  
12 dian Tribes regarding issues related to voting in elections  
13 for Federal office.

14 **SEC. 14. ATTORNEYS' FEES, EXPERT FEES, AND LITIGATION**

15 **EXPENSES.**

16 In a civil action under this Act, the court shall award  
17 the prevailing party, other than the United States, reason-  
18 able attorney fees, including litigation expenses, reason-  
19 able expert fees, and costs.

20 **SEC. 15. GAO STUDY AND REPORT.**

21 The Comptroller General shall study the prevalence  
22 of nontraditional or nonexistent mailing addresses among  
23 Indians, those who are members of Indian Tribes, and  
24 those residing on Indian lands and identify alternatives  
25 to remove barriers to voter registration, receipt of voter

1 information and materials, and receipt of ballots. The  
2 Comptroller General shall report the results of that study  
3 to Congress not later than 1 year after the date of enact-  
4 ment of this Act.

5 **SEC. 16. UNITED STATES POSTAL SERVICE CONSULTATION.**

6 The Postmaster General shall consult with Indian  
7 Tribes, on an annual basis, regarding issues relating to  
8 the United States Postal Service that present barriers to  
9 voting for eligible voters living on Indian lands.

10 **SEC. 17. SEVERABILITY; RELATIONSHIP TO OTHER LAWS;**

11 **TRIBAL SOVEREIGN IMMUNITY.**

12 (a) **SEVERABILITY.**—If any provision of this Act, or  
13 the application of such a provision to any person, entity,  
14 or circumstance, is held to be invalid, the remaining provi-  
15 sions of this Act and the application of all provisions of  
16 this Act to any other person, entity, or circumstance shall  
17 not be affected by the invalidity.

18 (b) **RELATIONSHIP TO OTHER LAWS.**—Nothing in  
19 this Act shall invalidate, or limit the rights, remedies, or  
20 procedures available under, or supersede, restrict, or limit  
21 the application of, the Voting Rights Act of 1965 (52  
22 U.S.C. 10301 et seq.), the National Voter Registration  
23 Act of 1993 (52 U.S.C. 20501 et seq.), the Help America  
24 Vote Act of 2002 (52 U.S.C. 20901 et seq.), or any other  
25 Federal law or regulation related to voting or the electoral

1 process. Notwithstanding any other provision of law, these  
2 provisions shall be applicable within the State of Maine.

3       (c) TRIBAL SOVEREIGN IMMUNITY.—Nothing in this  
4 Act shall be construed as—

5           (1) affecting, modifying, diminishing, or other-  
6 wise impairing the sovereign immunity from suit en-  
7 joyed by an Indian Tribe; or

8           (2) authorizing or requiring the termination of  
9 any existing trust responsibility of the United States  
10 with respect to Indian people.

11 **SEC. 18. AUTHORIZATION OF APPROPRIATIONS.**

12       There are authorized to be appropriated such sums  
13 as may be necessary to carry out this Act.

