

## **U.S.** Department of Justice

## Civil Rights Division

Office of the Assistant Attorney General

Washington, D.C. 20530

August 13, 2025

## Via Mail and Email

The Honorable Shirley N. Weber c/o Legal Affairs Office
Office of the Secretary of State
State of California
1500 11th Street
Sacramento, CA 95814
Secretary.weber@sos.ca.gov
legalsupport@sos.ca.gov

Re: California Voter Registration List and Other Disclosures

## Secretary Weber:

This letter responds to your letter of August 8, 2025. This communication is limited to our request for the State of California's voter registration list ("VRL") and associated voter registration records and does not include the Justice Department's response to your partial answers to the inquiries about California's VRL maintenance processes. That response will come later.

Our July 10, 2025, letter requested California's VRL to assess the State's compliance with the statewide VRL maintenance provisions of the National Voter Registration Act ("NVRA"), 52 U.S.C. § 20501, *et seq*. Our request is pursuant to the Attorney General's authority under Section 11 of the NVRA to bring enforcement actions. *See* 52 U.S.C. § 20501(a).

The Help America Vote Act ("HAVA"), 52 U.S.C. § 20501, et seq., also provides authority for the Justice Department to seek the State's VRL via Section 401, which makes the Attorney General solely responsible for actions to enforce HAVA's computerized statewide Voter Registration List requirements. See 52 U.S.C. § 21111; see also Brunner v. Ohio Republican Party, 555 U.S. 5, 6 (2008) (per curiam) (finding there is no private right of action to enforce those requirements in HAVA).

In addition to those authorities, the Attorney General is also empowered by Congress to request records pursuant to Title III of the Civil Rights Act of 1960 ("CRA"), codified at 52 U.S.C.

§ 20701, *et seq.* Section 301 of the CRA requires state and local officials to retain and preserve records related to voter registration and other acts requisite to voting for any federal office for a period of 22 months after any federal general, special or primary election. *See* 52 U.S.C. § 20701.

Section 303 of the CRA provides, in pertinent part, "Any record or paper required by section 20701 to be retained and preserved shall, upon demand in writing by the Attorney General or his representative directed to the person having custody, possession, or control of such record or paper, be made available for inspection, reproduction, and copying at the principal office of such custodian by the Attorney General or his representative...." 52 U.S.C. § 20703.

As the plain language of the statute makes clear, California cannot limit the Justice Department's access to mere inspection of the requested voter registration records; the Justice Department is entitled to a full and complete copy of those records in the form in which California maintains them, including in electronic form pursuant to HAVA.

As required by Section 303 of the CRA, our letter dated July 10, 2025, provided you with "a statement of the basis and the purpose therefore," *id.*, namely, to assist in our determination of whether California's list maintenance program complies with the NVRA. At your request, we have reaffirmed that statement in this correspondence.

When providing the electronic copy of the statewide VRL, California must ensure that it contains *all fields*, which includes the registrant's full name, date of birth, residential address, his or her state driver's license number, or the last four digits of the registrant's social security number as required under the Help America Vote Act ("HAVA")<sup>1</sup> to register individuals for federal elections. *See* 52 U.S.C. § 21083(a)(5)(A)(i).

In addition to the full electronic VRL, we also request by this letter a copy of all original and completed voter registration applications submitted to the State of California from December 1, 2023, through July 1, 2025. To be clear, that means copies of all voter registration applications completed and submitted by prospective voters during that time period. When providing a copy of the requested completed registration applications, California must ensure that they are provided in unredacted format.

Your letter dated August 8, 2025, also indicated concern regarding federal privacy protections of the VRL and other requested information by the Justice Department. Section 304 of the CRA provides the answer:

Unless otherwise ordered by a court of the United States, neither the Attorney General nor any employee of the Department of Justice, nor any other representative of the Attorney

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> In charging the Attorney General with enforcement of the voter registration list requirements in the HAVA and in the NVRA, Congress plainly intended that Justice Department be able to conduct an independent review of each state's list. Any statewide prohibitions are clearly preempted by federal law.

General, shall disclose any record or paper produced pursuant to this chapter, or any reproduction or copy, except to Congress and any committee thereof, governmental agencies, and in the presentation of any case or proceeding before any court or grand jury.

52 U.S.C. § 20704. As you noted, other federal laws may be applicable, including the Privacy Act. California's privacy laws, to the extent they are inconsistent with federal law, are preempted.

HAVA specifies that the "last 4 digits of a social security number . . . shall not be considered a social security number for purposes of section 7 of the Privacy Act of 1974" (5 U.S.C. § 522(a) note); 52 U.S.C. § 21083(c)). In addition, any prohibition of disclosure of a motor vehicle record contained in the Driver's License Protection Act, codified at 18 U.S.C. § 2721(b)(1), is exempted when the disclosure is for use by a government agency in carrying out the government agency's function to accomplish its enforcement authority as the Justice Department is now doing.

To that end, provide the requested electronic Voter Registration List<sup>2</sup> to the Justice Department within seven days or by August 21, 2025, and provide all original and completed voter registration applications submitted to the State of California from December 1, 2023, through July 1, 2025, to the Justice Department by September 12, 2025.

California's VRL and the requested original and completed voter registration applications may be sent by encrypted email to voting.section@usdoj.gov or via the Department's secure file-sharing system, Justice Enterprise File Sharing ("JEFS"). Please be advised that failure by California to provide its statewide VRL may result in legal action. Should further clarification be required, please contact Maureen Riordan at <a href="maureen.riordan2@usdoj.gov">maureen.riordan2@usdoj.gov</a>.

Regards,

Harmeet K. Dhillon Assistant Attorney General Civil Rights Division

Hamest La Call

cc: Jana Lean
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<sup>2</sup> Containing *all fields*, which includes either the registrant's full name, date of birth, residential address, his or her state driver's license number or the last four digits of the registrant's social security number as required by HAVA.